LABOR ACTION

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Why Are CIO Leaders Silent about Truman's Strikebreaking Role Against Coal Miners?

Justice Warns Of Trend to Police State

The Supreme Court has added another to its blows at democratic rights in this country, speeded up by the addition of President Truman's new appointees to the high bench, ex-witchhunter Tom Clark and Sherman Minton. In a decision rendered February 20, it has now decided 5-3 that federal government officials can search premises and seize property without a search warrant.

The decision, declared minority Justice Frankfurter, makes a "mockery" of the Fourth Amendment.

The specific case, that of a man accused of forging collectors' stamps, is of course not important. Minton, spokesman for the majority, justified the illegal procedure on the ground that it was a "limited search" and incidental to an arrest. But as Justice Frankfurter vigorously stated:

"Arrest under warrant for a minor trumped-up charge has been familiar practice in the past, is a commonplace in the police state of today, and too well known in this country. The progress is too easy from police action unscrutinized by judicial authorization to the police state."

This is the first time the "well known practice" has been okayed by the courts themselves. Frankfurter indeed referred to the fact that up to now court decisions have steadfastly opposed it, in what was taken as a bitter reference to the change in the composition of the court brought about by Truman's appointments.

The easy progress from the new decision of the Truman Supreme Court to the police state demands some hard thinking from those who are hypnotized by the Fair Deal slogans of the administration which has put men of Tom Clark's stripe at the top of the U. S. judiciary.

YOU'RE LOOKING

at the first issue of LA in its new tabloid size. We hope you like it.

Government Asks 'Punishment' of UMW; Lewis Awaits Mine Seizure

By GERALD McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 20—The striking coal miners have defied the Taft-Hartley Law and orders from John L. Lewis to return to work for the second time within a week. Today an obedient federal judge, at the request of the Truman government, cited the United Mine Workers for contempt of court in spite of the fact that its officers have complied with his writ, and the union has until Friday to "show cause" why it should not be punished. But the men who dig the coal are remaining adamant for "no contract, no work."

In so doing, they are giving the labor movement the clearest demonstration to date of the power of labor as a class. Before the will to struggle of 400,000 united and militant workingmen, the T-H Law, like the two latest injunctions it has spawned, is still, as this is written, a scrap of paper.

As Monday morning found mine man-trip cars standing empty and elevator cages hanging still, government seizure of the mines and a satisfactory government settlement with the union appears more and more likely. The alternate road left open to Truman—fining the union or jailing its leaders—will obviously not guarantee the resumption of production. ("You can't dig coal with bayonets.") And coal stocks are swiftly approaching zero.

There is considerable speculation whether Lewis was "sincere" in giving his last order to cease the strike. The important fact is, however, that the question — is not important. The mood of the men is such that he must have known that even his explicit orders would be ignored. Whether or not Lewis was sincere in ordering an end to the strike, the men are not going to return until their demands are met.

Lewis has long been held up to the public by the capitalist press as an absolute dictator over the miners. In this crisis, it is clear that the miners are dictating to Lewis — a willing Lewis, to be sure.

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Philip Murray, for both the steel workers' union and the whole CIO, is backing the coal miners. At the same time, the CIO leaders support President Truman politically. Yet it is Truman who is blackjacking the miners with the Taft-Hartley Law. As we mentioned last week, the two are reconciled with the whitewash excuse: "Truman couldn't act otherwise; he has to enforce the law even though he's against it." Last week we pointed out one reason why that won't go. Here's another.

Last month the same Philip Murray violently denounced the reactionary NLRB Counsel Robert Denham and called on Truman to remove him from office. Why? Murray's statement said:

"The CIO vigorously protests the action of General Counsel Denham in instituting a complaint and in filing injunction proceedings against the United Mine Workers. By this action Denham is again demonstrating his anti-labor bias and prejudice . . .

". . . Employers have traditionally retained the legal right to shut down their properties for economic reasons. A union certainly may equally assert its economic rights without being subject to injunction proceedings.

"In this attack upon the United Mine Workers of America through the instrumentality of the evil Taft-Hartley Law, Denham is challenging the legitimate rights and interests of all of organized labor."

That was before the shutdown in the coalfields, but the general sentiments here expressed hold with full force right now.

Only it is not Denham who is now "demonstrating his anti-labor bias and prejudice"—it is Truman, the Fair Dealer himself.

Why do the CIO leaders keep silent when the president does on a bigger scale what they blasted Denham for trying to do?

In response to the CIO's demand for Denham's ouster, Truman admitted that he has the power to fire him but said he was not considering the demand. (U. S. News, Feb. 24.) Why, Brother Murray?

According to the Michigan CIO News for February 2, the UAW executive board also rapped Denham at that time for attempting to "force the members [of the UMW] back to work at the point of an injunction." Why keep silence on Truman, Brother Reuther?

The truth is that the labor leaders are forced to stay mum about the largest-scale strikebreaker in the country because—they are political supporters of him and his party. Labor's tie-up with the Democratic Fair Deal machine means that labor's interests cannot be defended when the chips are down. We need our own labor party in this country!

NMU Girds to Defend Hiring Hall; Curran Goons Run Amuck in N. Y.

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Feb. 20—Faced with a Supreme Court ruling which in effect rules the hiring hall in Maritime illegal, the various seagoing unions (CIO and AFL) last week decided to meet on March 20 to determine what their course of action will be in the event the operators attempt to smash the hiring setup now in operation.

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union (CIO)—whose first reaction to the court's ruling was reported by the press as "This is the thanks we get for trying to clean the Commies out of the industry"—issued an official union statement which denounced the Supreme Court decision. The statement also said that the NMU was appealing the ruling and would fight to defend the rotary shipping system and the union hiring hall. No specific proposals, such as strike action or even a strike vote, were put forward, however.

At the regular NMU membership meeting in the Port of New York held at St. Nicholas Arena last Thursday, February 16, Curran's report to the membership said the union would do everything in its power to avoid a strike but that if the shipowners tried to take the hiring hall away, it would fight. When challenged from the floor on what that meant, he stated that he didn't want to tip his mitt since there might be shipowner agents, NKVD spies, and FBI stooges present at the meeting.

Curran also warned the men that there were elements in the union anxious to see the hiring hall lost and that the membership should stand ready to reject wildcat and "screwball" action. He called for every ship's crew to set up a special committee which would make sure that every man coming aboard the vessel came through the hiring hall, but that they should take no action without first consulting the officials.

The membersip at the meeting gave the report a vote of approval. The general consensus is that the membership would have been more enthusiastic if the administration had come forward with a positive program of action. But the members realize that the union is about to pass through a severe crisis and the officials, regardless of what one may think

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NEVER FORGET!

Here are words to be engraved on a plaque and hung in labor halls. It's advice to workingmen on how to behave in politics by Wendell Phillips, the great American orator and liberal:

"Write on your banner, so that every politician, no matter how short-sighted he may be, can read it: 'We never fotget! If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at labor, we never forget; if there is a division of Congress, and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget! You may go down on your knees and say "I am sorry I did the act," and we will say, "It will avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave, never."

Reuther Speaks On Pie in the Sky

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—At a time when 400,000 coal miners are fighting for the life of their union against a combined attack of the coal operators and the Truman administration, and 125,000 auto workers are out of work because Chrysler won't negotiate a good contract and pension plan with the United Auto Workers, Walter Reuther, president of the UAW, made an important policy speech—and it is something to think about in the context of the living events around him and the union movement.

Reuther spoke before the second National Study Conference of the Church and Economic Life, under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

The main idea that Reuther suggested was that a voluntary conference of labor, management and farm leaders be called to deal with the whole range of national problems affecting this nation. The idealistic basis for this conference would be a "moral equivalent" to the H-bomb, through "applied Christianity."

Of course, in his analysis of what's wrong, Reuther made his usual brilliant and devastating criticisms of the status quo. But Reuther, who prides himself on being realistic and tends to be very impatient with "impractical dreamers," offers a solution which is pure "pie in the sky"—as they say in the UAW.

How does Reuther propose to convert the coal operators, who are acting like a pack of wolves following the Truman administration in the hope of smashing the coal miners' union? And how does one "Christianize" Chrysler, except by "brute force," that is, strike action?

A PRACTICAL PROPOSAL

We think a more modest and more practical suggestion would be far more valuable both to the labor movement and the world than Reuther's fantastic scheme. We'd suggest Reuther call for an emergency labor conference in Washington to take up the burning problems of today.

Such a conference would have a tremendous unifying effect on labor, and could force the Wall Street capitalists (whom neither Reuther nor anyone else will "Christianize") to call off their offensive against labor.

And Reuther could propose HIGH on the agenda of this conference—which should be called immediately — that American labor, the CIO, AFL and the independent unions, solidarize themselves with the fight of the British Labor Party against the Tories —and propose a labor party in America.

Then, it would seem to us, Walter Reuther would begin to be a practical man, instead of a futile Don Quixote tilting against windmills, while the ranks of labor suffer and sacrifice in bitter struggle against the industrialists who live by the laws of the jungle

Neither Stalinism nor capitalist imperialism will be defeated by appealing to the good nature of man, be he a GPU agent or a coal operator. Nor will the H-bomb be abolished because it signifies mass murder. Harry Truman, whom Reuther supports, will tell him that. It's full speed ahead and damn moral principles, if we may paraphrase the brass of today.

And only a labor government in America, based on the working people and poor farmers, could begin to be an effective counterforce to the hysterical race toward World War III, so eloquently denounced by Albert Einstein recently.

Last and by no means least, we'd suggest that Reuther, or anyone else for that matter, making important policy speeches in the coming period, also read Einstein's view on the scientific validity of socialism as the only hope of humanity. Then they could begin to talk with real knowledge and facts, instead of being lost in the world of wishing-will-make-it-so.

Akron Cop Murders Negro Vet; Police Chief Isn't Interested

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, Feb. 13—A 26-year-old Negro veteran, Ernest Fenner, was shot in the back and murdered on the evening of February 8 by an Akron cop named Robert Wilcox. His crime? He has suffered from a nervous disorder since his release from military service and in the evening of the 8th he became hysterical.

Wilcox and the cop who was with him in a police cruiser, Don Pohl, made no attempt to subdue Fenner and place him in an ambulance that had previously been called. Neither one of them even got out of the cruiser. Wilcox nonchalantly shot Fenner by firing two shots through the windshield of the cruiser as the young Negro approached and while he was still eight feet from their car.

Here is the account that has been published by a joint committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Frontiers Club, a Negro organization, based upon statements taken from six witnesses to the murder.

Fenner, who reportedly has suffered, like so many other veterans, from emotional instability since his experiences in the service, had spent a sleepless night prior to the day of his murder. On that day he had sought medical help from the Veterans Administration. Not finding the VA offices open when he called (7:30 a.m.), he returned home. During the day a doctor was summoned to Fenner's home and administered a sedative.

