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Mean 'Reaction'?



on the Vincent case the LRB states that he had "associated" with persons "he had reason to believe" were Communists. Chief emphasis, however, is given to the fact that in the past Vincent had given "studied praise" to the Chinese Stalinists and equally "studied criticism" of Chiang Kai-shek, and that he had been "indifferent" to any evidence that Russia controlled the Chinese Stal-

If this is the sole "evidence" the LRB has been able to gather aganst Vincent, despite all the efforts put in by various government agencies on the case, it presents a pretty clear picture of what is considered to be "loyalty" in these times of the cold war. It is so clear, in fact, that even "respectable" institutions, like the New York Times, who are primarily concerned with the effects of this ruling on the efficiency of the State Department itself, are moved to editorial protest against

"Studied criticisms" of Chiang Kai-shek have been made by every informed observer on Chinese affairs who was not simply concerned with keeping reactionary governments in control of as much of the world's surface as possible.

Further, blindness to the true nature of Stalinism. and particularly of Chinese Stalinism, has been and continues to be so widespread that if this be "disloyalty" the government is in bad

The ACTU Looks Askance At Election of Reuther

By BEN HALL

In the intimate circles in which labor leaders move, one of the most impolite violations of accepted deportment is to insist upon a discussion in public of opposing views on political and organizational questions.

The CIO convention was no exception. Every resolution was adopted unanimously; everyone appeared to think exactly alike on every question. Yet the convention was climaxed by a contest between the candidates of two strong unions, auto and steel, to fill the highest post in the movement.

If we accepted the unanimity at face value, the election would seem to be exclusively merely the pitting of one unyielding personal ambition against another. We know, however, that the surface appearance of total unwavering agreement was deceptive and that the two candidates represented differing tendencies or currents Haywood, the more conservative and Reuther the more progressive.

FEARS 'LEFTISM'

Enlightening evidence along these lines appears in the December 12 issue of The Labor Leader published by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in New York City. The opinions of the ACTU and its writers are of interest because they possess an ability to detect the latent conflicts between conservative and not-soconservative labor officials and an uncanny instinct to side almost invariably with the less progressive side in any such conflict.

In his column "A Look at Labor," A. C. Touhy writes: "Granting that many of the anti-Reuther votes were cast by 'ins' who wanted to remain in, there was still a solid core of opposition based on ideological grounds."

He says further: "One critic of the situation reported: 'the Mc-"Donald group distrusts Reuther's "far-ranging Ideas of what unions sught to do in the field of political and social reform.' This group believes him to be 'addicted to what are described as socialist doc-"trines.' Regardless of the accuracy

or inaccuracy of this judgment, or even its honesty, there is little question that many of Phil Murray's disciples have a distaste for the left-wing ideology that dominated so much of the CIO's thinking in the early forties. While Reuther may be graduating into the type of leader Samuel Gompers and Sidney Hillman were, he was schooled in the socialist classroom and even if he no longer is doctrinaire himself, some of his disciples and agents are still motivated in their thinking by socialist prejudices and platforms. Consequently, his enemies think, the victory of Reuther is a victory for the ADA and the ADA is too left-wing and too doctringire for the labor leaders whose ideas of trade-unionism are traditional and Christian rather than revolutionary and secular.

"At this early stage of his presidency," Touhy continues, "no one can tell what kind of leader Reuther will be now that he is acting on a national stage. He deserves the respect he has commanded and every opportunity to follow his own genius even though the McDonald clique will be his critical opposition." And he adds a prediction, as though he had the power to hurl a threat, that if there-is any tendency toward left wingism as it is understood, it is not at all unlikely that the CIO will be split asunder.

NOT HAPPY

What the ACTU distrusts in Reuther is, above all, his "secular liberalism," characteristic of the ADA trend in national politics. Touhy is eager for unity between the AFL and CIO on his own unique grounds: "One federation would bury these secular liberals where they could do no harm. . . . Should they capture the CIO and should Eisenhower prove to be a much more progressive president than labor men previously thought, the left-wing group [that is, these liberals] will try to politicize the labor movement and push the country further to the left than it has been willing to go and further left than may be profitable for the workingman." This curious hashed-up assem-

blage of half ideas is not quite coherent but it is clear: Toughy is not happy about Reuther's vic-

LONDON LETTER

Labor Party Exec Wrestles With Nationalization Policy business which accrues between By DAVE ALEXANDER the time of denationalization and

LONDON, Dec. 17-This weekend the Labor Party National Executive met in London to discuss the formulation of new policy. Virtually every single member of the Executive attended, and the atmosphere was one of considerable friendliness and cooperation; there were no recriminations.

They discussed substantially the same problems as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers had done the week before. These were, firstly, the dollar gap of Britain, and secondly, the dollar gap of the sterling area as a whole.

Last month, the steel industry reached a peak of production. It is, of course, still nationalized, but the Conservatives have decided to denationalize it. Similarly, the road-haul transport of this country is to be sold back to speculators.

The Labor Party has unanimously agreed to renationalize both these industries, and there is a strong feeling that no speculafors will be allowed to make money out of any further compensation; a suggestion has been nade that no payment should be settled for any "goodwill" of the

renationalization.

Discussion of further measures for extension of public control were considered at the Executive meeting "within the framework of national recovery." There still seems to be a lurking suspicion that nationalization of further industries should be carried out only when these industries can be rendered more efficient. The socialist belief that the extension of public control is not just a palliative, but rather "health-giving" move seems to have escaped the notice of some of the Executive. However, the Bevan left wing has made quite clear that it is adamant on its proposals for public control.

ECONOMIC HEADACHE

This time, the Parliamentary Labor Party has taken the lead. Its executive has decided to set up working committees to study the engineering, shipbuilding, chemical and cement industries. Their decision will frame future policy. On foreign policy few decisions were made. Britain's dealings with the Commonwealth should be (Turn to last page)

tory because it holds open the possibility of a more radical development in the CIO.

THEY LIKED MURRAY

Phil Murray was undoubtedly sympathetic to the ACTU and its views: a few days before his death he spoke as an invited guest at one of its conferences. Father Charles Owen Rice, who delivered the invocation at the Murray memorial session of the CIO convention, is chaplain of the ACTU branch in the steel center. Pittsburgh. Rice, who is an active participant in the inner life of unions in the Pittsburgh area through his ACTU connections, was Murray's intimate friend.

In contrast with its sympathy for Murray's brand of conservative unionism, the ACTU has not hesitated to criticize Reutherism. The Michigan CIO News once found it necessary to publish a slashing reply to the Detroit ACTU for its attacks on the more ogressive elements in the UAW, particular against some of ather's closest followers.



One of Vpered's regular writers, I. M-ko, in an article entitled "The Crisis of Dictatorship Becomes More Serious," maintains that the most important features of the Stalinist congress was its change in the party statutes and that this change means a further tightening of dictatorship and terror.

