

LABOR ACTION

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Truman Orders Peril Auto Workers' Gains

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Dec. 17 — The Truman administration was prepared this week to deprive 900,000 auto workers of their protection against inflation by announcing a wage freeze that would abrogate the escalator clauses and annual improvement factors provided by United Auto Workers (CIO) contracts.

The failure, up to this writing, of Philip Murray, CIO president, publicly to back the UAW in resisting the wage-cutting proposal of the Truman administration has dimmed the hopes of top UAW officials that they can succeed in blocking this terrible prospect.

Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, candidly told 100 delegates to the Chrysler union delegate conference last week about the plans of the Truman administration as he urged the delegates to ratify the new offer from Chrysler. This offer included (a) an escalator clause modeled on the General Motors and Ford contracts; (b) a 4-cent annual improvement clause; (c) a five-year contract. The contract, contained many economic improvements over the one obtained after the 114-day strike last spring. It was ratified almost unanimously.

Although Reuther did not mention Murray's name, he said at the conference that "the rest of the labor movement is not for our ideas of fighting against inflation. They don't have escalator clauses, nor have they ever supported our fight of the General Motors strike for higher wages without price increases."

Pointedly, the "United Automobile Worker," union organ, blasted at both the steel and auto industry price rises. Murray did not do the same. As a matter of fact, his traditional position has been "My men do not buy steel"—as perfect an illustration of his stupidity and blindness on dealing with economics as could possibly be found.

RANKS ARE ANGRY

In Washington during this past week Reuther has been the only top labor leader in the CIO or AFL who, along with John L. Lewis, has refused to give private assurances that his union would immediately offer a no-strike pledge. William Green, president of the AFL, gave this promise Saturday night over a nation-wide hook-up.

Reuther told the Chrysler delegates that such a vital matter as a no-strike pledge would be submitted to the rank and file for a referendum vote.

The top leaders of the Auto Workers union were highly incensed by the story in the Detroit Times, released by Chrysler,

which said that high government officials had urged the corporation NOT to give an escalator clause or the annual improvement factor because it would make it more difficult to take it away.

In Washington the UAW leaders have been told that the auto workers are too far ahead of other unions; that another wage increase this spring would create unrest in other industries.

Reuther's disclosure of the obvious anti-labor plans of the Truman administration—in sharp contrast to its concern for the maintenance of industry's profits—came as quite a shock to many of the delegates. His vehement denunciation of the over-all trend in America, his agitation over the process by which "labor keeps running all its might just to stand still at best in terms of real wages," jolted many of the secondary leaders at the conference.

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LABOR TOO MUST MOBILIZE, TO—

MAKE RICH PAY FOR U.S. WAR MOBILIZATION

By MARY BELL

Five years after the ending of the last war and less than a decade since the last emergency proclamation in May 1941, President Truman has announced that a new national emergency exists. This proclamation of emergency signalizes the imposition of new controls for a partial mobilization of the country corresponding to the partial state of war.

In 1941, half the world was already at war when the state of emergency was declared by Roosevelt.

Now, so speeded up is the tempo of the trend to war that a "small war," the ill-fated "police action" in Korea, threatens to hurl the world—not into the ancient barbarism, for the depredations of the Genghis Khans and Tamerlaines pale beside the machine-made destruction of "civilization"—but modern atomization.

What Marx termed the "anarchy of production" of capitalist society—that is, unplanned produc-

tion regulated by competition for the market, is more and more being overlaid, particularly since the Second World War, by government intervention into the economy through the imposition of controls and the provision of a state market in the form of the demand for war production. Anarchy of production has been characteristic of capitalism, with its periodic crises and wars. Today, a specific type of "planning" characterizes its old age when its crisis is a permanent war economy. Capitalism resists the socialist concept of planning for peace and abundance, but finds itself forced to plan for war and destruction.

All the writing of the times seems infected with this disease of our epoch. A N. Y. Times writer, referring to the need for conditioning the American people toward mobilization, allowed himself to write: "What was needed in the way of a psychological approach was something with the advantages of a Pearl Harbor [sic], but with none of the human and material losses that went with it; something that would close ranks, weld a grand unity," etc., etc. Also that we have no "stab in the back" to close ranks, but that government officials must try to justify the emergency by the presence of our troops on an Asiatic beachhead, after losing the battle that the Syngman Rhee regime could not fight!

Point 4, the Truman proposal to develop the undeveloped areas of the world with American capital investment, is being replaced by rearmament and attention to increased draft of manpower and increased production of weapons, conventional and "unconventional." The shift is to more guns and less butter both in the United States, still riding the crest of the uneasy post-war boom-and-inflation, and still more in the Marshallized nations of Western Europe which required American pump-priming to keep them going after the last war.

In the case of the latter countries, still not on their feet, the transition is being made from Marshall Plan to stepped-up armaments. Britain, for example, has just gone "off ECA" but will be on "armaments relief" from the \$5.1 billion voted by Congress to rearm United States allies. As the United States moves toward austerity, austerity for the British and other Europeans will become more austere.

HOW AUSTERE?
How fast will be the transition to a complete garrison economy is unknowable. There are indications that American leaders do not wish to impose an all-out mobilization short of all-out war. There are counter-indications that hint at an early all-out mobilization.

How austere our living standards will become is shown in part by a glance backward of the last war. In the years of highest pro-

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'Democracy' by Massacre S. Koreans Mass Killings Appal Western Troops

By LARRY O'CONNOR

A few weeks ago when the Stalinist armies were retreating in Korea the American press was full of stories of the mass murder of supporters of the Syngman Rhee government carried out by Stalinist execution squads.

Now the press reports that the Rhee government is proceeding with at least equal brutality against supporters of the Stalinists, including women, children and old men who are presumably relatives of Stalinists.

"A wave of disgust and anger swept through United States and British troops who either have witnessed or heard the firing squads in action in the Seoul area during the last two days," states a Reuters dispatch dated December 16.

"The executions were not brought to public notice until United States and British units happened to move into an area bordering the execution ground about a mile north of the city. British soldiers said they would not permit any more mass shootings in their areas.

"Friday the United States and British units were horrified upon seeing truckloads of old men, women, youths and several children lined up before open graves and shot down by South Korean

military policemen with rifles and machine guns.

"Captain George Graff, United States officer, reported he had kicked aside the dirt lightly covered and cynical about their mass executions. The British government is erasing one of the bodies and found it still twitching."

MASS KILLING

The following day white-helmeted military police kept the indignant British and United States soldiers away as another batch of prisoners were hauled to the execution ground and forced to lie down out of sight in the trenches before they were killed.

Official South Korean reports state that, of 9,330 Stalinist collaborators tried in civil courts since the government returned to Seoul, 4,200 had been found guilty and 390 sentenced to death. Major General Lee Ho, vice-commander of martial law, however, reported on November 24 that the military and civil courts had sentenced 877 to death as collaborators.

General Lee refused to give the number of those executed on grounds that this is a "military secret," but he admitted that 37 had been executed in a snow-storm on a hill north of Seoul.

"The prisoners dug their own graves but their families are allowed to claim the bodies afterward," the general added. He

said that civilians sentenced to death were supposed to be hanged in prison "but we found that shooting by firing squad is more convenient."

