

FIVE CENTS

From the STALINIST JUNGLE

Anti-War Feeling in Czechoslovakia How the Kremlin 'Combats' Bureaucratism Stalin Purges Another Science The Statification of Leisure Time Molotov Plan vs. the Polish People The Russification of Rumanian Art

... pages 4-5-6-7

'STALINOIDS FOR STEVENSON' The I. F. Stone-Paul Sweezy Trend and Its Variety of 'Lesser Evil'

There is a development taking place in the course of this presidential election campaign which is of special interest, even if not perhaps of major political moment. This is the tendency of a number

If this were the accompaniment of any kind of new break with their ideology, it would still be worth notice but not in the same way. But what is interesting is that this pro-Stevenson trend among some Stalinist fellow travelers seems to be taking place within the framework of their pro-Stalinism. How does this jibe with the fact that the Stalinist party itself is supporting the Progressive Party candi-

the Paul Sweezy-Leo Huberman group around their magazine The Monthly Review. But we know that this is not all; we know of others less prominent. It is also clear that both feel that behind them is a swell of sentiment among others of their type. Stone, for example, has referred to substantial defections among the followers of the American Labor Party,

We must note, of course, that both I. F. Stone and Sweezy-Huber, man, although they have been pretty faithful adherents of the Stalinist line in foreign policy and whitewashers of Russian imperialism, are not "party-liners"-that is, they are not only not CP members but have been publicly critical of the CP on matters that do not touch the bases of the Stalinist ideology. In their own way, they have been trying to be independent thinkers-that is, independent Stalinists.

The trend has been given publicity in the N. Y. Daily Compass, which ran a three-day (September 30-October 2) debate in its pages between Stone and Vito Marcantonio; and by The Monthly Review, whose current issue features an article entitled "How Shall We Vote?" The latter article is by an unsigned contributor and is presented as initiating a discussion, and it also does not definitely decide in favor of Stevenson. Its train of thought, however, is clear; and the editors of the independent Stalinist magazine state that they are in the same

The theme of both discussions can be given in two words: they are about the idea of the "lesser evil." Under the conditions of this discussion which we note below, there are few other places in which the idea of supporting the "lesser evil" is presented as nakedly. This is so because Stone (for example) concedes next-to-every-

thing about Stevenson and the Democrats that one might argue. Here is part of his characterization of the candidate for whom he urges support. The rather long quote ought to give the full impact.

STONE INDICTS HIS CANDIDATE

"Both parties talk peace, but espouse policies which lead toward

war... "The Democratic Party is the party of the Truman Doctrine, the Atlantic Pact and the arms race. It has maintained prosperity by rearmament. It has fought the red-scare attacks upon it by initiating a replica of the Alien and Sedition Law period and (in quieter but no less extensive form) of the 'deportation delirium' which followed the First World War. Its campaign of 'total diplomacy,' launched to shut off the Tydings-McMahon demand for talks with Moseow before embarking on development of the H-bomb, has sought to make the word negotiation subversive and to read the word peace out of polite and patriotic discourse.

"The combination of an arms race with no-negotiation, added to some Acheson's more lightheaded [sic] phrases about turning back the 500-year expansion of Muscovy has pointed inevitably toward a showdown which must mean war. This would be to reach 'liberation' Ireferring to Eisenhower's declared policy, one of the main counts against the general in Stone's eyes] by a slightly different route. . .

"This is not the sum total of our despairs. An almost autonomous military-diplomatic bureaucracy operates behind the facade; . . . influences more pervasive and dangerous than Acheson's run his own department. . . . Beyond this, giving it substance, is an economy which fears to throw away the crutch of. war.

"Over and above all is an atmosphere such as is not to be found elsewhere in the West, an atmosphere so thick with paranoid nonsense that even a man as intelligent as Adlai Stevenson can write, as he did in Foreign Affairs last April, of Lenin's 'warfare against the Russian poeple'... it is fully as bad as my opponent [Marcantonio] says it is.

"I do not believe there is a statesman in Western Europe who would think of taking so simplistic and febrile a view of the Russian revolution, nor a comparable scholarly journal which would print such intellectual rubbish if it were submitted to it. . . ."

It is necessary to read the above dossier on Stevenson to see that we did not exaggerate in noting that Stone (as spokesman for his

Bevan Gains; Next Step Is Harder

draw up a further list of industries to be nationalized. On the other hand, they rejected one resolution to confiscate any denationalized industry if they came back to power, and another to try to eject the Conservatives by

It is by now well-known that the representatives of the trade unions at the Labor Party conferences have a "block vote," that is, they have a mandate to vote on behalf of the whole trade union, using its membership as the number of votes cast. Those last two resolutions mentioned were relected by use of the unions' block votes: for example, the one on confiscation of denationalized transport was defeated by 2,286,-

We can thus see in the Labor

the National Union of Mine Workers, says he fears that, by influencing the Executive, the left wing will force upon the unions (represented by 12 members on the Executive) policies with which they disagree. They will soon-in his words-"be telling the unions how to run themselves."

TEARS FOR MORRISON

It is of considerable interest that the two Labor dailies, the trade-union Daily Herald and the Daily Mirror, have both not only tried to minimize Bevan's success but have spent a great deal of space dramatizing the behavior of Morrison, Thus: this "Old Guard" Labor leader had been active for 30 years; this rejection was a bitter personal blow; after it, he made a long cautionary speech, and very bravely accepted the Party a schism between the rela- party's decision. "Let me assure you," he said, "that I will con-

(Continued on page 2)

tendency) is proposing support of Stevenson within the framework of the same ideology that he has been plugging right along. Nowhere in his articles does he make the slightest criticism of the camp of Stalinist imperialism.

As far as Stevenson is con cerned he admits all, in other words. What on earth then remains, after all that, to justify support of the Democrat?

BARE BONES

Nothing whatsoever, except the "lesser evil" idea, pared down to its very barest bones, as if in a made-to-order textbook case: Stevenson is all that he describes, but Eisenhower would be still worse. There never was an argument so clearly based on the difference between death by slow poison versus death by clubbing; or between strikebreaking by guile, promises and demoralization versus strikebreaking by the National Guard.

Let us follow Stone's thinking for a stretch. His first article in the series was a waste of space: it was a long historical analogy with the 1860 election when; he argues, Lincoln was not clearly anti-slavery but still was the lesser evil, and, as it turned out, did finally lead the nation against the slaveholding South.

This was a waste of space because it is breaking down an open (Turn to last page)

households and marriages on "po-

litical" grounds. It increases the

power of the state to the point

where fear of the state takes pre-

cedence over personal and familial

relations-atomizing society be-

yond the circle of sickly and cyni-

these affidavits will have to be

notarized to make perjury charges

possible. This step may be taken

as soon as it is politically and

organizationally feasible - espe-

cially with the example of the

University of California so near.

where teachers were compelled to

take three loyalty oaths until one

David Kinkhead, general hous-

ing manager of Codornices Vil-

lage-a housing project in Berke-

lev and Albany in this area con-

taining about 4000 adults-re-

fused to comment on his opinion

man!). "He did say, however, he

felt 'quite sure' there wouldn't be

a general protest by residents in

the Village against the ruling."

This "quite sure" is the expres-

sion of bureaucratic smugness

which recoils in horror from "dis-

office position untenable-a gen-

eral housing manager's office for

What will be the cost of such a

measure being enforced—in cash

alone? "Melville said he had no

estimate of the possible cost of

the legal proceedings to the gov-

ernment. It'll cost about \$1 per

housing unit [there are 40,000

units] just to send out the forms

and interview fenants. Any legal

fee will come on top of that. The

whole thing means a tremendous

lot of work for us. We'll have to

run off the list to be attached to

The list referred to is a special

shortened subversive list applied

for through the attorney general's

office. Since the original list "is

40 legal-size pages long," there

must be some Hoover "efficiency"

applied to the procedure-per-

haps cutting off some of the po-

litical padding on the list dealing

with long-defunct organizations

We note that some residents of

fused to take a loyalty oath re-

project's Tenants' Council. We

hope that Kinkhead's "quite

sure" attitude will be wrong and

that an aroused liberal and labor

movement will be stung into ac-

tion by this new "fantastic" ac-

Bevan--

(Continued from page 1)

tinue with all sincerity and loyal-

ty my work for the Labor Party

and socialism, and my work with

Clem Attlee as deputy leader of

the Labor Party, and do what I

can to help the cause. I will allow

no bitterness to poison my soul."

In this statement Morrison im-

plied a very important point. For

he is still deputy leader of the

parliamentary group of the Labor

Party (which is called the "Par-

There are really three functional

agencies of the Labor movement-

the trade unions, the constituency

Labor Parties (local membership

branches), and the Parliamentary

Labor Party (the group of Labor

MPs). The first provides the money;

the second does the electioneer-

ing; and the third actually affects

the policy. Bevan has substantial

support in the constituencies, but

the parliamentary group does not

so favor him. At the most his group

could command perhaps 30 votes

in Parliament; half of these would

be of the Stalinist fellow-traveling

variety. His way to power now is

not so much through the constitu-

ency parties, but through the un-

ions and the parliamentary party.

liamentary Labor Party").

quired for membership on the

Marin City (Bay Area) had re- 🦙

and/or fascist organizations.

turbances" that might make an

of the federal ruling (brave

oath was set aside in court.

NO ECONOMY

instance.

cvery lease."

tion.

There are already rumors that

cal "patriotism."

