

STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

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An Economic Program for Britain ... page 3

By GORDON HASKELL

The weaker countries, the countries with dark-skinned populations have found a good use for the United Nations. They are doing their best to transform it into a pillory for the imperialist powers, for the governments which maintain a policy of white supremacy. And they are succeeding in exposing the bonds which tie the great "Western" powers together, even when their specific projects of exposure fail.

if any one of the governments which holds colonies in subjection is accused before the UN of various crimes against its colonial "dependencies" or the peoples in them, all the colonial powers hang together what was going on. South like a well-organized crimi- Africa (and here it must be

nal syndicate. And their answer to the small powers who are seeking justice is always the same: this is not the business of the United Nations. It is the internal affair of the ruling power. Any attempt to bring such problems before the United Nations will simply destroy it without accomplishing anything for the benefit of the peoples on whose behalf intercession is being made.

A few weeks ago the racist government of South Africa was in the dock. India and other governments brought charges that the Malan gang was oppressing the Indian and Negro minority in Africa, and urged that a UN commission be set up to make an investigation of

made clear that in this article the name of a country is being used as a shorthand term for the government of the country, with humble apologies to the mass of its inhabitants) will naturally have nothing to do with such a procedure. It announced that no such commission would be permitted to enter South Africa, as the treatment of the majority of the population there by the small white minority is a matter solely concerning South Africans, and no one else.

U. S. BACKS MALAN

The United States delegation backed the South African government on this. The American delegate stated that although his govern-(Continued on page 5)

The CIO Faces an Uneasy Future

The shadow of the first Republican adminis-Congress hoping for the best. But they fear the worst. This uneasy attitude of "wait and see" was expressed in the convention resolution on

Political Action Resolution

"We can expect, and must be prepared for, a determined effort by the coalition of reactionaries in both parties . . . to destroy every vestige of the New Deal and the Fair Deal," it reads, "These purposes of the reactionary coalition in Congress must be exposed and fought every step of the way." But is the Eisenhower administration part of the reactionary coalition? The CIO will wait and see. "We must be prepared to support recommendations that may be sent to Congress by the new president in the fulfillment of his campaign pledges to preserve and extend the gains of the last 20 years." Then, listing Eisenhower's promises, it repeats: "We shall not be obstructionists but will offer our sincere cooperation in the hope that he will and can carry out the commitments he made to promote

But the resolution warns that if necessary

the CIO will fight: ". . . as free Americans we tration since the founding of the CIO hangs over have the duty and reserve our democratic right the labor movement. Like everyone else, CIO to challenge and oppose the policies and acts leaders stand uncertainly before Eisenhower and of his administration when in our judgment they are not in the public interest." And elsewhere: "Although we shall be heavily engaged in blocking reaction, we shall continue to press our program attacking poverty, disease, discrimination, insecurity, and social, economic and political injustice."

> It alerts liberals in Congress to be ready. "We pledge our whole-hearted support to liberal members of both parties who are prepared to defy the coalition of reaction, to define the issues, and to stand up and be counted. Only through such determined and unwavering opposition to this reactionary coalition by all liberal and progressive forces shall we be able to draw the lines on which the campaigns of 1954 and 1956 must be waged to obtain a clear mandate for the cause of human progress and world peace." How many congressmen can pass this test of liberalism? That remains to be seen.

> The current CIO line can be defined as follows: fight the reactionary coalition, with Eisenhower if possible, against him if necessary; and in any case true liberals will be tested in the struggle. Plank number one in the program of action reads: "Rally the maximum strength be-(Turn to last page)

Page Two

Anti-Semitism: A Major Stalinist Policy

By AL FINDLEY

The Prague trial and executions have their main reason in the usual conflicts of the Stalinist rulers; in their need of scapegoats to divert - popular discontent from the regime to the persons of its hirelings. The routine of abject confessions and the demands by the "arch criminals" that they be punished followed the usual pattern. The complete loss of human dignity by the great figures of the Stalinist movement when put on trial by their masters-for example when one says he will "not be happy unless hung"-leads us to agree with Rude Pravo (official paper of the Czech Stalinist party) that "the accused are creatures who long ago lost the right to be called men. When looking at them one is reminded of spiders, bugs and rats." Rude Pravo omits, of course, that it was years of Stalinist service that dehumanized them.

Included in the repetition of the Stalinist ritual of trials is at least one major falsification that can easily be disproved. Thus one witness confessed to being a participant in a conference held in 1947 in the United States between President Truman, Prime Minister Ben Gurion, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Henry Morgenthau, where it was decided that all Zionist groups (Mapam too) must act as spy organizations. The police officer who took charge of this portion of the hundreds of details faked at the trial forgot a few details of history. The details overlooked were that Marshall, not Acheson, was secretary of state in '47 and that Ben Gurion did not visit America that year.

THE NEW ELEMENT

The similarities of the reasons, ritual and methods of the Prague trial to other Stalinist frame-ups are important but what is different and therefore most significant is the open introduction great purge of Russian Jewof racism and anti-Semitism ish culture and Jewish intelin this trial. The indictment stresses the Jewish deavor. This campaign took origin of the defendants and on a mass character in post that they acted in a manner war Russia. The Prague that could be expected of trial must therefore be such origin. They are casti- viewed as a continuation and gated for being Zionists de- extension of an official policy spite the fact that all in this emanating from Moscow. trial without exception were anti-Zionist all their lives product profits from this and only engaged in pro-Zionist statements or acts with Zionism following Gro- vital Near East. It will also myko's speech at the UN serve as a warning to any and when all the Stalinist elements in East Germany states supported the new who may want to follow state of Israel. (Since all the Bonn in its "moral act" of Stalinists did the same, each material reparations to the one must be wondering if he Jewish victims of Hitler. It will be charged with the is also calculated to appeal with their Jewish origin is Germans who oppose restiwere "Zionists" but to prove only "proof" offered at the that it is their Jewish origin trial consisted of official

out of his way to declare "the government of the U.S. is controlled by Jewish capitalists."

A dominant theme at the trial was that the accused were not only Zionists i.e. Jewish nationalists and therefore in the service of Jewish capitalists in the U. S., but also that they were "cosmopolitans" (the opposite of nationalists). But when have such contradictions bothered the Stalinist prosecutors. Since they are cosmopolitans they are by nature incapable of loyalty to the country in which they live. This idea that Jews especially Jewish intellectuals, are people without a homeland, are rootless, is second to Zionism in frequency but is the more important charge against the Jewish defendents and their non-Jewish accomplices and "co-conspirators" To give one example: Ludvik Freika says "Though I entered the Communist Party I remained a smug petty bourgeois intellectual without nationality." This "Zionist" like the rest is saying that Jews remain without a nationality or feelings of loyalty to the country they live in.

This accusation that Jews are "internationalists" 'homeless" "rootless" "cosmopolitans" is not unfamiliar. It is the traditional language of East European anti-Semitism. It has been used by all reactionaries to attack Jewish socialists. Even Churchill this week hurled that charge at Shinwell a Jewish member of of the Labor Party. A writer for L'Humanite long ago declared that Jews are -susceptible to cosmopolitanism because of their special status in society.

RUSSIAN PURGE

The greatest use of the "cosmopolitanism" "internationalism" "homeless traders," etc. took place in the lectuals in all fields of en

The Stalinists expect bytrial. These include an appeal to the anti-Zionist sentiduring Moscow's flirtation ments of the Arabs in the same crime.) The connection to the Nazis and other West not made to prove that they tution. The fact that the that led them to commit acts dealing with the resti-

"treason." Thus the prose- tution of a small amount of cutor in his summation went Jewish property (acts agreed to by all Stalinists) would tend to give importance to the last two rea-

> These however are only by-products. The main aim the elimination of Jews from any leading role in the Stalinist world. This policy began right before the War in Russia proper but was not extended to other Stalinist countries until this year when all the leading Jewish Stalinisis in all sattelite countries were removed and arrested. The conquering of these countries by Stalinism and its consolidation of its power made the Stalinists use all and every ally it could lay its hands on. But now "The Arab has done his work. the Arab may go." This is true of all Stalinist bureaucrats but for historical reasons Jews make the best scapegoats. That is one of the reasons why some of them were given such high posts. This sacrificing of the Jews is no throwing of the Jews to the wolves of popular anti-Semitism, since among the Czechs (unlike the Slovaks and other East European peoples) anti-Semitism is negligible. The disposal of the Jewish Stalinists serves the dual purpose of providing a good immediate scapegoat and of carrying through the Moscow dictated policy of sidetracking the Jews.