This is the "democratic" government for whose right to rule over the whole of Korea this war is allegedly being fought by the American troops and their allies!

DIE FOR RHEE?

There is no doubt that the Stalinists are just as brutal a gang of murderers as Rhee's "democrats." They have proved that a thousand times from Moscow to Madrid and from Warsaw to Coyoacan. But it would be difficult to find, even in the bloody history of Stalinism, anything which exceeds in sheer wanton and senseless bloodthirstiness these executions of people in the very shadow of military defeat.

This is the blind lashing out of a decadent regime which knows it is in its death throes. Maddened by the prospect of a defeat following so swiftly on what seemed to be an overwhelming victory, and knowing that once it is defeated militarily it has no prospect of continuing its life in the form of a mass underground movement, it seeks to avenge itself for what-might-have-been by exterminating even the wives and children of its opponents.

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Labor Too Must Mobilize --

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 duction, as much as \$90 billion (nearly half of the total national production of that time) and two thirds of the nation's industrial capacity were devoted to war. Up to the war in Korea, the war budget had been about \$13 billion. It is now close to \$42 billion and is expected easily to surpass \$53 billion by the end of the fiscal year. The latter figure represents about 20 per cent of the total national production. That prize new weapon of the "arsenal of democracy," the atom bomb, will be an expensive item. In the past seven years \$4.8 billion have been spent on it; \$1.05 billion has been requested this year.

To be figured in the military budget (as well as in terms of the withdrawal of manpower from productive activity) will be the uniforms and barracks for about a million and a half more soldiers. In the period of partial mobilization, the plans are to raise the number by about a million and one quarter, which will bring the army to a total of three and one half million. At the peak period of the last war, young men were being drafted at the rate of 400,000 a month for a total of 13 million.

SI-A-YEAR MEN AGAIN

Even if the government wanted to convert to full-scale mobilization immediately, there are some difficulties. During the total mobilization of the last war, OPA alone had 3000 employees in Washington and 60,000 throughout the country. Its counterpart, the Economic Stabilization Agency, now has a mere 300 workers.

All the arguments that led to the giving up of price controls and the major part of rent control, such as "Without government controls, prices will go down in the competitive market," are being ditched for the simple reason that they are no more valid in an "emergency" period than they were then. Steel, auto and other industries have challenged the government's recent requests for voluntary controls. The unwillingness of industry to cooperate voluntarily is demonstrated by the response of General Motors to the price-freeze orders of the ESA in threatening to cease sale of 1951 vehicles. The heads of the corporation that made in nine months of 1950 more than any other American

corporation earned in a year complained about "discrimination." Controls are necessary from the standpoint of the interests of an economy geared to war, in order to slow down an inflation which inevitably arises in a period of full employment and curtailment of civilian goods.

But while more bleats will be heard as industry after industry comes under controls, there is no doubt that they will yield on the whole, since it is the demands of the war economy which will ensure their continued operation as well as profits. The bureaucracies of government and industry will tend to merge as government becomes bigger and calls in the "ideal-lar-year men" to help police the economy. Charles Edward Wilson, who drew his \$100 an hour as head of General Electric for 11 years, was one of the first to make the "sacrifice" by becoming head of the Office of Defense Mobilization at a \$16,500 a year pittance from the government.

Simultaneously, the power of government will be increased. As Chairman of the National Security Board Stuart Symington answered when asked what would be the motive for production after the imposition of price ceilings, high taxes, etc.: "Keeping your neck from getting wrung."

"EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE"
 However, to maintain the allegiance of the people, the government must maintain the pose of impartiality and is demanding that "all must sacrifice." We should expect to hear more farcical "equality of sacrifice" programs proposed which will equate the billion-dollar giants such as GM with the labor movement. Congress has already done so by tying price-fixing to wage-freezing in the Defense Production Act.

The first test, as a matter of fact, comes with the auto industry. The United Automobile Workers Union under the leadership of Walter Reuther gave up many other demands for the five-year contracts with GM, Ford, Chrysler and other auto plants which provided for a wage increase geared to the cost of living plus a four-cents-an-hour annual increase without reference to prices. In the one- or two-year contracts negotiated in other plants, wage increases ranged from ten to 25 cents an hour. In

World War II, the War Labor Board, ill-famed in the labor movement as the "graveyard of labor disputes" denied escalator increases in contracts.

The proprietarian farmer is, however, protected in the same Defense Production Act. The price stabilizer is forbidden to fix ceilings on farm products below parity. Parity is flexible; when the price of the goods the farmer buys goes up, his parity goes up. Thus the farmer has an escalator clause.

LABOR'S JOB

The recent conference of the stabilizers with heads of the meat industry recalls the difficulties of rationing, undoubtedly to be imposed in the future, during the last war. They were what the Times gently refers to as "substantial amounts of meat . . . channeled through non-licensed slaughterers." Or — the black market.

UAW Gains in Peril --

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As against the UAW policy of escalator clauses and an annual improvement factor, other CIO leaders and AFL officials have been sold up to date on the idea of another "Little Steel" formula, which was also bitterly attacked by Reuther before the delegates.

FIGHTING WASHINGTON

When the joint AFL-CIO committee meets this week in Washington it is expected to be very difficult for the UAW leaders to force a change in outlook by this conservative officialdom. Unless they support the UAW policy, the government is going to declare the UAW clauses as inoperative, notwithstanding the fact they are already in the contracts.

Reuther has been fighting, and only by the threat of opening up all UAW contracts in every respect has he succeeded thus far in preventing the Truman administration from announcing the wage freeze in auto.

The acute sense of embarrassment which Reuther has today was very evident at the Chrysler union conference. Not only has the labor movement been openly made second-class citizens, from

The struggle of labor in this permanent war economy must become one to transfer the cost and burden of the war to those who are able to pay for it, to those who profit from it, to those who are planning for it. The inequity of the price-fix-wage-freeze formula must be exposed. Wage rises, cost of living increases and the escalator clauses must be permitted. Price-freezing and rationing are necessary, but committees of labor and consumers, who are most genuinely interested in enforcing these, must be formed to police them. The inequity of across-the-board tax increases must be fought. The wealthy individuals and corporations must bear the burdens in proportion to their ability to pay. A \$25,000 ceiling on incomes and a capital levy on big business should be invoked.

The argument is more literally

true today than it ever was that every economic struggle on the part of the labor movement is a political struggle. Every demand for four cents an hour will come up foursquare against a government board. The only way to save, let-alone increase, labor's standard of living is through a government of labor representing the nation. Toward that end, labor needs a declaration of political independence.

The auto workers, instead of joining in the cry of "discrimination" with the GM heads, should take up the cudgels against the real discrimination, the basic discrimination against labor and those who work for a living in our society, the discrimination which is at the root of the war and the existence and expansion of Stalinism. It is up to labor to win the struggle against capitalist impoverishment and Stalinist enslavement toward a free and abundant world society.

Reuther's viewpoint, in the matter of an economic czar, but the most elementary protection against inflation has been denied the auto workers.

In one of his letters to Washington, Reuther pointed out that "if the government intends to control prices and keep them down, there is no need to cancel the escalator clause. The auto workers will not get any raises. Their purchasing power will remain the same as it is today." But his voice doesn't carry much weight in Washington, not even among other top union officials.