UAW Set Back by Failure To Save Rent Controls

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT. Oct. 4 - The Common Council in this auto city has voted 5 to 4 to remove all rent controls effective this month, in spite of verbal protests by the United Auto Workers (CIO) and spokesmen for the AFL.

It is significant that the majority of the council felt it safer to ignore the opposition of the union movement rather than the well-organized and very vocal landlords and real-estate organizations.

'This development may be traced to three newly recognized factors

(1) Both the control and the influence of union leaders over the rank and file in Detroit is very much doubted by the professional politicians. The UAW record of defeat in municipal elections has helped nourish this idea.

(2) A large number of auto workers own their own homes, or are paying on them, and thus there is not the acute pressure from the shops that existed in earlier days.

The market in blacklisting is

currently booming. Heads roll

every day, not only in radio, tele-

vision and Hollywood but also in

book publishing, the newspaper

and magazine professions. Behind

States," and laid down the fol-

"It is public policy that Com-

munists should not be employed by

the government. We further be-

tieve that they should not be em-

ployed in the following categories

large enough to have a labor union.

any school or university, any

agency which influences public

television, book and magazine pub-

lishing and research institutions

and any field which gives prestige

and high salaries to Communists,

such as the entertainment field."

who cannot get a job in the en-

tertainment field because he is on

some blacklist. Sponsors cannot

afford to hire "350'ers" (one who

is on a list of some 350 names

which is being circulated among

the networks and independent TV

producers in New York) for fear

of being boycotted or having their

business hurt because they hire

The smear sheet Red Channels

is the best known. The "Commit-

blacklists and serves as an arbiter

for inquiring agents, producers

tee of Five" which circulates

such "controversial" figures.

"bummy" is an unfortunate

private business: any plant

such as newspapers, radio,

By MEL HACKER

lowing line:

ous section of the union movement not only own their own homes but also rent out, and in more than one local union these persons let their views against rent control be known

As against these factors, the union movement failed to mobilize the workers who rent in any kind of mass action. Rather, the whole campaign against removal of all rent controls was one of those "from-the-top" businesses, which hardly inspires workers or frightens opposition.

How this failure to keep rent control will affect the November election here is problematical, but the present result is viewed as a setback for the union's influence politics.

FUNDS TRICKLE

Another significant change in the situation here is the introduction of a new kind of drive for PAC funds. Four years ago, the UAW used to conduct drives in the shop to collect one dollar contributions. These were moderately successful.

However, the antagonism to this grew in 1950, and—like the national CIO, which reports failure

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY on the HOME

(3) A small but quite vocifer- on this score-the UAW decided not to risk defeat. This year a \$50,000 raffle is being conducted through sale of tickets in the shops. and even this is not going well, because of the payoffs this summer.

> How all this adds up for the November election is anybody's guess, but the fact is that union leaders in this area are not very confident. Quite the contrary. This coming week Governor Stevenson is returning to Detroit for a major address, at which the CIO leaders hope he recovers from his now admitted flop in Detroit on Labor Day.

Another interesting manifestation of the political situation here is the desperation and intensified activity of the active union strata in political action as so many straws in the wind suggest a Republican victory to them. Whereas in 1948 the then-expected defeat of President Truman brought a shrugging of the shoulders and talk of a new political realignment, today the idea of the defeat of the Democratic Party in November tends mainly to have a demoralizing effect. That is why the UAW is putting on a more vigorous campaign than in previous years to help the Democrats

Now It's a Loyalty Oath For Gov't Housing Projects

By JACK WALKER

SAN FRANCISCO-A new extension of the loyalty-oath fever to housing is now being contemplated by the Truman witchunters, according to an AP dispatch in the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 19:

"Signing of a loyalty oath may e required of persons who buy a house under a mortgage insured by the Federal Housing Administra tion or the Earmers Home Administration.

"It was revealed today that housing officials have not yet decided whether to use the oath in connection with FHA or farm home mortgages. They definitely will not use it on veterans' hous-

"The committee's recommenda tion [Senate-House conference committee] lacks the force of laws but carries the weight of 'legislative intent.' It would mean that a bank making an FHA-insured mortgage loan would have to obtain from the builder an agreement that he would get from the prospective purchaser a certificate that he is not a member of a subversive group."

The Chronicle had also report-

"All adults living in federally aided public housing in the Bay Area soon will be asked to sign a special affidavit declaring they do not belong to organizations on the U.S. attorney general's subversive list. . . .

"Those who refuse to sign or admit membership in any of the subversive organizations will be asked to vacate within 30 days, and court action to enforce eviction will be taken if necessary.' (San Francisco Chronicle, Sept.

This new and drastic extension of police-state measures designed to produce conformity through fear will affect some 150.000 people living in 40,000 housing units.

IT'S "LEGAL"

Ernest Besig, director of the Northern California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, termed the affidavit "utterly fantastic."

"It seems to me that opinion has little to do with the right of a person to have a roof over his head," he said. "I promise that we stand ready to defend any person against whom this affidavit is enforced in the Northern California area, to test its validity in the courts.'

"Fantastic" as it may seem, there is a police-state legality for the measure:

"The affidavit is the Federal Housing Administration's application of a rider to the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill passed by Congress last June. The rider, introduced by Representative Ralph inn (Rep. N. Y.) prothat no member of any organiza tion on the attorney general's list shall live in federally aided housing. The affidavit method of carrying it out was formulated by Federal Housing Administrator Raymond M. Foley. . . . The affidavits do not have to be notarized or taken under oath."

John Melville, Bay Area Public Housing Administrator, was quoted in the Berkeley Daily Gazette on the application of the oath: "the affidavits will cover all adults of a household. If one person in a family admits membership in a subversive organization, he will have to get out . . . but the others who are unaffiliated can remain in the housing project."

This may mean breaking up

Vote Socialist

tion.-Ed.

tense atmosphere. It seems safe to say that

Spain.

OLD TUNE

Europe and the U.S.

people.

THE BAIT

In December of 1951, during the sessions of the UN General Assembly, Acheson and Harriman, with the collaboration of the ineffable Mr. Griffis [then U. S. ambassador to Franco] and other "high U. S. personages," laid down a plan of between the Franco and Yankee

"Only the other day a prominent New York Republican leader stopped me on the street to talk over the convention. He said, 'You're conservative now. Social security and other measures which you alone of candidates advocated twenty years ago are now accepted by rightwing Republicans and endorsed in their platform."" -Norman Thomas, "The Platforms: A Critical Comparison." The Progressive. Sept.

success." -Norman Thomas, in "The Democrats and Party Realignment," The New Leader, Sept. 29.

have accepted?'

the smear artists, Red Channels and committees of "patriotic" in circulation made up of persons citizens stand the American Lewho may be employed-but only gion and the Chamber of Com-"non-sensitive" positions. merce. Two years ago the Cham-Acting has become, in the parber published a manual of blacklance of "security," a "sensitive" listing. Selling for fifty cents it furnished what it called a "bird'seye view of communism, fronters 'BLUNDER" and fellow-travelers in the United

A buxom middle-gaed Negro woman dressed in the garb of the griddle-cake Aunt Jemima was the only Negro person given official recognition by General Eisenhower during a whistle-stop at St. Joseph, Mo.

According to James L. Hicks, correspondent for the Negro newspaper Journal and Guide aboard the Eisenhower special, this "public-relations blunder" was made just after a Negro public-relations man had flown to ioin Ike in order to achieve "better-public relations in making an appeal to colored voters."

The New York Times reports that Alabamans who vote for Governor Stevenson will do so under a "white supremacy" label. Although the Illinois governor favors federal action on civil rights he will run in Alabama under the rooster, the official emblem of the Democratic Party in Alabama since Reconstruction days. Above the cooster on the ballots will be printed "White Supremacy" and below the rooster the words "for the right."

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and advertisers consists of James P. O'Neil, head of the American Legion's blacklisting activities in Los Angeles, the Hearst columnists George E. Sokolsky and Victor Riesel, and representatives of the Catholic and Jewish War Veterans. There is even a "gray list"

Bummies—'Aunt Jemima'—UNESCO

JIM-CROW ROOSTER



FRONT

The ballot will not contain Ste-

venson's name, but only those of

the candidates for presidential

electors. They are bound by action

of the Democratic State Execu-

tive to vote for Stevenson.

The week-long conference had been originally scheduled for New York but strict application of the McCarran Act, plus attendant embarrassment to artists and resulting international repercussions. caused the shift to Venice.

In recognizing that art and artists need subsidies from states and governments, Jules Romains, French author, strongly proposed that these subsidies should come to the artist indirectly through free institutions such as universities, museums and foundations, without any government pressure placed on the artist's integrity. In addition to a condemnation of censorship (except for obscenity and defamation) the conference discussed the freedom of art and artists to cross national boundaries with a minimum of interference.

The Swiss architect Le Corbusier introduced a letter signed by thirty delegates, including Roberto Rosselini, Thornton Wilder, Stephen Spender and Arthur Honegger, proposing the estab-lishment of "working sites" for artists throughout the world. The working sites would represent a synthesis of the many arts and be places for work and exhibition free of any but artistic control. The artist would work for a daily wage and be paid like any working man. The proposal, which was strongly applauded, especially by visiting student observers, was referred to UNESCO for study. The conference was attended by 300 eminent writers, architects, musicians, painters, sculptors, motion picture directors and others from forty-four cultures. Again, the twisted and reactionary provincialism of the McCarran legislation has prevented a New York 11, New York major professional conference from being held in America.

