

# LABOR ACTION

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**SPOT-  
LIGHT**

## ADA Fund-Raising

Fund-raising letters aren't usually the most interesting documents in the world, but there's an exception in one sent out by Americans for Democratic Action last month.

This one had the bad luck to come off the mimeograph machine just before ADA Vice-Chairman (and Senator) Hubert Humphrey singlehandedly saved the country from galloping Communism by pushing through his McCarthyite bill to outlaw the CP.

Without the least foreknowledge of this "liberal" super-McCarthyism, the ADA office implored its membership to kick in money in order to save Humphrey for the Senate:

"Imagine the Senate without Hubert Humphrey . . ." it began. By the time it was received, many ADAers had a pretty good vision of what this might mean, and not all of them were appalled.

"Imagine yourself under attack because you took the liberal side on . . . civil rights or McCarthy" and other issues, the latter went on to say. By the time the letter went out, Humphrey himself had taken this advice. He tried to imagine himself under attack for taking the liberal side—and his intestines fell right out.

Savor this too: "In a Congress cowed by political orthodoxy and subservient to narrow interests, the liberals have defended . . . our liberties. Most important of all, they have refused to be intimidated by 'dangerous' controversial political issues. They have not sidestepped the unpleasant, sometimes unpopular realities that confront the country."

Just quoting this makes us feel like a  
(Continued on page 4)

## U.S. Steal

Among the steals that pass in the night has been the bill passed by Congress which authorizes the government to give the U. S. Steel Corporation over \$90 million.

"United States Steel Corporation looks like the winner in the peppery fight over the deepening of the Delaware River channel from Philadelphia to Trenton, N. J.," wrote the financial editor of one Pittsburgh paper.

U. S. Steel has a big plant, the giant Fairless Works, at Morrisville, Penna., up the Delaware. When the big boats come in carrying the company's iron ore from Venezuela, they have to stop at Philadelphia and unload at least part of their cargo before proceeding upriver.

The Big Steel corporation decided it would like to deepen the river channel north of Philadelphia, from 25 feet to 40 feet. Then the freighter could come directly up to the steel plant. But why pay for this improvement itself?

The one-billion Rivers and Harbors Authorization bill was written to include this job in its provisions. The bill says that the estimated cost of deepening the channel to 40 feet between Philadelphia and Newbold Island, site of the Fairless plant, and to 35 feet from Newbold Island to Trenton, is \$91,389,000.

# U.S. and Satellites Are Faking An 'Asian' Pact Without Asia

By GORDON HASKELL

The Manila conference is a desperate attempt to shore up the remnants of capitalist imperialist power in South-East Asia. But that power is so far decayed, that the conference takes on many aspects of a weird Alice-in-Wonderland tea party rather than a serious diplomatic-military gathering.

The conference has grown out of the desperate American attempt last spring to bring together some kind of a military alliance to save Indochina from the Stalinists. When it was clear that no other government was willing to throw its military forces into the meat-grinder which had decimated the French officer cadres, the idea of immediate, direct military intervention was abandoned. The United States then began to talk of "drawing a line" in Asia over which the Stalinists would not be permitted to step, and of organizing an alliance pledged to fight to hold that line.

## "ASIANS" ALL

So the present conference was born. But which of the governments of Southeast Asia are in attendance?

In first place, of course, is that great Asian power, the United States. Following directly after is Britain, whose Asian colonial holdings are now cut down to Malaya and Hong Kong, a shadow of their former glory. Then comes France, peerless defender of "freedom" in Asia, who was induced to withdraw from half of Indochina only when a pistol was literally put to its head, and which hangs on to the other half for as long as the growing paralysis which is dessicating France will permit.

Hard on the heels of these three "Asian" powers come Australia and New Zealand, which are Asian only in the sense that they border on Asian waters. These are the only two South-East Pacific powers with populations overwhelmingly of European descent and which enjoy at least a European standard of living. Their history is completely different from that of all the non-European peoples of Asia, and the sympathies which bind them to the continent are not much different from those of the other three "white" powers.

## POOR GUESTS

So far, it appears, the "freedom" of South-East Asia must depend for its defense solely on those powers which have been or still are the chief suppressors of freedom in

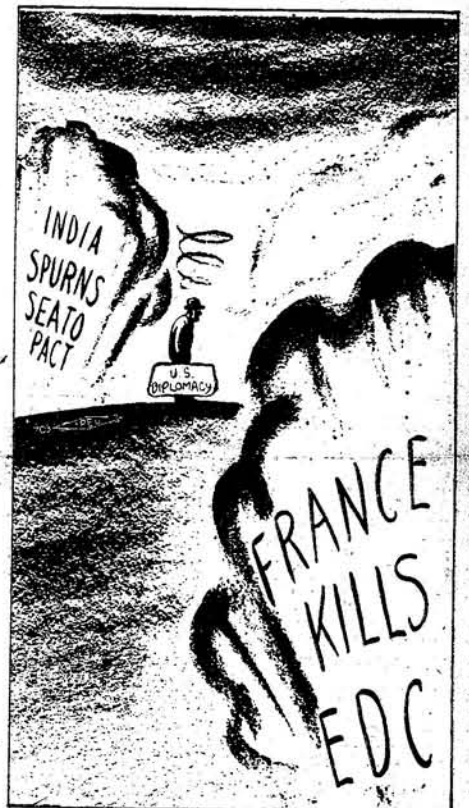
that area, with a couple of their satellites.

But that is not all. In addition (and this is the only thing which gives the conference any semblance of being something in which Asians themselves are concerned except as *objects*) the governments of Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines are present.

Thailand is, next to Formosa and South Korea, subject to the most reactionary regime of any which exist outside the Stalinis orbit in the area. [See article on Thailand elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION.] Pakistan is ruled by a reactionary, confessional ruling class which in no way represents progress in Asia.

And finally come the poor Philippines, with an economy still largely dependent on the United States, and a ruling class which suffers from all the disabilities of a new bourgeoisie rising in an underdeveloped country, faced with the competition on the world market of highly developed capitalisms, and unable to win for itself a position of true autonomy, of true in-

## Time for a Change



dependence, as against the capital of the former colonial overlord.

These are the guests at the Manila tea party. But they were not the only ones who had been invited. The American, British and French imperialists had, of course, sought to get the collaboration of the rest of the South Asian governments,

(Turn to last page)

## How to Beat the A-Bomb

Two blows were struck against the A-bomb in the month of August.

### Item One:

On August 21, three army doctors proposed that civilians wear a suit of armor in order to protect themselves from the effects of A- and H-bombs.

They didn't have the clanking kind in mind, in making this bid to return to the Middle Ages. They meant the armored vests made of nylon that have been used in Korea. It might, they thought, protect somebody against flying pieces of plaster, glass, etc., if an atom bomb struck.

If this sounds as ridiculous as carrying an umbrella in a hurricane, maybe the point in the good doctors' minds was better expressed when they referred to the effect of the nylon tests in boosting soldiers' morale.

In case of war, citizens living in a likely target might just feel better if they went about in the armor. An H-bomb might still get you, of course, but at least you had the comfort of knowing that you were safe from falling plaster.

### Item Two:

The Chicago Daily News on August 13

reported that an A-bomb attack on the city wouldn't keep you from eating, provided you were still around.

A city civil-defense team showed that it could prepare meals "on emergency devices likely to be found among rubble after an attack." For example:

"Water for the first coffee and soup (both instant) was boiled in an empty shortening tin over a fire of wood splinters enclosed in a horseshoe of bricks. A sewer grating was placed on the bricks. Other bricks, with mud for mortar, and a heavy iron garbage can, were fashioned into an oven, and biscuits from a prepared mix were ready by 10:30." And so on.

This isn't startlingly clever because you can read all about it and other brilliant ideas in various science-fiction stories about the last survivors on earth.

But the Chicago C-D team painted a happy picture of the hot meal for the lucky people squatting around the sewer gratings and succulent garbage cans, no doubt with nothing but radiation burns. Could have been that body armor saved them all. . . .



## UAW AND REST OF LABOR MUST STOP STRIKEBREAKING ATTEMPT AGAINST UE LOCAL

# The Square-D Strike: Warning to Detroit

Detroit has witnessed the first attempt at strikebreaking since 1939, the year when the Chrysler Corporation tried to break an Auto Workers Union strike.

On September 3 last week, a back-to-work movement at the Square D Electrical Company was started. The union on strike, representing 1200 union workers, is the United Electrical Workers, the Stalinist-led rival of the CIO electrical union.

The union has demanded 5 cents an hour. The company granted 3 cents an hour. All the Detroit newspapers carried quarter-page advertisements offering "permanent employment" to any applicant filling requirements.

That Detroit, a union town, citadel of the UAW-CIO, biggest and most powerful industrial union in the country, could be the scene of such a public and powerful attempt at strikebreaking, is commentary enough on the shape of affairs in union circles. One might expect such a development in the hinterlands but not in the heartland of the UAW.

What makes this strikebreaking attempt really dangerous is the hands-off attitude by the labor movement so far. Up to the present writing, nothing has been heard from the organized labor movement on the Square D strike.

Of course, it is the Stalinist-run character of the striking union, the UE, which

is the stopper as far as the rest of labor is concerned. But this is exactly what the strikebreaking attempt is counting on, no doubt.

Taking advantage of the atmosphere in a nation where "liberal" Democrats have just forced through the CP-outlawing bill, with its anti-labor provisions for busting unions labeled "Red-dominated," the bosses (it can considerably be guessed) are making a pilot-attempt at reintroducing strikebreaking into Detroit by using such a Stalinist-led union as the scapegoat.

If the rest of the Detroit labor movement stands aside, in order not to be "tainted" by coming to the defense of the UE striking workers, then the area has been prepared for a bolder attempt at a less vulnerable union.