He points particularly to the new provisions on duties of party members. He asks: Against whom dictatorship and terror required, since the resistance of private capitalist interests was broken long ago? He answers: Terror is now directed against the elements of the new classless society whch have grown out of the womb of the dictatorship and which now demand the liquidation of the new exploiting class, the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the establishment of genuine democ-

Vs. Felix devotes an article, apropos of the congress, to anaivzing the situation in the Ukraine great detail. The national

The current issue of Vpered problem, still unsolved, has recently become more acute than ever before in the history of the USSR

'Vpered' on Russian Congress

He surveys the purges in th Ukraine and lists the names of dozens of purged party secret taries, functionaries, scientists and cultural workers. Felix frequently quotes the Russian press on Ukrainian nationalism and explains the growth of nationalist moods in the Ukraine as a form of social protest by the masses against exploitation.

The present situation in the Ukraine, he explains, differs radically from that of the '30s, when the Stalinists wiped out "national deviations" such as the tendencies of Chwylow, Shumsky, Skrypnyk and Lubchenko, etc. At that time they fought against deviations among the leaders of the Ukraine, intelligentsia and highly the skilled workers: today the Stalinists combat "national deviationism" in the mines, kolkhozes and industry.

Also in this issue is a special article written for Vpered, at the invitation of its editors, by Gordon Haskell, assistant editor of LABOR ACTION. on a question which European socialists frequently ask: why there is still no labor party in America.

'Formalism' in Russia The Bureaucrats Shake Their Fist at the Mirror

By B. D. NADSON

One of the ineradicable evils of totalitarianism is what the Russian Stalinists themselves characterize as the "formal" approach of officials to their duties. The specter of "formalism" hovers like fate itself above the walls of the Kremlin, threatening to turn plans, decrees, and party directives into mere scraps of paper. For the rulers of the Kremlin "formalism," stagnation, breakiown are always lurking around the corner. Hence the party press must ncessantly, tediously, call for an end to "formalism" in the execution of party directives.

The leading article of a recent issue of Pravda (Nov. 19, 1952), for example, demanded an end to what is called "A formal approach to [party] decisions." "The might of our party," the editorial writer declares, "consists in its iron discipline, in the unity word and deed, in the high degree of active participation of Communists, in their readiness to struggle absolutely and to the end for the realization of the party line."

This, however, judging from Pravda itself, is mostly an ideal; for a few paragraphs later, the writer states: "There are not a few members of the party who bear a formal, passive relation to the matter of transforming party decisions into real life." "A formal attitude to the decisions of the party and the government," he adds further on," a passive attitude to their execution, is a vice that must be rooted out in the most merciless fashion."

It is interesting to discover that the form taken by this vice follows certain pattern. Almost invariably it is precisely decisions relating to the welfare of the working class that seem to evoke passivity and "formalism" on the part of bureaucrats. No such passivity, we may remark in passing, has been discernible in matters relating to the welfare of bureaucrats.

For example, the editorial writer singles out a certain Pyzhov, manager of a timber trust, who, in the words of the editorial, "had not taken the proper measures for the execution of the instructions concerning the con-

struction of workers' dwellings, Pravda itself, soon develop the for' the organization at the various sections of forest work of public dining halls, stores, and sewing centers."

Another aspect of "formalism" under constant attack is falsification of data relating to fulfillment of production quotas, As Pravda declares: "One of the most dangerous and evil of these manifestations of infractions of party discipline is the concealment by certain employees of the truth concerning the real state of affairs in the enterprises and institutions entrusted to them."

FEUDALIZATION

This totalitarian mess, which has obviously become a dire threat to the whole system of Stalinist power, leads everywhere to the development and consolidation of small islands of petty tyranny, to a kind of feudalization of Stalinist power. Let Pravda tell the

"At a recently convoked conference of party members of the Alma-Atin city committee, participants brought forth the following fact. Dzhangaliev, director of the Kazakh Agricultural Institute, and his deputy, have converted the institute into their own patrimony votching], and do whatever please."

The editorial writer goes on to say that these two "magnates," as he calls them, have been squandering state funds, wasting products, driving away good scientists, and suppressing criticism.

well-known double standard of social morality; or, better, adopt a "Nietzschean" attitude to society and declare: There is one morality for the slaves, another for⁹us, the rulers. Pravda puts it this way:

"A passive, formal attitude to the instructions of the party and the government leads some employees to the point where they begin to think that Soviet laws are not binding on them; they imagine that we have, as it were, two disciplines: one for the ordinary people, and another for leaders.

All this, by the way, sixteen years or so after Stalin declared socialism to be a fact in Russian

This "Nietzschean" attitude-or, more to the point, this typical attitude of the totalitarian bureaucrat—is indeed a large fact in the social psychology of Russia's ruling class, as we have pointed out before in LABOR ACTION. There is only one thing which need be added: Its best exemplars are not the petty bureaucrats who get denounced in Pravda but the denouncers themselves - the top "magnates" of the state.

On each rung of the bureau- , cratic hierarchy, the echelons be low are denounced for "formalism"-by precisely those bureaucrats who are immune to criticism from below. Thus the only way which the bureaucracy knows to attack the galloping evils of bureaucratism is-more bureaucrat-



The Theory of 'Countervailing Forces' —A New Capitalist Ideology

An Analysis of Galbraith and His Critics

Speaker: SAM FELIKS

Labor Action Hall 114 West 14 Street New York City

December 29, 1952

BY JACK WALKER

BERKELEY, Dec. 18-In San Francisco and Berkeley local Stalinist "Save-the-Rosenbergs" committees have been denied the use of public facilities for their propaganda purposes. In both cases it is clearly a matter of repressing a dissident political viewpoint, although this is much more explicit in the San Francisco case.

According to the San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 29: "Permission to use the Civic Auditorium for a meeting (Dec. 19) to protest execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted atomic spies, was withdrawn yesterday. . . .

Riordan, who runs the auditorium ... originally rejected the application on the grounds that rioting and property damage might result.

Officer Ben G. Kline, "acting with Administrative Officer] Brook's approval, overruled the property director on the grounds there was nothing in the application that might cause a riot and that every group has the right to assemble peacefully.

up' Riordan's decision." He promised a "study of the

SIGUALS MIXED

cation down.