October 13, 1952

Look Out for a U.S.-Franco Deal to Gild Spanish Tyranny with Sham 'Democratization'

Chile, etc.

campaign.

Franco repression.

The three articles on Franco Spain on this page are translated, in whole or condensed, from the latest issue of La Batalla, the organ of the POUM, the Spanish revolutionary socialist organiza-

The Washington-Madrid negotiations, which were begun more than a year ago, are continuing in a very

the agreement which is sought by both parties will not be consummated until after the U.S. presidential elections. But what is certain is that, in spite of and *side by side with the electoral campaign, the State Department and the Pentagon persist in their plans with regard to Franco's

The resistance against the Falangist-U. S. military alliance has not made much progress in the course of recent months. But in general it has been maintained with some firmness, especially in

The State Department's "brain trust" has tried to use all the resources of itsweak imagination to overcome this resistance. Fortunately, it is still without appreciable success. The main idea is still the same: the "democratization of Franco's to alitarian regime. To this idea, which is as old as it is hypocritical, it seems to be coming back now with a persistence which demands all attention from the forces Kthat represent the Spanish

A Victory for the Anti-Franco Campaign **POUM PRISONERS IN SPAIN RELEASED**

David Rey and the other militants of the POUM who were arrested by Franco's police last April 28 have been given provisional liberty.

Once more the Franco regime, harassed by the international campaign of protest, has had to retreat and to restrain its repressive measures.

Some months ago, a Madrid decree freed the Vitoria prisoners, Basque nationalists and socialists, who were on the point of being put in the dock in a vicious trial. Now the same thing has been repeated in the case of the POUM prisoners. Our comrades have been freed on similar conditions. Nevertheless—as we have already pointed out their freedom is provisional. That means that the trial which was being prepared has been simply postponed. Therefore we will have to continue fighting in order to win definitive freedom for them.

The international campaign for the liberation of David Rey, Claramunt, Alberich, Ortega and ,

"democratization" for the Falangist tyranny. This plan was concretized in the following points:

(1) Grant the workers the right to negotiate collective contracts.

(2) Grant religious liberty to the Protestants and

(3) Authorize the return to Spain of certain exiled trade-union leaders.

DUSTED OFF

Months later, the Acheson-Truman plan, which never seced or won over anyone, remained on the shelf. Last April, after a trip to Madrid by Mr. George A. Train, head of the Spanish section of the Mutual Security Administration, the N.Y. Herald Tribune wrote: "It is considered very likely that the U.S. negotiators, in order to get practical results soon, may put aside the provisions of the Benton amendment which, as is wellknown, asked that the nations benefiting from the MSA accept principles of free tradenism. . . .

That's how things were in April. But it is now September. And, it seems, the difficulties which arose during the summer negotiators have pushed Washington to raise once more-this time more resolutely-the faded banner of "democratization."

The information which comes to us from underground resistance circles in Madrid points to three facts: (1) that the Americans have dusted off the Acheson-Harriman plan; (2) that the Franco regime, anxious not to lose Washington's aid, has elected to play the card of "democratization"-in its own way; (3) that certain workingclass elements—and this is the most serious matter—have let themselves be seduced by the U.S.-Falangist siren song.

TRANSPARENT TRICK

So this is where we stand: The Americans-not excluding certain labor leaders-talk about how they are going to re-establish "trade-union freedom" in Spain Girón and his sidekicks, in agreement with Franco, may once again revive the foul sham of their "Labor Party." And old working-class militants, who have grown old in trade-union struggles and in prisons, dare to maintain that all this can open up new perspectives!

"Trade-union freedom"? Who is there who is half serious and half sensible that can entertain the thought for a single minute Franco-under no matter that what pressure-will give the working class a chance to reconstitute its trade-union organization, re-establish its press an struggle for its demands? The "Labor Party"? What kind of or-

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ganization can this be, given the fact that it is born under the auspices of the Falange and bossed by Girón?

The trick is not even deceptive. The Francoists, who feel that their regime is crumbling, want to get U. S. aid and, through crude promises of "liberalization. compromise and divide the resistance and the anti-Franco emigra-

NO TRAITORS

the other comrades had reached very significant

proportions. The Committee to Defend the Vic-

tims of Franco in England and the United

States took first place in the movement. But the

campaign has been much bigger and extended

to a number of countries: to Holland, France,

Germany, Italy, Sweden, Brazil, Uuruguay,

The revolutionary socialist organizations-

in the first place the Independent Socialist

to come to the aid of the imprisoned POUM

militants. The big labor organizations-the In-

ternational Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

the AFL and the CIO, and various socialist

parties-contributed effectively to give a bigger

and more resounding character to the general

ment to believe in the strength of international

proletarian solidarity, expresses its fraternal

gratitude to all the organizations, groups and

individuals that contributed, through their pro-

tests and through their activity, to save a group

of fighters so devoted to the Spanish workers

resistance from the hands of the Falangist

The POUM, which never ceased for a mo-

League of the U. S .- mobilized all their forces

Today more than ever it is necessary to take a clear, firm and resolute attitude toward such maneuvers. In their message to the congress of the Spanish Socialist Farty Irecently held in emigration], the socialist Executive Committee inside Spain said that if Franco "tries to fish among the socialists for people who will hasten to collaborate with him and -difficult as it is—finds such peo ple, then we will repudiate such traitors and puppets who participate in a farce which is put on in the crudest Nazi style. . .

Our point of view is exactly the same. Let us hope that the Falange will find neither traitors nor puppets in the anti-Franco working-class camp. Let us hope that the Spanish working-class movement, in its totality, will know how to reply fittingly to Washington's intrigues and Franco's farces.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNER-SHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIR-ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG-UST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, U. S. Code, Section 233) of LABOR AC-TION, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1952.

1. The names and addresses of editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Max Shachtman; Editor, Hal Draper; Managing Editor, none: Business Manager, L. G. Smith, all of 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

2. The owner is: Labor Action Fublishing Co., Emanuel Garrett Geltman, Max Shachtman, Albert Gates, all of 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N.Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or



Lately, both the American and Franco press have begun to reveal some things about "Operation Silence," the U. S.-Falangist negotiations.

On August 12, the N. Y. Times. published an editorial in which it warned that as long as Franco. asks a ridiculously high price for: his alliance, there will be no agreement. According to other press reports from Washington, the "impossible price" which Franco is demanding is U. S. guarantee of automatic military support in case of attack by Russia, and financial aid on the same basis as Marshall Plan membercountries. The U.S. thereupon cooled off negotiations. The tension mounted to the point where Franco's press organs began to talk about the possibility of breaking off the talks.

In Washington some people interpreted Franco's "intransigence" as a tactic to gain time, in hope of a Republican victory in the presidential elections, the idea being that this would give the Falangists Letter conditions. That theory deserves to be kept in mind.

SOFTENING

But now Franco's "intransigence" is tending to soften up. In this respect nothing speaks more eloquently than the article by Agustin de Rio Cisneros published in Arriba, around the beginning of September. This article seems to mark a change of line on the part of the Francoists. Possibly, behind it is the growing belief that Eisenhower will not

John Kenney, the Mutual Security Administration envoy, is back Madrid with instructions from Washington, and has had several talks with big shots in the regime. What has been the upshot? No one knows. The Madrid correspondent of the N. Y. Times noted recently that the curtain of silence has again fallen over the U. S.-Franca negotiations.

Madrid is in a difficult position. Without U. S. aid, the regime cannot last. A serious rupture of the negotiations would be a catastrophe of incalculable consequence for it. Therefore we must assume that Franco will eventually moderate his claims and give in to Washington's conditions.

security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee CULATION REQUIRED BY THE or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or cort. poration for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two pragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear? upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was 3237.

ALBERT GATES Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September. 1952.

JULIUS LISS, Notary Public, State of New York No. 244237884 (My commission expires 08. March 30, 1953.)

N. Thomas and That Republican

"Only the other day, a prominent Republican leader here in New York stopped me on the street to tell me that I was now conservative, because even his right-wing Republicans had been obliged to adopt so many proposals which were originally to be found only in Socialist platforms. In this field, we democratic socialists have had some

"A Republican leader in New York stopped me on the street after this year's Republican convention to say: 'You're a conservative now. Did you see how many of your planks we right-wing Republicans

-Norman Thomas, in "I'm Glad I'm Not Running This Time!" American Magazine, October.

And what did you say to him, Mr. Thomas?



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

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

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

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vacation. Others do so out of economic need, forgoing a real vacation. The latter is also true under the Stalinist regimes, and in addition there is the whole weight of the state drive to put vacationers to work, willy-nilly.

It's No Picnic

ties. But:

In Hungary, school authorities, with the help of the Stalinist youth organization (DISZ), assign students to agricultural and industrial work during the summer vacation according to their physical condition. Kozneveles (Budapest) announced in its June 8 issue:

Nothing is free in Stalinland-not even time.

One of the aims of the totaliarian regimes is the

organization of free time, particularly vacation

time. The individual must never be left to shift for

himself. (He might, for example, spend his time

thinking.) The state exerts itself to transform

The youth organ of the Rumanian Stalinists-

Scanteia Tineretului, organ of the UTM (Union of

Working Youth)-carried an editorial last June 14

entitled "Let Us Organize the Activity of Students

During the Summer Vacation." It began by mag-

nanimously conceding that students who had passed

their exams should be allowed to rest (in order to

"renew their energies for the next academic year")

but even here it reminded UTM groups that they

were responsible for organizing recreational activi-

spend their vacation in their native villages . . . but

they will not be able to avoid a part in the villages'

work and activities . . . UTM students going to vil-

lages must combine their rest with civic activities.