The evidence points to the has concluded that the Jews

conclude, rightly or wrongly, that the Jews can never be completely integrated into the Stalinists totalitarian system accompanied by its new cult of Great Russian nationalism. The continued existence of social conflict and its spilling over into racial and national forms even under Stalinism tend to perpeptuate the special condition of the Jews that makes internationalism and equality appealing to them, and the Stalinists act with typical fury to protect their system from this real or imaginary threat.

ANTI-SEMITISM RAMPANT No Jewish organizations of any sort except synagogues exist in Russia. Jews are the only minority in Russia without their own press or schools. Most Jewish writers have been arrested and exiled, or worse. No Jews have been accepted for employment in the ministry of Foreign Affairs since the war. Old employees are gradually dismissed and removed from important posts. One rarely comes across a Jew as a local secretary of the party-a post they quite frequently held in the past. Jews in the Central Committee of the Russian party are down to one____ society. Kaganovitch. Jewish representation in the Supreme Soviet (equivalent to Con- such papers as LABOR ACgress) is way below their relative numerical ratio in ized nature of official Stalinthe population. Jews are ad- ist anti-Semitism and such mitted only in limited quotas leaders as Nachum Goldman fact that Moscow, despite its to military academies and of the World Jewish Conpreaching of racial equality, engineering schools. Jews in gress dismissed it as anti-Russia are being systema- Judaism and anti-Zionism, are at best unreliable; that tically removed from resi- all major Jewish organizathe opinion expressed by the dence in such border areas tions now recognize the dis-French Stalinist that Jews as Bukovina and the ease. It remains for the libare by their very position in Ukraine, and are shipped in eral and labor movements to society made more suscep- brutal fashion into the intetible to internationalism ap- rior. The war-time policy of fective protest actions to plies to Jews in a Stalinist the U.S. in relation to the stop Stalinist atrocities society too. Therefore they Nisei is being carried out on against Jews.

the Jews in Stalinist Russia. In other Stalinist countries the same trend has begun. The most prominent Jewish Stalinist have been arrested and await trial. Thousands of smaller fry are losing their jobs. Reports indicate that for the past periods Jews are not being given positions in the East German Stalinist regime and party. Radio reports of the elections held last week to the **Rumanian Parliament which** elected over 400 deputies did not mention one Jew.

This list could be continued indefinitely but it is sufficient to show that the Prague trial is not an incident but an integral part of a definite Stalinist policy of official anti-Semitism. While it seems likely that Stalinist anti-Semitism will not be of the Nazi exterminationist variety it definitely opens up a grave danger for the Jews, and no one knows where it will end. Even if it should be of the traditional East European variety with its occasional slap in the face and economic isolation plus the employment of "Moshkas" (Jewish officials in background but important jobs) the consequences will be greater in a totalitarian

Unlike the early purge of "cosmopolitans" when only TION recognized the generaljoin them in organizing ef-



tion between Labor and Tory policy. It would be unfair to saddle the right wing of the party alone with the responsibility for this state of affairs. The Bevanites themselves have tended to give a militant twist, as it were, to Labor's rather feeble and negative policy, rather than exploring new policies which could inspire the electorate to eject the Tories from office in the shortest possible time.

BOLD APPROACH

into."

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Even more specific was Harold Wilson who made one of the most important policy statements by any member of the Bevan group since Bevan's resignation from the Cabinet in April 1951. Speaking at Maldon, Essex, he said: "Obviously such questions as the



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FOREIGN POLICY, OR "JUSTICE"?

Many of America's constitutional guarantees do not protect aliens. Foreigners, according to statute and administrative regulation, are here only on suffrance, and are therefore particularly vulnerable to capricious, high-handed, and unjust action by American authorities. This is aggravated in the case of aliens from countries having no din willing to defend them. Students are often the victims. The rights of these individuals may be sacrificed to considerations of governmental policy, precisely the state of affairs against which the Bill of Rights protect American citizens.

Many instances of such injustices are on record. Here in the Philadelphia area, two more cases have recently come to our attention in which the spirit of American liberty and fair play is violated.

YOU CAN'T LEAVE

A considerable number of Chinese technical students in this country, citizens of China, who now wish to return to their homes in that country, have been informed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that they may not leave the United States even though their permits are in order. Here is the text of such a letter received by a student in the Philadelphia area:

Section 1 of the Act of May 22, 1918, as amended . . . provides that it shall be unlawful "for any alien to depart from or enter the United States except under such reasonable rules, regulations, and orders, and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe." . . .

Pursuant to the authority contained in said Act . . . and the President's proclamation No. 2523 of November 14, 1941, and the provision of part 175, Title 8, Code of Federal Regulations, you are hereby ordered not to depart from the United States, whether or not you have a permit to depart, until you have been notified that this order has been revoked.

Reuel Mugo Gatheru, a 26-year-old native of Kenya, is a student at Lincoln University, Oxford, Penna. His student visa was valid until April, 1953. On November 5th he received a letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service requesting his departure immediately, and informing him that if he did not depart within 30 days, his departure would be enforced. No reason was given him, nor has any been given

. YOU CAN'T STAY

subsequently. Last September Gatheru was interrogated by the Department of Justice. He told of his being a Roman Catholic and formerly Associate Editor of The Voice of Africa, published by the Kenya African Union, a moderate nationalist group. He denied being or having been connected in any way with the Mau Mau group of anti-British terrorists of Kenya. But British authorities in the United States are known to be nervous about all Kenyan students here. -From the Civil Liberties Record, bulletin

of the American Civil Liberties Union, Greater Philadelphia Branch, December 1952.

December 15, 1952

LONDON LETTER **BEVANITES MAP ECONOMIC POLICY FOR** BRITAIN

LONDON, Dec. 1-The Tory party is far from finished. The High Sycombe election result has made this all too clear. Perhaps the shock of the result has led to some healthy questioning in the National Executive Committee. What is it that has prevented the Labor Party from taking advantage of one year's Tory misrule? The general consensus of opinion in the movement gives the following explanation: it is not just the internal feud that has inhibited the swing to the left which was so marked during the County Council elections a few months ago. Rather, it is the lack of a clear policy, the lack of demarca-

Fortunately, however, the last two weeks have seen the emergence, at least on the side of the Beyanites, of a constructive and bold approach to Labor's future program, The Tribune, which has given itself to an overdose of militant gossip, will probably follow the lead indicated by Aneurin Bevan and Harold Wilson. Only a week ago, Aneurin Bevan, speaking to nearly 2,000 people at the Princess Theatre on behalf of the Editorial Board of Tribune, insisted that further nationalization is needed. For the first time, Bevan was specific. He mentioned chemicals and Imperial Chemical Industries and referred to land, ill-used or unused by landlords, which needs "seeing

ationalization of the land have to be related to the need for maximum food production in this country. I mean nationalization of all rented land, not of farming.

"Relevant too, to the question food production are the heavy chemical and fertilizer industries. Chemical development in the next half century may be as powerful a factor in determining the speed and direction of industrial advance as steel has been in the past.

'And if the monopoly question is raised, why is consideration always limited to heavy chemicals and not to the Unilever monopoly which affects both consumer goods this country and vast trading nterests in Africa?

'Heavy engineering and ship. building are, together with steel and chemicals, among the basic armament industries.

"Opinion in the labor movement has always been against the arms industry existing for private profit. Aircraft, too, is an important arms and export industry, relying on government finance."

Mr. Wilson also said that textile machinery and machine tools must also be considered and since control over capital investment was vital to our recovery, the state should be in a position to control the vast investment funds of the insurance industry.

UNILEVER MONOPOLY

The fact that Harold Wilson has recently been elected to the NEC. coupled with the respect that is accorded to him on all sides of the Labor Party as a brilliant economist, gives his words great weight. Although speaking in a purely personal capacity, there can be no doubt that he expresses the views of Mr. Bevan now bound by the discipline of the Parliamentary Committee, What is also worth noting is the way in which Mr. Wilson discusses the monopoly question. He says: "and if the monopoly question is raised, why is consideration always limited to heavy chemicals and not to the Unilever monopoly." This can only be interpreted as meaning that the NEC (its right-wing majority) has already accepted the idea of nationalizing heavy chemicals. This underlines the general shift to the left not only of the Bevanites, but also of the NEC

Sponsored by the New York ISL

majority. The revolutionary implications of Mr. Wilson's policy statement have yet to be grasped by the Labor Party. They are certainly in line with the unmistakable and unequivocal decisions of the Trades Union Congress at Scarborough, and the Labor Party Conference at Morecambe, and as such must be welcomed by the rank and file of the labor move ment.