Since Reuther faces a UAW convention in April, the prospects of a sharp swing in the internal union situation, due to the obvious agitation among the union ranks over these developments, become likely.

UAW ranks today are already dissatisfied. They took the Chrysler package, not because it was considered excellent, but only in the circumstance that it represented something the government wanted to take away.

The tie-up between the UAW and the Democratic Party, never on very secure grounds due to the persistent current of labor-party and third-party ideas in the UAW, becomes shakier than ever.

HOSTILITY GROWS

For Reuther personally these are bitter days. There is no elbow room, there is only the demand of Washington that labor sacrifice everything, while the auto workers still retain memories of the mockery of the "equality of sacrifice" program of the last war. Reuther is chafing under the absolute domination of the Murray forces, as incept a group of bureaucrats as this country has seen in the labor movement in many years.

There is also the knowledge that the resolutions of the recent CIO convention, as inadequate as they were, still represent "paper resolutions," for which Murray has only contempt. Murray's classic remark, "The trouble with

Reuther is that he takes resolutions seriously," rankles in UAW circles.

What will Reuther and the UAW leaders do in this dilemma? Will they seek an informal alliance with John L. Lewis? Can they submit to the complete domination of Murray, whom Truman considers he holds in his vest pocket and whose job is "to curb the redhead"?

Present indications are that the UAW leaders are going to put up quite a fight, at least for the record, before they come to the next convention of this union, whose militant tradition stands as a guard over the interests and welfare of the rank and file.

Behind the facade of CIO unity there is strong hostility today between Murray and Reuther. Behind the talk of "support the president," there is only anger among UAW leaders against the man in the White House whom Reuther once called "hopelessly inadequate."

And in the shops and at the local union meetings this weekend, there are initial signs that unrest and rumbling is breaking out again. If the auto workers are denied the expected 6-cent hourly increase on March 1, 1951 due to the continuation of the rising cost of living, the Reuther leadership is sitting on a powder keg.

Besides the UAW leaders, the auto industry leaders, who are much closer to the mood of the men in the shops than are the politicians in Washington, feel the same tug of worry. That is why Chrysler and Briggs took the unprecedented action of giving more concessions, although it was only two months ago that they gave a dime-an-hour increase.

Finally, in the UAW, unlike many other unions, the realization that labor's subservience to the Democratic Party is coming home to roost has already sharpened political consciousness among some secondary leaders.

A crisis in the UAW, both economic and political, is at hand.

Behind the Baldanzi-Rieve Fight In the CIO Textile Workers Union

By SAUL BERG

A sign of the times is the growing threat to internal democracy in the industrial union movement even where treatment of non-Stalinist critics is concerned. In the CIO Textile Workers of America, over 400,000 strong, what seemed to be at the start mere personal friction between two top officers has developed into a purge which may rock the whole CIO.

Last year's convention of the TWA witnessed an attempt by President Emil Rieve to oust the executive vice-president, George Baldanzi. Rieve appealed to the convention to elect a harmonious team, and tried to base his opposition to Baldanzi on grounds of mere personal incompatibility which would hinder the best functioning of the union.

Although supporters of Rieve and of Baldanzi criticized each other's actions in the Southern organizing campaign (Baldanzi having been director of the CIO's "Southern drive"), there was no clear pattern discernible according to which the two factions could be assigned any distinct policies, militant versus conservative, etc.

But to observers who knew the background of the personalities involved and of their supporters, it was clear that the union staff was dividing into a group of stand-pat machine men around Rieve and a group around Baldanzi, some of them with a socialist background, who were more alert to the problems confronting labor in the present crisis.

BALDANZI ON LEFT

Baldanzi himself came into the labor movement in the depths of the depression, working in the Paterson dye shops and going through the experience of the militant strikes by which the dye shops were organized before the CIO had yet been born. He became president of Paterson Local 1738, with 8,000 members (a giant local for 1935), then president of the Dyers Federation which successively fused with other organizations to form the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO.

In the 1936 presidential elections, when Rieve was supporting Roosevelt, Baldanzi, like the Reuthers, was still in the Socialist Party, and helped to sponsor the Labor League for Norman Thomas' candidacy. There are other Baldanzi supporters today, such as Sam Baron in Toronto and the Textile Union heads in New Jersey, who were in the Socialist Party in the late '30s.

And, in general, one can say that Baldanzi and his associates have shown the same preoccupation with broad labor problems (and the same vacillation and ambiguity in the solutions they have offered) that has characterized the Reuther group in the United Auto Workers.

Baldanzi was responsible to a considerable extent for bringing Saragat and Matteotti, Italian Social-Democrats, to this country for a visit three years ago and for obtaining financial support for their party. His speech at the CIO Community Services Conference last year attracted attention because of its deep-going criticism of American policy abroad and his ambitious proposals for the responsibilities American labor should assume.

Readers of reports on the recent CIO convention will have noted that Baldanzi, alone among the CIO leaders, expressed serious criticism of the type of political campaign in which CIO-PAC participated this year. True, far from advocating a labor party now, he merely advocated that labor nominate "candidates of stature" in the primaries, instead of accepting ignorant or crooked hacks, but at least he said frankly on the CIO convention platform what Reuther had said only inside his own union.

RIEVE PURGES

Nevertheless, up to now Baldanzi has shown in the fight with Rieve the same diffidence and timidity that has characterized the Reuther leadership in its relations with Murray. Baldanzi has been on the defensive.

At the Textile convention, Baldanzi put up no opposition candidates for top offices. He sought, successfully, merely to defeat the candidate Rieve had put up, to replace him. He did nothing to criticize Rieve's policies in the union. He did nothing to assure a more forward-looking executive board although the rank and file at the convention did defeat for re-election one especially vicious Rieve supporter on the board.

With examples like the fate of the democratic opposition in Joe Curran's National Maritime Union before him, Baldanzi should have known what to expect from a machine bureaucrat like Rieve. Since the convention, cautiously, since he knows he is none too popular, Rieve has begun to purge staff appointees in the Political Action and Education Departments who had supported Baldanzi.

Men have been fired who had worked unostentatiously through the toughest fights of the Southern

organizing drive, in situations where Southern governors had mobilized the National Guard for anti-labor violence and scabberding, as in the American Enka Company strike in Tennessee this year.

Murray, who tolerates no opposition in his own union, likes peace and harmony in other CIO affiliates, and at first threatened that he would not obtain Rieve's appointment to the Economic Stabilization Board unless Rieve and Baldanzi came to some agreement. Baldanzi set the following conditions for peace:

- (1) Rehiring of the discharged staff members.
- (2) Guarantees of internal democracy in the union.
- (3) Election of each regional director by his own region, instead of the present setup where the international union appoints them.

POPULAR WITH RANKS

Rieve accepted only point 2, stating his willingness to rehire only those staff members who were not "college boys." On these

conditions peace was obviously impossible. Murray has given Rieve his appointment anyway, and Baldanzi has had to begin planning how to carry his fight to the rank and file.

He is hampered by the fact that the next regular convention of his union doesn't take place till 1952. But there is no question of Baldanzi's popularity with many large locals, and it will not be easy for Rieve to accomplish any large-scale purge.