They must not forget even for a moment that it is

their duty to help young working peasants to un-

mask the kulaks who will try to sabotage the harvest.

. . This summer a great many students will go to

various factories as well as to collective farms, state

fits of combining practical work in the economy with

one's studies, and that many students in other

countries freely choose such experience on their

Naturally, we are well acquainted with the bene-

farms and machine-tractor stations. . . ."

"Many students, sons of working peasants, will

vacations into "voluntary" work "holidays."

"This year, 36,000 high school students will participate in the great agriculture and construction drive.... They will become one with the great power installations, with the factories and buildings on which they have labored."

..... Compulsory summer labor is also extended to the younger students of the general schools. In most villages, immediately after the end of the school year, work groups were organized from among the 6-14 year-olds. Pupils work in the fields under the supervision of their teachers. According to the decree, however, "when drawing up a contract with an enterprise, the director of the school makes it a point that teachers cannot be made to work. The teachers' duty is to inspire the young workers, to watch them and to indoctrinate them constantly.'

It is clear that this makes for rosy teacherpupil relations!

Under the head "After Examinations-Into Action," the Albanian paper Rinia (in Tirana), May 24, reported:

"During the session of the 9th Plenum of the Youth Association's Central Committee, students pledged themselves to work hard to achieve [highest grades]. . . . They also pledged that after summer examinations were over they would be at the disposal of the Organization to take part in the implementation of the Five Year Plan. When the meeting was over, a letter was sent to the Central Committee that all students [of th tute] be sent to work in the hydroelectric plant at

In the case of workers, even when they go on vacation, the blare of the regime's voice follows

Nothing Sacred THE STATIFICATION OF LEISURE IN STALINLAND

> them. This may partly account for the otherwise remarkable fact admitted by the Bulgarian paper Troud (Sofia) for June 10-workers are not using the vacation facilities offered them:

> "The department in charge of resorts and rest homes at the Central Committee of Trade Unions has seen to it that vacations in our country, as in the Soviet Union, are wisely and profitably spent. At all workers' resorts, libraries and educational clubs have been organized, lectures on scientific and political problems are delivered, and movies from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are shown regularly. . . .

> "In spite of all these wonderful programs, the department of resorts and rest homes cannot fulfil its yearly vacation plan. During the winter many of the resorts were almost empty. At the resort home in the illage of Vurshettz, which can accommodate 200 persons for each vacation shift, only 5 or 10 visitors registered. The situation is just the same even now at the beginning of the summer season. For the first half of May this year, the Trade Union of the Construction Workers received 170 vacation cards, while only 19 construction workers have checked in at the resorts. The remaining 151 cards were returned to the management unused. Out of 272 cards for the second half of May, 197 have been returned. Many of the vacation cards for post office employees, medical workers, miners and textile employees are being sent back.

> The next month Troud (July 4) also explained how even picnics are turned into head-fixing sessions:

"Last year, the Regional Council of the Trade Unions in Bulgaria successfully used the mass picnics in the vicinity of Sofia for an immense cultural-educational work. In commemoration of the. 70th birthday anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov, excursions were made to the tourist camps on Mt. Vitosha, Makotzevo and other points of interest. During these outings, reports were read to the workers on the life and deeds of Georgi Dimitrov. "This summer, conferences can be organized for

exchanging production experiences by inviting the workers of two similar enterprises to attend a joint outing. There, amid the beauties of nature, the Stakhanovites and shock workers can discuss their achievements and explain their production meth-

Line on Honeymoons

There must be no idle wiling-away of time on 'useless" recreation. The Prague Prace, June 19, published a poem chiding amateur photographers who insist on "frivolous" snapshots. The poem presents "our best amateur," a "real Stakhanovite' who has developed 700 pictures "if not more," but:

"What is this Stakhanovite activity? What is the result of all this effort? Pictures of shockworkers? Pictures of plants or shifts? Alas, no, that is not the result. Twelve albums are already full of Snapshots of children, trees and grass. He does not look for subjects in the factories and shops. He does not understand, this prisoner of the past.

Even for Stalinist totalitarians, this sort of thing can go too far. Another Czech organ, Pravo Lidu, reported that Vera Hamoelkova, a 21-yearold student at a mining college, "spent her wedding night in true people's democracy fashion." The girl -says the paper-"took her bridegroom down into the Stalih Mine, where the couple put in a voluntary night shift to increase coal production."

hing sacred Thus Stalinism caricatures its own need to extend its controls over every aspect of social and personal life, almost as successfully as Orwell did in his "1984."



THE MOLOTOY PLAN: ECONOMICS OF SOVIET

LABOR ACTION

IMPERIALISM .- News from Behing the Iron Curtain. September.

This is not an analytical article, but descriptive, like most of the material on this subject. It presents material like the following:

of the Sovietized pattern of captive country foreign trade. Poland's chief exports to the West were raw materials (primarily coal and coke) and food (particularly meat). As of 1950, of a 238.8 million dollar export to 12 Western European countries, Poland exported, 129.7 millions of coal and coke and 41.8 millions of meat. Polish imports were chiefly in heavy industrial goods; machinery, 66.4 millions; metal goods and metals, 25.9 millions; raw materials, 39.7 millions; rolling stock, 13.2 millions; and chemicals, 13.2 millions, almost four-fifths (168.4 millions) of a total import trade of 257.7 million dollars. Poland's purpose is to import heavy industrial materials from the West with her industrialization and rearmaments program in view, while exporting raw materials and foodstuffs to obtain the foreign credits for purchas-

s a good example of how living standards are depressed to meet the requirements of the heavy industrialization program. An interesting side-



Parallel with the Russification of language and orthography in Rumania is the systematic gleichschaltung of the satellite's literature and art. to make them "Russian" both in form and style. This is the job of a special department in the Ministry of Art under N. Moraru. It determines themes, length of the work, date of completion and the writer's fee.

Thus, the latest novel by E. Kamilar Negoura got a special award for being written in every way to suit "Russian" taste, so that the readers long believed that the author was a Russian. On the other hand, the woman writers Sela Sergia and Vioretla Anghelescu were punished because their works were not sufficiently "propaganda." The novel The Walls Are Falling by Sela Sergia was banned as "bourgeoisnationalist decadence" because the author failed to glorify the "Russian Communists" in the first part as she had in the second. The Final Message, a play by L. Fulga about the "liberation" of Rumania by the Russian army, was so thoroughly changed by a literary commission headed by Sr Pan that the author nimself was unable to recognize it at the first performance.

At the same time, persecution is the reward of any writer who attempts in the mildest form to express views at variance with official Russian literary doctrine. Tudor Argeri, one of the greatest living Rumanian poets, has been deprived of the right to write because he opposed the Russification of literature. The excommunicated poet, who was persecuted during the war for anti-Nazi activity, now lives in poverty, ill and isolated. -Condensed from Janata (India Socialist Par-

ty), Aug. 17.

Charges Against Oren

Mordecai Oren, a leader of the pro-Stalinist Mapam of Israel, was arrested in Prague about a year ago when he visited that country. The case created a sensation and disconcertment among the Israeli fellow travelers.

Now, it is reported, after being held all this while he has been accused by the Czech government of having been in contact with a "dangerous Trotskyite," and collaborating with an underground movement conspiring against the present Czech regime. The "dangerous Trotskyite" according to the charges, was the Czech-Jewish writer Edwin Kisch, who was reported to have "died suddenly" in Prague about two years ago.

Perhaps another frame-up trial is in the making, in which case the anti-Semitism which cropped out in Czechoslovakia in connection with the Slansky affair may be hauled out for another airing.



..\$3

In Bulgaria the press has devoted a great deal of space to deficiencies in the work of the party organizations. In an editorial on June 15. Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia) especially condemned the neglect of educational meetings: "The work of party committees . . . is far from

adequate. The main error is that a number of primary organizations are not holding regular monthly educational meetings. Reports on party and government decisions are not delivered properly and little atten-

"Poland is a good example of the operation

ing those materials. "The export of meat from meat-short Poland

15

October 13, 1952



the Moscow Economic Conference in April, where the Polish representative, Chalasinski, offered enormous amounts of meat and other foodstuffs for export to the West when food rationing had only just been introduced in Poland a few weeks previous. Meat rations have since been reduced and a heavy worker is supposed to get about one-half kilo of meat per week (about 1.1 pounds); a medium worker, 400 grams (about 14.1 ounces); and a non-working member of a family, 100 grams (about three and a half ounces) per week. In a speech delivered at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee and published in Nowe Drogi, June 1952, President Bierut discussed his country's production. Bierut said (p. 21) that 54 per cent of the total production (100 per cent) of Poland in 1951 was devoted to investments, reinvestments, heavy industry and armaments, and left only 46 per cent for individual and social consumption. Another example is Czechoslovakia, which exports sugar, potatoes, wheat, hops and malt to the prejudice of her people's living standard. Despite the fact that all food is rationed in Czechoslovakia, at the Moscow Economic Conference O. Pohl offered 52 million dollars worth of sugar and 22 millions of agricultural products and foodstuffs for export. [Rude Pravo (Prague), April 5, 1952.7'

Russification—The Oren Case—'Pacifism' vs. 'Peace

tion has been paid to improving the political standards and activities of party members and candidates. Three hudred twenty-six primary organizations in Plovdiv county have not held one single educational meeting since the beginning of the year. . . . The main reason for the above-mentioned shortcomings ... is that the value of these meetings is underestimated by certain district and county party committees. . . .