". . . I have no sympathy for

corrected. He is the boss." The mixing of signals recorded here provides an insight into the behind-the-scenes drama being played out. The second act in the drama came when the "study of the facts" was completed. According to the Chronicle, Dec.

that purpose." The American Civil Liberties Union, seeing no denial of civil liberties in the spy case itself, wrot: out an amicus curiae ("friend of the court") brief when the Stalinists made an appeal to the State Supreme Court to set aside the city action. The Stalinists stated it was a denial of right of assembly and peaceful petitioning for a redress of grievances. The ACLU is seeking a mandate forcing a reversal of the local decision, but the court has delayed handing down a verdict until it apears that the proposed meeting time (Dec. 19) will have lapsed.

coming too hot too handle. In Berkeley last week the City Council voted 6-2 to prevent a "Save-the-Rosenbergs" committee from having access to a hall in the community theatre. The two dissident votes belonged to the liberal Mayor Laurence Cross and University of California representstive Arthur Harris, who playel a very prominent reactionary role in the California loyalty oath fight several years ago, as

These bureaucrats, according to

Bay Area City Councils Create an Issue for the Stalinists---**Civil Liberties Enter the Rosenberg Case**

"Property director Eugene

The acting Chief Administrative at he understood to be [Chief

"Frooks interrupted his vacation . . . yesterday to report that he had not approved issuance of the permit and that he 'backed

facts" when he came back next week. but again turned the appli-

the Losenbergs," Kline said, "but if we are going to run a public hall, I don't believe we can restrict its use if we don't agree with someone. My understanding was that Mr. Brooks had gone along with my theory, but I stand

"City Administrative Officer Thomas A. Brooks turned down yesterday afternoon a request for use of a hall in Civic Auditorium for a Save-the-Rosenbergs rally on Decemiar 19.... Brooks said his action was prompted by 'the character of the planned meeting' and by the numerous telephone calls, letters and postcards he had received from San Franciscans protesting the use of a municipal facility for

An unusual aspect of this case has been the lack of an editorial by the Chronicle calling for the Stalinists' rights to a hall for their political purposes, on a civil-liberties basis. Its coverage has been strictly "factual," a sign that certain things are now be-

ecutive Committee of the student government.

HARDENING

In contrast to San Francisco the council has not specifically taken a stand on the basis of political considerations. However, since a permit for the hall had already been approved by the Police Department, thereby excluding any traffic considerations, it is likely that this too is a political decision. The American Civil Liberties Union sent a letter to the Ctiy Council asking clarification on the reasons for denial of the hall

It is clear that apart from the fact that the Rosenberg case itself is not a civil-liberties but an espionage case, several new factors on the American political scene have come out of it.

(1) There has been the first sentence of capital punishment levied on spies caught during peacetime. The actual sentence was handed down under a protection of Atomic Secrets Act passed after the war. It signifies a hardening of the garrison state.

(2) The Stalinists have sought to mobilize their people around a convicted Russian spy, signifying a hardening of discipline within their own organization and among their periphery. It surely requires a greater commitment for a Stalinist to defend convicted Russian spies than a Paul Robeson rally in New York.

CITY COUNCIL PUTS IT OVER

BERKELEY, Dec. 19-The Berkeley City Council refused last night to reconsider its decision of a week ago, denying the Stalinist 'Committee to Defend the Rosenbergs" the right to set up a table at Sather Gate for petition pur-

The lengthy time required to decide this thorny question by a 7-1 vote before a full council chamber audience of 120 persons, most of whom were present pre cisely for the table issue, was all of a half minute. It took another twenty seconds to deny audience participation on the issue by the same vote of 7-1, Mayor Cross being the lone dissenter. Arthur Harris, the other dissenter last week, was not present.

The cold-blooded bureaucratic strangulation of any discussion on the issue, either among council members or by the audience, marked a new high in arrogance by a supposedly democratic instrument the Berkeley citizens. This was the only opportunity afforded citizens for protest, and it was choked off immediately, in marked contrast to the leisurely discussion given to bids on repairing street light cable in a small section of the city later in the evening

WITH HIGH HAND.

When a letter from the "Committee to Defend the Rosenbergs was read under Communications, the subject of reconsideration was thrown on the floor. The letter of the American Civil Liberties Union asking the council to show due cause for denying the table was summarily dismissed by a motion to send a copy of last week's council minutes to the ACLU-on the basis of which ACLU had become interested in the case-and to file their letter unread. Other letters presented were also filed unread

The manner in which the audience was finally allowed to participate was in the form of individual two-minute speeches to be delivered after all council business had been completed. The audience accordingly settled down and waited until the fairly short agenda was finished.

When a liberal asked that the previously unread ACLU letter be read with the idea of making the council reply to its questions, Councilman Richards was quick

alumni representative on the Ex- to say that the material had been covered last week and that a copy of last week's minutes were enough to answer it. When a spokesman for the Student Civil Liberties Union got up to deliver a prepared address to the council Councilman Beckley asked him if he would rather not mail his prepared statement in, rather than read it. This was the same councilman who loudly refused earlier in the meeting to make a statement on his reasons for opposing reconsideration, relying solely on his mechanical right to cast a no vote. He had been sitting apoplectically in his chair, his face a beetred, ever since the original letter asking reconsideration had been read.

ISL SPEAKS

Bob Martinson, representing the Independent Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League, then made part of a prepared address to the council:

"The basic issue which the council must decide tonight is the question of whether a permit for a table at Sather Gate should be denied to a political group on the grounds of the character of its political aims. This is basically a question of civil liberties since it involves the right of citizens to peacefully petition for a redress of grievances.

"The organizations which I represent wish to ask the council to reconsider its refusal and to grant these organizations the table which they ask for.

'Undoubtedly certain members of the council voted to refuse the Communist Party front organizations involved because their aim here in Berkelev (as it is all over the country), is to defend atomic spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Although many liberals oppose the death sentence for the Rosenbergs, the Communist Party and its front organizations have started this campaign because they defend the crime of atomic espionage so long as such espionage is committed for their masters, the Russian totalitarian state. These people, who act as a political fifth column in America for the purpose of defending and advancing the aims and interest of the Russian regime, hope to transform the Rosenberg case into a case of civil liberties

"Unfortunately the Berkeley City Council members who voted to refuse the permit have aided them in



getting local publicity for THEIR cause and for THEIR world-wide propaganda....

"If the members of the Berkeley City Council have opinions on the Rosenberg case, they have a perfect right-as citizens --- to express these opinions When, however, they reach out and try to suppress the free exchange of ideas, they are attempting to transform the Council into a board of censorship, a body of self-appointed judges which attempts to screen out what it con siders good and bad ideas. This needless to say is not the purpose for which the council was elected.

Martinson's speech was the only sharp attack on the Stalinists politics which at the same time defended their civil liberties in the

After all of about 23 speakers had finished and no more were being taken, the council was presented with the chance to reconsider its action, as appealed to by one of the final few speakers. Their response was a deafening silence.

The usual "security personnel" of the city of Berkeley and the ubiquitous FBI men monitored the meeting as per local custom.