Will this herald a basic alteration of line on international affairs by Mr. Bevan and his friends? Will they break their silence on Korea and Malaya and align themselves definitively with the colonial peoples, and against imperialism? So far the Bevan group has only reiterated the official Labor Party attitude to Korea, China and Western Germany. True, the Bevanites have been more emphatic than the orthodox wing of the party, but they have not, as yet, differentiated themselves in the same way as they have on domestic issues. It would be foolish to exclude the possibility that Bevan will evolve an international socialist policy, at least as radical as that which Mr. Wilson has advocated for Britain.

Of course, Aneurin Bevan's election as the twelfth and last man on the Parliamentary Committee can be viewed in two lights. On the one hand he can exert considerable pressure at top levels in the Parliamentary Labor Party leadership, while on the other hand he is considerably handicapped as far as his freedom of expression is

concerned. That some anti-Bevanites voted for him in order to gag him is more than likely. Perhaps they think they can lock up Mr. Bevan as a prisoner of the right wing in the twelfth place on the Parliamentary Committee. In that case, we are reminded of the Spanish joke about the French in Dostoevsky's short story "Bub-boo." The French were the first to build a inatic asylum, and the Spaniards said of them: "They've locked all their fools up in a special building so as to be quite sure that they themselves are in their right mind."

To the orthodox right wing Bevan is a fool, and an irresponsible fool at that. Sir Will Lawther is convinced that Bevan's ideas are mad and crazy, and that his own ideas are sound, sober. realistic, etc. Naturally, a few Members of Parliament must have got it intot heir heads to metaphorically lock up Nye Beyan in the twelfth place of the Committee, for fear that his ideas will spread even faster on the back benches. However, all the rigging of the narliamentary election will not and cannot affect the deep changes within the Constituency Labor Parties. The rank and file believe that it is Mr. Bevan's ideas, that it is "Bevanism" which can meet the serious economic and political crisis facing Britain. They regard "Bevanism" as a sober, realistic and perfectly sane policy for lifting Britain from a capitalist past to a socialist future. It is by no means a fully rounded out policy, it is still

largely in the mood stage. But its direction is clear, and that is what matters at the moment.

PRAGUE AND CP

As if the Stalinists were not in enough trouble, the Slansky trials in Prague have still further queered their pitch. Over the last few months, without any too consistent or clear line on Bevan, they have veered to a position of oblique support (obviously fishing in troubled waters). Now that eading Bevanites like Crossman have been "implicated" in the frame-up trials, they will find it next to impossible to give even oblique support to Bevan. Worse still, Konni Zilliacus has torn the "evidence" served up in the "trial" to shreds in the influential Reynolds News (Sunday organ of the Cooperative Party). This morning's London Daily Worker made a frantic attempt in its headlines to refute the damning evidence of Stalinist anti-Semitism with an interview between their Prague reporter, Sam Russell and the Czech Chief Rabbi The fact that the Slansky trial is the likely beginning of a cycle of mass trials in Eastern Europe hardly simplifies matters for the British Stalinists. It may well be that after Tito and Lysenko. l'affaire Slansky will be the last straw for many hitherto convinced Stalinists. Surely King Street [British CP headquarters -Ed.] is cursing Stalin under its



Will Durkin Say "No" to Labor?

L. G. SMITH

Last week an article in LABOR ACTION discussed the meaning of the appointment of Martin Durkin, president of the AFL plumbers' and pipefitters' union, as secretary of labor from the point of view of the labor movement. Our attention has been drawn to an article by Kupcinet, a pro-Stevenson columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times, who has excellent sources of information inside the Truman adminis-" tration:

"The wisdom of Ike's selection of labor leader Martin Durkin as his secretar of labor is being hailed in Truman administration circles for a reason not mentioned heretofore. Administration leaders who have had to deal with unions report that no group applies the terrific pressures on government that labor does. And no person, they point out, is better qualified to but under strictly limited deal with labor—and to say "no" when a "no" is neces- rules. They want labor's cosary-than one from labor's operation on foreign policy, own ranks.

chiefs point out that labor policy which follow logically leaders will take a 'no' an- from it. They want the swer from one of their own workers to accept wage remembers serving as secre- strictions, and to confine tary of labor, whereas they their struggles for better to keep things comfortable. would fight tooth-and-nail conditions to objectives He would then either have. against an 'outsider' serv- which will not interfere with to resign his office, or being in the same office. For maximum production in the come a hated symbol of class this reason, they predict war industries.

Martin Durkin will be an invaluable asset to the Eisenhower administration."

What interests us most about this observation is not that it agrees with our own view on Durkin's role in the Eisenhower government, but that people in the Truman administration are reported to "hail" the appointment. In doing so it would seem that they are thinking not so much as partisans who would like to see the new administration in difficulties from which the Democrats could draw political capital, but rather as "responsible" politicians who want to see the war economy proceed smoothly, regardless of who is in power.

NARROW GROUND-RULES

If the Eisenhower administration were out to break the labor movement, the appointment of Durkin would make no sense. They will seek to get along with labor, and constricted groundand labor's acceptance of the "These administration consequences for domestic

If the unions are willing to go along with such a policy, there should be no reason for major struggles. When minor ones come along, a man like Durkin can be the best representative of the interests of the government and the capitalists, as Kupcinet points out.

The real question remains: what will be the nature of the struggles during the next few years? And that depends not so much on the wishes of Eisenhower, or even of the labor leadership. as it does on the general course of the economy. In an expanding economy in which the inflationary pressures are relatively slight, the labor movement can make constant, minor gains which are enough to keep their ranks relatively satisfied. But if the inflationary pressures should get really powerful, or what is more likely, if the tendency to deflation and recession should take on major proportions, the labor movement would have to engage in major struggles just to hold its own.

Under such circumstances neither Martin Durkin, nor anyone else could act as a sufficient buffer between the workers and the government capitulation.

Page Four

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism ere 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. Indemendent Socialism stands for building and screngthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

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

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

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

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STATE



The Social Responsibility of Scientists By CARL DARTON

The presumed explosion of the H-bomb in the Pacific once again throws the atomic spotlight on the role of scientists in society today. The headlines in the daily press would make it appear that the scientists themselves are taking sinister delight in their horrible achievements. No informed observer believes this to be true but as long as scientists take the position that science itself is neutral and they cannot be responsible for the social consequences of their work, popular opinion will react against them.

Scientists along with others must make sure that science is used for social good or else civilization as we know it is doomed. It remains for an Indian scientific journal to point this out more clearly than has been done in scientific circles in the United States. In its September, 1952, issue Science and Culture, published by the Indian Science News Association, Calcutta, India, reviews an address by Dr. Radhalinod Pal, "Scientists and their Social Responsibility," before the Calcutta College of Science. The remainder of this column, excepting the concluding paragraph, paraphrases Dr. Pal's thoughts.

Dr. Pal points out that within recent years most men and women have lost their pride in humanity with the collapse of confidence in modern civilization. He characterizes our present age as being the work of science. Our daily lives and social organization are the result of its achievements in electricity, radio and modern means of communication and transportation. Because of science we have high industrial productivity which permits on one hand a higher standard of living and increased leisure and on the other hand high expenditures for war. It also permits the wide dissemination of information as well as misinformation. Science makes it more difficult than formerly for people whom the government dislikes to escape its clutches. Improved techniques of social manipulation permit minority rule in terms of dictatorship. Mass communications, control of public opinion and the new "science" of human behavior facilitates the misuse of great masses of people.

Scientists engrossed in their specialties usually see the growth of their knowledge as the result of their intellectual curiosity alone; they are mostly blind to the fact that science is also part of and grows out of practical social needs. Because of this scientists play into the hand of reaction and modern dictators. We should not forget that intellectual freedom is necessary for the proper growth of science but neither can be guaranteed by appeals to the mere ideals of freedom. If scientists refuse to think through the social relations of science their thinking will be done for them by reactionaries and they will be forced to submit to politicians who better understand that science can put to social uses.