To permit any strike to be broken in Detroit would be the height of folly for the UAW. It might whet the appetites of auto magnates, who, according to recent reports, are thirsting to take on the UAW in a fight around the 1955 contract fights.

If UAW leaders believe that the Square D strikebreaking is aimed only at CP-led unions, they are sadly mistaken. The defense of their own union is at stake too.

The Square D company has obtained an injunction limiting picketing to five persons at each of the plant's four gates, in order to limit mass picketing and provide protection for scabs.

A mass meeting conducted by all of Detroit labor in front of the Square D could be a powerful deterrent to any strikebreaking notions.

Will the UAW meet the challenge, or will it permit labor to be divided by the witchhunt atmosphere?

## IUE-CIO Victory Means the Finish of UE

### ITS OWN MILITANTS ARE QUITTING CP-LED UNION IN ORDER TO DEFEND WORKERS AGAINST GE

By JOHN WILLIAMS

The victory of the CIO electrical workers union, IUE-CIO, in the General Electric plant at Schenectady signifies finally the end of the Stalinist-led UE, its rival. It also means that the IUE-CIO can now emerge as a powerful force in the CIO as well as in the labor movement in general.

Of course, it is necessary to remember that the UE has been considered "finished" before now, only to perk up and remain quite active and alive. But there is an important difference in the situation now.

In the past, despite some of the fiercest pressure known, CP-led unions like the UE, expelled from the CIO, managed to survive "outside" pressure, that is, the pressure of the trade-union official bureaucracy, "anti-red" propaganda, plain red-baiting, etc. And no mistake should be made about it: the pressure on the CP's union militants was enormous. Red-baiters had a field day, and it was not too uncommon to hear about CPers being flung bodily out of plants.

But the real significance of the present IUE-CIO victory at General Electric in Schenectady is the fact that, this time, it was the CP's own worker-supporters who turned on it and switched to IUE-CIO for progressive reasons.

#### WHY THEY SWITCHED

One must not ignore the fact that the background of social and economic pressure was still there, to be sure. And it might be difficult to argue that the switch would have taken place even without this background pressure. But the difference that deserves highlighting is that the former Stalinist militants who switched did so because they wanted to be able to defend their union from the rapacious attacks by General Electric. And when it became clear to them that the Stalinist machine would not and could not take on General Electric in a victorious fight, they began to send out feelers to IUE-CIO.

These militants must have been nauseated at the sight of UE continually stabbing IUE-CIO in the back, as the UE did in signing its miserable GE contract while IUE-CIO was still putting up a fight for a better contract for its GE plants.

That is why, long before the final shift by Leo Jandreau, former Schenectady GE leader, rumors were afloat that Jan-

dreau was negotiating with IUE President Carey for a return to the CIO.

From the strictly trade-union point of view, the capture of the giant Schenectady plant, which employs somewhere around 20,000 workers, was a must for the IUE-CIO.

The General Electric contract, which represents the biggest chunk of the elec-

trical industry, is the pace-setter for the entire industry. Before IUE-CIO could be truly secure, it had to be in a position to take on and defeat this giant monopoly.

#### CP COLLUSION

But this could never be done so long as there was the weak and isolated UE still hanging on to General Electric's two big plants at Schenectady and Erie, as long as the UE negotiated for a separate contract at the same time that IUE-CIO was trying to get one.

The UE Stalinists, still clinging to their trade-union base, would not risk their strength by fighting the company. By settling on the company's terms they could always hope to work out a "way of

life" with the bosses, while maintaining their base of operations for fighting the CIO.

When James Carey charged the UE with being in collusion with General Electric, he was merely stating the truth.

Only recently, as has happened in the past, IUE-CIO was forced to accept a contract which it did not like, only because UE had already set the pattern by accepting the company's poor offer just as IUE-CIO was mobilizing for a fight.

This has been right along an intolerable situation which demanded a solution. The Stalinist leadership of UE has been trying to fight the CIO, not by offering better and more militant leadership to the workers, but by betraying the workers' interests even on the most elementary trade-union level. These leaders made clear that in the interest of a trade-union base of operations for Stalinism, the workers' interest would be sacrificed. Thus they reflected the alien character of Stalinism as a force in but not of the labor movement.

#### DISINTEGRATION OF UE

The switch by Jandreau in Schenectady, and by lesser but still important other former Stalinist local leaders in GE-Bloomfield and Westinghouse Meter Division-Newark, is evidence of the disintegration of the UE from within. It is a progressive solution of the intolerable situation in the extent that it flows from the Stalinist militants' need to defend their class positions.

As such it can only be hailed by socialists as a vindication of their view that the workers themselves can rid the labor movement of Stalinist control. Labor need not and must not depend on a reactionary government to "defend" it against Stalinism by stripping labeled unions of bargaining rights and union rights.

In view of the new infamous "anti-Communist law," there is great danger that everyone will look the other way if a "responsible" attorney general applies it only to unions that really are CP-influenced.

The progressive solution pointed to by IUE-CIO is therefore a very important example.

Inside the IUE-CIO this victory has also had progressive consequences. Almost everywhere now in IUE circles, one hears it said that the union must hit harder at the trade-union issues in order to win over the UE, and not rely on red-baiting.

To be sure, red-baiting methods have not disappeared, but IUE progressives are in a much better position to say: We told you so; you can win people like Jandreau by proving you are better unionists and not by proving you are better red-baiters.

The victory in Schenectady is mainly responsible for the IUE's progressive position on security firings. Because many former Stalinists or their supporters are now flocking to IUE-CIO, Carey and the union are forced to defend them from attacks based on their former associations, since they still remain the workers' leaders and are thereby building the IUE. The union is pursuing the policy of refusing to recognize any unilateral firing for security reasons. Any worker so fired will be defended by the union.

## Westinghouse Strike Fight May Lead Off for IUE Demands

By ELMER SIMMS

On Monday, September 10, barring an extremely unlikely change in the company's present attitude, 55,000 Westinghouse workers organized in IUE-CIO are due to go on strike. The chain-wide shut-down is being resorted to by the CIO electrical union in the face of an offer of 2.68 cents with next to nothing on the side, in return for which Westinghouse demands a contract to run for 15½ months without a wage reopener.

This is exactly the same microscopic offer for which the IUE just settled in the GE chain, their hand having been forced by the previous acceptance of the Stalinist UE (see article elsewhere on this page).

In the very act of acceptance of GE's terms, IUE President James P. Carey issued a fierce denunciation of the company's attitude, and openly accused them of planning to destroy the union. Obviously the IUE strategy is for the more militant and unified Westinghouse workers to break the ground for the rest of the industry.

Although the Westinghouse workers responded to the pressure of their leadership in authorizing the strike, one could hardly characterize their attitude toward it as enthusiastic. In an atmosphere of layoffs, short weeks and growing unemployment, workers who still hold relatively good jobs are very reluctant to take the risks which a strike involves.

The insolence of the company's offer to some extent offsets even this, but there is a more fundamental weakness in the union's whole position at the outset of the struggle: its real demands correspond poorly to the felt needs of the workers.

Aside from the demand for a guaranteed annual wage, which no one expects to get, and for a corporation-wide minimum of \$1.25, the IUE is asking for the usual mixture of raises and fringe benefits. The \$1.25 corporation-wide minimum is obviously aimed at the runaway-shop problem, and as such it is an excellent example of the type of demand which

could win a real response from the workers. Like the guaranteed annual wage, however, it is considered by the leadership to be a "dress" demand, for dicker purposes only, and will be conceded as rapidly as the guaranteed annual wage, while the serious fighting will center on hourly wage hikes.

Against a pattern of wage cuts in Studebaker, the textile industry, and others, money demands—nice though raises always are—do not fire the enthusiasm of the workers to the usual degree. The real fears of the workers are of close-downs, layoffs, and runaway shops—that is, of losing their jobs altogether.

#### NEED BROADER PROGRAM

If the unions are to capture the enthusiasm of the workers, intimidated as they are by these aspects of the recession, they will have to show much more imagination than is now evident, and base their demands on the real fears of their members. As yet no union leadership has come forward with a serious worked-out program of such demands.

The reason though discouraging, is easy to guess—such a program would necessarily make broader, i.e., more political demands. And this in turn would mean going beyond, or even into conflict with, the New-Deal-Fair-Deal wing of the Democratic Party, the sort of step which the labor leadership is most reluctant to take.

The best hope for success in the Westinghouse strike undoubtedly lies in the possibility that in the course of the strike itself the rank-and-file and shop leaders will impress upon the top leadership of IUE the necessity of shifting the emphasis from the cash raise to the more realistic of the job-protection demands, such as the closing up of differentials between the South and the rest of the country. When the inevitable horse-trading takes place in negotiations for a settlement of the strike, these "general" demands should be maintained even at the expense of hourly increases.

#### YOU'RE INVITED

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



# The Cowardice of the Labor Press

## Most Union Papers Cringe Away from Attacking Police-State Law

By BEN HALL

Last week we reprinted an editorial from *Advance*, published by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, on the bill outlawing the Communist Party. "... the bill, as it now stands, is a severe blow at civil liberties—freedom of speech, of thought, of assembly as all Americans are guaranteed by our Constitution. If the Kremlin itself had written the legislation it could not have done a better job of stripping the citizenry of its freedom. In fact, the anti-Communist bill has all the elements of police-state thought-control as practiced behind the Iron Curtain. And it drags America to which the free world looks for democratic leadership, further away from the principles of democracy upon which we have built." So it read, in part.