The Bill of Rights in Los Angeles

'Patriots' Celebrate the Anniversary Amid a Gala Witchhunt

By HAROLD WEST

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 19-While the nation's educators and columnists are reminding us that this week is Bill of Rights Week. commemorating the 161st anniversary of that document, the Los Angeles Board of Education and the California State Senate Un-American Activities Committee, like many other official bodies and their private supporters throughcut the U.S., are doing their bit to undermine the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

The drive in Los Angeles against "subversives" in the city's schools, i.e., ostensibly against Stalinist party members in the faculties, from kindergarten to college, has been smoldering for years. It flared up twice this year: first, when LA County Counsel H. W. Kennedy, in a 25-page opinion, advised the Board of Education that the city can legally fire Communist Party teachers or those refusing to testify before legislative committees about their political affiliations (see LABOR ACTION of July 20), and, second, the more recent case involving the dismissal proceedings against teachers Mrs. Frances Eisenberg, socialstudies teacher at Fairfax High School, and Mrs. Jean B. Wilkenson of Ramona High, wife of the investigated former city housing official Frank Wilkenson.

INQUISITION

These teachers, like many contemporaries, were guilty of taking the Bill of Rights too literally, too seriously, of standing on the Bill of Rights before bodies of inquisitors. These teachers are dismissed and effectively blacklisted by the various boards as the inquisition gains impetus from cold-war reaction and fear psychology.

Now Los Angeles is again in the news as its Board of Education calls upon the State Senate Un-American Committee to "investigate the loyalty" of 26,000 emlovees of Los Angeles city schools (LA Mirror, Dec. 16). As the Bill of **Rights Committee prepares to host** high school speakers at a Grand **Biltmore luncheon**, where the "freedom heritage" message will be raked over from the viewpoint chiefly of big business, the Senate group announces that it has "quietinvestigated the records of employees for several school

weeks. This investigation was requested when the local board reported it had run into "legal restrictions" in questioning employees suspected of disloyalty.

Said Supt. Alexander J. Stoddard: "This is in no sense a witchhunt. Everybody is being checked, including myself. I don't think anyone can possibly take offense, except those who have something to hide." Stoddard's statement, sincerely conceived or not. is typical of the new "American" deology that prevails in the businessman-loaded councils of education on the management level.

It is the ideology of the reactionary government spokesmen as well, to which some liberals have subscribed in part, so far as the red-scare angle is concerned. The cold war is the conditioning influence that guaranteed its mushrooming growth. The Fair Dea set the precedent for these inquisi torial methods, aimed at conformity in the classroom, by initiating the "subversive" lists and loyalty probes in government jobs under the then Attorney-General Tom Clark, since elevated for this work to the austere bench of the highest court.

MARKED VICTIMS

A special loyalty hearing is planned here within two weeks. the press reports. At this hearing there will be complaints charging 55 persons with subversive activity or "questionable" loyalty.

What questionable loyalty means is clearly indicated from past cases here and elsewhere. The teacher or employee who was indiscreet enough to attend a meeting of an unpopular group, to leave 'auestionable'' book or publication lying around, who "persistently associated with minority persons" (as the evidence went in one case), or the teacher who refused to sign a loyalty oath or played up "social significance" in socialstudies classes—these will be victims of the new probe.

The 55 persons under suspicion will likely grow to bigger dimensions as the "subversive" hunt widens and the criteria for guilt become more vague and more inclusive.

Ironic as it may appear to even the least discerning, the city's educational officials prepare simul-Rights at gala school and private

gatherings in commemoration of an American heritage. At the same time they lift their boots to trample on the principles underlying the Bill of Rights document and the freedoms associated with it in the most precise and concrete terms.

Only a public shaken with fear and anxiety, its political sensitivity dulled by increasing hammer blows, could fail to see the implicit irony and disgusting contradictions between the actions and the abstract protestations of the public guardians.

INTO THE PIT

As the Bill of Rights festivities get under way to provide audiences for the hackneyed slogans of ingoist "patriots," the state Un-American Committee in collaboration with the LA School Board prepares its lists and sharpens its nife. The man who made this committee so powerful, the father of this group, is the now, discredited ex-Senator Jack Tenney, the running-mate of General MacArthur on the recent Christian Nationalist ticket sponsored by fascist Gerald L. K. Smith. But like his congressional contemporary, jailbird Parnell Thomas, the work of Jack Tenney is carried on just as arduously by his successors, the new exemplars of "bong-fide 100 per cent Americanism.

Yesterday Clarence Manion. former dean of Notre Dame University's Law School, spoke at the Freedom of Speech press luncheon at the Biltmore Hotel. More than 200 members of the press, radio. television and business groups heard him say: "One of the high prices of freedom is moral selfcontrol.

Was he perhaps pointing to the lack of "moral self-control" of the LA School Board and the state witchhunters? Apparently not. Speaking on the dangers threatening the Bill of Rights, Manion declared that we need legislative action to prevent the government from "falling into the pit of statemade tyranny." We can agree with the words, though legislation by itself is not reliable. We do not agree with the context of "liber-" he had in mind as he spoke to the ideologists of big business who demand economic "freedoms" for themselves and political restrictaneously to eulogize the Bill of tions for unpopular creeds and movements.

rage Four

socialist democracy and against the two systents of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Statinism.

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

Malinism, in Russia and wherever it helds newer, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unreleating 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 Stallaism 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. Indemendent Socialism stands for building and scengthening 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 straggle 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 as lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

INTERESTED?
Get Acquainted —
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I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.
\Box I want to join the ISL.
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The Independent Socialist League stands for By HAL DEAPER issued by Students for Democratic Action on its

national convention at Brandeis University, containing its resolutions and other convention documents. In it we find a curious reference to LABOR ACTION and, more specifically, to an article of my wn; a footnote on it would not be amiss. The SDA report prints a document on "Civil Liberties-Backbone of Democracy" which was

presented to the convention by Albert C. Ettinger. Ettinger, in the course of his discussion, quotes us -and in a most peculiar way. in general the SDA convention adopted a very good and forthright position on civil liberties. Ettinger's article is a strong and (in this day and age) unusally vigorous argument for "unqualified" support of complete civil liberties for unpopular po-

We have just received a copy of the report

Note, Please: This Is

those liberals who seek to draw a line somewhere to justify suppression of opinion. Needless to say, the material which he presents welcome and refreshing, as a strong note in a iberal movement which has been getting weak in the knees in the face of the continuing reactionary onslaught against democratic rights and processes.

litical opinions, from a liberal point of view. The

burden of his attack, in fact, is directed against

Right or Privilege?

Considering the vigor with which he went after the weak-kneed liberals, perhaps Ettinger felt called upon also to find a way of making sure that he would not be taken for one of those radical socialists who write for LABOR ACTION, with which (after all) he is in agreement on the subject of civil liberties.

Whether that guess is wild or not, the fact is that he does unaccountably insist on ringing us in while arguing against one type of liberal backslider. These are the liberals who "assert that Communists and Fascists have no right to due process of law: that we only accord them privilege.