After retiring, Fenner apparently became hysterical and chased his wife from the house. Catching her outside he began to beat her. At this point he was subdued by a 17-year-old neighbor boy. Then he fainted. At about this time an ambulance was called and also a police car.

SHOT IN THE BACK

The ambulance arrived. Fenner, who in the meantime had recovered consciousness, picked up a stick and broke the windshield of the ambulance. Shortly thereafter the police car pulled up. The cops played their spotlight in the eyes of the hysterical veteran in the approved therapeutic manner of the Gestapo and then, when he approached the cruiser, shot and killed him while he was still eight feet away (all this according to testimony taken by the NAACP attorney, W. Howard Fort).

The official police report says that Fenner jumped to the hood of the police car and, with either an axe or a heavy club, began smashing in the windshield. Out of self-defense, the homicidal cop reports, he fired twice through the windshield. Witnesses say this is a fabrication.

They say Fenner never reached the police car. They say he never struck the windshield of the cruiser and that he never climbed onto the hood of the car. They also testify that after the murder there were no marks whatever in the dust on the hood of the police car. Even the murderers themselves report that they were unable to find the imaginary axe or "heavy club" with which Fenner was supposed to have hit the windshield of the cruiser.

Even more telling is the report issued by Coroner C. I. Martin after having performed an autopsy at the request of the investigating committee. His report states that the bullet that killed Fenner entered his body FROM THE REAR.

POLICE CHIEF UNINTERESTED

Part of the report released by Fort, well known Negro attorney acting for the committee, reads as follows:

"Fenner fell to the ground (after being shot) six to eight feet from the cruiser.

"Up to this time the police had not left their car. The deceased was hit by two shots, one in the abdomen and the other in the back.

"The facts show that the decedent [Fenner] had never reached the cruiser car any nearer than the spot where he was shot."

The joint committee, through Fort, has demanded that the two policemen involved be immediately suspended and that charges of murder be placed against them. The prosecutor, Alva J. Russell, replied to the request that these two sub-gorillas be charged with murder by saying that no action could be taken until after a grand jury investigation. The grand jury does not convene till March.

In reply to the demand for immediate suspension pending settlement, the chief of police, Thomas Lynett, unconcernedly replied that no action had been taken and further that if there was action on this aspect it would have to come from the county prosecutor's office. This should not be understood to mean that he has no authority to suspend. It simply means that he does not intend to do so unless pressure is brought to bear on the prosecutor compels him.

[Wilcox and Pohl have since been transferred to inside desk jobs, "for the best interests of everyone concerned" according to Mayor Slusser and Police Chief Lynett. The county prosecutor's office has announced a report will be presented to a grand jury—Ed.]

THIS WAS DIFFERENT

The case makes an interesting contrast to one that occurred some 15 months ago in Akron. In that instance also, a veteran went temporarily berserk but in a somewhat more violent way. He barricaded himself in an apartment house with firearms and it took 50 cops and one fire company five hours to subdue him. The contrast in treatment is interesting. He was not shot down.

This veteran, in the first place, was a white man. Make no mistake about the importance of that fact. Secondly, he was the son of a former Akron bootlegger, Liberio ("Whiskey Dick") Percoco, who, for the past decade or so, has practised as a bondsman around the local Gestapo headquarters. This man evidently has some fairly satisfactory arrangements with the gentlemen of the uninhibited .45s and saps because it is a known fact that no other bondsman can get within a city block of the jail when a victim is being bled for a healthy hunk of dough to be sprung on the basis of Whiskey Dick's signature.

So in this instance the boys were not allowed to indulge themselves. They (the cops) patiently worked for five hours to subdue an armed man whom, the Akron Beacon Journal reports, "many of them knew personally."

In the case of Fenner no attempt whatever was made to control a man not armed with a lethal weapon and who had previously been effectively subdued by a 17-year-old boy. In this situation the problem was solved by the simple expedient of a bullet in the back.

MUST BACK INQUIRY

This is a case of cold-blooded murder by a police department that traditionally functions in a way not entirely unlike this. Two Negro organizations have demanded that charges of murder be filed. The success of this demand and the complete prosecution of the case is a matter that concerns every workingman, white or Negro, in Akron. Active support of the committee formed by the NAACP and the Frontiers Club is to be expected from every militant who opposes the anti-labor and anti-Negro lawlessness of Akron cops.

The union movement in Akron has the obligation officially to help those organizations already mentioned to see that the murderers are brought to trial; to see also that the result is not a farce like the one which took place in Akron some nine or ten years ago when two burly harness bulls literally beat a young rubber worker's brains out with a blackjack inside the city jail. They were convicted of manslaughter but one went scot-free and the other served a sentence of less than a year.

ISL FUND DRIVE STARTS WITH A BANG

By YETTA BARSH
Fund Drive Director

FEB. 20—The ISL's Tenth Anniversary fund drive campaign is off to a good start! A total of $1,966 has been received during the first five days of the drive.

Newark, which heads our first report, has achieved 42 per cent of its quota. Buffalo's first $400 remittance toward its sizable $1,000 quota is second. And then follow Boston's $25 (33 per cent), New York City's $1122 (29 per cent), the Socialist Youth League's $100 (29 per cent), Reading's $25 (25 per cent), Cleveland's $69 (23 per cent), Akron's $25 (13 per cent), San Francisco Bay Area's $59 (12 per cent) and Pittsburgh's $5 (3 per cent).

New York City set itself the goal of taking in $1,000 during the first week of the drive. The comrades in charge of the fund drive organized their campaign so effectively that they exceeded their goal by $122 during the first five days of the drive. All reports from New York City are optimistic.

Our Buffalo comrades, who started off with a substantial $400, write that they are working hard on raising the rest of their quota.

The $100 which has been received from the Socialist Youth League represents the contribution of a single branch, the Chicago unit. We understand that the Chicago unit has been assigned a quota of $100 and that this contribution represents 100 per cent of its goal. (In the next issue of LABOR ACTION we hope to report on the unit quotas and contributions for the SYL.)

The Chicago SYL fund drive director writes: "I have just collected $100 and expect $100 more in the course of the next month. . . . A recent joiner of the SYL gave a week's wages ($50) and another girl comrade pledges $45." It appears that the Chicago SYL will be heading the list of this fund drive, true to the tradition established by it in the last drive.

PLEDGE QUOTAS

The Chicago ISL fund drive director writes: "I have collected some money already and should have over $600 after Monday night (Feb. 20). However, I will not be sending it in because I want to wait until we have $1,000. We have about $1200 pledged now and expect to come close to the $1500 when all pledges are in."

Our Detroit comrades are experiencing some difficulty at this stage of the drive. "We have been hit hard by the strike, as you probably know, and so will be a little slow in getting started in the drive. . . . The quota is OK if we are back to work. We are therefore postponing consideration of the drive for a couple of weeks. . . ."

We understand the problems of our Detroit comrades and hope that they will be able to make their quota once their situation returns to normal. In the meantime, we hope the rest of our comrades will put their shoulders to the wheel and partly compensate for the inability of our Detroit comrades to show immediate results.

Although we have not yet received contributions from our West Coast branches, we have heard that they expect to make their quotas. We expect that next week's report will show the contributions which are undoubtedly delayed in the mails. We have also been informed by other branches which do not yet show contributions that they will be able to make their quotas.

The response to the fund drive appeal has indeed gone beyond our expectations. If we can keep up the good pace, we will have no difficulty in hitting the top before the end of the drive.

A note to friends and sympathizers of the League: Do your bit. Help the ISL raise its $12,000 fund. Send your contribution in now. Make out checks to Yetta Barsh.

Fund Drive Box Score

Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
Newark	$250	$105	42
Buffalo	1000	400	40
Boston	75	25	33
New York City	4000	1122	29
Socialist Youth League	350	100	29
Reading	100	25	25
Cleveland	300	69	23
Akron	200	25	13
San Francisco Bay Area	500	59	12
Philadelphia	400	31	8
Pittsburgh	150	5	3
Baltimore	100	0	0
Chicago	1500	0	0
Detroit	500	0	0
Los Angeles	500	0	0
St. Louis	100	0	0
Seattle	300	0	0
Streator	25	0	0
West Virginia	50	0	0
Youngstown	100	0	0
General	1500	0	0
Total	$12,000	$1966	18

Japan's Socialist Party Splits; Rightists Out

Pro-Marxist Wing Wins Control but Unclear on Stalinist Issue

By LEO DEL MONTE

The latest national convention of the Japanese Socialist Party, which convened on January 16 ended in a left-right split occasioned by the mass walkout of the right wing. The background of this split was as follow:

The first general election under the new Japanese constitution which was held in April 1947 gave the SP a plurality and a representation in the lower house of the Diet (which is significant, since the upper house serves merely a decorative purpose) of 143 seats out of 466. The nearest runner-up, the Democratic Party, had something over 120 seats. By the defection of several deputies from the Democratic to the Liberal Party (whence the change in name) the Liberal Democrats advanced to second place, leaving the Democrats in third.

All this time the SP, which shared the government with the Democrats and Popular Cooperatives (representatives of the better-off farmer class) did not dare to propose one bit of socialist legislation, for fear of offending its bourgeois bedfellows and upsetting the political applecart. In addition, it distinguished itself by complete indifference to the interests of the working class, collaborating by default with the bourgeoisie and by design with the occupation.

The majority of organized labor at the time, for reasons that will be taken up briefly below, was under Stalinist control. Whenever the Stalinists were about to pull a major labor offensive (in which they generally had the support of the rank and file because of the miserable living conditions of the working class), the government, headed by social-democrats, instead of acting on the side of the workers, and refusing even to bargain with them in good faith, called upon the occupation to put down the strike. Thus the attempted general strike of the summer of 1948 resulted in the loss of the right to strike **and to bargain collectively** for all government employees (approximately 25 per cent of the Japanese working class)! The social-democracy, far from protesting, seemed to approve.

Leader Disgraced as Bribe-Taker

Then, in the autumn of 1948, came the Showa Denko scandal. Showa Denko, a firm which had produced chemical products for Japan's war machine, was engaged after the war in the production of chemical fertilizer, producing 15 per cent of the nation's sulphur and 45 per cent of its calcium nitrate. Hinohara, president of the firm, obtained a loan of almost three billion yen in less than a year from the Reconstruction Finance Bank to finance the rebuilding of the bombed-out Showa Denko factories. To obtain this loan he had to go through the Reconstruction Finance Commission, on which sat representatives of all the cabinet ministries.