On August 23, the *Oil Worker*, organ of the CIO Oil Workers Union, noted editorially:

**"Bills outlawing the Communist Party and handling Communist 'infiltrated' labor unions were still under consideration as this paper went to press. But one thing was clear: Congress was displaying an attitude of reckless disregard of basic rights for political purposes. With few exceptions, Democrats and Republicans alike were joining in demanding legislation of questionable legality at best."**

### FEEBLE COMMENTS

These examples are cited not to illustrate any "trend" in official labor opinion but on the contrary to provide a sharp contrasting background for what is to follow. The first painfully feeble comments from the labor union press are just beginning to dribble in. The unions are not equipped to speak up forcefully and speedily on such questions. Policy meetings must be held perhaps; articles written; newspapers made up and printed. Naturally, all this takes time. The Amalgamated, apparently more efficient and quick moving than others, stated its position forthrightly and immediately. *Justice*, newspaper of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has not been able to fit a story into its current issue. So far to our knowledge, not one important union has endorsed or praised the new law; but that does not say very much.

**Agree or not with the stand of *Advance* and the *Oil Worker*, anyone with a milligram of political intelligence must concede that the law has raised substantial questions of basic political democracy. It is with this in mind that we present these gleanings from labor papers.**

The *AFL News-Reporter*, published weekly by the American Federation of Labor, no less, right in Washington, relates the event in its August 27 issue under the headline: "AFL Units Not Affected by New Anti-Red Law." The title shows its main, if not exclusive concern. We learn that the new law exempts all unions affiliated with the AFL and CIO from penalties in the following language: "Any labor organization which is an affiliate in good standing of a national federation or other labor organization whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Communist organizations, any Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement shall be presumed prima facie not to be a Communist infiltrated organization."

**This seems to console the editor who finds no reason to comment on this extraordinary intervention of the government into a determination of the policies of unions.**

There follows a lengthy, non-committal, fragmented newsy account of what happened. No more.

### ANT'S EYE VIEW

The *IUE-CIO News*, of August 30, writes under the title: "Analysis of New Anti-Communist Law," and does a sensational job of confining and cramping everything into its private war with the UE. "The fanfare over the newest anti-Communist law just signed by President Eisenhower," it begins, "should not de-

ceive any IUE-CIO member into believing that Communist-led unions like UE are through because of the law." It carefully points out that some large companies deal with unions that have been expelled as Communist-dominated by the CIO and that "There is apparently nothing in the new law to prevent management from recognizing a union found guilty under the new law." Democracy? The Democratic liberals and the witch-hunt? For or against the law? The *IUE-News* doesn't squander valuable print on mere essentials. It points out that the new law is designed to "strengthen" the Smith Act of 1940 and "under it 67 first string Communist leaders have been convicted, including Dave Davis, for 20 years business agent of Local 155, UE, in Philadelphia." Another article in the same issue headlines: "UE's Dave Davis Guilty of Red Plot."

### THEORY WITH A FLAVOR

The *Michigan CIO News*, organ of the State Industrial Union Council, skirts delicately around the question in its own version of a "straight" news story which appears as the lead article in its issue of August 26 under the head "Loose Wording of Anti-Red Bill Threat to Unions." Here we find an expanded version of the theory, all firmly bound together with scotch tape and string, that the Republicans are really to blame for inciting the Democrats. "Republican administration pressure for passage of anti-Communist legislation aimed only at unions," the lead sentence reports, "backfired last week when an adjournment-bound Con-

gress expanded the measure to include other fields which President Eisenhower did not want." The flavor of this opening remark must be savored for full appreciation. If only the administration hadn't put on so much pressure "only" against the unions there would have been no "backfire."

**But who was hit by the "backfire"? This is left somewhat cloudy. If the editor pondered for a moment he would discover that it was not the administration that suffered but democracy and the unions. If only Congress were not so "adjournment-bound." ... That's it! It was only the natural homing instincts of tired congressmen, eager to join wife, children, hobbies, and primaries that goaded them to lash out against democracy. Could have happened anywhere.**

### EXCITED, THASSALL

In a class by itself is an editorial entitled "Hasty Legislation" appearing in the August 30 issue of the *CIO News*. Unlike the pettifogging meanderings in other labor papers, the editor realizes, "... that law does raise some major questions of civil liberties which cannot be easily answered." And he adds, "The Communists will not be licked by repressive anti-labor legislation—in fact they are already making propaganda out of it. Communism will be licked as it has been in America, by high living standards, personal security and the constant common-sense exercise of our traditional civil liberties and rights." We live in grievous times when one must be satisfied with small favors; in that spirit the

CIO editorial could almost be welcomed. Almost but not quite. For it deserves the funambulist prize for genuflecting before Democratic liberals. The bill, we are told, "was voted for by numerous Democratic liberals" (understatement of the year: they whipped everyone into a frenzy for their bill). Why? "As an answer to a prolonged and vicious smear by the GOP that the Democrats are 'soft' on Communism." Furthermore, "It is understandable, under the circumstances, why the liberals voted for the bill, and observers who saw the look of chagrin on the faces of the GOP's extreme right-wing could realize that the liberal Democrats had spoiled their hypocritical game." The editorial continues to point out that the CIO has called for a responsible commission to propose responsible legislation against Communism after responsible study instead of such hasty measures. And it concludes, "We hope that after the excitement of the election campaign is over, the Congress will take a second more reflective look at what it has done." Did you think that the Democratic liberals had surrendered to the pressure of the witchhunt? Did you imagine, perhaps that their action in this case, was in perfect accord with their support of the Smith Act, with their support of the loyalty purges? No, it was just the excitement of the elections.

Here in the United States, Congress and the president have taken the unprecedented step of illegalizing a political party, a measure never enacted in war or peace. So far, only two major labor unions have had the courage to denounce those responsible.

## Chinese Students in U.S. Detained Here Against Their Will, Protest

A group of 26 Chinese students, who are being detained in this country against their will, have sent an appeal to the president to be allowed to go home to their native land.

**The appeal, publicized by the American Friends Service Committee, New England office (Pease Section), serves to spotlight a little-known fact: By a presidential executive order, these foreign students are being kept from going home to their families.**

In a letter to Eisenhower, the Chinese students said that their plight is that of a "few thousand" others in this country.

"We, the undersigned," wrote the 26, "are a number of Chinese students who have been engaged in the study of engineering, medical or natural sciences for various lengths of time in the United States.

"After the completion of certain stages of academic studies, some of us have applied for exit permits either to go back to China or to go to other places. Invariably these applications were refused, and we were told by the immigration authorities that none of the few thousands of Chinese students in the field of technical sciences would be allowed to leave. Hence, with a feeling of futility, the rest of us refrained from applying for exit permits."

### HARASSMENT

The letter describes the personal distress which is caused them by this enforced separation from their homelands, and they point out that recently, according to newspaper reports, 15 Chinese students were released. They petition for revocation of the restraining order.

In a news release, the history of the case is summarized as follows:

**"In September 1951, nine Chinese students in the field of the technical sciences (along with two children) aboard a ship bound for Hong Kong were forced to leave the ship at Honolulu and to abandon their homeward journey. Since then, as far as we are aware, Chinese students in the field of technical sciences were given an order forbidding their departure whenever they applied to the immigration authorities for exit permits. ...**

"During the last three years some of us have repeatedly applied for permis-

sion to leave this country, but to no avail. Even after the disclosure of the news that that 15 Chinese students in the field of technical sciences are to be released, our applications to the immigration authorities for permission to leave the United States still were unsuccessful. On the ground of human rights, we feel that any Chinese student who wishes to leave this country should be allowed to do so. ..."

### PRETEXT

**What is the government's reason for laying down this visa curtain against the return of student-visitors to their own countries?**

After the Quaker office released the protests in Boston, a Boston paper answered with an editorial which expressed some sympathy and then proceeded to give the government's line:

"Most people will sympathize with the plight of the five Chinese students in Boston who have been refused exit visas to their homeland.

**"But it must be recognized that the government is detaining them because it believes that their training has given them classified knowledge which might enable them to contribute to the Chinese Communist Government's military potential.**

"Exit visas have been denied to 120 Chinese students in this country. Each case is being examined to discover whether the training of the individual in question would enable him to reveal secrets beneficial to the Peiping regime. This process should be speeded.

"Especially should it be determined in each case whether the student actually came in contact with classified material, or whether he took courses available to everyone.

"While every attempt should be made to correct hardships in worthy individual cases, attempts in making the president revoke his Executive order—detaining such students in general—must be considered as a possible Communist subterfuge and should be treated as such."

Whatever may be behind this riddle, the stated motivation certainly cannot be taken seriously.

**It is hard to believe that after three years the government has still not been able to find out whether the Chinese stu-**

**dents were handed military secrets in the course of their training. And that has to be said in addition to wonderment over the idea that "classified knowledge" is batted about so freely as to be accessible to casual students not cleared for a special post.**

Moreover, there is no explanation of what happens in case it is found that a student was exposed to some bit of "classified knowledge," presumably not through his own seeking; i.e., not through espionage. Is he to be kept in custody in this country for the rest of his natural life, for fear that he would communicate this bit of knowledge to his Chinese professors—this bit of knowledge which was so far from secret that he acquired it involuntarily?

The American Friends Service Committee does not hint that the executive order is simple harassment, in which the students' rights are disregarded as pawns in the cold war against Peiping.

### DANGEROUS QUAKERS

While the Quakers protested the detention of students inside the U. S., the Washington visa curtain also showed its other side to them. A foreign Quaker journalist was refused entrance into the U. S.

**Bjorn Hallstrom, a distinguished Swedish newspaperman, was refused a visa for a second time. He is London editor of the *Svenska Morgonbladet*, one of Sweden's leading daily newspapers.**

Hallstrom described his switch from the Communist Party to Christian pacifism in a book entitled *I Believed in Moscow*. He is now a Quaker.

**In 1952 he was refused entrance into this country to report the election campaign. This year he applied for a visa to visit the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches. He was refused again, even though delegates from Stalinist countries were permitted to attend!**

This is the second time the visa curtain has been rung down on pacifists. Recently a member of the staff of the *London Peace News* (a pacifist weekly), Tom Wardle, was kept out of the country when he wished to come to lecture for American Quakers.