To the accompaniment of my own ex-post-facto cheers, he dissociates himself from this approach and attacks those who hold it. To me, as apparently to Ettinger, it seems obvious as ABC that anyone who speaks of civil liberties for opposing (even hateful) points of view as a privilege and not a right (precisely one of those democratic rights which make up "civil liberties") has already gone a long way to breaking down the very concept on which the fight for democratic rights has long been waged by both consistent liberals and genuine socialists. For the only purpose of substituting "privilege" for "right" is to imply that it is revocable whenever the state finds the said "privilege" inexpedient.

Having made this excellent point, he then goes on to write:

"It is interesting to note how closely this expedient point of view corresponds with a current Marxist interpretation. Quoting from Hal Draper in the July 14 issue of LABOR ACTION we find that 'The error lies in the notion that it is the totalitarians' rights that we are primarily concerned about when we defend the principles of civil liberties. It is not. We are not defending the latter [the totalitarian-H. D.] for his sake, but for oursand by "ours" we mean the masses of people who need democratic rights as an instrument in their fight for a better life.

"This Marxist [continues Ettinger] is more a democrat than many liberals. He at least implies that totalitarians do have rights, although he is little concerned about them as such. . . .'

Disconcerting Experience

If the reader has read that carefully, he will have noted what puzzles us. Ettinger introduces his quote from LABOR AC-TION with the statement that it "closely corresponds"



to the viewpoint of those bad liberals who say that the Communists and fascists have no right to due process but only enjoy a "privilege." However, after presenting the whole quotation (and we must be properly grateful that he does do so), he finds that there is not a word in it which justifies him in claiming the "close" correspondence. For he thereupon notes that LABOR ACTION did indeed speak of the totalitarians' rights. (In fact, that is what the quoted article was all about!) And there is not a hint in the quotation of the privilege-right distinction. He is even moved to express the opinion that "this Marxist is more a democrat than many liberals"-which, I imagine, is intended as a compliment and therefore not to caviled at.

Primarily About an SDAer's Quote

But while taking due note of the fact that the quotation which he has offered in evidence has literally nothing to do with the point with which he started out-a disconcerting experience which writers sometimes run into-Ettinger is not willing to strike it out of his text and start all over again with something more relevant. He unfortunately insists on making something out of it, regardless. And so he changes the subject by writing that, although Draper "implies" that totalitarians do have rights. "he is little concerned about them as such."

Now, here again, if he had looked back at the quotation which he had given, he would have found out with a minimum of difficulty that what we had actually written was an obvious truism: namely, that it is not the totalitarians' rights that we are "primarily concerned about. . . ." I have no wish to inquire, even facetiously, whether Ettinger claims to be "primarily" concerned about the totalitarians, rather than about the effect of the suppression of THEIR rights on the rest of society. Surely he agrees with me

Common Ground

To help reconcile Ettinger to the perhaps distasteful realization that he has not found a point of disagreement with our views on civil liberties, I might mention another fact. The passage which he quotes was really a plagiarism on my part. The idea in it was cribbed straight from Professor Zechariah Chafee Jr., author of Free Speech in the United States and one of the most consistent exponents of a genuinely liberal approach to civil liberties. I have no doubt that Professor Chafee would be as disconcerted as myself to find himself bracketed by Ettinger with the type of liberal who views civil liberties as a "privilege." Except, of course, that Ettinger might not have gone to such extremes in an effort to dissociate himself from the misfortune of agreeing with Chajee.

In fact, what Ettinger quotes as "a current Marxist interpretation" turns out to be well within the common ground occupied by both consistent liberalism and genuine Marxism. And this is no surprise at all to me, at least.

There are, of course, important differences between the Marxist approach to this question and that of even consistently democratic, liberals. Ettinger himself notes that many liberals ground themselves on "religious, ethical, humanistic" considerations, whereas the Marxist's approach to the problem is political and founded upon a class analysis of society. Perhaps this is involved when Ettinger, later in his article, speaks of civil liberites and civil rights as "absolute principles," the italics being his own. But it is difficult to make this absolutism jibe with another statement of his in the very same paragraph: "We can debate the relative advantages of different kinds of freedoms-for expanding one freedom necessarily involves the restriction of another," a statement which hardly leaves room for making any one freedom a fetish.

But these are differences in what liberals like , dence of the careless and conto call "philosophy," and important as they may be considered, they are not in the same league with questions of political policy-specifically, united action against the real threat today represented by the witchhunts and loyalty pur-

ges. From this point of view, we are not primarily concerned with the fact that Ettinger plays around a bit loosely with a quotation from LABOR ACTION, but rather with the otherwise excellent policy he expounds.

Note, please, that we said "not primarily concerned."



-

LABOR ACTION



The BY ARTHUR SCHWART

Last week we reported the debate between the Socialist Youth League and the Young Socialists (YPSL-SP youth group) on the latter's new and opportunistic line in favor of the slogan of 'big power negotiations." We dealt with both the YS resolution and the statements made by the YS representatives in the debate. Almost as a by-product of this discussion-but perhaps more important than the main subject itself-it has become clear that there is another issue involved.

This is the issue of the YS's evaluation of Stalinism. range as it may seem- to us no less than to friends of the YS-the views of at least some of the YS left-wingers

have taken a turn toward implicit acceptance of an important Stalinist premise. This is already contained in and economically progressive, one formulation of the though brought about by methods group's resolution, and it, which cannot be supported. emerged even more force. What this does is open the fully in the argumentation put forward by the YS debaters.

It would appear that, mostly, the YS has blundered into this issue unawares, without understanding just what it is saying. At any rate we would prefer to believe that this is the case, and that further discussion of the question will lead to its withdrawal from formulations which can only be characterized as essentially Stalinist.

CASUAL THEORY

We should keep in mind, first that the YS has backed into this position as a result of trying to build up a case for its new opportunistic line on "big power negotiations," its new slogan. It cast around for argumentation to reconcile this slogan withuits established Third-Camp anti-war policy, and proceeded to throw all inds of conflicting and contradictory ideas into its document, in an attempt to "render it profound." In one such passage of the resultant hodge-podge, touches on Stalinism-and it does no more than touch upon it.

In this casual way, unelaborated, in the middle of discussing another subject, in passing as it vere, it lightheartedly throws in a sentence which goes far toward so thers point to the "nationalized attributing a progressive historical role to Stalinism!

Now even if there were nothing wrong with the content, the procedure must be admitted to be a bit irresponsible. It is quite in order, of course, for the YS to reconsider its evaluation of Stalinism, if that is what it wants to do; but to present an important new formulation on Stalinism in this cavalier fashion is no service to its membership. Such irresponsibility in adopting and presenting a new political idea would be bureaucratic if it were done consciously; as it is, it is mainly evifused thinking which is behind the whole resolution.