Baldanzi, if he wants to defend himself and his ideas, must take the offensive. He must rouse the membership not only by appealing to them to defend democracy in their union, but by carrying to them an all-around progressive militant union program that embodies their own hopes and aspirations. If he is capable of carrying on such a campaign and is successful, it will mark the first reversal to the present reactionary trend in the CIO, and will give heart especially to the militants in the auto, electrical and rubber worker unions who await only such a lead.

LABOR SCOPE

Repression of Switchmen's Strike a Blow at Collective Bargaining

By GORDON HASKELL

President Truman's denunciation of the railroad workers in his address to the nation on December 15 marks another step in the destruction of what remains of collective bargaining on the railroads.

Confronted with three separate court orders to return to work, and with the president's radio statement: ("I ask you men who are on strike to realize that no matter how serious you believe your grievances are, nothing can excuse the fact that you are adding to your country's danger") it is no wonder that the men began to return to the work the following morning.

This was a "wildcat" strike, at least formally. The union officially called on the switchmen to return to work. If the strike were really spontaneous, one would have to say that it spread with remarkable speed from Chicago to St. Louis and Washington D. C. and other key yards in the nation.

The grievance is a major one. Railroad workers are trying to gain for themselves in 1950 what most of the rest of the labor movement got in the '30s—a 40-hour week with time and a half after 40 hours. They are asking that this be given them without a decrease in take-home pay from the 48-hour week they have been working for the past few years.

"SEIZURE" AS A CLUB

But even more important than the specific demands of the workers is the question of their right to collective bargaining, including their right to strike. For all practical purposes this right has been taken away from them just as effectively as it has been taken away from all classes of federal government workers. It is clear that as far as the government is concerned it will not be returned to them until they take it back by overwhelming mass action either on the economic or the political field.

It has finally sunk home even to the ultra-conservative and super-respectable railroad labor leaders that, without the right to strike as a last resort, collective bargaining ceases in American industry. This fact might well be pondered by all the liberal

Banned Again

The editors of "Alternative," monthly pacifist periodical, have announced that the November issue has been banned from the mails. The September-October issue had already been banned because of an advertisement addressed to draft-dodgers which urged them "to go a step further by becoming open non-violent war resisters." In the November issue the Post Office Department objected to sections which urged people to become world citizens who owe no allegiance to any nation or state. It also objected to passages calling on people to refuse to adhere to the provisions of the McCarran Act and to refuse to make or bear arms.

In a special news release the editors stated: "It is obvious that the government is afraid to have both sides presented to the public. Our democracy has room for minor disagreements and political squabbles, but it does not dare to let people read freely the point of view which is both anti-communist and anti-war. The post office allows anti-Semitic and anti-Negro material to go through the mails unchallenged, but it bans material which asserts, as the November issue of Alternative does, that totalitarianism should be combated not by the mass murder of A-bombs but rather by Gandhi's weapons of non-violent resistance and brotherly love."

legally. This is particularly true of the operating unions, those whose members actually operate trains.

This policy has shown itself in the political field as well as in others. So narrow has been the outlook of the rail union leaders that they have consistently followed a policy of endorsing politicians who happened to favor some special railroad legislation, regardless of their record on general social problems. But now the end of the road has been reached, and leaders and rank and file alike find themselves helpless in their isolation.

TWO WAYS OUT

The government-employer stranglehold on the rail workers can be broken only in one of two ways. One way would be for the workers sooner or later to go out on a tremendous national strike and stick it out regardless of what the government might try to do. The risk involved in such a policy would obviously be great, and its outcome would be doubtful, especially in the present isolated position of the unions. It is also quite clear that the present leadership is completely incapable of carrying such a strike through to a successful conclusion.

The other way is political. Of course, here again the railroad workers could not do the job alone. This road would lead them to the formation of an independent labor party, together with the rest of the labor movement. Such a party would have to seek to win power in the land, with one of its objectives the restoration of the right of railroad workers to strike against their employers.

Here again, the present leadership would have to be replaced. They have already recognized the bankruptcy of the path down which they have been leading the workers for decades. It is high time that the workers drew a balance sheet and replaced their bankrupt leaders. Perhaps the consistent government policy of denying the right of railroad labor to strike will force railroad workers to draw the organizational and political balance sheet a step ahead of their brothers in other industries.

S. Korean Massacre --

(Continued from page 1)

The reversion of the British and American troops against this slaughter is a healthy sign. Whatever their feeling may have been about the war in Korea to date, what can their officers tell them now about their duty to die if need be for the "principles" of the United Nations to maintain the regime of Rhee in Korea?

And it is safe to say that if the futile policy of trying to maintain decadent ruling classes and imperialist powers in control of the peoples of Asia is continued, scenes similar to the ones enacted on the snow-swept hill north of Seoul will be repeated again and again, and attempts will be made to force the soldiers whose human feelings rebel against such murders into an active role in them.

BRITISH TERROR

This is no idle attempt to look into the crystal ball of the future. The same issues of the papers which report the massacres in Seoul carry a dispatch from Singapore which states that the British government has blueprinted an "intensive new program for combating the Communist insurgents" in Malaya.

"One drastic new decision," states the New York Times for December 16, "calls for collective punishment. When individuals en-

gaged in Communist terrorism are found in a village or urban group the entire group will be held responsible and become liable to harsh penalties."

In a speech at Kuala Lumpur on December 18 Sir Henry Gurney, governor of the Federation of Malaya, stated that the new policy would "involve objectionable principles of punishment for the innocent," and added:

"But as I have said in the past, it is for the innocent to distinguish themselves from the guilty and under the conditions existing in this country today, which are those of war in all but name, they are liable to suffer if they do not do so."

Just to make sure that the righteous are rewarded at least to the same degree that the innocent may be punished, the government has set bounties on the heads of Communists in Malaya, ranging from \$20,000 for the secretary general of the party down to \$600 for an ordinary party member, dead or alive.

No genuine socialist has an ounce of pity for Stalinist terrorists. Both their methods and their objectives are in complete opposition to the objectives and methods of the socialist movement. Yet it is clear that when a government has to resort to collective punishment, mass reprisals and setting bounties on the heads of the

Stalinist rank and file it is the Stalinists and not the government which enjoy mass support in the population.

WHO'S PRACTICAL?

The minions of Rhee are open operators in line with its ancient colonial tradition of pious hypocrisy in proposing measures which will in all likelihood amount to very much the same kind of thing.

The Stalinists combine the cynicism of General Lee Ho with the hypocrisy of Sir Henry Gurney. But they have something in addition which makes them a social force, even though an evil one: they have a social program of their own directed against the system represented by these gentlemen and hated by the masses of Asia.

That is why neither the firing squads of General Lee nor the reprisals of Sir Henry will stop them. They can only be stopped by a mass movement which also has a social program directed against both the rotten feudalistic and capitalist imperialist systems and Stalinism, and for a democratic socialist order to replace it.

The formation of such a social movement is the only practical way to defeat the Stalinists, and at the same time to put an end to the bloody work of those who would stop the hands of the clock of history in Asia.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED EACH WEEK

— IN —
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N. Y. ROUND-TABLE SYMPOSIUM

ON
The Meaning of the British Labor Government

by
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 Writer for Labor Action

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 Managing Editor, New International

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 8:30 p.m.