Dr. Pal continues by stating that politicians know that by using scientists they can put power in the hand of the state. To quote him directly: "In modern war the scientists are recognized by all civilized 1] governments as the most useful citizens provided they are tamed and induced to place their services at the disposal of a single government rather than mankind." By this means science is harnessed to power politics. To quote further: "Politicians in our day are far more influential than they were at any former period in human history. Their relation to the men of science has already become like that of a magician in the Arabian Nights, to a djimn who obeys his orders. So it is with the atomic scientists in our day: some government capres them in their homes or on the high seas, and they are made to ave, according to the luck of their capture, for one side or the other." Because of the subservience of scientists to politicians and the

sulting danger to humanity the people in general develop an antiientific feeling. Thus there is even talk of a scientific holiday which e governments themselves do not take seriously, however, since even ore science is needed in the power politics race. Rather than submit blindly to the forces of reaction Dr. Pal feels

at scientists should exercise their social responsibility by: 1. Demonstrating the relationship between science and social affairs that scientists may collectively exert influence on governments to take

tions which are in accord with all aspects of science. 2. Describing what social conditions are desirable for the develop

ent of science and how it is perverted in bad social systems and forced abet still worse conditions. 3. Cooperating with all constructive social and intellectual move-

ents toward the removal of the causes of war. 4. Supporting of constructive political movements in the interest of

onomic and social justice. 5. Exposing of errors in science such as racialistic theories and nar-

w nationalistic viewpoints. Above all, scientists should be guided by scientific "integrity" to ink out the implications of the truth, and not avoid reality even if it ads to "dangerous subjects."

We believe that these views of this Indian scientist though lacking uch of purpose and clarity which a socialist would desire, still exess better than many of his American colleagues the role of the ientist in the world today. Scientists, of all people, because of their urported intelligence and integrity should aid in the struggle for a tter social system in which they, as well as others, would have a tter choice of roles than "fools or knaves."



LABOR ACTION

LAUNCHING THE NEW FASCIST INTER-NATIONAL, By L. Poliakov - Commentary, November.

This article is a discussion of the rise of neo-fascist groups throughout Europe, their base, strength, ideology and leadership.

"The international propaganda of the neo-fascists originates largely in Germany. The Malmö delegates [this refers to the international fascist conference of May 1951 at Malmö, Sweden-Ed.] and a number of their sympathizers like Hans Grimm, Alfred Fabre-Luce, SS-General Ramcke, and even von Ribbentrop's widow, appear as contributors in a magazine called Nation Europa in the strange company of a few decent people who, apparently, were taken in (André Philip, Arnold Toynbee, Denis de Rougemont, Ortega y Gasset). On the evidence, one can say conclusively that Nation Europa is the principal mouthpiece of European neo-fascism. It is published at Coburg, Germany, and has offices in Sweden, Holland. Belgium and Switzerland; an Italian edition, Europa Nazione, comes out intermittently in Rome. . . .

"A 'European Empire' happens to be the most cherished of all the ideas put forth by Nation Europa, and the largest part of the November, 1951, number is devoted to that dream, with Oswald Mosley, in an article entitled 'The European Homeland and African Lebensraum,' describing its general perspectives: 'Our living space comprises two essential areas. The first is the European East: it belongs to the Occident, not the Orient, and we demand its restoration . . . the second is Africa. Its development is the new and decisive task that faces a unified Europe. . . . Its administration will be carried out in the name of white civilization, whose duty is to develop rich countries for the sake of European wellbeing, and not to preserve the jungle . . ."

According to Poliakov, Nation Europa does not dare to come out with articles directly advocating anti-Semitism, but the anti-Semitic stench hangs about it nevertheless. An article by H. Vedder, a South African senator, which is written in defense of the Apartheid program of the Malan government has this to say: Because the Blacks, very numerous

in the Cape, have the right to vote together with the Whites, Sam Kahn, a Communist Jew. and Mrs. Ballinger. a Communist Jewess, were sent to Parliament by Negro votes. . . ."(Poliakov points out that neither Mr. Kahn nor

And Socialist four league socialist four lea list Youth League Socialist Youth League

McCarran Committee Mounts Attack on Academic Freedom

By ROBERT MAGNUS

BERKELEY, Calif., Dec. 2-Senator Pat McCarran's recent smear attack against the universities and colleges of America has provoked angry and bitter opposition from leading spokesmen at the University of California.

Under cover of the recent election victory of the Republicans, and the entire move to the right which was expressed throughout the country, the reactionaries, the witchhunters, are feeling their oats. Not content with frightening and intimidating students and professors, not content with making the faculty of many state universities sign "loyalty" oaths, not content with setting up stool pigeons to watch student meetings and bringing in an atmosphere inimical to the expression of radical or even liberal ideas. the McCarthys and McCarrans are now moving to wipe out "nests of Communists" in many of the major schools and colleges.

It is obvious that the indiscriminate smear attack is a preparation for new hearings and new legislation. The McCarrans are not in the least interested in protecting free speech or academic freedom from the Stalinists. Their persuasive, "democratic" techniques consist on constant doses of mud-slinging, the ruining of reputations through the full blare of Congressional hearings, and the attempt to identify the university with all the "evil spirits" who "conspire" and "lurk" in the nation's schools.

CP NOT SEEN

The University of California was named in the 412-page report on "Communist infiltration into the nation's educational system" which was released recently by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee headed by McCarran. The Stalinists who, during the Wallace campaign were quite a force on this campus, have been reduced to practically nothing today. They are neither seen nor heard. They are absolutely powerless and have no support whatsoever among either the students or nationalists," the "leftists," the faculty of the university. ADAers, etc., are next on the list

Why, then, is the cold war against the campus continuing? Just exactly who does McCarran have his sights on now?

Unfortunately the protest from the university is not as loud and vociferous as it should be. Chancellor Clark Kerr stated that he "just doesn't think" that there are any Communists teaching in the university. He stated that "the Regents here have had a policy for 12 years against hiring Communists. The faculty has voted overwhelmingly to support the position of the Regents." Besides this "Everybody at the university signs the Levering loyalty oath. As far as we know, we don't have any Communists on the faculty, and it is our policy not to have them."

To its everlasting shame the faculty did support the Regents' policy after being whipped into line by them during the famous loyalty oath fight some years ago. Kerr's mild resistance to the Mc-Carran committee, the entire defensive tone in which it is carried on, is an index of the extent to which the most respectable people and institutions are frightened by the witchhunters. Kerr did manage, however, to rephrase McCarran's statement that Communist teachers are "as dangerous as a lighted match in a powder magazine." "Actually," Kerr retorted, "they're about as dangerous as a very damp spark in a big forest."

RETREATING

The U of C student body president, Dick Holler, also spoke up against McCarran's allegations: am quite sure that nothing anyone can say will deter Senator McCarran from continuing his investigations. It has paid dividends for one senator and apparently now, Senator McCarrana wants to get in on the act." The entire passive spirit of this statement is very interesting. The liberals are retreating, step by step, before the enemies of free thought in this country. It is evident however, from the general direc tion of the reaction, that the "creeping socialists," the "inter-

have nothing to propose." The spirit of the students, that tremendous outpouring of disgust, ridicule, distrust and hatred which was especially evident during the loyalty oath fight, has now subsided. The campus atmosphere is becoming cotton-like, defensive, spiritless. Holler's listless and hopeless resistance merely adds to the sharpness, the offensiveness gand the irresponsibility of the right wing.

SYL REPLY

themselves."



December 15, 1952

Page Five

READING from LEFT to RIGHT UN Colonial Struggle

Mrs. Ballard are communists.)

ment may deplore the regrettable incidents which appear to be occurring in South Africa, the problems there have to be left to the

(Continued from page 1)

country naturally would have no objection to a UN investigation. 🦈

group of thirteen Arab and Asian nations had presented a resolution in the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee proposing that the United Nations set up a commission of good offices to try to arrange direct negotiations between France and the Tunisian nationalists. They are also proposing a similar commission for Morocco. When this was first proposed at the last session of the Assembly, the United States assisted in blocking the placement of

It is noteworthy that the SYL

is the only group quoted which

stands for the right of Commu-

nists to teach. Everyone else has

already agreed to their exclusion.

This, of course, is merely the be-

actionaries have gotten agreement

to the principle of the exclusion

of teachers on the basis of their

political beliefs, then the liberals

have lost nine tenths of the bat-

Today the socialists are the

most consistent defenders of civil

liberties in America. The old job

of defending democracy, freedom

of speech, academic freedom, is

slipping out of the hands of the

feeble and unprincipled "liberals"

of the silent generation. Today.

in the atmosphere of the cold war

the Korean war and the hydrogen

bomb, the students have, for the

time being, been silenced. When

the time comes once more for a

thorough cleansing of the Augean

dents once more are on the offen-

sive, the socialists will gain from

their bitter-end battle. In the

meantime there must be no slack-

ening. We must fight to keep the

witchhunters off the campus. We

must defend the rights of all dis-

sidents to say and write what they

please. We must defend the right

of Stalinists to teach in the

schools. We must answer the

mudslinging and reactionary at-

tacks of the McCarrans by a de-

fense of academic freedom.

s of reaction,

ginning of the end. Once the re

Communists, we do stand for Holler, by the feebleness of his reply, merely says: "I give up. their right to teach in a free uni-The McCarrans can take over. I

versity.