PROGRESSIVE?

In the resolution itself, the issue which we refer to is raised in the very midst of a passage rejecting Stalinism. "It is true, of course," says the resolution, "that no socialist who is, in fact, a socialist can but oppose the authoritarian nature of Stalinism and the regimes which attempt to force PROGRES-SIVE transformations down the people's unwilling throats dictatorially." (Our emphasis.)

This by itself would be enough to raise an eyebrow of twoamong socialists who understand that their very conception of socialism, not to speak of the Third Camp policy, is founded upon a quite different estimate of Stalinism.

The YS resolution would seem to be saying: Stalinism in power brings about social transformations which are progressive, but we oppose it because it tries to impose these progressive trans-

What this does is open the door (to put it mildly) to a viewpoint not far removed from those apologists for Stalinism who, while not identifying themselves with support of the Stalinist movement, justify it as "historically progressive." The latter is true of many Stalinized intellectuals as well as, of course, the Cannonite Trotskvists of the Socialist Workers Party.

capital."

AUSTRO-MARXISM

The line of thinking which is embodied in the irresponsibly parenthetical formulation in the reso-Intion, and in the above "theory" about Stalinism's accumulation of capital, may be further demonstrated by quoting from an article published by the YS group which stands behind the present resolution. In an inimitable style whose lack of clarity is appropriate to the idea-content, the author takes up the question of the "progressive transformations" which are alleged to take place under

Stalinism. He writes: "please remember that the Austrian Marxists who were deadly foes of Stalinism never denied that, in the same sense that capitalism was progressive vis-à-vis feudalism (and this despite the terrible injustices of the 'system) Stalinism involuntarily serves certain progressive functions. Don't some people also know that accumulation of capital in a semi-colonial country produces progressive results too? Don't they know that it is not

labor and socialism.



December 29, 1952



formations dictatorially. It is not far from this to conclude that the Stalinist "revolution" is socially

It may be thought at this point that we are leaning too hard on what is merely an unfortunate formulation in a carelessly conceived resolution. We might have been of this opinion if the matter had ended with this formulation. But when they were challenged during the SYL-YS debate to spell out their specific examples of the "progressive transformations" effected by Stalinism, the YS speakers proceeded to deepen the pit into which they had stumbled. To be sure, they cited but two "progressive transformations." One was the "increase in literacy." The other seemed more basic to their thinking on the subject: the Stalinist states' "accumulation of

Thus, they presented Stalinism's accumulation of capital as the progressive "function" of the system somewhat the same way as property" in proof of its historically progressive nature.

WEEK by WEEK . . .

LABOR ACTION screens and analyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of

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necessary to take the absolutely idiotic position that the workers' standard of living is falling under Stalinism (which it isn't) in order to prove the despotic, anti-working-class nature of the Stalin regime?'

(Two side comments: The irresponsibility of the group's approach to the analysis of Stalinism is further evidenced by the use of the term "idiotic" to dismiss an estimate of the Stalinist states which has been carefully documented: it may be wrong, but no serious person can casually label it "idiotic," without even a reference to the available material. Secondly, the reference to "the Austrian Marxists" as a kind of authority is rather curious. The reference is to the Otto Bauer school of "Austro-Marxism," notorious among other things for its combination of essentially reform. ist conceptions of socialism with notions about Stalinist "progressivism." This would be an excellent example of the tendency which exists among certain strains of reformist socialist to turn into pro-Stalinism, a tendency which our press has noted before, but it is doubtful whether the YS author understands what he is pointing to.)

AN ANALOGY

The idea which is contained in the above quotation is simple, i not clear. Put more clearly it says Even as capitalism in its day represented progress over feudalism, so Stalinism today represents progress over capitalism. In its day, the capitalism which was progressive against feudalism was not without its "terrible injustices." We should, presumably, therefore not too basically concerned with "terrible injustices" of Stalinism, but rather understand that the progressive function of Stalinism today is to increase the accmulation of capital in backward countries.

In making this analogy with the progressiveness of capitalismcompared - with - feudalism, the YS's off-the-cuff theoretician forgets a couple of things.

Capitalism was progressive in its day not only because it broke up feudal social relations and property forms, bringing about a vast expansion of the productive forces of society (albeit at the exnense of "terrible injustices" and greater misery), but also because t brought into being a free working class - juridically free in terms of capitalism's own property relations-and in doing this created both the precondition of and the force behind the possibility of establishing socialism.

BIG DIFFERENCE

In fact, the increase of productive forces under capitalism must also be understood in this way. It is not true that increase in the productive forces is ipso facto 'progressive," as is still unfortunately believed by certain mechanistic would-be Marxists who once read something like that in Marxist literature and never understood the specific thought behind it.

The increase in the productive forces which it was the function of capitalism to effect in its day, as against the stifling influence of the old regime, was indeed brought about; and today, precisely because capitalism was once playing a progressive role, in the advanced countries and on a world scale the productive forces have long reached the point where it is transition to socialism which is on the order of the day.

In a nutshell, the progressive role of capitalism was precisely to create the conditions which today put the struggle for socialism on the world agenda. It is only in this context that it is correct to speak of the progressive role of capitalism in raising the productive forces.

tion through capitalism, the pres- real world. But the world does not ent historical alternative to capitalism exists in the form of the socialist society for which we fight. In its progressive days, the only historical alternatives before society were capitalism or the old feudal regime; socialistic ideas existed only as utopias or reminiscences of a dead past.

Today, when the whole socialist movement has long been founded on the truth that world society is ripe for socialism (not that socialism is "inevitable"), to speak of "raising productive forces" or "accumulation of capital" as a sufficient criterion for "progressiveness" is to hark back to an outlived era.

Any attempt to show on such grounds that Stalinism is "progressive as compared with capitalism ignores the fact that the historic choice before society today does not revolve around these two systems as the only historic alternatives. This is the big difference with the capitalism-vs.-feudalism dichotomy of the past, when the choice before society did revolve around those two alternatives and no others. Today the question can be posed in that way only by one who does not believe that socialism is now in the picture, only by one who believes that the fight for socialism is utopian now. Needless to say, there are plenty such people, but the YS theoreticians do not consciously think of themselves as among them.

REACTIONARY

Today, Stalinism is an historic alternative not only to moribund and outlived capitalism, which is doomed in any case. It is an historic alternative also-and in this connection more especially - to the only progressive outcome of the world social crisis, the building of a world socialist society. this era of the disintegration capitalism on the world scale, wherever the working class fails to replace the dying society with its own power and with the system of which it is the historic carrier, socialism, then it is the reactionary alternative which moves to hold the disintegrating elements of capitalist civilization together. And that is Stalinism.