# FULL CIRCLE

## THE 'PABLOITE' TROTSKYISTS HOLD RUMP 'WORLD' CONGRESS

By BERNARD CRAMER

For those who are interested, the latest issue of *Quatrième Internationale* reports on the recent meeting of the "orthodox Trotskyist" groups and grouplets who still comprise the so-called Fourth International, assembled in what they also called their "Fourth World Congress."

This was, however, a congress of one faction of the movement, the one which follows Pablo and the majority of its international committee, this being also the more pro-Stalinist wing.

In the last couple of years a series of splits in various national groups has divided the remnants of the movement into two factions, more or less similar to the split which took place last year in the American Socialist Workers Party.

The "Pabloite" leadership has been busily deriving all the indicated pro-Stalinist conclusions from the "workers state" theory of Russian Stalinism; it now sees the Stalinist world revolution as the "socialist" revolution of our times; hails the extension of Stalinist power to new parts of the world; gleefully sees ahead a whole era of Stalinist victories, which it supports; and aims to liquidate its groups into the CPs wherever the latter are the mass parties.

The other faction, ideologically represented by the Cannonite SWP leadership, went along with the Stalinization of their movement up to the point where the Pabloites started moving toward liquidation into the CPs. The Cannonites drew back and eventually split, remaining in a kind of political no-man's-land where they accept all the Pabloite premises but reject the inevitable conclusions in revolution.

The congress reported on in *Quatrième Internationale* was the Pabloites' rump congress. The others simply refused to attend, accusing the organizers of the congress of bureaucratic usurpation, etc. The congress registered the de-facto split.

### "BUILDING SOCIALISM"

The published documents of this meeting are of limited interest only, since little is added to the already-manifested politics of these Stalinoid-Trotskyists. We may note the following secondary points.

The Stalinist camp is now entitled "the anti-capitalist camp." The proclamation that the world socialist revolution is under way—in the form of the Stalinist conquests—is brasher than ever. "On the morrow of the victory of the Chinese Revolution in particular, since 1950 to fix the date, we entered into the phase of a new upsurge, irreversible

and irresistible, of the revolutionary movement over the world, the most extraordinary one since the birth of capitalism and, in all probability, the final phase of the latter. It will extend over years. . . ." So writes Pablo.

"The socialist world is in our grasp!" exclaims a manifesto, and "The decisive struggles for socialism have begun."

While all this is simply sloganization of positions already adopted, it is yet with some remaining astonishment that one sees these self-admitted "orthodox" Trotskyists hailing the building of socialism in the Stalinist world!

This spectacle is provided in the manifesto's first paragraph, where it "hails the workers of the anti-capitalist countries who are today the pioneers in the building of the socialist world."

If this is not, at long last, a "Trotskyist" admission that the Stalinists really can build socialism, and are doing so, then it must be admitted that the language has been carefully molded to convey that impression.

### NEXT STEP SHOWS

There is one other step in the process of Stalinization which the Pabloites have not yet taken, but the congress resolution left the door open for it. This is the conception of reform-from-above by the Kremlin bureaucracy, à la Isaac Deutscher.

One of the ideas of Trotsky which these Stalinized "Trotskyists" have not yet thrown out is his call for "political revolution" in Russia, i.e., his view of the impossibility of a peaceful surrender of power by the bureaucracy. The formula of political revolution is still repeated by the Pabloites, but the main resolution also prepares the ground as follows:

"The situation in the countries of the anti-capitalist camp [Stalinist countries] is contradictory and complex. The fundamental reasons which served in Stalin's time to nourish the discontent of the masses and their opposition to the political regime—the bureaucratic and police regime—still remain in a general way. But on the other hand the disappearance of the man who incarnated the despotism and who, in every way, by his specific Bonapartist role within the bureaucracy, presented an obstacle to the development of the new tendencies created by the economic and cultural progress achieved in the USSR and by the conjunction of this progress with the international revolutionary successes, has made the situation more fluid."

By this mouthful, the Pabloites mean merely to say that anything can happen, specifically the transformation of the Malenkov police dictatorship into a genuine socialist state ("regenerated"), now that Stalin is out of the way.

### "LEFT OPPOSITION"

This, the next inevitable step in the Stalinization of the Fourth International, already casts shadows before in the language of the new-baked Stalinoids at this congress. Where once Trotskyists, discussing relations between the Kremlin and the Russian peasantry, spoke of relations between the peasantry and the bureaucracy, the Pabloites now write about relations between the peasantry and the Proletarian State.

The broadest formulations of pro-Stalinism are reserved for the Stalinist totalitarians of China, Yugoslavia, Indochina and (in one place) North Korea—these being singled out as the places where guaranteed-genuine socialist revolutions have already taken place under Stalinist leadership.

There are still evidences of a divided mind even here. On the one hand, the Pabloite resolutions argue that in these countries the situation was exceptional in making possible the revolution under "opportunist" leadership, and the argument would seem to indicate that it was not the CPs that were different but the situation in which they worked. But it is only for these CPs, and no others, that the Pabloites reserve the bold, frank formulation that—

"The real revolutionary Marxist forces in these countries will present themselves as a left opposition in these parties, proposing their reform."

This seems to be the first passage in which the Pabloites have openly and in so many words proclaimed their obvious aim of returning to the status of a "left opposition" within the Stalinist movement, the status from which Trotsky broke away two decades ago. Full circle.

# SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

cruel knife-twister or salt-rubber-in. Especially since not only Humphrey but the ADA National Board has been sidestepping like a crab lately. While repudiating Humphrey's McCarthyite tactics in Congress, the ADA board sidestepped the direct issue of outlawing the CP.

But we have a positive and constructive aim in all this.

Remember, we are quoting from a fund-raising letter. The ADA office is painting the ADA senators as Fearless Fosdicks in order to excite the letter's recipients into digging into the cash box. They think, not without justice, that this is the line which can move the ADAers to shell out.

Well, the inverse is true too. The cowardice, the treason, the narrow stupidity, the fundamentally capitulatory politics of these so-called liberal leaders—manifested not for the first time when Humphrey did his St. Vitus Dance in Congress—are these not important reasons why the membership of ADA have no feeling of being in a crusade, no feeling of mission, no enthusiasm, no dynamism?

"Ordinarily each year," says the fund-raising letter, "about one ADAer in five contributed to keep the national organization going."

Let no one say that we socialists are incapable of making the most concrete of practical proposals. Maybe the ADA might solve its financial problems and its political problems at the same time in the well-known fell swoop if only it showed it had the guts to fight for a genuinely liberal program for a change.

## Our Way of Life

Samuel M. Brownell, who takes up the space in the Eisenhower government which is allotted to the Commissioner of Education and also draws the salary for that post, has come up with an idea on how to solve the teacher shortage.

Not one but two (2) big brains were involved in incubating this proposal. Brownell was assisted by the lady who runs the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, Mrs. Alice K. Leopold.

Other people have suggested that the teacher shortage could be solved if teachers were paid salaries high enough to induce capable men and women to enter the profession. This orthodox application of the supply-and-demand relationship, however, does not appeal to Republicans, who would rather balance budgets in order to cut down taxes for deserving businessmen.

The Brownell-Leopold formula is simple: Recruit mothers who are hankering for a career, once their youngsters were in school, and set them down in elementary school classrooms after a year of special training.

Apparently they figure that a teacher's salary could appeal to these mothers as extra pin money. Maybe so, but for the great mass of teachers, this pin money is supposed to be what they live on.

There is a second aspect to this proposal, after another look.

It has been an uphill struggle in many parts of the country to raise the standards for teachers so that children are adequately prepared. Once any girl who could read and write was thought good enough to teach. Today, in theory, the teaching of children is supposed to be one of the most important skilled professions in the community, one which shapes a future generation.

The Brownell-Leopold idea turns the clock back on this.

Just as, during the war, semi-skilled welders and mechanics were turned out

## Capitalist Monkey

This week, in Sanford, Florida, an old socialist pamphlet was acted out in real life as reported by Arnold Hood, a zoo-keeper in that city.

According to Hood, Jiggles, a spider monkey, and three buddies set up a monkey-dictatorship and tried to corner the food supply for all the monkeys, an opposition party formed quickly and tossed Jiggles into the moat around the monkey island at the zoo.

Now, Jiggles, languishing in a private cage, is for sale. Everytime Hood tries to put Jiggles back on the island the outraged monkeys promptly toss him back into the water.

You don't believe it? It was reported by the Associated Press on August 16th!

—Reading Labor Advocate

in quickie schools in a few weeks in order to fill the labor shortage—so also they want to turn out quickie-trained teachers.

This is the kind of choice to which the U. S. Commissioner of Education turns, instead of recommending steps to improve the quality of the teaching profession. The next generation is going to have the very best-quality jet planes to handle, and damn the expense for guns, tanks and A-bombs, but maybe they'll be lucky if their elementary school teachers still remember how to do long division. After all, we've got to spend our money on protecting our Way of Life. . . .

## Be Thankful For Small Favors

These days it deserves notice when, in this great American democracy, a federal judge rules that anonymous testimony is worthless.

In a decision which received scant publicity, Federal Judge Thomas J. Murphy granted naturalization to a Czech alien, Karel Mazel, who had been accused by a masked witness before a congressional investigating committee of past or present membership in the Communist Party.

Judge Murphy, the government prosecutor in the Alger Hiss case, ruled that Mazel had established that he was attached to the principles of the Constitution and devoted to the welfare of the United States. The test case had been sponsored by the ACLU and handled by Attorney Howard J. Taubenfeld, a member of its lawyers' panel.

Mazel originally came into the United States in 1944. He visited Czechoslovakia in 1947, about eight months before the CP coup. He had been cleared by federal authorities for his position as chief of the Czechoslovakian desk of the Office of War Information, from which he resigned in 1947 because of poor health from overwork. His naturalization was held up by the Justice Department, because they suspected he was a Communist.