Hinohara worked a deal with the chief of the Finance Ministry's Accounts Bureau, the chief of the Economic Stabilization Board, and a few other individuals, whereby he promised them a considerable chunk of the money if they would swing the loan for him. Of the 2.7 billion ($7.5 million at the official rate of exchange) lent him, Hinohara pocketed 900 million; 400 million of this went to the above-mentioned officials, and out of this sum they paid off the bureaucracies of the Socialist and Democratic Parties to keep their mouths shut.

One of the principal figures in this affair was Suehiro Nishio, veteran right-wing social-democrat with a record of several decades of activity in the labor movement of Southwestern Japan. Nishio, then vice-premier and cabinet chief secretary, as well as secretary general of the SP, was arrested and convicted of accepting one million yen in hush money. One can imagine how the SP's stock stood after that.

In the meantime, the first evidences of factionalism within the social-democracy made themselves felt when both extreme tips of the SP split to form independent parties in 1948. Twenty right-wing members of parliament, led by Sato, formed the Social Reform Party, a group with a primarily agricultural constituency. Then 12 left-wing members of parliament formed the Farmer-Labor Party, with a primarily working-class constituency. The SP now no longer had a plurality in the House of Representatives.

Left Wing Captures Leading Body

The general election of January 1949 changed the political picture completely. All of the political parties, with the exception of the Liberal Democrats and the Stalinists, shrank. The SP interpreted this defeat at the polls—correctly, as subsequent events showed—as proof of the bankruptcy of the right wing, and at the party convention held the following April the left wing captured all of the posts except that of party chairman. (This post remained in the hands of right-wing Presbyterian Tetsu Katayama, who might be called the Norman Thomas of the Japanese social-democracy, if the analogy is not pressed too far.) Most important, the post of secretary general went from the discredited Nishio to the left wing's most articulate spokesman, Mosaburo Suzuki.

The year 1949 exhibited a series of important political changes in Japan. For one thing, decisive control of the labor movement passed from the control of the Stalinists. The vice-chief of the CP's trade-union bureau, Matsuta Hosoya, had already quit the party in a huff and initiated the formation of the so-called Democratic League within the Sambetsu (National Congress of Industrial Organizations) to fight the Stalinists on their own ground. The Mine Workers' Union had already disaffiliated from Sambetsu because of its distaste for CP control. Kokutetsu (National Railway Workers' Union) followed suit later.

In every union in which the Stalinists had entrenched themselves, whether through chicanery or through the workers' dissatisfaction with the social-democratic labor policy, a Democratic League was formed. The Stallnists, who had built up a considerable reservoir of good will among the workers, as could be seen in their jump from 4 to 35 seats in the election, were draining the reservoir dry by a resort to suicidal adventurism.

And finally the government, at the behest of the occupation, discharged all of the leading Stalinist trade-union functionaries from their jobs as government employees, and Hosoya and his crew of left social-democrats, ex-Stalinists and the like were left with the leadership of the Japanese labor movement. Circumstances forced them to become more militant in order to maintain their position with respect to the rank and file. Furthermore, like Walter Reuther in his more militant period of a few years ago, they could AFFORD to be more militant. The anti-Stalinist record of Hosoyo, Mitamura, Ochiai and others was too well know to be denied. When they pressed their demands they could always say to the bourgeoisie, the government and the occupation: You can't accuse US of being Communists; but ignore our demands and you will be driving the workers right back into the arms of the CP!"

But this movement had a political aspect as well, for these new labor leaders felt that the labor movement, freed from the domination of the Stalinists, needed a political vehicle of its own. With this end in view they joined the SP with the hope of making it over in their own image. The result, as of the time of writing, is that thirty-two national unions, with a total membership of five million (roughly 70 per cent of the Japanese working class), support the SP officially. When the left wing walked into the most recent party convention, it had good reason to feel sure of itself.

The underlying differences between the left and right wings were never actually expressed at the convention. They expressed themselves rather in a dispute over the procedure to be observed in electing convention officials. But this dispute became so heated that Katayama threatened to resign from the chairmanship of the party if the wrangling did not cease. Suzuki told Katayama almost in so many words that he would not be missed, and at that point the right wing walked out en bloc to set up its own convention.

New SP Has Chance to Head Working Class

The SP has 47 members in the lower house. Fifteen of these are right wingers, 19 are left wingers and 13 are "centrists," i.e., opposed to the split and trying to effect a reconciliation. However, chances of a reconciliation are slight, and if the split becomes definitive the centrists are expected to adhere to the right wing. A reconciliation would in fact be to the right wing's advantage since it has no social base, while the left wing is acquiring more and more of a trade-union base all the time.

But the cleavage is so fundamental that unity is hardly possible. The left wing, for instance, insists that the SP must become a working-class party with a Marxist program; the right wing openly repudiates the theory of the class struggle and stresses national unity.

What, then, are the perspectives of the left wing of the Japanese social-democracy? If the official support of 32 trade unions is an indication of REAL working-class support, the left wing can take over the SP and become Japan's working-class party in the fullest sense. But in order to do that it must clarify its position on two things: the American occupation and the Stalinists.

The new SP, to be a genuinely socialist party, must (as best it can under the circumstances) indicate its unequivocal opposition to the occupation and make it clear that it does not recognize the right of the U. S. army to maintain itself in Japan. Furthermore, it must stop regarding Stalinism as a left-wing disease (or as a left-wing anything) and recognize it for what it is: a new species of reaction.

In Japan the healthy development of an independent left was hampered by two things. First, neither a left opposition nor a right opposition ever developed within the Japanese Communist Party. Furthermore, a reign of terror against the political action of the working class, which had existed since the Meiji Restoration but was particularly heightened during the late '20s and early 30s, so isolated the Japanese radical movement that it was possible for the Stalinists to pose in the immediate post-war period as the extreme left. The same isolation had retarded the degeneration of the CP, which made it all the easier for them to fill that role.

As the post-war political drama began to play and the Stalinists were gradually unmasked, two tendencies appeared within the Japanese left social-democracy: one was to shun radicalism (which was becoming identified with Stalinist degeneracy); the other was to move closer to the CP in united-front activity and the like whenever the social-democracy was compelled by external circumstances to adopt a more radical position. The left-wingers in the Japanese socialist movement still have to learn that it is possible (and under the circumstances necessary) to be both genuinely radical AND uncompromisingly anti-Stalinist at the same time.

There is always the possibility that, in spite of the ferment in the upper bureaucracy of the Japanese labor movement, the Stalinists still have a considerable rank-and-file following. The director of the Japanese NLRB said as much during a recent visit here. That, however, is a question that this writer is unable to answer. It is to be expected that the answer to that question, as to many others raised or suggested in this article, will be given in the next general election.

Israeli Ruling Parties in Dispute On Religious Schools, Polygamy

By AL FINDLEY

A minor Kulturkampf is raging in Israel today. The attempt of the Jewish orthodox elements to impose Judaism as the state religion, with the orthodox rabbinate as its sole authority, has been festering for some time. The influx of thousands of Yemenite and other Oriental Jews has brought the issue out in the open.

Israel has four separate school systems. There is the labor network which is unofficially divided into two sections, one controlled by the Mapai (labor party) and the other by the Mapam (left-wing but pro-Stalinist). There is the General Zionist or bourgeois school system. There are two official religious-orthodox educational organizations, one run by the moderate clericals, the Mizrachi, and the other by the more extreme Agudath Israel.

The orthodox leaders demand a monopoly of education in the immigrant camps of Oriental Jews. They have unleashed a world-wide campaign to force the Israeli government to accede to their demands.

As part of their propaganda, they have been spreading the charge that in some camps the orthodox schools were totally excluded. This untruth has been widely publicized in the U. S., but not in Israel, where the facts are known.

The pressure of the rabbinate and its American friends has produced some results. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion has suggested a compromise formula. The clericalists would get a monopoly on the education of ALL children in the camps of the Yemenite immigrants but other Oriental Jews would be able to choose their educational system by referendum.

The compromise was accepted by the moderate clericalists (the Mizrachi) and could have been imposed on the others. Fortunately, the Mapai rejected this capitulation and demanded a referendum in ALL camps. No final decision has been taken.

For some cynics all that is involved is a struggle for power by the various political parties which want to capture the loyalty of the young immigrants. There is no doubt that party politics is involved. But much more is at stake. The entire question of the relation of synagogue and state in Israel is involved here. The separation of church and state as against clerical domination is the real issue.

POLYGAMY DEBATED

Another aspect of this important question is now being debated in the Knesseth, Israeli parliament.

The Oriental Jews accept polygamy and many of them maintain harems. Child marriages, as early as twelve for girls and thirteen for boys, are an every-day occurrence. It is also not uncommon for a father to sell his daughter in marriage to an older man. There is no question of consent involved since the children are never consulted. Many of these child brides have run away from their "husbands" and are being sheltered in Mapai's children's homes.

A bill has been introduced in the Knesseth by a Mapai delegate, Miss Maiman, which would regulate marriages and set the age limit at eighteen.

This elementary law was opposed on three grounds: (1) The government has no authority to pass ANY laws regulating marriage, since marriage is a personal matter and is the sole prerogative of the rabbinate and the religious courts of the other religions. (2) The Yemenite deputy maintained that the law has no right to prohibit or limit something that the Bible and Talmudic code permit. (3) The moderates insisted that the age be reduced to sixteen, since the rabbinate is now (after the bill has been presented) willing to prohibit marriages before the age of sixteen.

Some moderate clericals are disappointed in that the rabbinate waited for the Mapai to take the initiative and only acted under pressure. It seems that the rabbinate has learned something from this development. A convocation meeting in the first week of February "outlawed" polygamy and "threatened excommunication" against those who practise polygamy and rabbis who perform the rites for polygamous marriages.

Polygamy, however, is still legal in Israel, which calls itself a "progressive," "socialist" and "democratic" state. Since the religious courts of the denomination control marriages, the religion one belongs to determines the status of women and the number of wives a man may have. A Mohammedan can still legally practise polygamy in Israel.

Editorials

Is It a 'Principle'?

The CIO and AFL have protested to the State Department against the new Be-Kind-to-Franco line announced last month by Secretary of State Acheson. They put in their protest, made the record, and presumably feel they have done their duty.

If this were some minor disagreement between the labor movement and the U. S. foreign policy makers, that might be so. But it obviously is not. It was not in the eyes of all the delegates at the recent founding congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in London, at which the U. S. delegates played such a prominent role, and where the resolution for international ostracism of the totalitarian Franco regime was passed amid scenes of such strong feeling.

When, on the one hand, U. S. labor representatives in Europe call upon their brothers on the Continent to look to Washington as the bastion of democracy in the world, and then, on the other hand, Washington pushes a lifeline in the direction of the most brutal regime in Europe outside the Iron Curtain, it can hardly be considered occasion for the labor movement merely to go on record. The State Department will pay attention only if the powerful organizations of the trade unions show that they will leave no stone unturned to raise a stink about its disgraceful move.