Labor Action Hall

114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

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The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its 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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YOU and SCIENCE

The Scientist as Observer and Actor

By CARL DARTON

As the flames of war, fanned by new weapons and techniques, continue to grow, it is little wonder that science is pictured as cold and heartless, seeking only knowledge and facts with no concern for human values. The dominant classes which are primarily concerned with applying science to profits and destruction do not desire to have their social aims held up to the scrutiny of science. For this reason it has become a favorite capitalist philosophy that science can only supply "means" and cannot concern itself with "ends" or basic human needs.

Hypocritically, apologists for capitalism continually emphasize that something more than science is needed to solve our social problems. As a result irrationalism is encouraged to grow in this already mad world. Few other than socialists are available to stress the fact that only through the self-realization by the working people of their power can intelligence be used to find the way out of the present world crisis. However, since the dominant classes would only lose their privileges if science were so applied, every effort is made to hide the revolutionary implications of its social application.

Since Marx first laid the basis for a science of society few professional scientists or scholars have attempted to apply his findings in other than a very limited sense. On the contrary, effort has been made to build an aversion in the minds of the masses to science except in its physical or mechanical application. We are given a picture of a "Brave New World" in which society might be organized scientifically and operate mechanically perfect but yet fail to be humanly satisfying.

For example, the science of nutrition some day may substitute a few capsules for natural food, eliminating our gastronomical pleasures. Others have written that if the application of science were extended to society as a whole, we would have a cruelly efficient "managerial society" à la Burnham. In other words, it has been the aim of the dominant classes to picture the further application of science to society as leading to something worse than we have now—something we definitely do not want.

Socialists have long known that this concept is false. As active participants in the struggle for a rational way of life, they have attempted to apply intelligence to social problems and build a science of society. To counteract this, capitalist theorists have raised the bugaboo that science cannot be applied by a participant in, but only by an unbiased observer above, the struggle. Is the scientist who is an active trade-unionist disqualified as a social scientist in comparison with a professor of political science? No, not if it can be shown that there can be a science of participation as well as that of observation. Now, fortunately, there are a few professional scientists who are beginning to realize that even if "the observer's attitude" is usually satisfactory in the physical sciences it cannot lead to the development of an effective social science. In fact, Heisenberg's uncertainty principles and recent investigations in statistical theory lead some advanced scientists to feel that the concept of the detached observer is a chimera in the natural sciences also.

Planning through Participation

It is heartening, to socialists then, to know that professional scientists are beginning to realize that there is a place for value—that is, an acknowledgment of the rule of "what ought to be"—in a true social science; and above all that this science can only be applied effectively by participants in, rather than observers above, the struggles of an evolving society.

Laura Thompson, as a result of her anthropological studies concludes in a recent issue of *Science*: "social planning need no longer be envisaged as 'managerial' in either the gross meaning of the term or any of its subtle refinements. It may be viewed as self-discipline and self-cultivation."

Quoting from one of her earlier studies she writes: "social planning would become a function of cooperative action research, initiated and implemented by the society (or the community) itself, in a self-perpetuating process of discovery, during which members of the group come to understand their distinctively human potential, through the cooperative leadership of social scientists and with the aid of physical and biological scientists, the society's self-made plans might become actualities. Men would be able to discover for themselves through their own experiences that by cooperating with one another and with the world of nature as human beings . . . they might grow in the course of time to their full stature in a . . . world . . . of mutual prosperity and peace."

Today as capitalist misuse of science threatens all values as well as civilization itself with destruction, workers are beginning to realize that they alone by their own efforts can provide the preconditions for a mature science of society.



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WORLD POLITICS

ZAVIS KALANDRA: EXECUTED BY CZECH STALINIST REGIME

Occasionally, in the confession trials staged in the satellite countries, a member of the east turns up who was at one time a genuine Trotskyist. Time, space, and the vicissitudes of World War II political life nearly always preclude our knowing much of the political biography of such persons over the past decade or more. In the case of Zavis Kalandra, however, thanks to an article by J.-D. Martinet, published in the August 1950 issue of *La Révolution Proletarienne*, the French syndicalist monthly, such a biography is made available to us. Without necessarily agreeing with Martinet's appreciation in all details, we are glad to present the article, which serves not only as a memorial to Kalandra but as a testimonial against the times as well.—J. M. Fenwick.

The execution of Zavis Kalandra and three other defendants along with him has passed unnoticed in the midst of the Korean events which are so painfully agitating world opinion. The supreme court in Prague having rejected their appeal, the hanging of the four condemned to death in the "Trial of the Thirteen" (of whom one was a woman) took place on Tuesday, June 27, 1950. It is one more day of mourning to be commemorated by free socialists.

Born in 1902 Kalandra studied history, first at Prague, then at Halle (in Germany), where he occupied himself with the agrarian question and collaborated on the Comintern magazine *Inprecorr*. Two of his first works devoted to Greek philosophy (to Heraclitus and Parmenides) were written in German; but on returning to Prague after Hitler's coming to power he devoted himself entirely to the role of militant communist and did not find the time even to translate into the Czech language and to publish these two manuscripts which his friends say were remarkable.

At that time he met several French intellectuals in Prague who esteemed him highly, among whom were André Breton and . . . Paul Eluard.

DID NOT CAPITULATE

Even before 1936 Kalandra understood what Stalin had made of Communism: the poison of the international working-class movement. And in 1936, when the first Moscow "withcraft trial" no longer permitted honest oppositionists to remain within a Communist Party maneuvered by the needs of Russia, he printed an editorial on the "Trial of the Sixteen" in the party daily (of which he was the editor) which automatically led to his expulsion as a non-conformist.

From that date, along with Josef Gutman and Jan Sverma, he became one of the leaders of the Czech Trotskyist opposition. Sverma, a historian like Kalandra, quickly capitulated and carved out a fine career for himself . . . in Moscow as a reactionary pan-Slavist, before dying in Slovenia fêted as a national Bolshevik hero. Several others of his friends were smart enough to abandon Kalandra in time and to be able to heap filth upon him on the occasion of the recent trial. Was the representative of the Czechoslovakian republic in Paris one of them?

When Jan Sverma fled from Czechoslovakia after the Nazi occupation of the country, Kalandra chose to resist fascism on the scene itself. Without speaking of the secret pamphlets which he drew up, one is forced to recall the bold articles in which he systematically ridiculed Hitlerite propaganda—in particular the last of them, an

article "A clefs" [in which actual characters are thinly disguised as fictional ones] which impelled the Gestapo to visit him immediately.

Then followed six years of detention in the Nazi camps (in Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück and Flossenbürg). His life in the Hitler prisons did not prevent the Stalinist successors of the Gestapo from dishonoring him—quite the contrary; but his sacrifices, and his past activities as a militant worker assured him the respect of the metal workers in the working-class neighborhoods of Zizkov, as the state prosecutor made the blunder of admitting in the course of his singular trial, which was otherwise so well stage-managed.