From the internationalist socialist point of view, it does not make good sense (even less, good Marxism) to try to work this out within the framework of isolated backward countries only. We can leave aside the question of whether Stalinism would be progressiveas-compared-with-capitalism if the whole world consisted only of (say) a China, which is not by itself economically ripe for social-

As a result of this social evolu- ism if it is abstracted from the consist of Chinas, and China is not a world unto itself, as its conquest by Stalinism shows. The progressive or reactionary nature. of the world alternatives to capitalism-socialism or Stalinism, socialism or barbarism-cannot be tested merely by asking questions about "productive forces" or "accumulation of capital" in a backward sector of a world capitalist system.

IN THE DRIFT

From the standpoint of the working class, i.e., from the standpoint of socialism, Marxists must regard the transformations which take place under Statinism as reactiongrv. Victories for Stalinism tend to destroy a primary condition for the achievement of socialism, namely, the existence of the free labor movement which progressive capitalism gave birth to, the independent organizations of the working class, a matrix for the development of socialist ideas and forces among the workers. Unlike the progressive capitalism of the past, Statinism does not create the conditions for the emancipation of the working class but works to destroy them, to bring about the atomization, degradation and fiercer exploitation of the working class. This indeed is a "transformation" which takes place under Stalinism, and to speak of the "increase in literacy" in the same breath with is—we will not say "idiotic," but rather-short-sighted.

Quite separate from the above discussion of the reactionary essence of Stalinism is the question of the consequences for the YS theoreticians if they ever get to the point of treating their new formulations with political seriousness. For if they choose to defend them and-as often happens -"deepen", them with additional and less hasty logic, they will find their thinking drifting with inescapable logic toward one or another variety of the Stalinist-type views which up to now they have combated. For if Stalinism is indeed historically "progressive," if we are wrong and the YS's new ideas are on the right track, then the YS will find that it cannot stop half-way in its drift.

We are not predicting that such a Stalinization of the YS will take place: on the contrary! We are merely pointing out the direction in which it, or some of its spokesmen, are stumbling. Above all, it is a matter which needs to be discussed by the left-wing membership of the YS, before it goes much further, and not merely shoved into a resolution by a National Committee vote.

BERKELEY, Dec. 18-Professors dismissed from the University of California for refusing to sign the special Regents' loyalty oath were invited back November 21 by the same Board of Regents.

U. of Cal. Profs

Win a Round

The Regents' decision was based on the state court's ruling that the special oath is illegal, after. the oath had been contested by attorney Stanley Weigel on behalf of 17 professors.

What this long-delayed partial victory means is simply that the professors will be allowed to resign "honorably" rather than take the state Levering Act oath, already passed and imposed while the case was still in court. In thus resigning "honorably," according to Robert Sproul, president of the university, they will be allowed certain privileges.

According to the San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 22: "Those who submit their resignations under such conditions must do so within 30 days, and will receive full retroactive and severance pay up to that date." This is a real victory, but only in a rear-guard sense in a lost battle.

AWARDS

"Sproul explained that the compensation due the dismissed professors would differ because of varying conditions under which they have worked. Some took positions paying them more than their salaries at the university. Two or three were not employed after leaving the university, the president said, but were paid through a fund raised by the members of the faculty. All professors receiving this help agreed to pay the funds back if and when they received their retroactive pay.

That all of the dismissed professors should have received full retroactive pay in such a case is axiomatic, but the fact that even the most hard-pressed of these few professors won some compensation is gratifying. The reappointments also extended to include 4-8 other professors who had not been immediately represented in the court case.

Those who bore the greatest financial burden-the teaching assistants and lecturers, greater numerically and less able to procure other jobs-however, were not awarded anything. They had not been at the university long enough to get tenure privileges and so were left out in the cold. once the oath fight had descended from academic freedom to the tenure issue several years ago.



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READING from LEFT to RIGHT

MEXICAN POLITICS: THE PARADOX REMAINS, by Dick Lyle. MEXICAN OIL: A STUDY IN NA-TIONALIZATION, by Harvey O'Connor.-Monthly **Review**, December.

Considering that Mexico is one of the two or three most important countries of Latin America, that it is right on our border, and that its political and social development is intrinsically of great interest, there has been a noteworthy lack of worthwhile analysis in socialist literature. The two articles in the Sweezy-Huberman magazine scarcely fill the bill by themselves, but they make a contribution to those who are interested in the subject.

The article by Harvey O'Connor deals with the sequel to the nationalization of the oil industry which took place under Cárdenas, and with the present setup of "Pemex," the nationalized Petróleos Mexicanos. He describes how Mexico made the industry into a going concern, in spite of the confident assurance of the world oil cartel that it would be begging to have the foreign exploiters back; and he points the moral for Iran.

His tightly packed and informative study cannot usefully be summarized in this space, but here is one of his conclusions:

"How long Pemex can persist as a quasisocialist enterprise in a country that is assiduously building up a grande and petite bourgeoisie and fostering a farming class as well as the landed hacendados, is the problem that worries many a Mexican radical. For some, Pemex is the prelude to further nationalization; they would even end the foreign exploitation of lead and silver. But this is not part of the government's program. The concentration of wealth and luxury within Mexico City, where the beggars must step lively to keep from being run down by the Cadillacs, presages an era of Coolidge-Hooverism. Another Revolution may be in the making as the abyss widens between the rich and the poor.'

Dick Lyle had a bigger and broader task in his article, a task which probably could not be adequately done in a mere article even if Lyle could do it. The "paradox" in his title refers to the contrasts which permeate all Mexican life. The main line of the story he tells is of the growing conservatism of the successors to the radical reformer Cárdenas. A good part of his article is devoted to criticizing the evolution of Lombardo Toledano.

will be made available to

The total result is pretty

much the same as it would

have been had he been tried

had been found guilty, and

then been given a suspended

sentence. His career is ruin-

ed, and his job prospects are

that, in the circumstances,

he did not have the chance

for self-defense that he

would have had before a

court, and that his "convic-

tion" was based not on prov-

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This is the way in which

"democracy" defends itself

against totalitarian Stalin-

The major difference is

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resolutions, etc.

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, publication date December 31: Gunhawk Harvest, by Leslie Ernenwein. Signet, 144 pages, 25 World Enough and Time, by Robert Penn Warren. Signet

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land. Signet, 144 pages, 25 cents. Signet Giant, 384 pages, 35 cents. Heinlein, Signet, 176 pages, 25 cents.

The Temptress, by Rosamond Marshall. Signet, 192 pages, 25 cents.

of its chief.

Should Vincent have known better than to give "studied praise" to the Chinese Stalinists? Of course he should have. Is it possible that such praise was not the product of ignorance and ideological confusion, but of cism, and when criticism of a conscious desire to promote Stalinist interests? Of course it is possible.