In this connection we want to point to what seems to be holding opponents of Franco recognition back in making a stern fight against it. (Whether this particular consideration operates in the case of the CIO and AFL, we have no idea.)

The argument from the right goes: *Why shouldn't we recognize Franco? Because he runs a totalitarian regime? But we recognize other totalitarian governments, the Stalinist ones. Why not Franco?*

This argument would have weight if anyone opposed recognition of Franco "on principle"—that is, on the principle that full diplomatic relations should not be given to any undemocratic state. But there is no such absolute principle at least as far as the view of world labor and socialism is concerned.

It is the concrete strategic meaning of Franco recognition right now and for the period ahead which is the point. (And we don't mean the military-strategic meaning, which is what the White House has in mind.) The Franco regime, butcher of the Spanish people, is wobbling—the hatred of its people is mounting, discontent is growing, economic difficulties are sharpening, an impasse is being reached.

Not that it is ready to collapse of itself necessarily; it still has to be swept out with an iron broom by the Spanish revolution. But the State Department, precisely at such a time, moves to throw a life preserver to the floundering regime.

This is why Acheson's announcement was such a hypocritical refutation of Washington's claim to democratic leadership. And this is why the U. S. trade-union leaderships, if they take their internationalist protestations half seriously, cannot salve their consciences with a statement.

Tell the Histadrut!

We note that the AFL and the CIO have protested against the shipment of arms to Arab states.

There is, however, another question in relation to Israel that requires the intervention of American labor, a question which directly and immediately concerns labor.

We propose that Philip Murray and William Green intervene and use their influence with the Histadrut, Israeli labor movement, that it accept—nay, organize—Arab workers into a single union together with Jewish workers in the Histadruth.

At present, Jewish workers are organized into the Histadruth and Arab workers are organized into separate satellite unions with a façade of unity at the top. This policy is a direct continuation of the previous policy of Jewish labor in regard to Arab workers. As is well known, LABOR ACTION has always considered this a false and suicidal policy.

But the simple truth is that whatever rationalizations for separate Jewish and Arab trade unions may have been given in the past, even these have no color of validity now. They have no place in a democratic state and of course no place in a labor movement that considers itself socialist.

With the establishment of the state of Israel, exclusion of Arab workers from the Histadrut can no more be justified than the exclusion of Negroes or a proposal to exclude Jews from the AFL and the CIO.

Murray and Green would speak with greater authority were the Israel labor movement to remove this undemocratic vestige. It would give meaning to the claim of labor leaders and the Histadrut that Israel is a bastion of democracy.

It is high time the Histadrut acted. Intervention by American labor would help a great deal in bringing about this simple action for democracy and labor solidarity.

YOU and SCIENCE

Scientists Organizing for Social Action

By CARL DARTON

It is part of the folklore of capitalism that scientists in white coats are above the conflicts of politics, their only concern being the pursuit of truth. The application of such truth and knowledge, according to this viewpoint, is better left to those versed in the ways of men and practical affairs.

Scientists themselves have done little to erase this misconception. The majority of them have neglected politics as being too "dirty" or at least unsatisfying. Those few who have spoken out have usually been on the side of the dominant classes and their utterances and actions have indicated that their scientific approach stopped at the threshold of their own specialty. Their politics, as well as their philosophy, appears to have been learned from grandfather, teacher or nursemaid.

Within the past ten years or so, particularly since the end of the war, there has been increasing evidence of social consciousness among scientists, and their organization into societies and groups better to apply the fruits of their labor for the good of all.

It is only natural that a healthy science should have pride in the ultimate social use of its work. Such a right can not be denied any skilled worker, least of all the scientist. It is true that the results of scientists struggles for social consciousness have been few, but their efforts should be encouraging to all workers.

The first effort was in 1938 with the formation of a new kind of scientific society, the American Association of Scientific Workers. Its aim was the relating of scientific developments to their social implications and giving scientists some control over the applications of science.

The AASW has been concerned with science as related to education, socialized medicine, protection of the consumer, government aid to science and, more recently, with loyalty clearances, secrecy in research, freedom of speech, and the uses of atomic energy. It has branches in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Salt Lake City and Purdue, with members at large being affiliated directly with the national office at 298 West 11th Street, New York City. A membership of about 800 members is currently claimed in the United States. It is affiliated with the World Federation of Scientific Workers, which publishes an international journal, *Science and Mankind*.

Despite the fact that it is the oldest American organization of socially-conscious scientists, it has remained relatively isolated from the main current of the American scientific world.

"TRIPLE A-S" SPEAKS UP

The central scientific organization in the United States is the American Association for the Advancement of Science to which are affiliated most of the scientific societies, totaling over 40,000 members. With the increasing encroachment of military research on all scientific activity the AAAS in 1947 appointed a committee to consider the increasing restrictions on research and the oppression of "loyalty" clearances. The conclusions of this committee were published in 1949 as the Visscher report.

Its main points were that security regulations should not apply to basic principles of fundamental knowledge; that loyalty investigations are forcing men of ability and pride to avoid military research where they are treated as objects of suspicion; that guilty by association is unfair. The whole tone of the report is mild and feeble in protest but it is significant in that it is the first step toward social consciousness on the part of the predominant scientific body in the United States.

Just within the past few months there has been organized a Society for Social Responsibility in Science. Its aims are to further "a tradition of personal moral responsibility for the consequences of professional activity . . . that the individual must abstain from destructive work"; and more on the practical side, "to operate an employment service for those refusing destructive work." Its members are mostly in universities but include some scientists in industrial work.

The activities of the largest organization of social-minded scientists, the Federation of American Scientists, will be described in our next column.

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Reading from Left to Right

Crime with a Capital A

OUR WORST BLUNDERS IN THE WAR, by Hanson W. Baldwin. (Atlantic Monthly, February.)

The N. Y. Times military expert, among other things, fixes attention on the hypocrisy of the official rationalizations for the way in which the A-bomb was dropped on Japan. He points out as so many others have also, that the atomic terror was *not* what brought the surrender, and on the basis of this writes:

"We were therefore twice guilty. We dropped the bomb at a time when Japan already was negotiating for an end of the war but before those negotiations could come to fruition. We demanded unconditional surrender, then dropped the bomb and accepted conditional surrender—a sequence which indicates pretty clearly that the Japanese would have surrendered even if the bomb had not been dropped, had the Potsdam Declaration [the ultimatum] included our promise to continue the Emperor upon his throne."

The U. S. did not let Hirohito keep his job as a concession to the Japanese—it had a use for him itself. But one thing is clear: the A-bomb shadow over the world was put there by U. S. imperialism and no case has yet been made out for military necessity.

Incurable Chauvinism

THE EAGLE WITHOUT THE SWASTIKA, by Fred M. Hechinger. (Harper's, January.)

Here's a perfect example of disingenuous writing about the "incurable" nationalist chauvinism of the German people from an incurably chauvinist American mind.

According to Hechinger, "popular government in Germany died with Bismarck, not with Hitler"—the Weimar democracy is simply scorned as a "failure"—but wherever the U. S. role in the renazification of Germany intrudes into his lines, the measuring rod changes. For example:

"I was deeply ashamed to find a neatly engraved notice on the reception desk of an American hotel in Bavaria which collectively barred admission to Germans, displaced persons, and dogs."

But when he finds a German teacher telling kids that "the father is the central authority of the family," this is equated with Nazism and the trouble with the German people is based on the "strong centralism of the father-image."

The Joyous Life in Russia

INSIDE THE USSR, by Pachydermus. (East Europe, London weekly, February 2.)

". . . an analysis of the figures indicates that the 1949 Plan has met with difficulties. The slogan of the First Five Year Plan, 'Five year's work in four year's time,' has long been forgotten. This is due to several reasons.

"The production norms have been squeezed up so high that the workers can be driven no faster. Raw materials, financial and other local reserves of Soviet industry provide no margin for an overfulfillment of the Plan. The early Five Year Plans could fall back on immense reserves; the present one has been so framed as to exploit every available ounce of manpower and material . . .

"Industrialization still has priority over consumption goods. . . . only champagne production was nearly trebled."

The perfect slogan for an imperialist ruling class: guns and champagne, not butter.

WORLD POLITICS

A Look at World Politics Through the Eyes of Two New Films

By HENRY JUDD

It is possible on occasion to grasp more of the reality of current "world politics" by examining matters of comparative simplicity which, on the surface, have little bearing on the daily round of press reports, international gatherings, secret negotiations and the rest.

Since the end of the last war, there has developed what might well be called a new American attitude toward Europe and its people; an attitude which exists not only in those circles of imperialist reaction who deliberately calculate the economic and political exploitation of Europe in American interests, but increasingly among intellectuals and masses.

This is not the place to probe this revised attitude toward Europe at any length, but we should like to illustrate it by citing an example from the movie industry, that most sensitive form of expression for reflecting popular attitudes. We should particularly like to cite this example in contrast with another film, an actual product of that post-war Europe which socialists seek to understand and toward which their thoughts are directed.

The Third Man is the production of a famous English director, but actually—both in conception, acting, story, etc.—it is a product of Hollywood; a characteristic Anglo-American, Anglo-Saxon expression in which Hollywood united with the studios of London to produce the tsory of a city. The city is Vienna, bombed and partly wrecked by the war, victimized by the black market during its worst days directly following the end of the war. The story, in reality a feeble melodrama, unfolds against the background of the city itself—though it must be remarked that none of the truly attractive and beautiful aspects of this noted architectural center are shown.

It is not our purpose to comment on the picture from any technical or artistic standpoint. Suffice to say that, viewing it as an amateur in such matters, it struck us as entirely dependent upon trickery, contrivance and forced technique. Perhaps the best word is to say bluntly that the film is a phony, from the zither musical background to the artificially contrived scenes of suspense.

A CARICATURE OF EUROPE

More important is the picture of a people and the portrayal of a city contained in *The Third Man*. Although Vienna no longer occupies its former intellectual and cultural position—not to mention its merited reputation as a center of progressive and socialist masses who attempted, even if under Social-Democratic leadership, to institute innumerable socially progressive measures in housing, education, child upbringing, etc.—the foul and distorted picture of the city contained in this film is unbearable to those who know the city and its history.

Not an ounce of human sympathy or warmth toward the Viennese people, in their post-war misery, is permitted by the arrogant producers of the film. In fact, the city and its life provide only a convenient backdrop for the absurd melodrama. Its people without exception have the appearance and manners of gangsters and cutthroats whose entire existence is not influenced or shaped by the black market and its effects, but who, rather, consciously and willingly serve the black market for their sinister purposes.