It's the same theme, now being especially plugged in Russia in connection with the forthcoming Communist Party congress, that the bureaucrats, must "keep contact with the masses" and rank-andfilers, and not merely rule by decree.

Embarrassing Question

Echoing the theme discussed by George Benda on page 6 of this issue, the Hungarian Stalinist leaders also have to keep inveighing against "nacifism."

Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas, at the June 28 meeting of the party Central Committee, went into it:

"Pacifism is very strong among students. 'Why do we need an army if we are fighting for peace? they ask. . . . In our educational work we must make youth understand that our struggle for peace is not the same as pacifism. In the present international situation . . . we need strength and a good army in order to protect peace." (Szabad Nep, July 1.) Marton Horvath, a member of the Political

Committee, sang the same tune: "The greatest defficiency of the [Peace] Movement is that it does not fight effectively against the pacifist voices frequently heard among its ranks. . . . It was unable [to get across the fact that] the preservation of peace must be combined with national defense." (Szabad Nep, June 29.)

Of course the "nacifism" wh busy themselves with denouncing is not a matter of any pacifist theories but simply the anti-war feeling of the people against the manifest preparations of the regime.

Neckties

The Emily Post of the Hungarian Stalinists has come out in favor of neckties. In answer to a question the official organ of the Budapest CP assured its readers that "doubts concerning [wearing] neckties stem from a misguided idea that loyalty to the working class must be expressed in an untidy and slovenly appearance."

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'WORLD' Convention Shows Dilemma of Organization

By OTTO CARNOT

The second annual convention of the group named WORLD was held at the University of Illinois on September 19-21. (The name WORLD was formed from the initials of "World Order Realized through Law and Democracy" and its foundation as an organization separate from the United World Federalists was discussed in LABOR ACTION last Oct. 22 and Nov. 5.)

Compared with its founding convention in Philadelphia in 1951, the recent affair provided a vivid picture of the organizational decline which has characterized WORLD's-development in the last year.

CONFUSION

This year's convention drew only 22 regular delegates, as compared with over 80 at Philadel phia, and this is probably an accurate reflection of what has happened to its organizational strength

WORLD's inability to develop positive relations with other organizations-in spite of the fact that it stresses its wish to collaborate with likeminded groups -was also demonstrated; the organizations which sent observers last year, Students for Demo-cratic Action, the YPSL, Socialist Youth League, World Republic, United World Federalists, etc., did not do so this time. The only observer at the convention came from the minuscule former youth group of the Prohibition Party, which names itself "Democracy Unlimited."

Back of the decline of WORLD, and of the discouragement to which this has given rise, lies the confusion which exists in its ranks on fundamental problems of its

BOOKS and Ideas

By BERNARD CRAMER

"A sober look at the moral

problem of American politics

leads almost inevitably to the con-

clusion that the problem is colos-

Those concluding words by Pro-

lessor Graham give the reader a

the author makes it clear that the

Professor Graham has been

studying "America's Capacity to

Govern" on a grant from the

Rockefeller Foundation, and took

time out from Princeton Univer-

sity to serve as consultant for the

Senate subcommittee on Ethics in

Government, which probed sin un-

der the chairmanship of Senator

subcommittee's hearings and,

says the author, utilized much of

its material. If Morality in Amer-

ican Politics adequately conveys

the material unearthed by the in-

vestigating congressmen, then the

latter's efforts were somewhat

less than a major contribution to

It must also be said to Professor

Graham's credit that he has no

the colossal problem.

The book often quotes from the

problem is colossal.

Faul Douglas

program and role, the problems which were discussed in the abovementioned articles in LABOR AC-TION last year.

Out of the discussion at the convention, one fact emerged clearly: that WORLD as an organization has not fully made up its mind which way it wants to go. A sizable proportion of the group still maintain their sympathies, if not their membership, within the UWF, the federalist organization from which they split last year. This tendency blindly accepts world federation as a cure-all, and considers that the primary purpose of WORLD must be to educate its members and the public toward such federation.

On the other hand, there are those in the group who hold that fundamental changes of an economic and political nature are a prerequisite for the establishment of a world federation, and consequently that the primary purpose of WORLD should be to further these changes.

ONLY MEANS?

The convention decided nothing cn this question. As in the past, local chapters continue to have the right to pursue whichever course appeals to them. It is interesting to note that on the basis of the chapter reports delivered at the convention, those chapters -which emphasized the 'education for world government" approach apparently achieved the least success during the last year, both in membership and in public appeal

Illustrative of the conflict previously mentioned was the battle which took place over WORLD's policy statement. The previous polcy contained several phrases which presented world federation as the exclusive means to improve the economic and political conditions of the world. A somewhat successful attempt was made to

remove these statements and sub stitute in their place others which viewed world federation as but one means to such an end. This was accomplished only after many hours of heated debate in committee and on the floor of the convention.

CAN DEVELOP 100 21224

There is still_little understanding of the nature of the present, world power conflict. When the question of an organizational stand on the Korean war was suggested the policy committee and the convention labeled it as "too controversial." The current issue of World Frontiers (a publication of WORLD) is another example of this confusion. Donald McIntosh, in an article titled "Marxism, Russian Nationalism 'and Federated Strategy" (which we plan to review for a future issue of LA) completely ignores any mention of the Third Camp position and, accepting the "eitheror" position, resigns himself to a course of criticism of administrative methods and amounts of U.S. spending abroad in the cold war.

Yet, despite the severe limitations imposed by its lack of clarity on many questions (including, ncidentally, even some illusions about Stalinism), WORLD continues to be of interest as a group. which, in this period of ideological conformism, is seeking a solution to international conflict which is not necessarily based on the supremacy of any of the imperialist powers. And a comparison of this year's convention with last year's does give indications that WORLD as a whole is moving. from exclusive reliance on world federation as a panacea to recognition that a broader program is necessary.

If, in the course of the next year, WORLD can develop the logical implications of this viewpoint, it will be able to make a great step forward.

Graham: Morality in American Politics A Catalogue of Sin in Government Office

narrowminded objections against expounding moral platitudes at some length.

He likewise does not shirk the task of pointing out, in connection with most aspects of the colossal problem, that the existence of such moral hazards as he describes makes vigilance a constant necessity — as bold and forthright a statement on the question as you will encounter anywhere, especially in holiday orations.

quately indignant about the nefarious practices and assorted colossal problems which he touches

If, however, you are tired of descriptive material on the state of corruption in the union and yearn for some social analysis of it, this is the wrong book to go to. Professor Graham is quite untrite points about the connection between the economic values of the society and its colossal problem. This cannot be merely because he thinks that "The American economy of free enterprise is the best in the world."

The link between the economic for him, is the regrettable ten- anything else that might have

the economic system works "automatically." Whereas, as we have mentioned, non-automatic, vigilance is necessary.

The colossal problem boils down to personal morality. Professor Graham makes this explicit, He says also: "The business executive who thinks only in terms of his corporation, the labor leader who thinks only in terms of his union, and the leader of organized agriculture who thinks only in terms of his farm organization are all a menace to the basic integrity of the nation." He does not seem to be impressed with the fact that the number of labor eaders who have managed to keep senators subsidized is a good deal less than their opposite numbers among the big-business fraternity.

The manifest intellectual sterility of the book, which is obvious enough as one reads through the chapters, is sufficiently explained at the very end when Professor Graham gets into a polemic against the "exaggeration" of the dominance of the "economic motive" in American life. He has certainly succeeded in eliminating, from his own book, any such exaggeration-and along with it,

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MORALITY IN AMERICAN POLI-ICS, by George A. Graham.-Random House, New York, 337 pages, \$3.50.

The professor is, however, ade-

willing to make even the most

system and political corruption, dency of Americans to think that made such a study worth reading.

pretty good idea of the full content of his new book. There are no other ideas in the book more epoch-making than that. Those who are "against sin" in politics will find an efficient classification of the various types of sin to be encountered. In each case,

LABOR. ACTION

political "commissars" who don't take their work

Czechs' attitude toward a possible war is with-

out ambiguity, for reactions toward the Western

"defense effort" are not so clear-cut. The past

weighs heavily on the minds of Czechs; libera-

tion and political change are linked in their mem-

ory with the results of both world wars. It would

be a miracle if, this time, the Czech population

relied upon its own forces from the beginning,

without first going through the stage of hopes

between Russia and the West as fatal. Rude

Pravo reported a typical reaction to last year's

peace campaign: "My signature? You may have

it, but it's like lighting a candle in order to pre-

vent the storm!" But even with this perspective

of fatalism, people are interested in the libera-

tion aspect only, thinking less of the course of

the war itself, of the bloody and imperialist as-

pects. Since these components of a future war

cannot be separated even mentally, and since

such a "liberation" is itself problematic, one can

believe that the average man's hope for a liber-

However difficult it may be for a worker un-

der the Stalinist regime to formulate a coherent

and intellectualized opinion about war, his ac-

tions are precisely what makes war difficult for

his regime: The Czech worker has been resist-

ing, by all means at his disposal, the increasing

exploitation on which hinge the regime's plans

ation through war is a rather equivocal one.