The student newspaper, the Daily Californian, quotes some statements from the organizer of the Socialist Youth League, Bob Martinson, on the meaning of this latest attack on the schools. Martinson said that "the main danger in this country stems precisely from the general meddling and witchhunting by McCarran's and similar committees." "Pointing out that in his opinion there is no Communist threat in this country. Martinson said that he and his group (the SYL) are at one and the same time the fiercest enemies of Communism and vet the fiercest proponents of the Communists' right to express

"We must stop once and for all these types of threat to the university," Martinson asserted. "And though we (the SYL) certainly do not ally ourselves with

"conscience" of the people of the country, by which of course is meant the people who rule the country. The Indian and Negro and racially mixed majority of the While this was going on, a

the resolution on the agenda. The outcry from the nations of Africa and Asia was so great, that the U.S. delegation finally agreed to permit the issue to be brought up, while at the same time assuring France that it would assist in defeating any resolution for specific action that might be presented.

The resolution is presently being debated in the Assembly's committee. France, like South Africa in the previously mentioned case, has refused to participate in the sessions which dare to deal with this question. (The walk-out technique first invented by the Russians when things were taken up to which they objected, has found a number of "Western" practitioners, it would seem.) And who comes to her defense? Naturally Great Britain and Belgium, two of the remaining three European powers with large African colonial holdings. If Portugal were a member of the UN, her government would no doubt be Johnnyat-the-rat-hole along with the others on this issue.)

The leader of the British delegation, Selwyn Lloyd, based his objections on the provision of the UN charter which bars the organization from interfering in the domestic affairs of any state unless they constitute a threat to international peace and security. He argued that the treaty of 1881 between the Bey of Tunis and France, which "granted" the latter sole jurisdiction over Tunisia's foreign affairs made any dispute between France as the "metropolitan power" and Tunisia, as the "dependent or protected" country a matter of French domestic jurisdiction. Lloyd denied that there was any situation in Tunisia which might endanger international peace and security, and added that the debate in the UN was likely to promote "unrest and friction" and would "encourage disorder."

MURDER IN TUNIS

While the debate was in progress, news arrived of the murder of a Tunisian labor leader, Farhat Hached, by parties unknown. The French government immediately clamped full security measures on the country, and rounded up at least six ain is facing an attempt of a prominent leaders of the na- number of nations (El Saltionalist movement. As Far- vador, Guatemala, Indonesia hat Hached was also a leading nationalist, there is little possibility that these men had anything to do with his assassination. Even the French government did not try to charge them with complicity. But they were Wameru resisted, and the the ones arrested, and not British authorities burned leaders of a local group of Frenchmen who are known order to force their "resetto have organized a terrorist tlement." Who knows how organization. A general long it will be before the strike was proclaimed in the case of the repressions country in protest against against the Kykuyu people in the murder and the arrests. Kenya will be brought be-In one town the local popu- fore the UN? In this case the

lation attacked the police barracks.

In Morocco, virtual martial law was declared. By December 9 the French admitted to killing forty Moroccans, and wounding an unknown number. The situation had reached such a critical pitch that Frenchmen were eing removed to the solidly French sections of Casablanca, where they could be under the more direct protection of the French troops. Police and troops had laid siege to some 2000 trade unionists in the downtown headquarters of the Moroccan General Labor Confederation. The soldiers and police were using tanks, while the papers report that "the encircled union members bombarded the police lines with bricks torn from the walls of their building." From the available reports it appears that seven Frenchen have been killed.

In the meantime Lloyd was urging the UN Assembly to think in terms of "common sense" rather than "emotion" on the question, while Fernand van Langenhove, the Belgian delegate, sagely observed that the UN was not a court and hence had no jurisdiction in the Tunisian dispute.

A DIFFERENT VIEW

The Arab and Asian delegations took a different view of the matter. The Egyptian delegate said that Tunisia is a sovereign state, and that the theory that the case is one of domestic jurisdiction "incompatible" with the rights of self-determination. He accused the French of violation of treaties, economic exploitation of Tunisia and trampling on the rights of the Tunisian people. Dr. L. N. Palar of Indonesia said that "it was the age-old story of colonization." Nasrollah Entezam of Iran, former president of the Assembly, attacked the French and British position that the UN has no competence in the case. He stated that the peace of the world would not "tolerate" a continuation of colonialism.

The colonial powers hang together, because none of them are without guilt. In the Trusteeship Council of powers that their major conthe General Assembly, Brit- cern is with freedom and deand Syria) to take up the matter of a village of the Wameru tribe in Tanganyika which was driven from its land by the British because they wished to settle a group of white men there. The their homes to the ground in

British have been applying the old imperialist method of punishing whole villages for any support to the struggle of the nationalists. a technique which was brought to a high level of perfection and brutality by the Nazis and Stalinists, and which is the common practice in Malava.

In every one of these cases the United States either abstains or joins the colonial powers. The Russians and their satellites join in with the economically backward countries, although when investigations into such "domestic" matters as slave labor in Russia are at stake they also take a walk from the deliberative bodies. In most cases the governments which are seeking to put the European colonial powers on the spot make a strong effort to differentiate themselves from the objectives of the Stalinists in supporting them.

UN'S PURPOSE

The creation of the United Nations was a response to the ardent desire of the peoples of the world for peace after the last war. Independent socialists pointed out at the time that the UN could not solve the problem of war, as its roots lie in the imperialist conflicts among the great powers, and particularly between the United States and Russia. They insisted that it is a mistake for movements which are seeking to insure peace to put reliance on the UN, or to concrete their efforts on support to this body as a solution to international conflicts of a major character.

But the UN has served very well as a world sounding board for the propaganda of both sides in the cold war, and now it is also serving as an excellent soundingboard for the grievances of the colonial peoples against their masters. This possibility was foreseen by the framers of the charter, and they did everything they could to forestall it. And although it is hardly likely that any action will result from these efforts of the weaker nations, they have succeeded in exposing the pious claim of the Western mocracy.



Speaker: Jack Maxwell 8:30 p.m. 114 W. 14th St.

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LABOR ACTION



The Struggle in South Africa: Malan Government Provokes Riots

Material Gathered from Eye-Witnesses Proves Police Foment Violence

By HARRY S. WARNER

That the defiance of unjust laws campaign in the Union of South Africa was peaceful, disciplined, and non-racial in character is beyond argument. In less than six months it spread to most large towns, and caught the imagination of the Non-European peoples as no previous political movement had done, but not a single violent incident could be attributed to it.

During the trials of the African and Indian leaders of the Campaign (twenty leaders are on trial in Johannesburg and fifteen in Port Elizabeth) the Crown witnesses have admitted under cross-examination that the Campaign was conducted in a well disciplined manner, that it was not aimed at the Europeans but at unjust laws, that it was a peaceful protest against grievances without any encouragement or suggestion of violence.

Most of these witnesses were detectives from the Special Political Branch of the C.I.D., who had attended numerous public meetings held to further the Campaign and had reported the speeches of the leaders and organizers. There was evidence of large groups of volunteers being arrested by a single policeman. There was evidence that where witnesses were ill-treated, they remained calm and refused to be provoked.

Indictment Refused

At the end of the preparatory examination in Port Elizabeth (where the campaign had its greatest success) the magistrate refused to indict the accused persons on a charge of incitement to public violence, even in the highly technical sense of that term in South African law. He said he was satisfied from the evidence that the Campaign was peaceful and nonviolent.

Then suddenly, between October 18th and November 9th, at the point where the Campaign was threatening to become a mass movement in the towns, and was begining to spread to the countryside, violent clashes with the police took place in four towns, widely separated.

The first occurred on October 18th in New Brighton Location, Port Elizabeth, where eleven people were killed and at least twenty-seven were injured by gunfire; most of them seriously. The second occurred on November 3rd at the Denver Hostel, Johannesburg, where three Africans were killed and five injured. All had been shot by the police. The third occurred on November 8th at No. 2 Location, Kimberley, where thirteen Africans were killed and at least seventyeight injured, again all as a result of shooting by the police. The fourth occurred on November 9th at East London where thirteen people were killed and at least fifty injured.

Here again all the Africans who had been. killed or injured had been fired on by the police. Actually the number injured is far greater than stated here. In each case the first action of the police, after "quiet" had been restored, was to go around the hospitals and arrest all those they had shot, on the theory apparently that the receipt of a bullet wound was proof that the victim had been rioting. The result is that numerous families are concealing their wounded even to the extent of not calling medical assistance.