LAST STAGE

On returning to Prague in 1945 after the liberation, Kalandra became rather sceptical concerning his former activities as a Trotskyist militant. He devoted himself to a big historic work in two volumes on paganism in Bohemia. Published in the spring of 1948, this work of a recent concentration-camp inmate created great interest among professional historians because of its original and non-chauvinist views on the origins of Bohemia. Upon his return from the camps he also wrote several articles for the social-democratic press, to the extent that his frail health . . . and the police surveillance which had begun permitted him. Exhausted, he little lost confidence in the historic role of the working class, without, for all of that, becoming a traitor; and the coup d'état of Gottwald in 1948 found him demoralized, without political perspective, seeking in his private life a last refuge.

On June 14, when the news of the sentencing of Zavis Kalandra arrived in France, André Breton printed an open letter to Paul Eluard in *Combat*. Following Breton's letter and a telegram from Albert Camus asking the president of the Czechoslovakian republic to pardon Kalandra and the three sentenced with him, a petition campaign was started by the Groupes de Liaison Internationale. We wish to thank all the signers, but the execution of the sentence has made useless the publication of the names of workers, school teachers, private instructors, youth hostel members, and white collar workers and intellectuals of all sorts which arrived too late.

Outside of France a broader movement in support of Kalandra was initiated by Norwegian trade unionists and by Swedish women's organizations in particular.

"WHAT WAS THE BEGINNING . . ."

What was the response of the Stalinists? There is no point in speaking of the lying few lines in *Humanité* nor of the pitiful confessions of the unfortunate Kalandra. Let us simply note these words of the prosecutor, Vieska:

"In 1936 when the CP expelled you, you assumed the attitude of an ideological adversary of the CP. That was the beginning and this is the end. Let this be a warning to all amateur oppositionists!"

Paul Eluard has also insisted upon showing us just what the nature of "the dishonor of poets" is by publishing in *Action* this simple sentence: "I am too busy with innocent people who proclaim their innocence to occupy myself with guilty people who proclaim their guilt."

As for us, let us, independently of all political allegiances, hail the memory of Zavis Kalandra, who suffered all his life out of respect for truth in the socialist movement.

NYU Ban on Fast Attacks Academic Freedom

On December 7, Washington Square College of New York University banned Howard Fast, the Stalinist writer, from speaking before the local chapter of the Young Progressives of America. This was not only a blow against the rights of the Stalinists organized on campus in the YPA to hear speakers of their own choosing but against the very concept of student rights.

This action by the NYU administration marks a complete reversal of form on the New York City college campuses. Brooklyn College, under the autocratic control of President Harry Gideonse, which had in previous years excluded Howard Fast, did allow him to appear before a student meeting this semester. But NYU and Columbia, which in previous years had allowed him to speak, now ban him.

The students from the school newspaper, *Square Bulletin*, went to see the administration spokesman, Professor Beaumont, de-

manding to know the reason for the banning. Beaumont pulled a new reason out of the hat. Howard Fast, he said, is a "criminal," and is therefore undesirable as a prospective speaker before students. This was in reference to the fact that Fast had recently finished a 3-month jail sentence for contempt of Congress (the House Un-American Committee).

One of the student reporters pointed out to Professor Beaumont that only last year Earl Browder was allowed to speak before a student club. Earl Browder had spent three terms in jail and surely this rule would have applied to him.

It was then asked when this new ruling was formulated. Beaumont, knowing that he would be quoted in the school newspaper, coldly replied, "I made it this morning." Certainly this brutal reply does not even have the "democratic" flavor which Harry Gideonse uses to cover the violations of students' rights.

This banning of a speaker is a specific violation of the Bill of Rights of the National Student Association. Last year NYU became one of the first schools to approve the Bill of Rights, which has as one of its provisions that "students are allowed to hear speakers of their choice on topics of their choice." When it was pointed out that his action was in open violation of the university-approved Bill of Rights, the professor replied that the bill is "utter nonsense."

What is evident in the gyrations of the NYU administration is an ill-concealed contempt for the students. There is no belief that students can think for themselves or decide for themselves the speakers they wish to hear.

But the banning of Fast rapidly went beyond the issue of Fast as such. (In fact, one of the reasons that Howard Fast does not make the slightest difference to them.) Student Council, confident that enough sentiment could be whip-

The Politics of the Polish 'Diaspora'

Three Tendencies Struggle for Dominance over Poland's Emigres

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The world has perhaps already forgotten the existence of Poles other than those represented by the official Warsaw government or by Russian diplomacy directly. But it should be remembered that during the war Poland was a stronghold of resistance to the Nazis and also to the Russians.

Because of their opposition to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements which handed Poland over to Stalin, as many as 200,000 Poles remained in Great Britain—most of them as miners and agricultural workers. These were soldiers in General Anders' army, in the underground Polish army (*Armia Krajowa*), militants of Polish political parties and of underground political movements, and, in the first place, participants in the Warsaw uprisings.

But the importance of the Polish emigration is not exhausted by mention of the number of "British" Poles. In the United States there are already six to eight millions of Polish extraction who still use the Polish language. In South America, especially in Brazil and Argentina, there are already one million Poles or people of Polish descent. In France, Belgium and Germany, there may be as many as one and a half or two million Polish miners and farm workers; in Lithuania, the Ukraine, Byelorussia (ancient Polish provinces) and Russia, perhaps six to eight million.

As a result of war and national oppression, the Poles are now almost as widely dispersed over the world as the Jews, and have their own "diaspora."

Therefore, the political orientation of the Polish emigration can be of international importance, especially because of the political influence of U. S. Poles, who also have representatives of Polish extraction in Congress. But the political center for Poles abroad is Great Britain.

TWO POLITICAL CENTERS

There one finds the Polish "London government," which rejected the Yalta-Potsdam pacts on the new partition of Poland as carved out by Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill; there the Polish army has stayed on; there remain all the prominent political leaders of the traditional Polish parties, the majority of Polish writers, newspapermen, etc.

How is the Polish emigration divided politically? Does the Polish "London government" still exist? Yes, it still exists but in a decadent state.

The Polish people have a great historical tradition in the fight for national independence against Russia and this revolutionary past helps them to maintain their political front. But the emigration has succumbed to the natural process of political decomposition, which understandably takes place in every emigration.

The strongest political parties in this milieu are the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and the National-Democrats (rightists). Together with minor organizations, particularly Mikolajczyk's peasant party, these have formed a political united front represented by the Political Council (*Rad Polityczna*). This is the most prominent political center of Polish opposition to Russia, because the Polish Socialist and National-Democratic Parties are the oldest of Poland's traditional parties and still have the greatest influence in Poland to day.

The second political center can be considered to be Mikolajczyk and his peasant party. He is living in the U. S., waiting for word from the State Department. But his reputation among the Polish emigrants has decreased as a consequence of his obsequiousness to the orders of Anglo-American policy, his subsmissiveness to imperialist policy on Poland, his inclination toward a compromise with Russia on the problem of the frontiers, and his previous participation in the Warsaw government. A splitoff from his group, led by Baginski, adhered to the political center of the PPS and National-Democrats.

"LONDON GOVERNMENT" FLOUTS AGREEMENT

The differences between the latter and Mikolajczyk revolve around rejection of the Curzon line (accepted by Mikolajczyk in the past), and also around the purely formal question of the Polish constitution, which was imposed by the regime of the colonels, was acknowledged by all political parties as a base for Polish legitimacy in exile and was rejected by Mikolajczyk because of his participation in the Warsaw government.