The average man seems to view the final clash

for an outside liberation.

"We Can't Eat Coal,

for heavy rearmament.

We Can't Dress in Iron"

But it would be a mistake to assume that the

seriously.



By B. D. NADSON

In a recent issue of Pravda (Sept. 5, 1952) there appeared the following editorial slogan: "Keep Strengthening Contact with the Masses." The editorial is part of a campaign that has been in operation for some time, and has been steadily gaining momentum in the last few months, reaching its climax with the approaching 19th congress of the party.

At any rate, there has been much talk recently in the Russian press about such matters as increasing the activity of the party rank and file, increasing the participation of the workers in "policies," encouraging more individual initiative, weeding out bureaucrats, promoting criticism and self-criticism (especially the latter), etc. What does all this mean? Those who know Stalinism will react to it with weary cynicism; and the very same pages of Pravda that resound with such democratic slogans, with such "back-to-the-people" sentiments, contain more than enough material for confirming this cynicism. For criticism and self-criticism, as they are called in the Stalinist litany, vouchsafe us from time to time a peek

behind this curtain of pompous verbiage.

For example, on page 2 of the very issue of Pravda containing the slogan "Keep Strengthening Contact with the Masses," there appears an enlightening feuilleton (a critical article on some question of the day) that unwittingly casts light on all these slogans. The feuilleton also, as we shall see, provides an example of a human type which is undoubtedly only too common in the Stalinis world.

This feuilleton paints a Gogolian portrait of a Stalinist bureaucrat, a certain Dzuskayev, who is, we assume, more or less typical. (Otherwise, why waste Pravda's pages on eccentrics? It is not, to our knowledge, a humorous or whimsical sheet.)

Two Tongues

the first half of the article:

"'A common trait by which to distinguish ambivalent people is the fact that they have worn their consciences full of holes. And in place of a conscience two tongues have grown in their mouths. Both these tongues lie: sometimes one after the other, sometimes-and this is all the more shameful-both at the same time.' That was how Saltykov-Shchedrin defined people who have an ambivalent heart and a counterfeit soul. Such people do their 'ambivalating' in life chiefly in virtue of their 'saveyour-own-hide' existence.

"Ambivalent people are a product of the old bourgeois society, and one encounters them in our Soviet times with decreasing frequency. However, they are to be met with, and they do exist-like birthmarks of the past. Not only do they exist they actually get in the way, prevent progress. Having emancipated themselves from such things as pangs of conscience, they cunningly employ their two tongues in order to save their own hides, and Thereby deceive the party and the state.

"[Thus], with one tongue Kambolat Bidzikoevich Dzuskayev, president of the committee for radio information of the Northern-Ossetian ASSR, declares: 'I am for criticism; I am for self-criticism; criticism is as necessary as the air we breathe." "With his other tongue Dzuskayev adds: 'I, as leader,

appeal for and permit, in my department, criticism of all and sundry. Only—not criticism of myself."

"Dzuskayev affirms with one tongue: 'Nepotism, famliy-mongering, choice of cadres on the basis of their family background, on the basis of friendly ties-all these are phenomena not to be tolerated by the Soviet and party leader. Only this does not apply to me, Dzuskayev,' adds his other tongue.

"One of Dzuskayev's tongues sermonizes thus: 'One must spend the government's money with good common sense, carefully, always remembering that it is the people's money you are spending.'

"His other tongue utters: 'But, if you have to render a little service to a friend, or to a-you know, sort of relative, and if you have to slip them a mere thousand rubles or so, why then, for me, Dzuskayev, it is nothing.' "With one of his tongues he proclaims: 'It is a crime to use one's official position for personal gain.'

"With his other tongue Dzuskayev orders Bekuzarov, radio announcer, and relative: 'Take the official car, travel in official capacity, buy me a couple sheep, and come back.""

Straight from Gogol

happened.

Kaitov, however, fails to convince party headquarters that the original report be handed over to him; he succeeds, nevertheless, in obtaining a copy of it. This copy he pawns off on the hapless Dzuskayev as the original;

ANTI-WAR FEELING IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA The Stalinist Bosses Combat 'Inadmissible Pressure'

By GEORGE BENDA

Page Six

The prospect of another great war has been causing some surprises to the planners on both sides, surprises which foreshadow what might happen if the war did break out. One of them was the reaction of the people who are often represented to be the most militaristic in Europe. When a new West German army was first proposed, students in Munich put umbrellas on their shoulders and marched through the streets shouting: "Without us!"

East of the Iron Curtain this anti-war sentiment cannot be so demonstrative. But it exists none the less and is reflected in the worried pronouncements of the big shots. As an example, consider the following gem of doubletalk by the **Czech minister of defense:**

"We often meet incorrect opinions," said Cepicka last November, "which might weaken the beginning of our new military education, were they not eradicated. . . . Among these incorrect opinions belongs a pacifistic attitude toward the peace movement." (Lidove Noviny, November 6, 1951.)

This sounds like Herrmann Goering denouncing a militarist approach to the war effort. From the standpoint of the Stalinist regime, of course, the opposition of pacifism and the peace movement is not at all illogical. It is the peace movement which is supposed to be militarist, but such twisted subtleties of Stalinist propaganda don't seem to prove convincing.

The Man in the Street: "How Does It Jibe?"

Five months later, Cepicka found it necessary to complain once more that "here and there, the peace movement comes up against misunderstanding. . . . Recently, various doubters have repeated the question: How can the production of weapons be reconciled with the idea of peace? If the defenders of peace rearm, if they train soldiers, aren't they doing the same thing as the enemies of peace, the imperialists?" I Rude Pravo, March 29, 1952.) In other words, Cepicka knows that many people in Czechoslovakia ignore the hammering of propaganda and recognize the essentially similar, if not the complementary, character of the military preparations in both camps.

The author, George Benda, is an expert on Czechoslovakian affairs. Readers are also referred to his article in the current New International, "The Class Struggle in Czechoslovakia."-Ed.

Last September the Czechoslovak Stalinists organized a big aerial review, a popular spectacle highly appreciated in pre-war Czechoslovakia. The reporter for Rude Pravo, the official CP daily, caught the following remark in the watching crowd: "All this is very nice. But still it's war engines, and we are for peace, aren't we? How does it jibe?" (Rude Pravo, September 16, 1952.)

As today's fruits of the late Stockholm Appeal, such words of the man in the street certainly do not please those who planted them. But they are not the result of the Stockholm Appeal itself. They are the fruit of the people's reflections on their situation in world affairs, on their social position, on their hopes for the future.

Official transcriptions of popular opinions, however, have one important defect: They have been combed and prearranged so that the propagandist has an easy target for his own prefabricated dialectics about how war means the defense of peace. Authentic popular pronouncements sound different from those quoted. They make the propagandist's job outright impossible because they pull each subject from the cloudy regions of propaganda and put it down roughly, feet on the ground.

"If They Want Peace, Let Them Stop Fighting ..."

This is true of the question of peace as well as of the other subjects of propaganda. In one mine, for instance, an officer of the state trade unions organized a collection for "Help to Fighting Korea." The miners refused with an argument that 'made excellent sense: "Why should we contribute? If they want peace, let them stop fighting a war!".

As far as the Czechs are concerned, the Kremlin's wars are its own business. No one wants to become a mercenary for Russian interests, and even the army has difficulties with the

PCI: Back at the Old Stand

For further information on the split which took place this year in the French Trotskyist party, we have at hand the first issue of Vérité published by the dissident majority group which has been read out of the Fourth International by the latter's international committee. As we have reported, the dissidents were expelled for objecting to the new steps taken by the F. I. on its road toward a pro-Stalinist political orientation, particularly its decision that the French and Italian Trotskyists enter the Stalinist parties.

The new Vérité, while bitterly denouncing the F. I. leadership, makes clear that it is holding on to all the illusions about Russia and Stannism which led the F. I. to its present pass. In effect, they remain at the laststage-but-one, at least for the present.

The language used about the F. I. leadership is strong: "a grave danger threatens the future and very existence of the Fourth International. . . . Revisionist conceptions, born of cowardice and petty-bourgeois impressionism, have appeared in the ranks of its leadership . . . [who have installed] a system of personal government which finds its reason for existence and its anti-democratic methods in the revision of the Trotskyist program and in the abandonment of the Marxist method."

HANG ON TO OLD IDEAS

We, it says, are "the first victim of [this] revisionism" and the leadership organized the split by meansof "guile and lies." It denounces them for the "idea that the Stalinist bureaucracy can lead the revolution" and for "cowardice in face of the apparatuses," charges that they have lost faith in the proletariat, and predicts that they will abandon the "Trotskyist program" more and more

By the "Trotskyist program" the dissident Vérité means concretely that point in the development of the pro-Stalinist orientation at which they themselves have drawn the line. They reiterate their suicidal view that Stalinist Russia is a "workers' state," and still denounce of "defense of the USSR." The French CP, they say, vacillates between sectarianism and opportunism, and i now turning to the "right." They describe the Kremlin as a "conservative bureaucracy," which desperately tries to hang on to "a situation of equilibrium among the classes" and to peaceful coexistence, whereby it "undermines the very basis of its own privileges, the Soviet workers' state." In French politics, they raise as their chief slogan a united front of the CP and SP to form a "workers-peasants government." This-the slogan of a CP-SP government-is the same as the main slogan raised by the other branch of the official-Trotskyists.