True, the "third man" himself is an American, but one gets the impression that these ruthless Viennese doctors, actors and assorted criminals merely made use of him. A charmingly naive Western cowboy and a more sophisticated English officer smash the ring, as gaping Viennese stand by. The Austrians appear solely as police adjuncts to the military government authorities.

In one slanderous scene of a wild taxi ride through the city at night, a series of Rogues' Gallery Austrians are shown throwing open windows to stare at the passing cab. Curiously enough, those parts where assembled Viennese tell their tormentors in appropriate Viennese dialect to leave them alone and go home are spoken in German which remains untranslated and inaccessible to audiences.

PSEUDO-VIENNA AND THE REAL ROME

Much more detail could be given about this vicious and abusive portrayal of a great city still victimized by its occupants. *The Third Man* is more than another film filled with that worship of violence and brute action now so characteristic of our films.

Of course, it was made primarily for "entertainment" purposes (how that notion has changed!) and we do not suggest that a conscious effort was made to revile a city or people. It is just that the attitude of contempt and superiority toward Europe and its people has now become so widespread and accepted (particularly among Americans), that it finds a quite "natural" and prepared place for expression in such films as this. Europe is a land upon which Anglo-Americans impose their will, and whose demoralized peoples are ready to be bought and sold at any price. Its cities are dehumanized, and its social life an organized gangsterism which, however, requires an American's guiding hand to really make it thrive.

Contrast this with another conception of a European people and their city, contained in the picture *The Bicycle Thief*. Here is a picture coming out of Europe, post-war Europe, itself. The black market is also the backdrop of this picture, but a properly understood one. Here is a city and a people, with their real and very concrete problems, brought to life and not used as an excuse to describe a story of decay. Rome and the Italian people—particularly the workers of the suburb and factory areas—perform in a rich, warm and human story which speaks the truth and has not a phony episode or scene in it.

The increasingly dangerous attitude of Americans in particular toward Europe now extends to all levels. In politics, we know it well—Atlantic Pact, rearmament programs, etc. But Europe fights back, with whatever weapons it has in hand. It is worth noting that both the Catholic Church and the Kremlin denounced *The Bicycle Thief*. And what more could be said in its favor?

Not in the Headlines

Good Reason

The Hungarian daily Magyar Nemzet has commended the proprietor of a Budapest cafe for insuring "the dignified atmosphere of his establishment during the solemn days of Stalin's birthday" by pinning up a notice: "Please do not make any anti-democratic statements as they are severely punishable by law."

For the Dossier

We reckon it's like kicking in an open door by now, but here's an item to be added to the dossier on Eisenhower for the benefit of the liberal and labor leaders who boomed him for the presidency in the last campaign.

At an industrialists' dinner on February 9, the former "crusader in Europe" took the occasion to shine an apple for that well-known apple seller, Herbert Hoover. General Eisenhower, opening his heart, declared that when he thought of Hoover's efforts to "uphold all the things that have made the United States great, I feel a positive thrill when I address him as 'Mr. President.'"

Song Plug

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) has decided the labor movement needs new songs. The leaders claim the Communist Party has taken over the best of the union songs like "Solidarity."

So they've hired Gerald Marks ("Is It True What They Say About Dixie?") to do the job. The N. Y. Times of February 11 quotes part of Marks' lyrics as follows:

"That guy I sent to Congress
Better give me a good square deal
'Cause I'm not casting my vote for him
Just because of his sex appeal."

We suggest another verse (no fee):

"But if they give me a raw deal
I'll still have to vote for them
'Cause that's what the pork-choppers teach me
In the good old IAM."

The Atomic State

Hanson Baldwin, the N. Y. Times' military expert and—needless to say—no radical, had some strong things to say in his February 6 column about the way in which Congress has been passing the arms budget and the president has been deciding on the use of the H-bomb without any of the necessary information and knowledge being available either to the Congressmen or to the people.

"Even David E. Lilienthal," he adds, "whose whole philosophy is opposed to the concept of government by secrecy, played shy and coy in his press conference references to the hydrogen bomb; and unfortunately Mr. Lilienthal has not been a tower of strength for that dwindling group of government executives who believe in less secrecy, not more."

"We have gone far along the road of exchanging freedom for an imagined security, or we have become a fatalistic people resigned to unknown tomorrows and pushing horrid thoughts from our minds. . . .

"Toward such extremes lie madness and disaster. We have come some way, too far indeed, toward that of which we were warned when the atomic age opened—the 'atomic state,' a state in which legislators vote in ignorance and the people accept passively decisions made in secret."

Youth and Student Corner

How the Stalinist Student Youth Pervert the Issue of Jim Crow

By JULIUS FALK

LABOR ACTION for February 6 carried a detailed account on the recent session of the planning committee for the forthcoming Conference on Democracy in Education, attended by a large number of representatives from campus clubs and student councils. This conference was originally initiated by several Stalinist front groups, but control was taken out of their hands as a result of cooperation among an ever-increasing number of anti-Stalinist student organizations supporting the conference.

At the above-mentioned preconference planning session, the CP's youth forces took a bad drubbing, failing to win a single post on the conference executive committee. They were voted down 3-1 on most other important issues by the coalition of forty opposing student groups.

In the course of the meeting, as it became clear that they would be washed out of the executive, they resorted to their usual rule-or-ruin tactics. In this case, they pulled the race issue out of thin air and began to mutter in a rising crescendo that the meeting was becoming—Jim Crow! This technique, which the Stalinists had found to be workable elsewhere, was here especially crude and notably unsuccessful.

The details of the affair reveal something of the political psychology of the Stalinists. Remember throughout that the dud charge was hurled during the elections to the executive committee under the conditions sketched above, and when no Negro student had as yet been elected. This fact became the basis for their charge.

What the Stalinists did was to take an idea which is generally correct and completely distort it in a crudely demagogic application. The specific facts make this more than clear, but first some general considerations.

ON NEGRO REPRESENTATION

By and large, it is perfectly true that the leading committees of democratic organizations should reflect as far as possible the membership and composition as well as the views of that organization and take into consideration the audience it is appealing to. For example, that is why a national organization often properly gives weight to the geographic areas from which candidates for a leading committee come, even where this may mean that a less qualified person from one area is elected instead of a more qualified contender from an over-represnted area. For different but often even stronger reasons, the question of minority-group representation should be considered in a somewhat analogous light.

An organization may be completely free from Jim Crow itself—as the student conference under consideration is, of course—but one of its most effective ways of impressing this upon the student body at large can well be the fact that its leading committee is interracially composed. In a free society where discrimination and racism no longer exists, such considerations might also become obsolete; but in the United States, where bigotry and various degrees of prejudice are deeply embedded, they are important.

Of course, this does not mean that such minority-group representation automatically gives a democratic character to an organization: the converse of a true proposition is not necessarily true.

Naturally, this consideration is especially important if the organization itself is infested with discrimination. Where this is not true, the main reason still holds—but in no case is race the *only* consideration in voting for a candidate. It is this last point which was the issue raised by the Stalinists, and this alone.

RACIST BLACKMAIL

The Stalinist hue and cry was not raised through stupidity or passionate concern with minority rights. The student groups in the Conference on Democracy in Education are all thoroughly anti-Jim Crow. The demagogic and chauvinist manner in which the Stalinists used the racial issue was offensive to all other students present, who were eventually roundly abused by the Stalinists. What was damning about the latter's strategy was that they did not inject the "You-are-Jim-Crow - unless - you-elect-a-Negro" angle until it was completely clear that one of their own Stalinist hacks who is a Negro was going to be defeated for the executive along with the other Stalinists. This at a meeting where the political lines were sharply and tightly drawn and had been for some time.

The Stalinist strategy was, on the one had, a crude and vulgar appeal to the democratic instincts of the students in the hope that this would override their POLITICAL antagonism; on the other hand, it was simple blackmail to get a Stalinist elected solely and simply on the basis of his color where he was rejected on the basis of his politics. "Unless you elect THIS Stalinist, we will brand you as anti-Negro" was the line.

The most that one could say is that the anti-Stalinist students at the meeting did not give sufficient weight to the general considerations discussed above with regard to constructing the most effective and representative leading committee, through overwhelming concentration on the candidates' views and competence rather than color. As a matter of fact, however, the anti-Stalinists did propose a Negro student for their own slate; this student unfortunately declined to run.

In the course of the election, the anti-Stalinists even nominated one of the Stalinist Negro students for a post on the executive, and he had an excellent chance of being elected; by this time, however, the line was to break up the meeting and this nominee declined.

If he had run and been elected, the Stalinists would not have been able to cover their rout or try to break up the meeting by hurling the fantastic charge of Jim Crow at the socialists, young liberals, members of Students for Democratic Action (SDA), Young Democrats, AVCers and student council representatives who were allied in the anti-Stalinist caucus.

As described in our February 6 issue, the Stalinists seized upon a weird incident to precipitate their fracas. A student in the audience, a member of the SDA (which is the student section of Americans for Democratic Action) was accused of having made a Jim Crow remark, by a student so far away from him that he could not have heard anything. In any case, the SDAer vigorously denied the charge. The junior S-men started a riotous demand that he be kicked out instanter—no evidence needed, no defense permitted, Moscow-fashion.

ABSURD LENGTHS

The lengths to which the Stalinists went were astounding and if one could have maintained a sense of humor under the circumstances might even have seemed comical. At one point a student from the Columbia Student Council referred to a Negro Stalinist, whom he had known personally, as "Irving." The Stalinist yelled at the Columbia student: "This proves that you are Jim Crow because my name is Douglas and you know it."

It happens that Douglas has a twin brother whose name is Irving; both of them are leading Stalinists, both go to Brooklyn College, both of them were known to the Columbia student. To cap it, the Columbia representative who was thus accused of Jim Crowism for confusing twins was perhaps the most active proponent in the student council for the widely publicized recent investigation of Jim Crow practices in the fraternities.

The Jim Crow charge, however, was more than simply a smoke-screen or an attempt to break up the meeting; in the form it took, it was a reflection of the Stalinist attitude of inverted chauvinism, of Jim Crow upside-down. The Stalinist movement, in its own special way, also refuses to treat the Negro as an equal—as a man, a comrade and a co-worker who can stand on his own feet without implicitly patronizing condescension. At the same time, they instill not racial pride but racial chauvinism.

This aspect of Stalinism on the Negro question was brought out dramatically at the meeting by the same Negro Stalinist who had been defeated for the executive. Following his defeat, he got up and shouted to the students that "Every white man has some Jim Crow in him!" A socialist student asked him whether that went for the YPA also (the Young Progressives of America, Stalinist youth front). The Stalinist student was quick to reply: "You heard me—I said EVERY white has Jim Crow in him." That's what he was taught in the YPA.