The government based its opposition to his naturalization on testimony by a masked witness before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Senator McCarran and the "expressed suspicion and distrust of several witnesses" in an FBI investigation. The Immigration Department had admitted that even it could not learn the identity of the masked witness, whose testimony had been attacked by the Secretary of State and by the head of the U. S. delegation to the UN.

One of the grounds for denying naturalization raised by the Justice Department was that Mazel's "loyalty to the U. S. was under suspicion because he worked in the Office of War Information in which there were a great many Communists."

Another charge was that he had been associated with a known Communist by the name of Hofmeister and had visited him while abroad. However, Mazel showed that Hofmeister had been his superior when he worked for the American government. Mazel further showed that he had to visit Hofmeister, who was then a responsible official of the coalition Czech government, when abroad because he was a newspaperman who had to obtain accreditation from Hofmeister.

The government also was suspicious on the theory that no real anti-Communist would have chanced a trip to Czechoslovakia in 1947 in view of the Communist coup in 1948; but Mazel's attorney pointed out that the headlines of the New York Times immediately after the Communist coup in 1948 showed how surprised, shocked and startled the whole world was by the coup.

Judge Murphy did not even dignify these charges by analyzing them, merely finding that Mazel had been associated with Hofmeister, who was a Communist, in his work, and had seen him while abroad.

The opinion said that the only "proof" of Mazel's non-attachment to the principles of the Constitution was unverified statement or statements by an unidentified person or persons, and found that Mazel had established his patriotism to America and should be naturalized. The government has not appealed the decision.

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## Cannon Fodder

West Germany is the show-place of the "free world." In Adenauer is found the one remaining major politician of Europe whom *Time* magazine can trust. A recent dispatch from Germany, however, gives a real insight into the plight of young people there.

**There are 2,500,000 youth from 18 to 25 who are refugees. Of these, 200,000 are without a home of any kind. At Padenborn, in the British zone, 29 per cent of the school children have no bed.**

The inevitable result? A staggering problem of juvenile delinquency, and, in the words of the North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch, "thousands of young persons . . . suffer from neurotic problems as the result of experiences during and since the war."

If the French would only heel, these youth could join a German army.

## The YSL's Aim

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

—From the Constitution of the YSL

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# Playing and Learning at the YSL Camp

By OWEN MORSE

The first National Summer Camp-School of the Young Socialist League, which took place at Mountain Springs Camp, New Jersey, over the week ending September 3, was a tremendous success from every angle. Over fifty members and friends from all over the country participated in the classes and in the fun, and enjoyed the ample facilities for relaxation that the camp provided.

People from California, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Albany, Newark, Buffalo, Antioch and Madison swelled out the group which was weighted with New Yorkers. The weekend of August 27 drew the largest attendance.

On this weekend over fifty heard the first two sessions of Hal Draper's class on Stalinism, pacifist Dave Dellinger on "Non-Violence and the Personal Revolution," and the high point of the weekend Max Shachtman's speech Saturday night on the Role and Meaning of a Socialist Movement Today. Friday and Saturday evenings also saw vigorous folk-dancing into the wee hours of the night, as well as the consumption of a substantial amount of beer.

The end of the weekend served to separate the sheep from the goats; half returned to take up their weary tasks of earning a living, while the other half who had intelligently chosen their vacation time stayed on for bigger and better things in the way of shuffleboard, talking, softball, drinking, volleyball, talking, swimming, drinking, badminton, ping pong, talking, bridge, poker, drinking, dancing, chess, talking, hiking, drinking, and talking, all in leisurely country style.

## STIMULATING CLASSES

Over twenty were present for the entire period, with a few of the weekenders returning for a short time, as well as a few latecomers showing toward the end of the week.

Classes were limited to two per day with the sole exception of Monday, when Victor Howard gave a lecture on American working-class and radical history while Draper completed the class on Stalinism, and Dellinger spoke on community living and a trip through France to Russian-occupied Austria that a number of revolutionary pacifists took early last year.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday saw Draper give his second class on various topics related to the independent socialist approach to the cold war and the Third Camp, and Gerry McDermott give an excellent and thought-provoking class on a Socialist View of American History for two sessions, plus a closing lecture on three labor unions.

All the classes with almost no exception stimulated long discussions following them, in which much beer and time was consumed. However, since these took place either out in the sun or in the relaxing atmosphere of the lodge living room, tempers remained remarkably long and discussion that in the city would have wearied, lasted longer, remained leisurely, and through interchange of ideas clarified many points for all of us, even if only to know where we disagreed.

## FUN TO FLAPJACKS

The pace during the week was less frantic than that over the weekend. We caught the tail-end of a hurricane Monday and Tuesday, which made for rain and staying indoors most of the time. The effects were very mild compared with what took place in New York, we are told, and we all took the enforced idleness in our stride since we were well wornout from the weekend and late hours. When the sun came out late Tuesday, the camp took to the air with a volleyball game and a campfire with wieners, marshmallows, beer and singing.

At evening and odd hours during the day records were played in the Lodge; at night the fireplace was lit. The latter task seemed to fascinate many of us who chopped and sawed wood for it, and hovered anxiously over it like flustered hens with andirons and other fireplace tools to shove wayward logs back into

place and keep the home fires burning. The camp ran a bar in which many spent happy hours at night with low lights, music, and another fireplace.

The meals eaten together in the main dining hall were truly delicious. Typical breakfast featured bacon or sausage with eggs or flapjacks, and other meals headlined roast turkey, steak, veal, plus sumptuous salads, vegetables, soups, deserts and plenty of coffee. Garlic bread was a much appreciated specialty of the camp cook. There were enough seconds and thirds to fill everyone, including our many gluttons.

## SHACHTMAN'S TALK

Shachtman's talk on Saturday was concerned primarily with the necessity of entering into the struggle for socialism by joining a socialist organization. He spoke at length on the many who have given up in this darkest period in the history of the socialist movement; of those who have lost faith in the ability of the working class to take its destiny in its own hands.

To the young people who have seen only the conservative and corrupted working class as it has been for recent years he emphasized the fact that we really do not know what the working class is like; that but a few short years ago none of us would have recognized it; that in but a few more years it must surely show itself as it can be—the leader in the struggle for its own freedom and that of all society. He painted a graphic picture of modern capitalism as a social order falling apart in agony—an order that even here in the superficially "healthy" United States can only put forward the hope for the "survival of the American Way of Life."

At one time capitalism was the force of progress in the world, he said. According to its ideologists it had been and would be with us for ever. Its confidence was unbounded. Today it hopes for survival like a man in a sinking ship, and can only orient toward arming to the teeth and lining up allies for the final conflict that can destroy it—and perhaps all the edifice of civilization with it.

## CLASS ON STALINISM

Both of Draper's classes were concerned with the thinking over the years that had created what is now the theoretical equipment of our movement. The emphasis was on the background theoretical analysis behind our political positions.

In the class on Stalinism, the first session on the Nature of the Russian State concerned itself with the need for considering Stalinism as a social system, and traced the process of analysis in which the Independent Socialists had freed themselves of the old view of Russia as some kind of "workers state" and rejected the conception that it was some kind of "capitalism" or "state capitalism." In the course of such an analysis the characteristics of a qualitatively new social system were outlined, anti-capitalist as well as anti-socialist.

Draper's second session took up a number of ideas raised by the question "Is Stalinism Progressive?" The idea of what is "progressive" was subjected to a close scrutiny, both in general and particularly in connection with Stalinism; and Draper showed from various angles why Stalinism can in no way be considered a progressive development. In

the course of this discussion he also examined the internal working of the system and the fundamental contradiction of Stalinism between totalitarianism and economic planning.

The third session of this class was on the Roots of Stalinist Imperialism. In the course of this discussion, Draper outlined some tendencies within the Stalinist camp for a realignment of relations between the Russian master of the bloc and its various satellites.

## HISTORY SESSIONS

Gerry McDermott's class on American History showed how many new insights are possible when one uses a Marxist framework. The framing of the Constitution was presented in the context of the first American revolution. McDermott described how it established the rule of property in the country, and was put across against the wishes and desires of the Western independent farmer class by a coalition of Northern merchant capitalists and Southern slave owners, in a most illegal way. The Constitutional Convention's conspiratorial character was gone into, together with one leading personnel of the Federalist faction, their interests and their ideas. McDermott analyzed the ways in which the provisions of the Constitution are set up to impede majority rule.

The second session sketched out the next seventy years and turned to the Civil War as "the Second American Revolution." For the first few years of the republic, the northern capitalists ruled. In reaction there grew up an alliance of the Southern plantation owners and the Western democratic farmers that took power as the Democratic-Republican Party when the prestige of Washington, under which the Federalist party of the North had managed to hang on, ended with his death. The Northern capitalists remained out of power for the next half century. The Southern-Western bloc broke up due to the tremendous inherent need and drive of the plantation slave system to expand to new lands.

McDermott recounted why the slave states had to expand, why they broke the Missouri Compromise and threw their former allies into the arms of the North; how the Republican Party was formed; how Lincoln happened to be elected president; etc. He spent some time also debunking some myths about Lincoln, particularly Lincoln's attitude toward slavery and labor.

## "BRIDGE-BUILDING"

Draper's second class, starting Tuesday, was entitled Problems of Anti-War Policy. The first session covered the bureaucratization of capitalism in this period of its death, and the way in which the notion of the Third Camp opposed to capitalism and Stalinism was developed.

The second session examined the question of Socialism and Defense of the Nation. Draper compared and contrasted the attitudes toward this subject on the part of Lenin and Luxemburg, in order to bring out in relief the positive relationship between an uncompromising anti-war policy and a revolutionary position on defense of the nation.

In his third session Draper again directed his attention to what he called "bridge-building," that is, how to bridge the gap in propaganda and education between a thorough anti-war position and the thinking of the masses. In this last session he illustrated this in connection with the idea of a "transitional program" against war, centering around the demand for a democratic foreign policy. The discussions following all of Draper's classes were animated and extended, and probably the most fruitful in the whole camp.