Lastly there is the Polish "London government," which is opposed by both Mikolajczyk and the PPS-National-Democrat center. The "London government" was hit by a crisis as a result of the Truman-

Attlee recognition of the Warsaw regime and the withdrawal of Mikolajczyk and his party.

In the first place, the PPS (Socialist Party) withdrew in protest against President Raczkievicz's arbitrary designation of his successor in the presidency. The Bonapartist Polish constitution of the colonels' regime did indeed contain a provision that, in case of national emergency, war or invasion, a dying president could name his successor. But in spite of the formal acceptance of this constitution, the united front of the political parties had stipulated that the president would form his cabinet and make political changes only in agreement with the constituent parties.

These parties decided to give the presidency to Tomasz Arciszewicz, the leader of the PPS and a leader in the national resistance movement, a metal worker in his youth. Instead, Raczkievicz designated August Zaleski, thus breaking the agreement; the Socialists pulled out of the coalition and declared themselves in opposition. This deprived the government of any political importance; and after some time the National-Democrats also left.

WOOLING THE WESTERN POWERS

Now the "London government" is supported only by the Pilsudski camp, plus General Anders and his supporters, particularly the ex-soldiers' organizations. The main political currents are in opposition to the government. The crisis has lasted almost three years and cannot be solved, because the Socialists demand a reversal on the question of the presidency.

Thus, as they face the coming war, the political leadership of the Poles abroad is divided between three centers. All of them are scouring about for support from foreign powers, independently of each other.

Mikolajczyk will woo the support of the U. S. State Department, arguing that he represents the most important sector of the Polish people, the peasants. But as a matter of fact present-day Poland is no longer a predominantly agrarian country; it is more industrial than agricultural.

The Political Council of the PPS-National-Democrats is seeking support not only from the British Labor Party and the British trade unions but also from French governmental circles and political element in the U. S. The Socialists are more useful in this work than are the National-Democrats because the importance of the Polish nationalists is not highly appraised in Washington.

The government-in-exile of Zaleski and Anders is also looking for international props, and so General Anders took a trip to Canada and the U. S. To the British and American government they offer up Polish blood, the Polish army and Polish resistance at home. But the situation is entirely different from what it was in 1939-44. The Polish people at home have no confidence in the Western "allies"; and although they hate the Russian invaders, they will not create an underground armed resistance in favor of U. S. or British capitalist policy.

AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF STALIN . . .

It is impossible today to organize an armed resistance movement in Poland on the scale that was true at the time of the German occupation, because the Poles understand that this would signify the total destruction of their country by the MVD (GPU) army and the physical extermination of the Polish nation.

In Poland today the influence of the right-wing parties is very small, as during the Second World War. The greatest influence among the Polish masses will be wielded by the PPS representing the workers' position and Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party representing the peasant opposition. Capitalist restoration is quite impossible in Poland, as in the Ukraine, Russia, etc.—because the masses support the nationalization of the means of production. Likewise hardly possible is the dream of General Anders and the Pilsudski-ists about returning on a white horse.

Much more probable, after a destruction of the Stalinist regime by defeat in war, etc., is a new Socialist-democratic government based on agreement between the PPS and Mikolajczyk, with never a look-in for General Anders or Zaleski. The men on white horses will either have to stay abroad or come back on foot without trumpets.

The kernel of a future Polish democratic government will be the opposition at home, in the first place the left wing of the Stalinist party in alliance with the workers' and peasants' opposition abroad. Therefore, more advantageous for the PPS than its present bloc with the National-Democrats would be an agreement between it and Mikolajczyk, in spite of all the mistakes of the latter.

The above contribution by Comrade Rudzienski on the political picture of the Polish emigré movements is very interesting, but a comment is required on two points. (1) The particular reason he gives for the "impossibility" of an armed Polish resistance movement is doubtful, in view of the existence of such a movement in the Ukraine; and (2) his closing recommendation for a Socialist-Mikolajczyk coalition now, in exile, does not square with the political character of Mikolajczyk's party today as he himself describes it.—Ed.

They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has especially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the ISL, at 114 West 14 Street, 3rd floor, New York City.

No comment from the philosophy and history departments. No answer from the economists, the sociologists, and the psychologists. From the men and women who write our textbooks and spend their entire day impressing us with their experience, their wit, their training—nothing. "Everywhere there was silence."

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BOOKS and Ideas An American officer Looks at The Kremlin's Army

The Russian Behemoth

THE RED ARMY TODAY, by Colonel Louis B. Ely, General Staff Command, U. S. Army, Military Service Pub. Co., 1949.

By WALTER JASON

For those seeking more light and less heat on the very grim subject of war between America and Russia, this study of the Russian army by Colonel Ely of the General Staff Command, although it was published in November 1949, offers a basic guide to the military debacle in Asia and the crisis in the capitals of the Western world today.

Put this comparison in the context of the Korean war, and much that seems inexplicable becomes understandable. Assuming that the Chinese troops have a Russian table for organization, which is quite likely, then 110,000 Chinese troops have the combat firepower of 180,000 American troops, since 70,000 American troops are devoting their time to the maintenance of the higher standard of American military life.

Of course, there would be nothing fatal in this situation provided that the nation with the luxurious manpower required to maintain it on the battlefield. But there's the rub. It's Russia which has the vast resources of manpower.

KOREAN LESSON

Colonel Ely has another answer to this problem. It is the development of superior firepower, armor and airpower, utilizing America's industrial superiority to achieve that goal. Unquestionably, over a period of time, at least in armor and airpower, America should be able to build vastly greater strength, provided, of course, that Russia doesn't seize the Ruhr and the Saar and double its steel production by absorbing Europe's capacity to produce. Thus, the actual relationship of production capacity doesn't depend on a static concept but rather on world developments, including the struggle between Russia and America itself.

WORLD WAR II EXPERIENCE

So many military strategists as well as popular journalists were so wrong in estimating the Russian army before World War II that a re-evaluation of it on the basis of its war record would naturally be a must for American intelligence. This study began even before two world tensions divided the nations into a pro- and anti-Russian bloc. It is based on extensive interviews with German staff officers, Russian officers who deserted, and the record of the war itself.

The difficulty in making any firm estimate of the Russian army is illustrated by just one feature of World War II combat, something that seemed excluded on the basis of all knowledge of Russian industrial and transportation weakness, especially after Hitler took most of the Ukraine: "There is no question that in World War II the Red Army artillery threw from twice to nearly four times as much ammunition at its enemies as any other army in history. And it may be added that these huge tonnage were brought to the front by a supply system as ill-equipped and inflexible as modern times."

Furthermore, it is difficult to explain, on the basis of the industrial might equals military might theory, how backward and war-torn Russian economy produced the vast quantity of tanks, qualitatively superior to American tanks, created the rocket artillery and other effective weapons which, as Korean events show, are still ahead of American design. Lend-lease is hardly the answer.

FIREPOWER & MANPOWER "Another pertinent and thought-provoking comparison" is given by Colonel Ely in discussing American and Russian infantry divisions. It turns out that a Russian division, of 11,000 men, has the same firepower as an American division of 18,000 troops. From the Russian standpoint, the 7,000 rear-echelon soldiers in an American infantry division are a luxury no army should afford. For Colonel Ely, they are a tribute to the higher standard of military life, reflecting the superior American way of life, as against the Russian animal existence in war.