L.A. READERS TAKE THE FLOOR . . .

Liked Green Article

To the Editor:

Will you allow me as a subscriber a little space in connection with the McKinney letter in LA this week (February 13 issue)?

Had he simply called attention to what he considers stylistic oversights in the use of certain words, his letter probably would not need a reply. But it seems to me that he is either confused or grossly overestimates the significance of the use of such words as "Negroes," "white Negroes," etc.

Thus Mr. McKinney says that there are people who think "that it is not necessary to know much about real Negroes or Negro life," and he marvels "at the certainty and sureness with which some of these well-intentioned people write about the Negroes and the whole question of Jim Crow." Does Mr. McKinney mean to apply these words to the movie reviews by Susan Green in your January 31 issue, or is he simply wandering away from the point? If he means the first, what is his justification and why doesn't he explicity state his objections? That would be the fair and fruitful thing to do.

As for me, upon reading the reviews in your paper of January 31, I bought several additional copies of LA. Feeling that the opinions expressed by your writer, Susan Green, went to the heart of the Negro question as a socialist views it, I sent these additional copies to friends and acquaintances, some of them colored.

Your Mr. McKenney tells us what he would do before writing an article on the Jewish problem: well, I know what I would do if I read such an article. I would judge it by its contents, its viewpoint—even if he used the word "Jewess," etc.

I hope the editor of LA will have more reviews, on the Negro and other questions, as good as the ones referred to here.

M.

THE STORY BEHIND THE NEWS

An American Stalinist Spy in Wartime Europe —

The Strange Case of Noel Field

By A FORMER GERMAN COMMUNIST

To start off this testimony, I have to introduce myself. The reader will thus better understand how I made the acquaintance of Noel and Hertha Field and how it is I can today affirm that, on orders from their accusers, Rajk and Szalai lied in the Budapest trial.

Before Hitler came to power, I worked in the German Communist Party, later in an opposition group. In 1933 I was condemned to two years' forced labor. In 1935 I profited by my release to make my way into France.

In 1939 I signed up as a foreign volunteer in the French army and the following year found myself a prisoner in Germany. Strange return! I did not, however, give the Germans time to discover my identity (I had torn up my papers at the time of the debacle). I escaped, made my way to the southern zone and wound up in Lyon. My wife Martha was waiting for me there. A difficult mode of life began. I had as much to fear from Vichy as from Hitler.

In September 1942 we were warned that a clean-up of Jews was going to start in Lyon. We decided to go to Switzerland.

How we got to Annemasse, then to the other side of the border, could make a novel. But we got there. Behind us: danger to our lives. Before us: a little village whose very name I have forgotten; the house of an Italian couple. We were humanely received: courtesy, hot coffee . . . and the police, who soon arrived (we had asked that they be notified).

Meets Hertha Field

Two hours later, in the middle of the night, we were taken to Geneva where we spent the night in a military camp for refugees. The next morning we were free, sent to the Jewish aid committee, and installed in a hotel.

Liberty was not long mine. Switzerland, which every day was getting numerous refugees, had special camps set up, at first under military control. Four weeks after my arrival, I had to go to the one at Büren (in the canton of Berne). Martha was left at liberty with the child; as for myself, during the fall of 1943 I obtained a residence permit as a student at the University of Geneva.

Naturally we remained in contact with the refugees. We were affiliated with the workers' aid organization, run by the Swiss Socialist Party, which came to the assistance of foreign socialist militants. Together with several German refugees we had formed a little group.

It was in one of these refugee groups that Martha made the acquaintance of Hertha Field. The latter was of German extraction. Martha told me about her the same evening: she was very *sympathique*, even fascinating. In fact, when I saw her several days later, Hertha Field answered my wife's description. She was about 40 or 45, her hair was getting gray, but she was still pretty. Her blue eyes gave an impression of great kindness. "My husband and I," she told my wife, "are busy with an American refugee-aid society, the Unitarian Service Committee. Come up and see us some time, with your husband."

The First Surprise

Martha talked to me of Hertha Field with such enthusiasm that I decided one day to go see the American couple at their office, which was in Geneva opposite the Palais Wilson.

My first surprise awaited me there. I had hesitated before going to see the Fields since their organization had a religious character: it was run by the Quakers. [The writer here and elsewhere in the article apparently uses Quaker interchangeably with Unitarian. Field did indeed work for the Unitarian Service Committee and, as far as we have checked, was not connected with the Quaker organization.—Ed.]

But I had scarcely entered Field's office when I saw his secretary, Mme. Tampi, who was well known among the German refugees. German herself, married to a Frenchman, she was an admitted Communist militant—by "Communist" I mean Stalinist.

I was surprised but not too much so. So the Fields could aid all refugees without political discrimination.

The public first heard about the Field case at the time of the trial of Rajk, the ex-minister of foreign affairs in Hungary who was condemned to death in September 1949 and hanged at the end of October.

Noel Field was formally accused by the Hungarian prosecutor of being an American agent, working for the FBI. There was no immediate reaction from the American side. It was not until three weeks later that the American embassy in Prague took official notice of the disappearance of the three American nationals: Noel Field, his wife Hertha Field, and his son Herman Field.

At the same time it was learned in Washington that the Fields had long been suspected of anti-American activities and were even accused of working for Russia. The Fields had disappeared since July 1949. Last trace of them had been picked up in Prague, then in Warsaw.

In spite of the official protests of the American embassy at Prague, it was plain that the American government was in no hurry to throw light on these strange disappearances. Precise orders from the State Department were even given to the U. S. papers, enjoining silence on the affair.

Was Field really an American agent? Was he, on the contrary, a Russian agent? Was he a double agent, caught at the game by one of his two bosses?

The document which we present maintains the second theory. Noel Field was a long-time convinced Stalinists who worked for the interests of Russia.

It is here translated from the November-December issue of *Confrontation Internationale*. For personal reasons which may be surmised, the writer signs himself only "A Former German Communist." —Ed.

Noel Field was very tall, spare. He had an aristocratic face. I learned that he was born in London of American parents. His hair also was getting gray and he seemed to be in his fifties.

My conversation with Hertha and Noel Field remained within the circle of generalities: when had I arrived in Switzerland, what was I doing, etc. Finally I was won over to Martha's view: they were an attractive couple; Noel as well as Hertha could not fail to make a very favorable impression.

I would never have gotten interested in Noel and Hertha Field in any other way if a surprise encounter had not again, as they say, put a flea in my ear.

Often Met CP Functionaries

In 1944 I had a meeting with a Swiss comrade who was a member of the Communist Party (which perhaps at that time already called itself the Workers Party, I no longer remember) but at the same time was a left oppositionist. In the Swiss CP the terror of the leadership does not play the same role as in France—or as in Russia. This comrade had succeeded in forming a little group in the CP itself. We met in a cafe in the Eaux-Vives section, some distance from the center of Geneva. We had been discussing for a short time when I saw Noel Field come in accompanied by a man I did not know. My companion took me by the arm:

"Let's get away from here," he told me. "The chap who just came in is Pierre Nicole, the son of Leon Nicole. He knows me well."

Leon Nicole is the leader of the Communist Party of Latin Switzerland and is the Swiss leader who is best known internationally. We left without being seen by Field and Nicole. But my attention had decidedly been awakened. How was it that the head of a Quaker organization employed a Communist secretary and palled around with the son of the Communist leader Nicole, who was accused by the press of being a "Soviet agent"? I placed this question before various refugees. Some new facts were pulled together by us.

A little later chance led me to meet a Zurich lady, a member of the Socialist Party, whose son, a sympathizer with extreme-left ideas, had one day talked with Noel Field.

She promised me some information and kept her word. Here is what I learned, and I confess that this time I was more than surprised. The "Quaker" Field, my Zurich lady told me, was in constant touch with Anton Ackermann and Walter Frisch, at that time known functionaries of the German Communist Party in emigration. Today Anton Ackermann is a member of the political bureau of the SED, the Socialist Unity [Stalinist] Party which is all-powerful in the Eastern Zone of Germany. He is secretary of state for foreign affairs—that is, he is entrusted with exercising benevolent surveillance over the acts of the Christian-Democratic minister, Georg Dertinger. As for Walter Frisch, he is, with Max Reimann, the big Communist leader in the bizonal area.

Noel Field saw these two men frequently. It was a new pointer. Ackermann was the very prototype of a Stalinist. At that time he lived at the Gordola camp, in the Tessin, but it was possible for him to leave very often and go to Zurich where the majority of the German refugees lived. One of my Italian friends—an anti-fascist militant, intimate friend of the writer Ignazio Silone—was also interned at Gordola. The Stalinists made his existence miserable, to the extent that the Swiss police had to take a hand.

For what reasons was Field in contact with Frisch and Ackermann? Naturally I can affirm nothing positively, but other facts can give one an idea of what constituted the three men's conversations.

Picked Stalinists Only

When the end of the war was in sight, at the beginning of 1944, the refugee organizations in Switzerland decided to get prepared for the future. Refugee problems, destroyed cities, displaced persons, abandoned children—such were the concerns preoccupying all of them. They got together to jointly train capable personnel and pool their resources. Where could they recruit this personnel except among the refugees of all the European countries, almost all of them able intellectuals and convinced anti-Nazis? Each organization set itself on the lookout for "candidates" for "post-war work" among their protégés in the camps. Among the candidates of the workers' aid organization, for example, was Martha and some socialist militants. But among the candidates of the Unitarian Service Committee there were only—Communists, known as such. One of them, a German Communist, I knew personally; his name was Herz. All the non-Communist refugees at that time were astounded by this choice.

That is what Field, Frisch and Ackermann were discussing. They were getting ready for "post-war work."

I will add another detail which sounded a note of alarm for all the refugees. Not only were Field's candidates known as Communists, but they were also known as propagandists for the "Free Germany Committee" whose founder had been Marshal Von Paulus, Moscow's prisoner. Thus it was that Field's friends came individually to solicit adherents to this movement among the German refugees.

Humbert-Droz Confirms

I again heard of Field after the war when I was at Paris. Through some refugees I knew that he had arrived in Paris, where he was organizing an office of the Unitarians. A new confirmation of Field's Communist activity: the office was loaded with Communists. I knew that at the beginning of 1949 Field was in Switzerland. I heard of his presence later in Prague. Martha saw him again that year at the Gare de l'Est in Paris with his wife, waiting — she thought—to take the Orient Express. I don't know where Noel and Hertha Field were going: still *sympathique*, smiling, the couple passed Martha without seeing her.