UNSTABLE EQUILIBRIUM

It may be permissible to believe that it will not long be possible for this group to maintain its own equilibrium this position. Having broken with the present version of official-Trotskyism (as most recently developed by the F. I.'s international secretary, Pablo) on the question of Stalinism, it will have to rethink its positions—or else stagnate and disappear. It would be a double mistake to believe that there is room for two varieties of "Trotskyist" pro-Stalinism.

The dissidents will have to go back to the fountainhead of the F. I.'s latest steps in degeneration, to reexamine the view that Russia is a workers' state which must be defended in war.

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fusal of the people to consider the shift from consumers' goods toward heavy industry and armaments as desirable. "We can't eat coal, we can't dress in iron!" is the slogan denounced by President Gottwald as far back as two years ago.

In the background, there is the over-all re-

Concretely, the workers' resistance to the increased exploitation implicit in all-out rearmament has varied manifestations, ranging from slowdowns in production to violent individuals clashes between the workers and members of factory police; from the gradual decline of the Communist Party cells to the active participation of Stalinist and trade-union officers in workers' wage demands. As long as this general "inadmissible pressure"-which is the regime's new term for the workers' resistance—is not broken, the regime will not have consolidated itself.

The Resistance Is a Block To War Now

But since this "inadmissible pressure" seems to follow the pace of the drastic measures taken against it, the regime cannot extricate itself from a permanent crisis. Which is the least favorable circumstance for preparing, not to say leading, a war.

Some will take the Czech workers' movement seriously only after it has produced a real breakdown of the Stalinist production plans. But such a view misses some of the main points:

(1) The resistance does imperil the production plans, which are centered around war production.

(2) The social tension is at its height in the region of Ostrava and Kuncice, where the Polish-Czechoslovak Ruhr (a sort of a giant supplydepot for an attacking Russian army) is under construction.

(3) Even limited effects, which only postpone the readiness of the Stalinist empire for war, are immensely important: by their delaying action time is gained during which the resistance itself can gain strength and pass to higher forms.

Stalinist policy on the ground that it stands in the way

'Pravda' Makes an Example—— How the Kremlin 'Combats' Bureaucratism

The title of the feuilleton may be translated as "Ambivalent People," although the literal translation would be "Many-hued People." Here is a translation of

The rest of the feuilleton relates how this same Dzuskayev signed an order dismissing a certain Kaitov from his post owing to the latter's incompetence. Here is what

Kaitov had denounced Dzuskayev in a report submitted to the party bureau of the region. Dzuskavev, naturally resentful of this action on Kaitov's part, dismisses the latter. Then, suddenly, they make a deal. Kaitov is to go to the office of the party bureau, remove the report in which he had denounced Dzuskayev.

and the latter, falling for this ruse, signs a new order to the effect that Kaitov is really not the gross incompetent he, Dzuskayev, had at first imagined him to be. The feuilleton closes with the ominous information

that this whole Gogolian tragi-comedy is still being enacted, and that the Northern-Ossetian regional committee of the party has not yet done anything about it.

There you have in microcosm, so to speak, a picture of the macrocosm of Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism. The large world, Goethe wrote, is reflected in the small world.

Stories such as the above will probably elicit a cynical snort from the hardened reader. So will Pravda's slogans about establishing closer contact with the people. Cynicism in matters touching upon Stalinism is to be expected. Mere cynicism, however, is a poor substitute for knowledge and insight. As a matter of fact, the slogan "Keep Strengthening Contact with the Masses" is not simply a case of Stalinist windbaggery.

The Contradiction

The Russian ruling class cannot maintain power by resort to wordmagic alone. It must somehow find an effective transmission belt for conducting its power down to the masses, upon whom the whole bureaucratic structure rests. No ruling class can long exist as a ruling class in a state of thorough isolation from the ruled.

The Stalinist ruling class in particular cannot afford such isolation; nor can it rule solely by hocus-pocus, by propagandistic legerdemain, by phrase-mongering: it must get things done-or else. We do not pretend to know all the ins and outs of conditions in Russia today. but a study of Pravda and other publications over a per. od of several months leaves us with one strong and interesting impression.

Page Seven

The ruling class is confronted with serious socioeconomic contradictions. These contradictions are all reflected, concentrated, in one general contradiction, which is the contradiction between totalitarian bureaucratism, on the one hand, and the inescapable necessity for democratic leeway, on the other, if planning is to be possible. In order for the ruling class to solve the socio-economic problems and bottlenecks that are constantly obtruding themselves, they must somehow find a way to release the creative energy that is now stifled and locked up in the masses owing to the brutal oppression of the regime. They need to encourage independence of mind, freedom of thought, criticism, individual initiative, etc. But the system itself stands in the way.

They hurl slogans and threats at the petty bureaucrats to get things moving, to sweep away the contradictions. But these petty bureaucrats, as we may discover in Pravda itself, are involved in permanent degeneration. For every Dzuskayev denounced and liquidated, there are ten to take his place. The system itself spawns them in nauseating profusion.

The slogans that emerge from the inner sanctuary of the politburo are "Keep Strengthening Contact with the Masses," but the bureaucrats translate this into their own language where it becomes: "Save Your Own Hide."



By JACK STUART

In June of 1951 the Chemical Science Section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR held a conference on the "Theory of Chemical Structure in Organic Chemistry." In this conference the Russian Stalinists did to theoretical chemistry what they did to genetics a few years earlier with the aid of Lysenko. However, the reaction has not been as widespread, at least as yet.

While there was no need for scientific discussion of the conference, it is significant that only the British journal Nature has felt it important enough to print, in full and without comment, a resolution adopted by the conference (Nature, January 19, 1952).

Whereas the press of the non-Stalinist world echoed for months with discussions of Lysenkoism, only passing mention of this recent intellectual purge has appeared.

The main accomplishment of the conference was to lay down the line that the theory of resonance-a theory which attempts to explain molecular binding forces from the viewpoint of electron exchanges, originated during the '30s by an American chemist, Linus Pauling of recent passport-trouble fame-was "unsound in method, physically untenable and sterile." It also dragged up from the obscurity of Russia's scientific past one A. M. Butlerov, whose theory "lies at the basis of the whole of modern chemistry." Butlerov is completely unknown in this country -several months' research has produced no reference to him in the chemical literature.

Scientists Grovel

The political importance which the Stalinists attached to the conference is to be noted in a passage of the resolution which states: "The decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party regarding ideological questions has mobilized the attention of the Soviet chemical community to questions of the methodology of science and has helped to reveal errors present in chemistry and to mark out the future path of development of chemical science on the basis of the uniquely correct dialecticalmaterialistic world view."

And being a political conference in the usual Stalinist style it was adorned with the usual welter of confessions by leading Russian scientists. One of these men had recently written an important monograph on chemical theory which is considered in the non-Stalinist world to be the leading book on the subject. Indeed the need to isolate this scientist not only from the West but also from his own scientific associates was so great that "the conference consider [ed] the statements of [this scientist] concerning [his] ignorance of the works of A. M. Butlerov . . . as unsatisfactory." To Siberia with him, perhaps?

Another apparent use of the conference was to turn the efforts of the chemical fraternity from considering auestions of theoretical interest to an intensive industrial application of the field. "The Conference calls on Soviet chemists to take all possible steps for the further . . . wide utilization of the results of scientific work for the national economy.")

This is in keeping with the general desire of the

Stalinists to reduce the amount of theoretical scientific discussion and favor only those "theories" which seem to help the state fulfill its economic planning. This was certainly true of the Lysenko affair, in which the state apparatus found "scientific" justification for supporting wheat agriculture in the far North.

Why Did They Do It?

Finally the conference "recommended" the rewriting of the chemical textbooks which, as they have already done with history texts, will mean a ruthless removal of any undesired ideas from general circulation and the further isolation of Russian scientists from the outside world. (It is obvious that foreign scientific journals cannot be widely circulated, if at all, since most of their editors have never heard of A. M. Butlerov.)

Several questions come to mind as a result of this development, among them this: What political significance attaches to this purge from the field of chemistry "sterile," "unsound, idealistic" theories "foreign to Soviet science"? Is it that the chemists have suddenly gotten out of hand or does it mean that some sort of economic or political milestone has been reached in Russia which is significant to the chemists?

While the complete regimentation of the entire society (especially of the professional thinkers) is always necessary in a totalitarian state, I feel that the chemists have finished an important task and only now can the Stalinist apparatus move to subjugate them further without fear of upsetting some timetable. The task? Perhaps the construction of the plants for large-scale separation of A-bomb components, perhaps construction of new war-gas or bacteriological-warfare factories. Whatever it may be, the Politbureau felt that it could safely isolate the leading Russian chemists from the rest of their science without endangering their own important plans.

Homage to Joe

It must be pointed out that the recasting of entire scientific fields along politically desirable lines has not been confined to genetics and chemistry. Within the past two years both astronomy and physics have received some attention from Stalin's Central Committee. The attacks here seem centered about Einstein's theories of relativity and the quantum theory, both of which apparently suffer from not being "materialistic"!

The sad state of the Russian scientist (many of whom have international reputations of the highest sort) is attested to by the fact that he must give lip service at least to these, the closing words of the conference resolution :

"Under the guidance of the party of Lenin and Stalin, Soviet chemists will honorably carry out the directions of the great leader of the workers, the scientific genius, Jøsef Vissarionovich Stalin.'