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# Renazification of Germany under Adenauer Played a Role in Putting EDC to Death

Two London newspapers, the *News Chronicle* and the *Daily Express*, have been devoting themselves recently to exposing the renazification of Konrad Adenauer's West German government.

The exposés have been part of the popular British agitation against German rearmament, as tied up with EDC. As LABOR ACTION has pointed out several times, this agitation is too often anti-German rather than anti-Nazi and directed against the German people's right to regain their sovereignty; but it is also based on solid ground in pointing to the reactionary nature of German rearmament under Adenauer.

Both papers sent reporters to West Germany to work up a full report, Bruce Rothwell for the *News Chronicle*, and Sefton Delmer for the *Daily Express*. Both accounts emphasize that the government departments are loaded with ex-Nazis in responsible positions and that in any case a strident German militarist nationalism is the characteristic climate of the present Bonn government.

Dr. Otto John's defection to the Stalinist East was, of course, motivated by this according to his own claims. Whether it was the real motivation or not, there is plenty of evidence for him to point to.

Thus, the renazification of West Germany under Washington's pet German, Adenauer, has been giving ammunition to the Stalinists as well as to the opponents of German rearmament who try thereby to prove that "the German people cannot be trusted."

Rothwell of the *News Chronicle* wrote: "There is no need to recreate the Nazi movement when some of its staunchest supporters in the past—men who have given no evidence since of any real change of heart—are allowed to penetrate respectable democratic parties and become cabinet ministers, confidential advisers, foreign diplomats and leading administrators in the new West Germany."

## NAMING NAMES

He gives the names of the former Nazis now in Adenauer's cabinet. Their names have been singled out before, but Rothwell's information serves to confirm the case against them: These, the readers should remember, are only the ex-Nazis high enough to be on the cabinet level.

(1) Dr. GERHARD SCHROEDER: Adenauer's minister of the interior. He joined the Nazi party in 1934 and later

became one of Hitler's stormtroopers.

(2) Dr. THEODORE OBERLANDER: Adenauer's minister of refugees. He joined the Nazis in 1933, became a major in Hitler's stormtroopers, and served on the staff of the Nazi *gauleiter* (pro-consultant) for East Prussia. He recently declared: "We must strive for a solution of the Sudeten German problem in the spirit of the Munich pact"—that is, by annexation.

(3) WALDEMAR KRAFT: Adenauer's minister-without-portfolio. He led a so-called German peasants' movement in Poland to assist Hitler's 1939 invasion. He became an SS major.

(4) VICTOR PREUSKER: Adenauer's housing minister. He joined Hitler's SS as a student. He studied "racial question" and became an SS instructor on the subject. He received a bonus for taking over Jewish property in Vienna and Berlin.

Rothwell next lists two others whom he calls "the chancellor's two closest advisers":

(5) Dr. HANS GLOBKE: state secretary in the present Bonn government. He wrote the explanation of the Nazis' infamous Nuremberg race laws which led to the extermination of 6 million Jews.

(6) HERMANN J. ABS: a leading West German banker. He was one of the chief financial backers of the Nazis in their drive to power.

And, says Rothwell, "the list goes on and on."

## ADENAUER'S FRIENDS

Small wonder that he concludes: "With industrial unrest all around him and a crisis of confidence provoked by Dr. Otto John's desertion, the chancellor is fast being engulfed by his nationalist ministers."

This is only one of the signs of the times. "Over 300 soldier organizations," says Rothwell, "are meeting weekly, and ex-Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, released from a war crime sentence after being reprieved from the death sentence after mass murders, becomes chairman of the military-minded Stahlhelm, and declares: 'That we must revise our ideas in accordance with democratic principles . . . that is more than I can take.'"

Besides him stands also Lieutenant-General Kunzen. He has just been appointed personnel selector of the new officer corps: he worked in the same department for Hitler's Wehrmacht.

He is no doubt gratified that Germans who fought for Franco in the Spanish Civil War have just been given a double pension from the state.

Doesn't Dr. Adenauer know all this? And doesn't he know that the B. & A. Steel Works in the Ruhr have just announced they are now making 5,500 Nazi stormtrooper daggers embossed with the swastika and the words "All for Germany" for export as souvenirs to America?

## DELMER CHARGES

Even more sensational than the factual report by Bruce Rothwell in the *News Chronicle* are the charges made by Sefton Delmer in his report in the *Daily Express*. For they bring the attack home to Dr. Adenauer himself. Delmer makes, among others, seven specific accusations.

(1) He asserts that the original idea for German contingents in a European coalition army was sponsored by Dr. Adenauer himself way back in 1947 and 1948 when he was still a private individual. Adenauer got General Spiegel to put his plan up to the Americans.

(2) He asserts that in 1949 Dr. Adenauer put his plans to the right-wing opposition parties and used these exact words:

"We must hook ourselves on to the Americans. We must be ready to make any concession required by the French in order that when the French fail to return these concessions the present pro-French policy of the United States will be changed into a pro-German policy."

(3) He asserts that Dr. Adenauer put a number of the July 20 plotters against Hitler into his first shadow War Ministry as part of a calculation to give comfort to Western opinion. These are the men who are now being pushed out by the "loyalists" who regard the July 20 plot as treason.

(4) He asserts that Dr. Adenauer's shadow War Ministry now has 420 more officers than the Hitler War Ministry had in 1936.

(5) He asserts that the new German army chiefs share one opinion. The German army, they believe, will not be the army for the defensive, it will be the army for the offensive. It will be no use in retreat.

(6) He quotes Colonel Gieser who has recently played a considerable part in planning military exercises at the War Ministry. Gieser told friends that no one had the slightest intention in the German War Office of limiting the German "contribution" to twelve divisions.

"Everyone I have met here today," says Delmer, "is talking of a minimum of 26 divisions. Others refer even to 30 and 36 divisions as the German aim."

(7) He also quotes the Press Chief who asserts that within five years of the formation of the German army the West would be strong enough not to have to contemplate meeting a Russian attack purely defensively.

"By then," he said, "we are confident that we shall hold our own and hit back with a counter-offensive deep into the Soviet area."

## HISTORY REPEATS

But the kind of publicity that is being given the above facts in England (and also, for that matter, in France) shows how many people have learned nothing whatsoever.

More often than not, the conclusion is supposed to be that Germany, "naturally" militaristic as it is, cannot be given its independence and national sovereignty, for, the argument goes, won't that mean a new German giant reviving the Nazi threat? Therefore: continue to keep the German people in subjection.

They have forgotten that it was in the years after the Treaty of Versailles, years of national humiliation and subjection to the Allies, that Nazism arose, in part as a reaction. Foreign control provided the climate in which Hitlerism took seed.

Today too, continued subjection of the Germans aids renazification from the top and from the bottom.

Also, the facts about the renazification under Adenauer confirm the analysis which we made of the Adenauer victory in the last German election. This victory was then hailed in almost every section of the U. S. press as a victory for the "middle way of democracy" or something like that. We pointed out that one thing indicated in the election figures was that the pro-Nazi and Hitleroid right wing in Germany had decided to plump for Adenauer, and not for the openly pro-Nazi grouplets. Their calculations lay with him and not with an open bid for power.

## FEARS

There is no other situation where it is easier to see the meaning of Washington's foreign-policy orientation. Why was the U. S. leadership so vastly and publicly delighted, even overjoyed, by Adenauer's victory? What is the root of Washington's nearly automatic impulse to support the most reactionary and anti-democratic elements in country after country—Franco, Bao Dai, Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek and their similars everywhere?

One need not argue that the U. S. is made happy by German renazification itself. But the fact was and is that the only alternative to the Adenauerite crypto-Nazis is the Social-Democratic Party; and although the SPD is far from being a revolutionary socialist party, it is not amenable to the same sort of control by Washington, it has evidenced more independence of U. S. decrees, and it insists on talking about the abolition of capitalism.

Between a democratic West Germany under the socialists and a renazified Germany under Adenauer, the American Party-Liners gave three cheers when Adenauer won. So did Churchill and the British Tories.

Some of those who cheered only yesterday now point with fear at the consequences of the victory. They fear a socialist Germany and they fear an Adenauer Germany. And so their only solution is the reactionary line of keeping the German nation under foreign control.

## LONDON LETTER

## ET TU, BRITANNIA?

# Churchill Stabbed EDC Too

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Sept. 1—The death of EDC has disconcerted the British government as it has the American. After the French vote, members of the cabinet on holiday were recalled and a meeting was held in Downing Street today.

In its own way Britain played an important role in the killing of EDC. The French dilemma was this: How could France please the U. S. by enlisting German support for a European army, and at the same time limit Germany so that it would have little effective control while making a maximum military contribution?

The EDC proposal (and the Pleven Plan before it) was designed to dilute German participation and control. There was only one flaw in the argument: Germany, being a stronger and wealthier country than any other single member of the proposed army bloc, would of necessity have a very powerful voice. No matter how restricted at the beginning, there was always the French fear that resurgent German military power would free itself of artificial checks.

This is where Britain came in. One pos-

sible solution to the dilemma offered itself to the French. If Britain could be cajoled into joining EDC, then her forces together with those of France would or could or might outweigh the German contribution. The French appealed to Churchill, reminding him that the Council of Europe (the Strasbourg Assembly) was his baby, was it not?

After months of negotiation, the British agreed to station some of her troops on the Continent, as would the Americans. British objections to leaving her forces under European commands remained firm, however, and nothing could persuade them that in need they could deploy British continental forces for some imperialist escapade like British Guiana or Malaya.

After Mendes-France had got such a hot reception at Brussels for his revised EDC plan, which had already been ratified by four parliaments, he once again turned his thoughts to Britain. Could he, with his irresistible charms, persuade Churchill to change his mind? He flew over to No. 10 to have a try. Churchill was friendly, sympathetic, but adamant. Mendes-France returned with his tail between his legs.