To be sure, as a strategic weapon it gives America tremendous superiority in that field, but it is precisely in that field that no certainty exists as to the decisive character of bombing in ending war. Rather, the experience of World War II supports the theory of the totality of arms and forces. It takes sea, land and airpower combined to win. Germany faced the greatest combination of odds in world history in all three fields, and yet dragged a war into four brutal years of slaughter before surrendering.

THREE-FRONT WAR? If the analysis of the relative military potentialities gives little comfort to those nurtured on the great American myth of invincibility, then the political estimates of Colonel Ely are even less pleasant medicine to swallow.

For in his appraisal of total war with Russia, Colonel Ely sees as the two main theatres Europe and the Middle East. Asia is excluded. And not the least of the terrible prospects is excluded from any sound strategic plan in American military thinking! Even talk of a three-front war—Asia, Europe and Middle East—is like a feverish nightmare. The vast colonial masses are excluded from any important role in deciding World War III, in Colonel Ely's book. The trouble is, of course, that Mao Tse-tung writes his own books.

But granting for the moment that miracles do happen and Asia excludes itself according to Colonel Ely's outlook, the decisive battle of Europe is to be fought on the Rhine, by the Western armies bolstered by American sea and airpower and finally with an expeditionary force. This is, of course, the strategic plan on which the North Atlantic Pact is based. As durable insurance for a land battle in Europe, Spain is looked to as an ally. It may, after all, be the sole beachhead of the Western armies if disaster occurs on the Rhine.

As for the Middle East, a vast expeditionary force to supplement the Turkish army and to give the Russians a decisive blow on their own doorstep is contemplated. Africa, its natives will surely be glad to know, will be a huge supply base.

Assuming a Western Europe willing and able to fight, a quiet and docile Africa, and the exclusion of Asiatic peoples in any decisive role in World War III, Colonel Ely sees American victory as probable—after great battles and powerful air blows.

This book assumes that the Western world far prefers the capitalist system to Stalinism. It expects the masses of France and Italy to support their pro-American governments. It knows England will do its duty. But what happens if the present anti-war trend among the masses increases? The limitations of the strategic plan are emphasized by the heavy attempts to rearm Japan and Western Germany. There are signs of weakness, not strength. As for the political reliability of such armies and the Western nations' armies, it is rather tenuous, isn't it? What a commentary on West-

ern foreign policy! A victorious nation places its future hopes on rearming its defeated rivals of the last war. . . . Where else can the manpower be drafted? Behind the Iron Curtain, the news of a German army is hardly calculated to weaken the grip of Stalinism.

And in the vast continent of Asia? Chiang Kai-shek and Bao Dai are not likely to rally millions behind them; yet where else can American imperialism turn? At a time when the most elementary self-interest of a nation demands that it pursue a policy of caution on a world scale and seek to give itself a "progressive" mantle, the U. S. gives the world MacArthurism as its military symbol and McCarthyism as its dominant political force in national politics. How ironical that the one Washington leader who has in recent years shown an iota of insight into world problems from the viewpoint of American imperialism itself, Dean Acheson, is branded as virtually a traitor to his country for advocating policies that have some touch with the world realities as they exist. And Acheson has reversed himself.

Since the economic cataclysm of the 1929 depression, when he joined the movement, Comrade Kuehn was a self-sacrificing, fireless and militant fighter for the cause of socialism. We join with his family, friends and comrades in mourning his passing.

CONFRONTED BY THE complexities of the world situation today, many of America's leading spokesmen fall into sheer hysteria. Some military men, like General Spaatz, lose themselves in a wild dream: The lesson of Korea is that the United States must rely on airpower, because it lacks manpower! The Pentagon planners become conservative. Marshall, Eisenhower, Bradley—all of whom are spokesmen for the ideas expressed in Colonel Ely's book—seek to fit the world situation into the strategic concept of Europe and the Middle East first! But the one major event that was not supposed to occur, the intrusion of Asia on the scene, has occurred. And the cries of the Knowlards and McCarthys are so powerful that even capitalist military considerations may disappear before the needs of capitalist domestic politics.

Before the Korean defeat, General MacArthur told an American editor that "Anyone who engages the U. S. army on the mainland of Asia should have his reason examined." An excellent point. It reminds us of the shrewd observation, "Whom the gods seek to destroy, they first make mad!"

The madness of a nation's leadership, in terms of the real needs of mankind today, is testified to by this phantasm of a successful strategic plan to defeat Russia in war. Stalinism will not be defeated by a show of might, either real or artificial. In Europe today, the only army capable of fighting is one NOT created to defend capitalism. Tito's army has a different source of origin, and this is significant. To think that mankind will suffer the terrible disaster of another world war, spurred by the reward that by doing so it will save capitalism, seems to us the greatest of illusions. The world-wide trend against capitalism

Karl Kuehn

Karl Kuehn, long an active militant in the Trotskyist movement, is dead. At the age of 56, he died Sunday night, December 10, of a heart attack, rushed to the hospital after he had collapsed on the job, he never returned home.

Comrade Kuehn was one of the 18 Minneapolis leaders of the Teamsters Union and of the Socialist Workers Party, who, in 1941, was convicted on the basis of the infamous Smith Act and railroaded to jail by a government prosecution. He served a year in the Danbury federal penitentiary; on his release he continued as an active worker for the Socialist Workers Party, especially in Philadelphia.

That was the second time that Comrade Kuehn had been hit by class injustice exercised through the courts. During the depression of the '30s, he was secretary of the fighting Federal Workers Section of the General Drivers Union, Local 544 in Minneapolis. Along with 150 others, he was indicted for "conspiracy" against the government in the 1939 WPA strike. As a result of the intervention of the labor movement, the case never came to trial.

Since the economic cataclysm of the 1929 depression, when he joined the movement, Comrade Kuehn was a self-sacrificing, fireless and militant fighter for the cause of socialism. We join with his family, friends and comrades in mourning his passing.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocketbook reprints:

SATURDAY NIGHT, by James T. Farrell, Signet book, 192 pages, 25 cents, pub. Dec. 27.

HEART OF DARKNESS and THE SECRET SHARER, by Joseph Conrad. Signet book, 144 pages, 25 cents, pub. Dec. 27.

LENIN, by David Shub (abridged). Mentor book, 192 pages, 35 cents, pub. Dec. 27.

KNIGHT'S GAMBIT, by William Faulkner, Signet book, 192 pages, 25 cents, pub. Dec. 1.

SEX AND TEMPERAMENT, by Margaret Mead. Mentor book, 224 pages, 35 cents, pub. Nov. 22.

THE YOUNG LIONS, by Irwin Shaw. Signet double volume, 624 pages, 50 cents, pub. Nov. 1.

speaks for itself. It is on this powerful social force that Stalinism is seeking to ride to victory. For Stalin understands that war is but a continuation of politics by other means. And to break the influence of Stalinism on the rebellious masses is a task which is beyond the comprehension of the advocates of atom bombs and military might. Only a socialist program can begin this titanic task.

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Abbreviations

BR—Book; Review.
D—Discussion article.
E—Editorial.
L—Letter to editor.
RLR—Reading from Left to Right' column.

Correspondents, Contributors, Readers:

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