Europeans Killed

Three Europeans who were in the New Brighton Location, and two who were in the East London Location at the time of the events, were killed by rioting Africans. Those killed in New Brighton were the owner of a cinema, his son, and a man who was taking some of his workers home on his lorry. Those killed in East London were a Catholic nun, who had been working as a medical practitioner in the location, and an insurance representative. The murders of these people, some of them people who were in a real sense friends of the Africans, has dismayed responsible opinion in South Africa, Afri-

Americans for South African Resistance in their current bulletin dealing with the struggle of the native peoples for their democratic and national rights, carries an account of what has happened there in recent weeks. The bulletin describes the author of the report as a "highly responsible man who has had occasion to investigate professionally the recent riots, and who writes under the nom de plume of Harry S. Warner."

We are reprinting his report because we believe it to be an authentic description of events there, fully corroborated by press reports all over the world. His document points up the factors behind the struggle and the role of the highly reactionary, nationalist government of Malan, as the instiaator of the violence and oppression of the native people and the thousands of Indians who reside in South Africa. From time to time LABOR ACTION will take up other aspects of the African situation, but we believe this story is an excellent introduction to understanding what is happening in one part of that great continent.

Needless to say, LABOR ACTION does not necessarily agree with all the views expressed by Mr. Warner.-Ed.

can as well as European. They have alienated much sympathy which many Europeans felt toward the Defiance Campaign. Among the more irresponsible Europeans they have created something near to panic and hysteria, and the entire Union cabinet have used the events to unloose a campaign of anti-African and anti-Indian race hatred and terrorism such as even South Africa has seldom seen.

There has been a rush by European civilians to buy arms; women's organizations have called meetings to demand more police protection; farmers are offering the services of themselves and their rifles to help "handle" the situation; there is pressure to call out the Skiet Kommandos, the armed pro-Malan, civilian auxiliary of the Defense Force.

But the facts about the riots, particularly the immediate causes, have not been made available to the public. Although urged by large sections of the public and press to hold an enquiry, the government refuses to do so. The facts cannot be discussed in the newspaper now, because they are sub judice, while the police carry out leis-



urely investigations with a view to criminal prosecution sometime hence. All the public are left with are the police reports which are suspect because the police were participants in the riots, and the statements of cabinet ministers which are even more so because the cabinet ministers are making the most unashamed and reckless political capital out of the events.

Mr. Swart Has Explanation

Mr. Swart, minister for justice, has given an immediate and all too ready explanation-the riots are the direct result of incitement by the leaders of the Defiance Campaign. He has stated that the riots "were simply anti-white." He and other ministers have said that they are an extension of the Mau Mau movement to South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd, minister for native affairs, has blamed the New Brighton riot on the "libe eral" policies of the Port Elizabeth City Council, the inference being that anything resembling decent treatment of the African population must lead to riot and murder. Other ministers have blamed the English language press for supporting the Defiance Campaign, the United Nations and the overseas press for its hostility to the Malan government and hence encouragement to. the African population. (With a general election coming off next April, there is a clear purpose in all this.)

This wild and contradictory clamor is intended to stampede European voters away from the United Party, and gain their support for the strong-arm Native policy of the Nationalist government. Now the true facts about the riots are beginning to be known, mainly as the result of investigations by lawyers engaged in the defence of persons arrested and facing charges arising out of the rists. They reveal an appalling state of affairs; that the police on the direct instigation of Mr. Swart, their minister of justice. have been firing on the slightest provocation, and in some cases without provocation, killing innocent people, stirring up riots by indiscriminate shooting, then justifying the shooting as being necessary to put down the riots. These are grave accusations but they are made with a realization of their gravity; the evidence leaves little doubt that they are true.

Let us deal firstly with the charge against Mr. Swart: that he deliberately instigated the shootings. Well, on this we have Mr. Swart's own admissions. On November 2nd at Klipkoppies he stated:

"The police have instructions to take drastic

Shoot First, Talk Later

action where there is a threat of a clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. They will strike when necessary and they will shoot when necessary. So-called innocent bystanders should get out of the way when there are signs of trouble. If they are so innocent what are they doing at trouble spots? The police have instructions to act and to act swiftly and they have my support. The organizers of the Defiance Campaign should heed this warning."

Note that this order requires the police to shoot, not in defense of lives (the only time a policeman or anyone is legally permitted to shoot) but when there is a threat of a clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. Not even a clash but the threat of one. What amounts to such a threat is a question for the police officer to decide, and his decision will of course depend on how frightened or how trigger happy he happens to feel. If he thinks angry looks amount to a threat he is entitled to shoot, and he would * have Mr. Swart's support for his action.

On the 15th of November, 1952, at a Nationalist Party meeting in the Free State, he again admitted that he had given these orders to the police:

"I have instructed police officers not to wait until their men are killed or wounded in riots be-

fore they fire. They have been told to shoot first. The government will deal with the unruly elements with all the force at its disposal."

This conception of a shoot-first-and-talk-afterwards police force is in line with Mr. Swart's way of thinking. On the 30th of April, he complained that the police "are sometimes a little too soft."

people get hurt."

police.

started manufacturing them?

Police Break Up Meeting

In East London the trouble started when the police came to break up an open air prayer meeting. Although there was a ban on all meetings in the Location, special permission had been granted by the chief magistrate to hold this one. While the preacher was reading from the Bible to a crowd of about two hundred, two lorryloads of armed police drove up. The preaches was reading about the oppression of the Israelites. The policeman in charge, a junior officer, decided that he could not permit such subversive theology, permission or no permission, and he ordered the crowd to disperse within five minutes. The meeting immediately broke up.

In less than two minutes and while people were walking away, the police officer ordered the African constables to make a baton charge which was immediately followed by a bayonet charge by the European constables. Before the crowd was driven off the square, shots were fired and a man was killed. Almost everyone injured on the square whether by batons, bayonets, or bullets, had been attacked from behind. The police then climbed into their lorries and drove up and down the main streets of the Location firing at anybody and into houses. One man was killed while sitting in his kitchen reading a newspaper. One man was killed and two wounded while having a beer party in a house. Dozens were injured. A woman belonging to one of the religious sects, wearing a red robe and carrying a cross, came round a corner unaware that there was trouble. A policeman jumped off the lorry, ran up, and bayoneted her, severely injuring her leg. Then the police returned to the police station. Nobody had attacked the police in any way—it would have been suicide to do so.

Mr. Gwentshe, the chairman of the African National Congress in East London, went to the police station and asked to be allowed to drive through the Location in a car with a loudspeaker to calm the people. Permission was granted. Mr. Gwentshe returned to his house and was fitting the loud-speaker to his car when he saw that the police had followed him in their lorries. He saw a policeman taking aim at him with a rifle; the shot killed a man standing next to him.

Then the police again drove through the Location firing into the houses. There are bullet holes in houses all over the Location, many several miles from the scene of any rioting. Now rioting started, first with stone throwing, and later with the burning of buildings. It is believed that at this stage the Europeans were

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On the 6th of August he said:

"If the police go beyond their powers in isolated cases, they should not be condemned in view of their difficult task. It is just too bad if

On the 19th of September, he said:

"Only the police can save South Africa from chaos," thus leaving no doubt that in Swart's mind South Africa will in future be ruled by the

After such persistent and unambiguous inextement to shoot is it any wonder that the police soon found occasions to do so? Is it any surprise that if there were no occasions they soon

killed. The police did not stay to put down the riot which they had stirred up. They packed off a few more people at random, fired into some more houses, and then drove back to the police station. They were not on hand to stop the burning of buildings, the municipal offices, a welfare centre, and church, which they certainly knew about because they could see the flame and smoke. By then it was evening. That night they stayed at the police station, which is on the edge of the Location, with guns propped on the window-sills firing into the houses.

The Denver Shootings

At Denver, Johannesburg, the police sniped at Africans standing on the balconies of the Hostel at a time when there was quiet and no threat of disturbances. Earlier there had been some trouble in which stones were thrown and windows broken, but nobody injured. Feelings were high in the Hostel on that day, because the municipality had raised the rents by 80 per cent, and the tenants had decided not to pay the increased rental until they had made representations to the Native Affairs Department. One man did not abide by the decision and went to pay the increased amount. A crowd tried to mob him and he ran for safety into the superintendent's office. Then a crowd of tenants joined by some people from a nearby beer-hall began throwing stones, breaking windows outside the Hostel. Several lorry loads of armed police arrived, and the stone throwing immediately stopped. Most of the people in the Hostel had taken no part in the stone throwing.