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## Let Father Ike Worry About Politics

Political leaders in this country want popular participation in the affairs of government. Or do they?

Philip G. Goulding, Washington correspondent of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, reports in the August 28 issue of that paper that political interest is running very low in Ohio. That is not surprising. But he also quotes "one of President Eisenhower's top White House advisers" along lines which are surprising only because of the frankness with which they set forth the upper class idea of what "democratic" government should really be like. Here is the quotation in full. No comment from us required.

"For too many years the people have had crises thrown at them. They've been excited every morning over one issue or another. Political events and political figures have played too big a part in their lives.

"That's not the way our government was meant to be. The voter should elect politicians to take care of those problems, while he leads his own life. He can keep an eye on things to know whether he wants to elect the same people the next time around, but if he's made a good choice he shouldn't be in an uproar over politics between elections."

The presidential assistant conceded that Cleveland could be a special case, with the Indians and the murder blacking out other news.

"But we've heard the same story from all over," he added. "We think it is great—not only for the party, but for the country."



# THAILAND AS 'ANTI-COMMUNIST BASTION'

## Unerringly, U.S. Gravitates Toward Reactionary Allies

In the following article, a conservative scholar gives an analysis of Washington's only friend in Southeast Asia, Thailand and its reactionary dictatorship.

Besides giving an uncolored painting of this dictatorship, Dr. Coughlin also points out two other interesting things:

(1) Why, now after the debacle in Indochina, the U. S. will serve to reinforce the dictatorship in Thailand, and

(2) How the Thai reaction is forcing the country's Chinese population into the arms of the Stalinists.

Dr. Richard J. Coughlin is now on the staff of the Division of Southeast Asia Studies at Yale. He was formerly a Southeast Asia specialist in the State Department, and he has recently returned from Thailand, where he made a field study of the overseas Chinese. The following is the better part of his article in the Foreign Policy Bulletin for September 1.

His article begins by noting that the Indochinese events pushed Thailand into closer alliance with the U. S.; in April it became the first Southeast Asian country to agree to a regional NATO-type pact; and "according to recent reports, this [U. S.] assistance is to be so increased as to make Thailand the anti-Communist bastion of Southeast Asia."

Then Dr. Coughlin examines this "anti-Communist bastion."...

Since the overthrow of the absolute monarchy and the establishment of the present constitutional monarchy by the

1932 revolution, Thailand has been ruled by a military dictatorship, in which the present premier, Field Marshal Pibul Songgram, has merged as the dominant figure. Governments of more democratic views have arisen intermittently, but the promise of a truly representative government has never been fulfilled.

Instead, under the military, there has been a consistent disregard for the political and civil liberties supposedly guaranteed by the revolution, and a concomitant tendency to suppress any serious political opposition by force is necessary.

Elections are manipulated, and the National Assembly is thereby packed with government partisans. Since the 1932 revolution all political parties, with the exception of the one encompassing the military group, have been outlawed.

### EFFECT OF U. S. AID

The real seat of authority in Thailand was clearly shown in the last coup d'etat, this one conducted by the government itself, in November 1951 when Pibul and his military chiefs ran the National Assembly out of office (on charges of corruption and dereliction of duty), scrapped the existing constitution, and imposed a strict censorship on the press. The government selected a new National Assembly more amenable to its wishes, and presented the kingdom with a new constitution centralizing more power in the hands of the ruling military group.

There have been other instances, some less blatant, of the essential authoritarianism of the present government.

Whatever hopes existed that a more democratic leadership would emerge now be dashed by the new development in Indochina. It is more likely that the military group headed by Premier Pibul or his most likely successor, Police General Phao Siyinnond, will be further entrenched in power by the greatly increased American military assistance program now planned for Thailand.

### CHINESE PROBLEM

Moreover, the external threat to the kingdom's security gives the military whatever additional justification is needed for further restrictions on civil liberties. In Thailand, as elsewhere in the world, one finds a tendency to brand all political opposition as Communist and to deal with it accordingly. While this policy may add some needed stability to the government by lessening the danger of a coup d'etat from dissident elements, it will also make it that much more difficult for truly representative government to develop.

With the heightened emphasis on internal security, the group most likely to suffer from restrictive measures is Thailand's largest alien minority, the overseas Chinese. Estimates place the number of Chinese at from one million to three million, in a total population of some 19 million. The Chinese in Thailand, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, are the small shopkeepers and businessmen, and they hold almost complete control over the rice trade, the keystone of the Thai economy.

Under Pibul's leadership the government for the past 20 years has pursued a determined anti-Chinese policy in an effort to break the economic power of the Chinese, restricting Chinese choice of occupations, ownership of land, rights to naturalization, and economic activities generally. With the rise to power of communism in China, restrictive measures have been further extended on the ground that the millions of alien Chinese are a military danger, a potential fifth column for Communist aggression.

### IT'S "UNFORTUNATE"

Whatever this policy's justification—and a case can be made for it—it has succeeded only in alienating the Chinese population at this critical period. It has made their assimilation with Thai society virtually impossible, and has encouraged closer ties between them and Red China, which has posed, not altogether unsuccessfully, as the champion of overseas Chinese interests throughout Southeast Asia.

Of the present Thai government's antipathy to communism there can be no doubt whatever, and Thailand seems destined to be the line the United States will defend against further Communist expansion in Asia. Yet it is unfortunate that here, as elsewhere in Asia, the sincere anti-Communist convictions of local leaders are not balanced by an equally robust belief in a democratic philosophy of government. The lack of this belief among the present leaders of Thailand is likely to color all their actions in response to the new challenge in Indochina.

## AN EXCHANGE IN DEBATE BETWEEN TWO ASIAN SOCIALIST LEADERS—

# Asian Socialists and the Third Camp

We publish below an interesting excerpt from the discussions held earlier this year at a meeting of the bureau of the Asian Socialist Conference. This is the contact center of the socialist parties and movements of Asia, founded in Rangoon. The speeches from which we quote were reprinted in Janata.

The subject was the Third Camp position of the Asian socialists, their opposition both to capitalist imperialism and Stalinist imperialism. As the reader will see, there seemed at first to be a slight misunderstanding, which served only to re-emphasize the basic idea of fighting both sides.

The protagonists were two prominent Asian socialists: Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, a leader of the Praja Socialist Party of India, and U Kyaw Nyein, of the Burmese Socialist Party, chairman of the conference's Anti-Colonial Bureau.—Ed.

### U KYAW NYEIN

... At the first Asian Socialist Conference held in Rangoon over a year ago, we denounced, in unmistakable terms, colonialism or imperialism in all its forms and brands.

[Then, after spending some time on capitalist colonialism, Comrade Kyaw Nyein ended with the following comment:]

I need not remind you also, friends, that when we analyzed the origin and development of colonialism at our Rangoon Conference, we included in our definition of colonialism not only that typical 19th cen-

tury and 20th century colonialism or imperialism which is the consequence of the growth of capitalism, but included also colonialism in another form. We may call it neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism. I refer to the Soviet form of imperialism.

To my mind, both types of colonialism are dangerous. In fact, the Soviet type of imperialism is, perhaps, even more degrading and even more dangerous, because it is more ruthless, more systematic and more blatantly justified in the name of the world communist revolution. Friends, with these aims and objectives, with this task of combating colonialism and wiping it out till every shred, every vestige disappears, we had decided to form an Anti-Colonial Bureau six months ago. . . .

### DR. LOHIA

Permit me, sir, to agree with Comrade Kyaw Nyein that Soviet imperialism is ruthless and blatant, but to differ from him when he draws a comparison between it and the capitalist or democratic imperialism to its disadvantage. The spirit behind his statement is indeed praiseworthy, for weighty Asian leaders have been lulling public opinion in Asia into an attitude of complacency toward Soviet imperialism. There is need therefore to expose Soviet imperialism for what it is and, if such exposure tends sometimes to work to the advantage of democratic imperialism, the provocation and guilt for it must be laid at the doors of these weighty Asian leaders.

Freedom of expression should, of course, prevail within the Asian Socialist Conference. Persons may be free to compare the Communist and the democratic imperialism to the disadvantage of either. But a warning must be sounded.

Such comparisons often lead to a choice, also called the choice of the lesser evil. I would like to believe that Comrade Kyaw Nyein rejects such a choice of preference, not at least by the Asian socialists.

In point of fact, I do not see how anything can be more barbaric than the terror carried out by capitalist imperialisms in Indochina or Kenya.

In point of theory, socialism can win, certainly in Asia, only if it builds an attitude of mind that keeps away as sharply from the Atlantic camp as from the Soviet camp, from capitalism as well as communism. To prefer one is to weak-

en our capacity to combat the other and to build our own way.

The battle for men's minds is as decisive as the battle for their bodies. In this battle, Asian Socialists must anchor their faith in equal rejection of all imperialisms and the creeds that give them birth.

Socialists may also remember that only to the extent that they intensify their struggle against capitalism will it be possible for them to combat communism. . . .

### U KYAW NYEIN

... So in connection with this paragraph Comrade Lohia was a little disturbed in that his mind my remarks might be interpreted to mean that of the two forms of imperialism we could choose perhaps the lesser form of evil.

To this expression of doubt I replied that as far as I was concerned I thought that what I said was very clear. I never had in my mind to suggest to the Asian Socialist Conference that we should choose one of the two evils. I completely agree with Comrade Lohia that we should reject both forms of imperialism. We were completely agreed on this point.

What I wanted to emphasize was the possible tendency among members to remember only the capitalist form of colonialism and not the Soviet type of imperialism. It was a warning against this. I never had in mind to say that we should choose one or the other. . . .

To us socialists the one is a devil and the other a deep sea. We should not only reject them, we should combat them, we should try to escape from them, even though one is a big devil and the other a wide, wide sea.

During our private talks we also agreed that we should thrash out these points with the permission of the comrade chairman at this meeting.