This bureaucratic stupidity forced upon an important segment of society indicates still again how far Stalinism feels it must go to maintain its totalitarian collectivist state.



Stalinoids for Stevenson

by Jack Ranger

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mesticate the working-class oppo- is for just the reverse]. The Demsition before the greater evil is ocrats have a left wing, the GOP upon us; whereas the "greater evil," brashly pushed regardless, would excite struggle. Thus Wilson was able to lead the people into war in 1917, as Pied Piper, all the more easily because of his pacifist coloration, both demagogic and sincere.

Few could be satisfied with as little "difference" as Stone. He goes out of his way to stress this. He compares the difference he sees to just "some crack or cranny" in a wall to provide "a point at which some lever, if only a broken fork" can be applied.

NOTE OF DESPAIR

The note he strikes is frankly one of despair. It is in his very last words: "Any chance in a crisis is worth taking. Let us not pass this one by. It may be our last for a long time." He means: our last broken fork.

We leave aside his polemical jabs at Marcantonio. The latter is an easy mark and not of interest to us in this discussion: he merely puts the needle on the record of the CP line-a line which enables him to speak many truths about Stevenson, but which requires him to be the lawyer for the imperialist camp which is on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Stone's argument is about broken forks: Truman resisted intervention in Formosa-in January

1950; Truman fired MacArthur; the Democrats are against spreading the Korean war, while MacArthur is for it. Agitating for certain ideas and deciding how to vote are "two political functions" which must not be "confused." Stevenson is talking

doesn't. "In an American election campaign it is not so much what the candidates say as what they symbolize which counts." A vote for Hallinan will be a vote for Eisenhower, reaction and war, because it will help defeat Stevenson. . . .

THE REAL REASON

It would be worth while, perhaps, to discuss some of these broken forks, were it not for the fact that none of them is the decisive reason why Stone is for Stevenson.

It is perfectly clear that the decisive reason for Stone—and this goes for the Stalinoid trend under discussion generally—is that Stevenson has stated that he is for (or at least willing to consider) NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA. whereas they believe that Eisenhower, or the men who will run him, will exclude such negotiations with Russia.

This is the broken fork, and not anything else. Stone refers most often to Stevenson's declaration at Hamtramck. (He does not refer to Eisenhower's equally explicit declaration of willingness to engage in negotiations, mainly because of the general's "liberation" policy.)

The same thing is true of the Sweezy contributor, who states that the "touchstone" of all current politics is: "will our actiondefer or spur war? . . . there may be times at the level of national politics when it is of .foremost importance to buy time." Since this writer understands nothing about the "lesser evil" policy more rightish than he really is in which he discusses, he never even order to get votes [the evidence adds that the big question about

buying time is "At what cost?" It is at this point that we can ascertain that the difference between the attitude of the Stones in this election and their attitude in 1948, when they were willing to throw votes to Wallace which might have elected the Republicans, is only an apparent one. Strangely enough, the attitude of the Wallaceites in 1948 was also one based on the lesser-evil policy!-and the fact casts some light on the switch they make DOW.

TAFT IN 1948

We can make this point all the more confidently since we wrote precisely that in 1948 in discussing the Wallace candidacy (in the New International for January of that. vear), Wallace himself, coached by his Stallnoid brain trust, made the point then:

"... if the only choice were between a Truman advocating compulsory military training and military aid to reactionary regimes and a Taft strong against compulsory military training and shipment of arms abroad. I would vote for Taft." (Italics in original.)

Why was Taft, the arch-reactionary, the least warmongering of the candidates running in January for the nomination of the major parties? Wallace's answer boiled down to a series of points on Taft's presumed isolationism the fact that "Compared with the 'American Century' adventurers, Taft is a troglodyte of prehistoric vintage."

The Stalinists threw Wallace's hat into the ring because from the point of view of their pro-Russian joreign policy, and not from the point of view of liberalism, the Republican candidate would either

October 13, 1952,

be preferable or at least a me tooer.

It is not primarily the considered ations of the liberals which today push Stone, Sweezy & Co. toward Stevenson. These are thrown in for good measure, and never had a more hollow ring than in their mouths. They are grasping at the straw that Stevenson would be more willing to consider appeasement of Stalinist imperialism.

But since it is a straw-or rather, a broken fork-it is not necessary to be puzzled about why the CP itself is under no such illusions about the right-wing Fair Dealer at the head of the Democratic ticket.

HYBRID TYPE

The motivation of Stone and Sweezy is that of the Stalinoid fraternity; their political methodology remains that of the softheaded liberals. In this way they illustrate their political physiognomy, their hybrid combination of some of the least appetizing features of both tendencies.

It is this which makes them independent Stalinists and Stalini oid liberals, as distinct from the blown-in-glass varieties of either tendency. Their "anti-war" line is not that of a third camp against both imperialisms, but of naive faith in the Russian tyrants combined with liberal illusions about capitalist imperialism.

The one thing they have no faith in is the ability of the people to fight both oppressive systems of exploitation. They offer a straddle, and are uneasy because their legs are getting pulled further and further apart.

In this uncomfortable position, the idea of the "lesser evil" represents the strain on their thigh muscles.

In relation to the facts, com-

pare the disingenuous statement

made by Walter Reuther, writing

for the UAW's magazine Ammu-

nition: "The charge of machine

and boss control is utter nonsense

in the face of Governor Steven-

son's record in Illinois, for he has

been in constant opposition to po-

litical bosses and political corrup-

Illinois politics than anyone in

tion, and he did more to clean un

Stevenson did, of course, clean

out the state legacy left by the pre-

vious Republican Governor Green

and his corrupt administration.

Stevenson and the 'Little Boss'

What is Governor Stevenson's relation with the Little Boss of much of an answer, but a longtime Chicago newspaperman, David Anderson, has a couple of footnotes on it in the current issue of the Progressive (which is supporting Stevenson, incidentally). Anderson first goes through the career of the head of the biggest one-man-led city machine in the country. Arvey has had a lot of experience with using personally honest "fronts" for his political machinations. For instance, he started as one himself! And after 18 years of wardheeling in various echelons of the Nash-Kelly machine in Chicago, he rose as

Kelly's successor on the back of another. This was in 1946 when he convinced the then boss that the smell was getting too nowerful and that he had better step down. Kelly did and 'It was time for a 'front,' and

Arvey came up with one-a whitehaired collar-ad, a benign-looking man who had been a fixture on all the safe civic committees in town. He was Martin H. Kennelly. He won easily, mainly on a platform of ending the housing shortage. (Chicago still has its housing shortage, one of the worst in the country, as well as Kennelly, known as the do-nothing mayor.)"

ARVEY PRODUCTION

In 1948 the Democratic Party was in bad shape. Says Anderson: "The same old party wheelhorses just wouldn't do this time, and Arvey knew it." He discovered Stevenson, then a career man in the State Department, and so it was that Stevenson ran for governor. (It was also in 1948 that Arvey pulled the blooper of boosting Eisenhower to replace Truman on the Democratic ticket, but he wasn't alone in that one.)

When Arvey's state candidates won that year, a GI (who knew Arvey when he was goldbricking in the army) wired him: "Congratulations on another Arvey Production."

most, or among the foremost, in relating practical politics to the Chicago, Jake Arvey? No one has booming it up for a draft of Ste- problems of government." venson. "Whatever may have been his less noble motives-the hunger for a winner, the craving for the power and prestige that would come with the nomination of 'his' governor (Arvey may be postmaster-general if Stevenson wins) -Arvey and his phrase-makers shrewdly pitched the Stevenson candidacy to higher levels."

NO TABLE-POUNDING

As governor, Stevenson insisted that the Little Boss had never put pressure on him for anything "Arvey's business in Springfield

was mostly concerned with whipping the boys in the legislature into line for measures the governor and the party wanted. The boss seems to have just as telling a way with the rural legislators from downstate as with the representatives and senators from the city.'

No table-pounding by Arvey, says Anderson. "Such pressures as there were were muffled and difficult to detect. . . . If he has on occasions planned moves that might displease the righteous, Arvey has preferred not to share these confidences with Stevenson."

INDIRECT APPROACH

According to Anderson, the cynical newspapermen of Chicago are of two minds as to the relation between the Boss and the Governor. Some assume that Arvey does do the bossing. As for the others-

"Arvey, they say, just can't interfere with a man of Stevenson's stature and is smart enough not to try. Instead of trying to exert pressure on the governor, Arvey has shrewdly applied the heat to the party faithful who surround the governor in the various state iob

"If he has felt this indirect pressure, Stevenson hasn't complained. Indeed. on several occasions he has given Arvey high marks on his handling of patron-

This year Arvey was the fore- age problems and his manner of

Arvey hasn't given up his practice of using "fronts" in political life, but since "Stevenson is too big," he has to play the old game in a new way. That's Anderson's last word.

It is a salutary reminder that personal corruption is not the only form of boss politics. Actually, the main fact about the relation between Stevenson and the Boss is entirely public, requires no inside gossip to verify, and is also the most compromising, whether or not Stevenson is too big to let Arvey pound the table.

BLIND SPOT

This is the fact that Stevenson whose political activity permitted Arvey to consolidate his bossdom, has never exercised his wellknown moral principles and scruples with relation to the shady political apparatus that lifted him to office and which operates under cover of his administration in the state capital. It is to be wondered what Stevenson's admirers would think of a "liberal" New York mayor who showed a similar moral blind spot with regard to Tammany.

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