As the police gathered at the gate, the Hostel tenants stood on the balconies, which surround a quadrangle, watching the police gathering at the gate below. For half an hour nothing happened. Then someone must have remembered Mr. Swart's orders, because suddenly there was a burst of firing by the police. A man on the first balcony was killed, and one on the second balcony injured. People disappeared from the balconies into the rooms behind. The firing stopped, and the people thought that it was safe to come out. As they did so the police began picking them off. Again they disappeared and waited for some ten minutes before coming out again to attend to the dead and wounded. Again the police waited and sniped at them as they came out. All those killed were shot through the head. Of those injured two were shot in the head and one through the chest.

Then to round off the day, the police arrested the three wounded men and the three leading figures on the Tenants Committee. They are being charged with public violence. Two of the three committee men were not even at the Hostel that afternoon. They were discussing the new rents at a meeting with the Tenants Committee of a neighboring Hostel, and they arrived back only when the shooting was over. And this, more or less, is the pattern of the other riots.

Kimberley and Port Elizabeth

At Kimberley there had been dissatisfaction about the management of the municipal beerhall, and a boycott had been organized. In enforcing the boycott, an argument took place with some Africans who wanted to enter the beerhall. A policeman assaulted a woman by hitting her on the head with his handcuffs. This infuriated the bystanders and they began throwing stones; then they overturned and burnt a municipal lorry parked nearby.

A bus-load of police armed with rifles and stenguns arrived and although their arrival put an end to all disturbances, they fired point blank into the crowd of Africans gathered around the beer-hall. Then, as in East London, they drove through the streets of the Location firing at anyone they saw and into the houses. Among those killed was a woman carrying a six-months-oldbaby on her back. Then, having stirred up the entire location, they returned to the police station. After that furious mobs set fire to the location offices, the beer-hall, and other evidences of the white man's administration.

At Port Elizabeth, a railway policeman had tried to arrest an African for failing to pay an extra charge for a tin of paint he was carrying with him on the train. An argument started and a friend of the man came to his assistance. There was a scuffle and the railway policeman pulled out his revolver and shot and killed the friend. This was witnessed by a crowd, mainly women, on the railway platform. They ran screaming into the location and spread the story. After a while several hundred Africans came out of the location to the railway station, some of them throwing stones. Police reinforcements arrived and again they fired point blank into the crowd. Again, they drove through the location firing into the houses. When they left, a furious mob ran through the location, burning down the cinema and killing the owner and his son; they burnt the post office and other buildings and they killed a European bringing his workers home on a lorry.

How to Stir Up a Riot

There is one thing the police have learned from these events-how to stir up a riot. There is in all the locations and townships a feeling of dumb frustration and subdued anger which requires only a spark to set it off. In addition to this there is a criminal element known as Tsostis. This element, consisting mainly of young gangsters, has been produced by slum conditions, by poverty, and most of all by the workings of the pass laws, which make it difficult for many youngsters to obtain work. They give up the attempt to work and live by crime. They prey on their own people by robberies and assaults and many of them rob and assault the Europeans. When there are shootings and the people's anger is aroused, the conditions for the Tsotsis to take control are created. They do so, leading the violent outbursts of burning and killing.

One would think that if the government genuinely wished to stop riots they would permit responsible African leaders, such as Mr. Gwentshe, to remain at the leadership of their communities, particularly when events of this sort take place. But this is not the policy of the government. Throughout the Eastern Province all the well known leaders have been prohibited from attending "any gathering." What this means is not quite clear; that is, whether they are prohibited from standing in bus queues or attending cinemas or sitting down to eat with their families. It is clear, however, that they may not address any public meetings. As one of these leaders has said: "The government are putting the Tsotsis in the leadership of the African people."

This is not as far-fetched as it sounds. There are other signs that the government do not wish a responsible leadership to develop. In the Western Native areas of Johannesburg, where a gang of hooligans have dispossessed two hundred law abiding families of their houses, forcing them to live on an open square, no action whatever has been taken against the hooligans. It is the government's policy to create as much unrest as possible and then to shoot down all signs of it. There is no other explanation for the events described in this article.

The Passive Resistance Campaign, peaceful, disciplined, and non-racial, was something it could not handle by ordinary means. It has decided to convert it from a passive into a violent campaign.





(Continued from page 1) hind the true liberals in Congress, in state legislatures, and local governing bodies. Encourage. them to make strong fights for measures in the public interest and against raids of special vested interests." The word "encourage" is a diplomatic euphemism. It seems to mean: "demand,

In this mood of mobilizing for difficult days, the convention elected Walter P. Reuther president of the CIO to replace the late Philip Murray. Joe Curran, head of the National Maritime Union, seconded Reuther's nomination, calling for a cold and sober analysis of the political scene. We need a fighting, dynamic leadership down the hard, long road ahead, he told the delegates, and Reuther can give that kind of leadership. The big unions wanted a man who could arouse the enthusiasm of the ranks and whose name, stature, and past career could

After election, Reuther called upon the CIO as he has called upon his own UAW, to "recreate the crusading spirit of the CIO." He warned "the fat men on the plush cushions in the cocktail bars of the millionaires clubs" that any attempt to crush the labor movement would be repulsed. The CIO, he declared, was ready to settle its grievances by amicable discussions around the bargaining table; but if need be, the unions would stand together and

In the same spirit, the convention voted unanimously to reopen unity negotiations with the AFL. At the opening session a cheering audience heard Maurice Tobin, secretary of labor, call for reunification. "The past gains of the American workingmen and women are in jeopardy. Their future progress is in doubt. This is a time to close ranks and present a united front against labor's enemies. This is a time, more than any other, for unity in the

Unity without Capitulation

But the enthusiasm for unity was no sign of capitulation to craft unionism. Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union, and Allan S. Haywood, CIO executive vice-president, adamantly insisted upon unity based on equality. Rieve demanded terms that would allow industrial unionism "to live and to grow." In electing Reuther, the leaders of big industrial unions were choosing a man to lead them who could exact favorable concessions from powerful and jealous craft unions.

To cement cordial relations with the AFL the convention telegraphed unanimous congratulations to Martin Durkin upon his selection as secretary of labor. The telegram undoubtedly served another purpose: it proffered a conciliatory hand to Eisenhower to exploit the rift between him and Taft. Durkin had just announced that he felt the Taft-Hartley Law might be amended to satisfy labor. This annoying fact was ignored. A resolution on the T-H Law emphatically demanded outright repeal,

Unanimity prevailed on every issue, except one: election of a president to replace Murray. Here a bitter fight raged that for a moment posed the ominous possibility of a split. Even after defeat was certain, Haywood stubbornly insisted upon a roll call vote to demonstrate the strength of Reuther's opposition. But by the time the chairman's gavel pounded out adjournment, the looming cloud of split seemed dissipated. Reuther and Haywood, and the spokesmen for all the big unions publicly pledged to stand united. Reuther promised no reprisals against his rivals. His opponents promised loyal support. Their sincerity seemed genuine, above all, because their common interest binds them together. On this note of

In true tradition of official unanimity, the real fight never reached the floor; a public vote couldn't be avoided, but the delegates heard only polite nominating speeches and a formal roll call. In normal times, all labor leaders ly noble, able, self-sacrif

But an irrepressible, if concealed, struggle erupted after Murray's death. It raged in conference chambers before the convention and in hotel rooms during the sessions in Atlantic City. Reuther was negotiating with the big unions and required no public rallies or caucuses to reach the few strong international leaders. Mike Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, organized a temporary mass caucus of small international unions and tiny unattached locals to insure their last ditch support for Haywood; but In private, shielded from the curious investigations of re-

Ludicrous cloak and dagger devices were invented to penetrate the mysterious doings at Atlantic City. One reporter was supposed to have hidden in a closet to ferret out Haywood secrets. Another pretended to be an international board member to gain admittance to a meeting of a big union. Joe Curran tried to sit in at a Haywood caucus of "small locals." "What small union do you represent?" asked chairman Mike Quill. "The same kind that you do, Mike," was the reply. But Curran was forced to leave the meeting for these "disruptive" tactics. What happened on the convention floor sheds little light on the significance of Reuther's victory; an examination of the opposing forces and their aims is neces-

Basic Unions for Reuther

When Secretary James Carey concluded the roll call, the vote stood at 3,079,181 for Reuther to 2,613,103 for Haywood. [Some 600 delegates cast votes in proportion

to the number of members they represented. An intricate arithmetical device was employed to inflate the total membership of the CIO which obviously cannot claim 5,700,000 members. If anything, this device exaggerated Haywood's relative strength.] But these figures alone do not fully explain the line-up. Haywood had the support of the Steel Workers, the Communications Workers, and the Packinghouse Workers. But that ends the list of decisive mass unions which voted for him. His column was filled out by the votes of small, minor unions, of 119 out of 131 tiny local unions, and of most of the local industrial union councils. If Haywood had the claque, Reuther had the votes. The decisive mass unions were for him: Auto (of course), Amalgamated Clothing, Textile, Oil, Rubber, and the Electrical Workers.