Then there is another point, which I explained to Comrade Lohia and which I should like to repeat here. It was that I wanted to stop or rather to prevent any possible tendency—I repeat the word "possible"—among people to harp only on one type of imperialism and not on the new virile type. . . .

... We have studied how society develops. According to Marxist analysis, we had in the early days primitive society, which grew into feudal society and then again into industrial or capitalist society. As capitalism grows, at first it

is young, healthy and progressive. However, as it grows old, it degenerates into monopoly capitalism which leads to imperialism. This is a very typical analysis of the society, which we all know and we all believe too.

But what we have not analyzed is the other trend in development of Soviet society.

It is like a doctor who has examined a patient suffering from a virulent disease and administered to him some medicine, which itself is the cause of a new disease. Unfortunately, that patient who is cured of the first disease starts developing new symptoms due to the very medicine he takes.

If the doctor is complacent and triumphant because he has cured the first disease by giving a new medicine and if that doctor fails to recognize the development of new and unexpected symptoms in the patient, he would be a bad doctor and the patient also may die. . . .

Comrade Chairman, these are the two points. Firstly, I want our comrades to be equally aware of imperialism and, secondly, to watch carefully and make a comparison between these two types of virulent imperialisms as they develop from stage to stage, like a doctor watching his patient, and to analyze the law of development of society, the law of development of these imperialisms.

With that view I make my concluding remarks. The comparison I made was not with a view to choose one of the two devils but with a view to combat both of them. I have tried to assure Comrade Lohia about his doubt on this point. If I succeed in that, I shall be very glad.

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# 'Asian' Pact Without Asia — —

(Continued from page 1)

and especially of India, the largest, most important and most influential of the countries in the area.

## INDIA SAID NO

This effort had failed before the conference plans got well under way. India led the refusal to get herself tied to the American-capitalist bloc in a way which would rob her of most of what freedom of action her government enjoys in the cold-war struggle.

She was followed by Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. To one degree or another their governments reflect the widespread popular desire for a separation from the war camps, for the chance to work out their own destinies without being dominated by either capitalist or Stalinist imperialisms.

The Manila tea party has just got under way as LABOR ACTION goes to press. But even at this early stage it is clear that the participants are not of one mind on the kind of pact desired.

## HESITATIONS

Secretary of State Dulles has indicated that the United States wants only a general alliance in which all participants will pledge themselves to take united action against "Communist aggression." The Philippine and Thai governments, on the other hand, seem to want a military force in being in the area, under a unified command, which is pledged to resist any aggression against any of the member states. What they want is a real NATO-type organization for the area in question.

**Pakistan, it appears, would prefer it if "Communism" were not mentioned in any pact that may come from the conference, and in any event has not decided whether to become a party to what may finally be settled on.**

The Philippine delegation, according to the *New York Times*, is "likely to continue to push for a section or an annex of the treaty upholding the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. . . . The British Commonwealth countries hold the Philippine proposals as inappropriate for the treaty." After all, this treaty is supposed to defend freedom, not to abrogate the freedom of the British to continue their colonial rule in Malaya!

Although the British and French attitudes on precisely the kind of pact they want are not yet known, it is clear why the United States does not want to tie itself down to the kind of commitment desired by the Philippine government.

This could involve American troops in squabbles between India and Pakistan, or among other non-Stalinist governments in the area. Or at the very least, the refusal of the United States to get caught on one side of such struggles could lead to the break-up of any NATO-type organization.

Even more important, the United States does not really want to be committed to defend any given territorial line in Asia. This would necessitate the deployment of a vast land army along the whole Stalinist frontier which, given the gaps of the countries which have refused to participate, would be terribly vulnerable no matter how many troops were stationed in the area.

## MEANINGLESS TREATY

The United States wants to remain free to use the "massive retaliation" weapons against the centers of Stalinist military power, but only when it has decided that the Third World War is here and there is no other alternative. The "line" to be drawn is more symbolic than real. But of course, for Thailand, which is the actual country through which the first line might have to be drawn, what is important is not some general threat but the concrete possibility of stopping Stalinist invasion whether it should come from within or from the outside.

**But even though there may be a good deal of wrangling at Manila, it is likely that some kind of treaty will come out of it. (It would be just too much for the United States to have this conference end in a catastrophe right after Geneva and the death of EDC.) The treaty will either be pretty meaningless, or it will signify the first step in a long-range plan for the integration of all of the non-Stalinist countries in Asia into a solidly organized American bloc.**

Are there any prospects for such a bloc, even in the long run, when one considers the firm "neutralist" position taken by Nehru, the governments of Burma and Indonesia, and powerful political groupings in other Asian countries such as Japan?

## BOURGEOIS DILEMMAS

Actually, the long-term prospects of this Asian neutralism, like those of its European counterpart, are dim indeed. The ruling classes in India and Indonesia, for instance, were able to achieve national independence for their countries only because of the weakness of European imperialism produced by World War II. As they seek to organize their countries on a capitalist basis, they find insuperable obstacles in their path. Their peoples hate capitalism both for its imperialist past and its oppressive present. They seek basic social change: revolutionary land reform; an end to governmental corruption and oppression; an end to hopeless rent-, loan- and wage-slavery.

The desires of the peoples in these countries cannot be satisfied by rapid capitalist expansion. Thus they turn to revolutionary solu-

tions, either socialist or (if the socialists prove too timid and compromising) Stalinist.

**But in either case the native bourgeoisie is doomed. So they must seek support from somewhere outside their own social structure. However much they may talk of "coexistence" with the Stalinists, they know that in the long run the Stalinists are their grave-diggers. However much they may talk against the "materialism" or even imperialism of Western capitalism, in the long run it is only to it that they can look either for loans and subsidies to keep their own capitalism going, or for help against their own peoples when the time-span of their experiment with more-or-less independent national capitalism has run its course.**

Thus, in the long run they will either be overwhelmed by the socialist surge of their own masses, or by Stalinism, or they will be compelled to creep into the American camp, however reluctantly, in the hope of saving something out of the ruins of the war for the world.

## FRAGILE "NEUTRALITY"

Those are the prospects for the capitalist rulers of the independent countries of Asia, and for the "neutrality" to which they still cling so hopefully. If they are not present at the Manila tea party, it is because the socialist movements in their countries have not yet fully rallied the masses to put an end to this aborted capitalism, and because the Stalinists are moving cautiously with a view to avoiding World War III before they are in the strongest possible position to win it.

As long as the prongs of the pincers are still in the distance, they can afford to be "neutral." But the day of the squeeze will come just as surely as the sun rises in the East.

Fortunately, the fate of Asia lies not alone in the hands of the present governments or the ruling classes which they represent. In addition there are the socialist movements which have mass followings, and which need only a firming of purpose and clarification of goal to become really serious and even decisive factors in the politics of the area.

## SOCIALISTS CAN DO IT

**The fiasco at Manila shows that the non-Stalinist sections of Asia cannot now be organized, even for their self-defense, by the United States and its imperialist allies. All the more reason, then, for the socialist movements of the countries of Asia to take the initiative to bring about a degree of unity which is imperative for the healthy economic development of the area as well as for its economic and military defense against both capitalist and Stalinist imperialisms.**

The Manila conference places the idea of such unity (if only because it is such a realistically grotesque symbol of the alternatives) once more before the socialists of Asia. In this situation, we, as American socialist internationalists, can only urge upon them the importance of the idea of an independent federation in Asia as an objective which would lead clearly toward the goal of the formation of a truly independent revolutionary socialist Third Camp in Asia.

This idea was raised for the con-

sideration of revolutionary socialists in Asia by the Independent Socialist League in a resolution which appeared in the June 11, 1951 issue of LABOR ACTION. We do not think that we can do better than to quote sections of that resolution at this time:

"If a social-revolutionary movement of the Asian masses headed by a socialist working class is to be built against both American and Russian imperialism and against any compromise by the native bourgeoisie with either, it can only be through seeking the forms through which such real independence can be achieved and maintained. . . .

"It was for this reason that socialists had cause to hail the tendency which showed itself in Asia simultaneously with the upsurge of independence following the Second World War—the tendency toward strengthening the ties and relations of the free countries of Asia in some form of federation.

"These tendencies were given most official form by the two all-Asian conferences sponsored by Nehru; but in addition the idea of a South Asian Federation was a popular and widely supported idea. . . . This idea, this orientation, deserves to be taken up most enthusiastically precisely by the socialist forces in Asia and by all those who wish to turn in the direction of a Third Camp road out of the war crisis.

## STEP TO SOCIALISM

**"A voluntary federation of the free nations of Asia, banded together independently of either the U. S. bloc or Russia cannot itself solve Asia's problems, but it is an indispensable prerequisite for solving them.**

• "Most immediately, it would and could set up a center of attraction for all those elements who are now drawn to the power of one or the other war bloc—to those elements in the Philippines who are caught between the U. S.-supported government of Quirino and the appeal of the Hukbalahaps, to those elements in Indochina who wish to throw in neither with the French puppet Bao Dai nor with the increasingly Stalinized movement of Ho; etc.

• "It would and could immeasurably increase the ability of the Asian countries to resist the pressure, blackmail and simple bludgeoning of either the U. S. or Russia designed to force them into line.

"We are not here concerned with many specific questions of the form and constituency of such an independent federation as would necessarily have to be sought before it could become a reality, or its propagation effectively carried on. We have neither the wish nor sufficient information to prescribe such details as can be determined only by the revolutionary socialists of Asia. . . .

**"The basic and general orientation toward independent Asian federation, however, whatever its specific form, is vital to the development of a socialist movement based upon a Third Camp perspective in the war. It is the socialists of Asia who can do what Nehru cannot do."**

And we would add to that today: it is certainly the socialists of Asia who can do what the United States and all its imperialist allies and puppets cannot do. The Manila conference should spur them to the urgency of the task.

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