Since then. . . . Since then I have read the proceedings of the Budapest trial. What a shock it was for me when I found Field's name, labeled as American agent No. 1 together with Allen Dulles! *But Field was not an American agent. He was a Communist.* Rajk and Szonyi lied. I resolved to get my conscience clear on it. Evidence came to reassure my conviction. It came from Jules Humbert-Droz, the secretary of the Swiss Socialist Party.

Jules Humbert-Droz was one of the founders

(Continued bottom of next page)

ECA Demands More 'Integration' But Europe Resists U. S. Sway

By SAM FELIKS

The Congressional hearing for the 1950-51 appropriation for the European Recovery Program started on February 21. At that time Paul Hoffman, ECA administrator, was expected to ask for a third year appropriation of about $3.1 millions to carry out the job of "integrating" the economy of Western Europe.

Paul Hoffman and other ECA spokesman will have the task of justifying this large sum in face of the pressure for cuts in government expenditures and the absence of any real indication at this time that the U. S. can force through its plan for "integration." For two weeks ago Paul Hoffman returned from Europe after a meeting of the European Marshall Plan Council in which all factions in Western Europe refused to go along with U. S. plans.

Therefore, Paul Hoffman announced on February 17 that he is going to present a program for putting "considerably more power" behind the concept for "integration." "We want Europe to accomplish in twenty-five months what might under less compelling circumstances easily require twenty-five years," he added. It can only mean that the U. S. is going to attempt to crack the last vestiges of Western European independence.

The increasing pressure of the cold war as represented by the decision to produce the H-bomb and the Russian advances in Southeast Asia necessitate the building up of a strong monolithic economic and military bloc in preparation for a showdown with the Stalinist monolith. The U. S. is attempting to suppress any expression of independence in Western Europe, and this can only be accomplished by reducing Western Europe further toward the status of virtual vassals.

"Integration" is presented as a means of building up a Western Europe that will exert a pull on the East European satellites and thus split the Stalinist camp. But the very method by which this concept is carried out is a guarantee to work toward solidifying the satellites in the Russian camp. The "free enterprise" capitalism that the U. S. is attempting to force on Western Europe offers no acceptable alternative to the masses behind the Iron Curtain.

FAILURE OF THE OLD PLAN

The prospects of the Marshall Plan finding success even on the old basis of ending the dollar shortage is shown to be extremely tenuous. At the early February meeting of the European Marshall Plan Council, the council nations indicated that at the scheduled end of the MP in 1952 there will still be a dollar deficit of $2 billion.

This estimate was made on the basis of four assumptions which reveal that even this figure is optimistic. They are (1) that MP aid will continue at a high level, (2) that business activity in the U. S. will continue at the level of the third and fourth quarters of 1949, and (3) that there would be a continued expansion of production and trade at the present price level.

All three points at this time are shown to be unrealistic. The effect on the slight "recession" in the U. S. in mid-1949 had a disastrous consequence upon the dollar deficit of Western Europe. It accentuated their dependency on U. S. prosperity at a high level, and brought about the subsequent devaluations of Western European currency with the slightest drop in this level. In 1950, U. S. investment is expected to decline by 14 per cent and business activity is expected to decline in the latter half of the year. Therefore American imports can be expected to decline and the dollar gap to widen.

From this tendency develops the drive of Western Europe to discriminate against American exports. The attempt is to procure their imports in non-dollar countries so that when U. S. imports from Western Europe fall off with even the slightest "recession" in this country, Western Europe will not be forced to continue U. S. imports, much of which are essential, and therefore widen the dollar gap. The U. S., on the other hand, is forcing Western Europe to maintain this dependence on U. S. exports. This alone would indicate the reactionary nature of the Marshall Plan.

The British White Paper on the ECA released in mid-January points out that trade is expected to decrease due to the falling demand for capital goods and increased competition from Germany and Japan. And a similar effect can be expected by the other MP nations.

Therefore, in face of the continued dependence upon the American economy, Western Europe is presented with a series of demands by Paul Hoffman. The ECA calls for the "liberalization" of trade, that is, the loosening of the controls set up to protect the economy from outside competition and to direct their recovery program.

THE EXAMPLE OF GERMANY

The American press has tried to point out that the only obstacle to "liberalization" of trade has been Britain. But opposition to the American plans has come from all of Western Europe. What the "free enterprise" bloc led by Belgium, Italy and France had to do was observe the results of the American policy as carried out in Germany

Germany prior to October 1949 had a favorable balance of payments. Then the U. S. high commissioner ordered that all restrictions on trade were to be removed, that is "liberalized." Now Germany has a large trade deficit of several billion marks, unemployment has reached two million and there is a shortage of capital for investment.

The rest of Western Europe looks upon Germany as an example of what may happen to them if they too "liberalize." They fear the political and social consequences that would result from the havoc of economic disruption. It means the destruction of invested capital, upset markets and unemployment. Thus the *Economist* of London points out in its February 4 issue: "in a word, the liberal policy pursued by the government leaves it without the weapons needed to cope with the exceptional problems created by Germany's special position."

Britain, on the other hand, presents a series of objections from a more principled point of view. While the "free enterprise" nations raised objections primarily from the point of protecting investments and their markets, the British Labor government had direct political considerations.

THE BRITISH PRESENT AN OBSTACLE

The Laborites are committed to a program of full employment, nationalization and a planned economy. Britain is also the banker and monetary manager of an international trading bloc, the sterling area. The U. S. plan for "liberalization" comes into direct conflict with these major interests.

The big questions are: How can the British Labor Party give up its controls over the British economy and its political program without committing political suicide? And how can Britain submit to the American conception of "integration" and surrender its position as the head of the sterling area and not relegate itself to the role of an economic dependent of the U. S.?

Britain cannot do either without reckoning with the consequences. The British Labor government as well as the Labor governments of the Scandinavian nations have been pursuing a narrow nationalistic economic policy. They have attempted to find economic stability through restrictive trade practices, and security through self-sufficiency. It is the reformist's way of avoiding the contradictions of the market.

It is a method beset by pitfalls for it tries to negate the international division of labor. These individual nations are not in any sense self-sufficient, except on the basis of a depressed living standard. This method tends to result in restricted trade among the more developed areas and fierce competition for overseas markets, as it is now developing.

The sterling bloc presents the major obstacle to forcing Britain into a U. S. "integrated" Western Europe. It gives Britain a measure of independence when it bargains in the European Marshall Plan Council. If the U. S. can weaken or break up the sterling bloc, then its task will be that much easier.

Already the U. S. has made inroads into the sterling area. The ECA forced Britain to make a 15 per cent cut in the annual payments of the war debt to the Commonwealth, predominantly India. Now for India to continue its development, it is forced to apply to the U. S.-dominated World Bank for a loan of dollars to buy U. S. machinery. Thus Britain is compelled to share, to a small extent now, its capital-goods market.

This accounts for the popularity of the scheme put forth by Walter Lippmann, New York Herald Tribune columnist. He proposes that since the amount of goods that Britain ships to the sterling area is about equal to the amount of Marshall aid to Britain, the U. S. should cut off funds to Britain and instead directly ship the same amount of goods itself.

This plan has a dual virtue from the point of view of the American capitalists. One is obvious: it breaks up the sterling bloc. The other is that although the amount of goods in value in the same, in kind they are different. While the U. S. exports to Britain a large amount of raw materials and only a small proportion of machinery, Britain exports to the sterling area mainly machinery and manufactured goods. This plan would be a boon to U. S. heavy industry in a period of declining investments.

The Marshall Plan nations feel that they have an important argument with which to oppose U. S. economic policy—U. S. dependence on Western Europe as allies in the cold war. It is believed that if they can resist U. S. pressure long enough, they can preserve their own razor-edge balance position.

This view is predicated upon the idea that the U. S. cannot afford to deny economic and military aid to Western Europe. The alternative is the weakening of the U. S. strategic position in Europe at a time when it is attempting to set up "areas of strength" in face of increased cold-war tensions.

The road open to Western Europe is dependent upon how much "more power" the U. S. will attempt to use, and above all the strength and vitality of the European working class to prevent this infringement upon their national sovereignity.

Shachtman Meet In Bay Area Packs the Hall

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 16—Last Tuesday afternoon, climaxing his tour of the San Francisco Bay area, Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, spoke before a capacity audience of over 90 students and faculty members of the University of California on "International Stalinism and the Tito-Stalin Conflict." Stiles Hall was so crowded that some students had to be turned away.

In the largest socialist meeting to be held in the campus area since the end of the war, Comrade Shachtman presented a masterful socialist analysis and presentation of the struggle between the "two marshals," Tito and Stalin. Shachtman explained that only a correct theoretical approach to the general question of world Stalinism would give the key to understanding this conflict.

The keenly interested student audience, most of whom were completely new to the university and to the socialist movement, asked many excellent questions, not only on the subject of the evening but also on the socialist movement and program as well. Much interest was evidenced in the general ideas of the Socialist Youth League, under whose auspices the meeting was held, and many students turned in interest blanks for a class on the role of the trade unions, which will begin in a few weeks.

The student paper, the Daily Californian, had a reporter present who gave a very sympathetic writeup of the speech.

SPOKE ON LABOR TRENDS

This public meeting was the second at which Comrade Shachtman spoke in the bay area. On Sunday evening he addressed an audience of around 70 friends and sympathizers of the Independent Socialist League at Boilermaker's Hall in downtown Oakland, on the subject of "Is the American Labor Movement in Retreat?"

Going into the whole question of the trends in the labor movement which are tying it closer and closer to the American government, Shachtman pointed out that the official labor leadership is ominously silent on a whole series of important questions today. On of important questions today.

ceived and a substantial collection was made, after which the speaker answered various questions from the audience.

While in the bay area, Comrade Shachtman recorded a half-hour program of questions and answers for the Berkeley radio station, KSMO. He was asked about the nature of Titoism, the history of the American Trotskyist movement and the Independent Socialist League, and general questions concerning the American radical movement and the trade unions. This talk was rebroadcast Sunday afternoon, February 19.

Strange Case of Noel Field, Stalinist Spy in Wartime Europe — —

(Continued from page 6)

of the Third International and his name can be found at all of the congresses of the Comintern. But after the beginning of the war he was no longer in agreement with the line. Disillusioned, the old Swiss militant returned to his original party, the Socialist Party. I met him recently, and here is what he told me:

"When I made Field's acquaintance, I was still in the CP. I had been notified that an American named Field was in Switzerland. I was to stay in contact with him. Field told me about his stay in France for the Unitarians. His offices were at Marseille. He had been in touch with the internees of the camp at Vernet.

"In Switzerland, I believe, I made contact with Michael Foot (not to be confused with the Labor Party member of parliament), an Englishman in the service of Russia who recently published a complete account of his activity in the *Volksrecht*, the organ of the Swiss Socialist Party."