Test for Reaction

But Henry Wallace should have known better than to become a Stalinist tool in the 1948 campaign and in his description of Russia during wood made "Mission to Mos- his wartime visit, and Roosecow," and when Harper's velt should have known betdumped Trotsky's book on ter than to divide the world with Stalin at Yalta and press) into the cellars rather Teheran, and our whole host than impugn the noble ally of liberal "experts" on world by releasing a book critical affairs should have known

the Stalinist strangulation of the Spanish revolution. But the fact that they did not know better is no proof of "disloyalty" to the American government, nor by itself does it even raise a reasonable doubt about their "loyalty."

The Vincent Case: 'Loyalty' ----

But times have changed since the Stalinist American Youth Congress was feted by government agencies in Washington, and since the days of the "gallant ally" during World War II. The *tendency* today is to identify any past or present softness toward the Stalinists or the various causes espoused by them with "disloyalty."

Under such a test, the only people who can be certified as completely and unques- no means to clear his name

better than to defend the tionably loyal are those who of the shadow which has Moscow Trials and cover up have been conservative or been cast over it, and none reactionary on all social questions down through the vears.

> This—and not whatever may or may not be proved about John Carter Vincent, now, or at any time in the future—is what is demonstrated by the Loyalty Review Board's decision.

Ruined, That's All

Of course, John Carter Vincent has not been tried before a judicial tribunal for any violation of the laws of the country. It has simply been announced to the country at large that there is "reasonable doubt" about his loyalty to the government which he has served for most of his life. He has

Three Cities Sneak Loyalty Oath Over

(Continued from page 1)

Page Str

(Continued from page 1)

it was almost as much a gov-

ernment policy to whitewash

Stalinism as it is today to

denounce it. Those were the

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"democracies" against fas-

Russia, or of the Stalinist

movements in other lands

was considered almost equiv-

Those were the days when

Life magazine printed

spreads about our noble Rus-

sian ally, including the be-

nevolent Stalin, when Holly-

Stalin (already off the

alent to pro-Nazism.

Throughout the war years

chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, termed the loyalty affidavit "utterly fantastic," and pledged his organization to "defend any person against whom this affidavit is enforced in the Northern California area, to test its validity in the courts."

Up until a few weeks ago, the LEGAL STATUS storm of opposition in Northern California had restrained the local housing authorities from attempting to enforce the "loyalty" farce circulating affidavits. But the Newark authority has moved so rapidly after announcing its proposed action that it appears quite likely the timing was calculated to prevent concerted and effective resistance by the tenants. The New York City Authority announced at the same time that it would re-

of loyalty by each principal tenant at the time his income-status is reviewed. This decision has been made by the New York Authority on December 11. By scattering the application of the law, it will make it easier to isolate each tenant, and thus to prevent concerted action.

It is quite evident that by employing the attorney general's "subversive list" as a basis for excluding tenants from public housing, the Federal Housing Authority is giving this list a legal status which it has not had before. Till now, the Department of Justice has claimed that the list has a purely administrative status, as it was supposed to have been drawn up solely for guidhas been clear for several years that the list is being widely employed as a basis for judging "loyalty" in many spheres of American life, the legal status of the list has remained restricted. The Supreme Court has already ruled that it has no standing in courts of law, and has commented on the complete lack of anything resembling due process in the compilation of the list. The only positive feature of this extension of its use may lie in the greater possibility of legal attack on it by tenants against whom eviction proceedings may be taken.

IT CAN BE STOPPED

This likelihood is reinforced by the Supreme Court's recent ac-

quire the making out of certificates ance to federal employing officers tion which nullified an Oklahoma and loyalty boards. Although it law that required state employees to sign oaths disavowing present and past membership in the listed "subversive" groups. The unanimous Supreme Court decision [see last week's LA] based itself on the fact that the Oklahoma statute made no allowance for persons who were members of "subversive" groups "innocently," that is, without awareness of the nature of the group. This could be a ground for knocking out the housing loyalty purge too.

> Legal action, however, is an expensive and difficult procedure for the individual tenant to undertake, unless he is backed by tenant organizations and other groups concerned in preserving civil liberties. A mass refusal to sign such affidavits, coupled with appropriate

legal action to protect the nonsigners, could put a stop to this extension of the witchhunt overnight. Surely this is a matter which should be taken up by the labor movement, the ACLU, and all other organizations concerned in stopping the creeping garrison state.

Tory Hope

Many a group has groped for the solution to its organizational problems, without ever stumbling upon the formula presented to a group of women Conservatives by Churchill's brilliant assistant postmaster-general, Leslie Gammans. He told them:

"Don't worry if people don't turn up in force to your meetings. Go in for a lot of social activities instead. Let the Young Conservatives start a glorified matrimonial bureau if they like. In due course it may lead to an increase in membership.'

Tory Fear

A British Tory MP echoes his similars in America:

"If Marshal Stalin was to accept an invitation to the Coronation, or if the Korean war was to end, there would be a dreadful fall in commodity prices. Unless we make plans in conjunction with America to deal with the problems that must arise when the fighting ends, there will be the greatest slump that the capitalist system has ever known."-

Cyril Osborne, Conservative MP---

for Louth, Oct. 26.



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Abbreviations

E-Editorial. L-Letter to the editor. R-The column "Reading from Left to Right." BR-Book review.

London etter

(Continued from page 2) made under a system of "mutual aid." This was the same decision isters arrived at. Britain must continue to export capital.

At present, however, it is in no such position to be able to do this. The economy is still running at a large deficit. It is presumed that Canada will take over the function previously held by Britain. Most of the other countries, India, Australia, South Africa, still have considerable room to expand their own economies and have no exportable surplus of capital at

It is for economic as well as political reasons that the Labor Party decided to send a delegation to West Africa to study conditions in all the countries there. It will be led by James Griffiths, formerly Labor colonial minister.

TORY 'FREEDOM'

This week the Conservatives have enacted two more measures designed to "free" the economy. With the abolition of the "utility' scheme in furniture, the guarantee of low priced, good quality, mass-produced furniture has gone. Now anyone can make any shoddy quality products, and sell them at any price, without any guarantee or standard.

Furthermore, a large price rise now occurs with the imposition of purchase tax on furniture. This is often 50 per cent and may be higher. Utility goods had been exempt from this tax hitherto.

Also, this week, the government has abolished licenses for the building of houses up to 1000 square feet, and has considerably relaxed conditions for dwellings up to 1500 square feet. The Labor Party has already pointed out that this will strongly militate against slum clearance, as materials and manpower will be diverted to private building.

The Organization for European Economic Cooperation stated that it thinks the present level of housing (230,000 as opposed to 200,000 under Labor) is being maintained at the expense of capi-tal building of factories, schools, libraries, etc. Both these factors tend to slow the construction necessary for the national economy (slum clearance and factory building) to the advantage of the private builder, private invette and landowner.