As at all national CIO [and AFL] conventions, the majority of delegates were not workers in the shops but officials of international unions and paid members of the central staff. Obviously, the element of "rank and file versus leadership" which is often intertwined in inner union struggles was not present here. Neither was it primarily a dispute of "small unions versus large unions," although Haywood tried to give it that character.

The line-up of opposing forces could be roughly summarized in the following formula: on one side: the small-time CIO organizational staff of appointed and dependent officials, given power by a conservative Steel Workers union and backed by an even more conservative Communication Workers union. On the other side: a progressive UAW backed by the entrenched leaders of powerful, independent, mass industrial unions.

Haywood's Supporters

As executive vice-president, Haywood commanded the CIO apparatus staffed by his loyal aides. Through this post he dominated or controlled isolated local industrial unions which depend directly on the national, state or city central bodies. He influenced small internationals, too weak to stand on their own, frequently pushing his men into key posts. In the same way, he could swing the votes of industrial union councils. R. J. Thomas and Richard Leonard, defeated in the UAW some years ago by Reuther, came to this convention as delegates. They both found berths on the CIO staff through Murray and under Haywood. Leonard cast the votes of the small Insurance Workers 'Union; Thomas, of the Department Store Organizing Committee. When their choice was announced-for Haywood, against Reuther-no one was astounded. They typify other less known but numerous and articulate Haywood supporters.

This staff (with the Steel union), bound by personal loyalties, resigned to sliding along in the same old rut, constituted a conservative, right bloc. Off the record, they denounced Reuther as a radical surrounded by socialists and longhairs. They cannot quite understand Reuther and so they suspect him. All those beholden to Haywood faced the elections with trepidation. The defeat of their chief and sponsor could be a life and death matter: the staff faced a possible shakeup followed by the tragic necessity of seeking work of some other kind.

These men were preoccupied with posts and perquisites in the narrowest sense. The public speeches for Haywood, oozing with nostalgia and sentimentality expressed their view of life. Is it too much, they asked, for a man who is coming to the end of his allotted span, who has given unflagging service to the workers, and who remains as one of the dwindling number of first founders to finish his career in glory amidst grateful followers? By insisting on a roll call they defied protocol and tradition. They put on an amazing demonstration of strength and solidity to the very end, resisting all temptation to climb on the winning bandwagon.

And they finally won important concessions. The post of executive vice-president, previously filled by presidential appointment, was given constitutional status and specific powers. Haywood was elected by the convention to fill this post. He and the staff at his disposal won a certain independence from the new president. Reuther.

Labor's Broader Interests

Despite these concessions, however, the election of Reuther was a triumph of the broad interests and aims of the labor movement and its officialdom over the narrower interests of the Haywood officialdom. Not that Potofsky, Rieve, and the others necessarily represent inner democracy any better or cherish their own posts any less. But they could afford to think of other matters. They are entrenched leaders in their own right. Regardless of who was elected their positions were secure. Not faced by any disturbing possibilities, they were free to choose with their eves focused not on office chairs but on the broader needs of the labor movement as they interpreted it.

They had not come merely to give reward for past services. An entire convention session became a Murray memorial service devoted to eulogies from Potofsky, Adlai Stevenson, and Father Owen Rice of Pittsburgh. For four days, speaker after speaker rendered homage to the memory of the dead leader. Perhaps that seemed like enough recognition of the past. It was, above all, necessary to prepare for the uncertain future, when strong leadership capable of rapid adjustment to changing times had to be at the helm. And that, under the circumstances, meant Reuther.

In retrospect, some of Reuther's closest followers consider his election the most natural, if not inevitable, thing in the world. He heads the largest union; his abilities are outstanding; he is respected nationally and internationally perhaps more than any other American labor leader. And he faced the election with more than ene-third of the total votes already in his pocket.

Yet, he had to campaign intensively for weeks; his rival made an impressive showing; and the defection of only one or two of the larger unions meant defeat. His victory, while definite and unmistakable, was narrow. To pave the way, he prepared not simply in the few weeks before the convention, but in the whole period since his final victory in the UAW. He cautiously worked to over come the distrust of the labor leaders who finally selected him. In this he succeeded. But to reach the goal, he had to modify and restrain his own distinctive "Reutherism."

December 15, 1952

What Was "Reutherism"?

Reuther fought his way to the top of the UAW by heading a movement of the most militant sections of a militant union against a discredited leadership. A rank and file upsurge put him in power. In his fight he showed that it was possible to defeat the Communist Party, not by bureaucratic methods but in open political discussion.

Reuther attracted those who wanted vigorous, clean unionism, who were distrustful of bureaucratism. He criticized union officials, without naming them, who sought high salaries and ruled their unions by undemocratic means. In the face of opposition from Murray, he raised the slogans: "Wage Increases Without Price Increases" and "Open the Books" in the General Motors strike of 1945-6. The UAW, he proclaimed, would become the "vanguard in America and the architect of the future."

In 1948, he called for a new political realignment through the formation of a new progressive party, pledging to devote himself to this objective in the years to come. And in 1951, when this goal was permitted to recede, he promised to call for an emergency political conference of the labor movement in preparation for the 1952 elect tions. Although it was never incorporated into a formal written program, this is what became known as "Reutherism," a distinctive current in the labor movement, It stamped him and the union he led as the left wing; that is, as the most radical wing, in the mass workingclass move-

Reuther, not Reutherism

He has now consummated a burning ambition. He has become Walter P. Reuther, president of the CIO. But the labor leaders who elevated him to this coveted, lofty post chose Reuther but not his Reutherism. He had to make this possible for them by deemphasizing his own past. The convention heard nothing from Reuther about political realignment and of course the convention resolutions ignored it. Emil Mazey, formerly a public advocate of the formation of a labor party, managed to address the delegates on the subject of politics without distinguishing himself from anyone else. Not a labor party, not a progressive new party, not a new party of any kind did he deign to mention. These pledges are confined to periodical speeches in the UAW and are not allowed to obtrude into the general councils of labor.

In nominating Reuther, O. A. Knight of the Oil Workers Union told the delegates that when Reuther became UAW president, the union was torn by factionalism; now it is. united. He conveniently forgot that Reuther was one of the factionalists, even if the one who gained final victory. What intrigued Knight was not how Reuther came to power, i.e., by democratic rank and file struggle, but how he was able to wipe out caucus and faction life after coming to power.

In sum, Reuther's course in the past years has convinced the majority of the CIO leaders that he is safe, sane and responsible or more accurately that he will not go beyond what they consider to be safe, etc.

But this does not mean that they chose Reuther be cause he was just like Haywood, or even because he was just like themselves. For that, Haywood would have been adequate. If they did not endorse Reutherism, neither did they repudiate it. Reuther is a fitting and acceptable instrument for the CIO leaders precisely because his Reutherism remains suspended. But this has two aspects: (1) they need not be embarrassed by radical proclamations or ventures which they are not ready to endorse, and (2) Reutherism is held in reserve if the need arises. And this coincides exactly with the uncertainty with which the CIO faces the future.

Step Forward for CIO

Reuther has not yet become the authentic leader of the CIO, although he is its president. For that, he would have to become more or less indistinguishable from those who elected him, or they would have to move toward what Reutherism symbolized. At the moment, he is the instrument which they have selected to carry out their program of today or tomorrow.

Reuther has spurned the role of left-wing spur to the labor movement in favor of the more tangible prestige and powers of office. His election does not presage a swing to the left or a radical new policy for the CIO. It implies rather, a groping for a somewhat more decisive policy. It signifies that the door is held open for such a turn if and when mighty events force the labor leadership to seek new paths.

Reuther and the group around him have not fulfilled the great promises of their own program and thus have dodged the responsibility which the auto workers placed. in their hands: that of reorienting the labor movement. The election of Reuther nevertheless marks a step forward for the CIO. It frees it from the heavy hand of conservative-petty machine domination, and makes possible an easier transition to a new policy.

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