Humbert-Droz then handed me an issue of the Swiss weekly *Travail* in which, condemning the Budapest trial, he had written the following lines on Field:

"Another name is cited by the indictment: it is that of Noel Field, designated as the head of the American spy system in Switzerland, who had given out instructions to American spies among the Yugoslav and Hungarian internees in the camps of Southern France.

"I knew Noel Field very well at that time. He was a member of the Swiss Communist Party and an agent of the American churches to aid refugees in the south of France. He intervened, as an American and as a church representative, with the Vichy government to save a great number of German and Italian Communists who were under the threat of being given up to the Gestapo by the Petain government. He helped hundreds of militants in the camps, distributing food and transmitting messages. He helped a large number to hide or to flee to the United States or elsewhere. He did this work in close connection with the Swiss Communist Party and the German and Italian émigrés. Field had previously rendered great services to the Soviet Union.

"It is amazing now to see those people denounced as American spies who in all good faith utilized the services of the Communist Noel Field at that time.

"Certain high functionaries of the German and Italian Communist Parties who owe their life to Noel Field could have a bad quarter of an hour in that case."

Restuffing the Holmes Doctrine for the Cold War —

Judges in Uniform: Courts Click Their Heels

By STAN GREY

Whatever magical aura may still linger about the robes of a judge must certainly now be dissipated by the fact that they now clothe the frame of that eminent police mentality, Tom C. Clark. After that appointment to the Supreme Court by the president, it was not unreasonable to conclude that if a Tom Clark can be a judge, then a judge can try to be a Tom Clark. That this conclusion is dismaying does not prevent it from being accurate.

To be sure, criticism of judges is sometimes misplaced, coming as it does from laymen who tend to confuse justice with law when in fact their concurrence is often as coincidental as kinship. But of all that may be said against the interpreters, and hence the makers of our law, it is important to stress that in one important respect at least they are above reproach. To give the judges their due, it is impossible to level the charge that they are not doing their bit in the cold war now taking place.

There are of course exceptions. There are the stubborn minorities and the isolated federal judges who perversely continue to interpret the law in the liberal tradition. But these are becoming more exceptional as the run-of-the-mill line themselves up behind their canons and level their sights at the main enemy.

JUDICIAL ATROCITIES

Two weeks ago we cited two decisions of the Supreme Court which cut a huge swath in the traditional civil liberties of this country. One, in effect, validated the procedures of ex-Attorney General—now Supreme Court Justice—Tom C. Clark which denied entry into the U. S. to a GI war bride without giving her a hearing, without submitting any evidence against her and without stipulating the specific nature of the charge. The other decision sustained the deportation of two aliens for a crime committed while they were citizens, i.e., before they had their papers taken from them. This decision makes possible wholesale persecution of naturalized citizens.

What with the Supreme Court demonstrating such audacity and intransigence in overcoming the trivial obstacles of democratic rights to defend the country, it is not surprising that the same spirited "patriotism" should blossom forth in the lower courts. Thus we have two more decisions in the last two weeks which should reassure anybody who fears that the judiciary may quibble over technicalities and fail to do its patriotic duty, let civil liberties fall where they may.

In the first of these, the notorious Ober Law in Maryland won a test case in the Appeals Court and was reinstated after having been invalidated by Judge Sherbow last September 13 in a noteworthy decision. The law, which is a monument to Frank Ober's impatient "loyalty" if not to his democratic instincts, forbids membership in or support of subversive organizations, requires loyalty oaths of public employees, political candidates and teachers in state-aided schools and provides penalties up to 20 years' imprisonment and $20,000 fines for violations. It requires little imagination to visualize Mr. Ober chafing at the democratic bit.

"AFTER YOU, ALPHONSE!"

Two injunctions enjoining the enforcement of the act were brought separately by a citizens' group and by two leaders of the Maryland Communist Party. Both suits argued the unconstitutionality of the law and were sustained by Judge Sherbow.

The Appellate Court reversed Judge Sherbow, denied the suit of the complainants and, seizing all its courage in both hands, unambiguously declared that "in this stage we do not intimate that any of its [the Ober Law's] provisions are valid or invalid. If the act is approved by the votors and an accused is convicted under it, then it will be time enough to act in its application to particular circumstances and a particular defendant."

This decision, though it reinstates the law, creates a charming situation. The court will not rule on it until it has a test case before it in the form of an accused under the act. But the attorney general will not convict anybody until after the referendum to be held at the next state election and until after the courts have ruled on it. Thus we have an elegant Alphonse-Gaston game with civil liberties as the plaything: the attorney general is waiting for the judge and the judge for the attorney general.

It should be said for the Appeals Court majority that though it apparently does not share the opinion of Judge Sherbow it is not as trigger-happy as its own minority. For the minority decision in the case, though it agreed with the majority in denying the suits, thought that the court should declare the Ober Law constitutional right now.

The differences are all a matter of temper and temperature, the temper of the judges and the temperature of the cold war. As the latter rises, the differences in the former tend to level off, and unanimity and Frank Ober will prevail.

GREASING DEPORTATION

The other decision was a ruling by Federal Judge Vincent Liebell in New York which made it constitutional to deport an alien for past membership in a subversive organization. This opinion sustains a section of the Alien Registration Act of June 1940 (Smith Act). The main purpose of the deportation clauses of this law was to do away with the effect of a Supreme Court ruling of 1939 in the Strecker case which said that an alien, formerly a member of a forbidden organization, was not deportable when his membership had ceased eight months before the issue of the warrant for his arrest.

According to this law and now the decision which validates this section, an alien is deportable if at any time in his past he had been a member of a subversive organization for any amount of time. An alien, having lived most of his life in this country, might have been a member of a "subversive" organization for a year or six months or less. If he is "undesirable," if for example he happens to be a trade-union militant today, though not today "subversive," he could be legally deported.

It requires no long technical training to appreciate the high potential of persecution that is lodged in this act and in its validation. Such legal atrocities were commonplaces after the First World War. The parallel is, of course, not mere coincidence, for the judges today cannot be said to have less spine than their predecessors. Judge Leibell, for instance, is as willing to shoulder his musket as the next man, let no mistake be made about that.

An interesting thing about the Leibell ruling is that Justice Holmes is disinterred once again to justify a reactionary decision to the liberal conscience. It seems that the liberal Holmes (and Brandeis) tradition lives on in the sense that it is frequently dragged in by the tail, twirled around a few times, cut apart and restuffed to fit the new requirements. This is not the first time that great men are denied their spirit after their bodies are gone.

In the course of an 82-page decision, the judge quoted from a Holmes decision "thus the right of freedom of speech is not so absolute that it cannot be restricted by statute, in the interest of public safety." Nobody insists upon some "absolute" right of freedom of speech. The whole point is at what stage, if any, is "public safety" so menaced and so immediately as to warrant such extreme measures. And the facts are that Holmes' own rulings, notably in the Abrams and Gitlow cases, demonstrates the gulf between his and his quoter's approach.

The shotgun wedding of Judge Leibell's ruling and Holmes' spirit is a gruesome mismatch. That will not prevent some "liberals" from celebrating the nuptials.

Mine Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

There can be no mistaking the temper of the men. Guerrilla warfare is and has been the rule in the coal lands for weeks, and the miners have the best of it. Scab trucks have been stopped and burned. Strip-mine shovels have been dynamited.

GUERRILLA WAR ON

Indicative of the situation has been the shooting of Meline Serdich, leading picket captain in Northern West Virginia, on the one hand, and the beating of Lloyd Shankle, Pennsylvania banker and mine operator, on the other.

The center of the strike remains the Southern Pennsylvania and Northern West Virginia fields which opened the present strike three weeks ahead of the other fields. Local leaders throughout the district are reportedly laying plans for an even longer seige if necessary.

In the neighboring steel centers, local unions are following in the wake of the United Steel Workers in raising funds for the miners. In Pittsburgh, the Steel City CIO Council, on the initiative of the rank and file, voted solidarity and support to the miners even before Murray announced his contribution and support.

As the miners tighten their belts further, however, the official labor movement is still too silent. Murray has given money, but he has had nothing to say about Truman's use of the Taft-Hartley Law. Green and the entire AFL (with the exception of locals in the mine area) are silent. If Reuther has said a word, it has certainly not penetrated the mine fields. These leaders need to have a fire lit under them, and very fast.

Government seizure, if it comes, will not by itself solve the miners' problem. The miners have to be ready to continue their stoppage unless they are offered substantially more than the terms of the old contract, which is what some quarters think Truman may well offer. If the leadership of the union is reluctant or embarrassed about making demands on an administration fronting for the operators, the rank and file need not and must not be.

Aged, sick, and injured miners have now, since September of last year, been without help from the Welfare Fund. Hundreds of thousands of families have been, since last June, without a decent pay check. Let every working man and woman in the nation resolve with the diggers that this sacrifice and struggle shall not have been in vain.

NMU Hiring Hall--

(Continued from page 1)

of their actions of the past few months, will be forced to defend the hiring hall, the lifeline of all maritime unions, and on this question should get support.

ASSAULT OPPONENTS

The internal situation in the NMU is as grave as ever, and will undoubtedly have adverse effects on the fight to preserve the hiring hall.

The "Voice of the Membership" (CP front in the NMU) and the Independent Caucus some weeks ago issued a call for an emergency conference of rank-and-file seamen to be held on February 19 in New York. The announced purpose of the conference was to pick a slate of candidates to oppose the administration in the coming election in the spring of this year. This conference convened on the appointed day at Tom Mooney Hall, which happens to be the headquarters of Local 65, formerly with the Retail Clerks, CIO. (This local was always a Communist Party tool and voluntarily left the CIO some time back).

The call to this conference was officially issued by some of the unconstitutionally removed anti-Curran officials and the new formation calls itself the United Rank and File Committee. Most members in the NMU will have nothing to do with this new outfit, since it includes the discredited CP machine which the membership booted out 2 years ago. To top it all, if the seamen needed further proof that these people are leading up a blind alley, they held their conference in the very headquarters of the Stalinist-projected "third federation of labor" in New York!

Be that as it may, they have, however, a perfect right to meet and discuss and try to convince people that they are on the right track in their fight against the corrupt Curran apparatus. The Curranites, however, do not think they have this right. At 11 o'clock on the day of the conference a well-organized squad of some 35 goons, led by John Hunt, Acting New York Port Agent, attempted to break into the meeting. (Hunt is the man appointed by Curran to replace David Drummond when the latter was removed for opposing the leadership.)

The attackers smashed the plateglass doors leading into the building. Armed with blackjacks, knives, clubs, stanchions, bricks, etc., they went to work on the few seamen who were standing guard in the lobby. The 200 delegates attending the conference on the fifth floor were alerted and in a few seconds time were after Curran's goons (paid $15 a day and up). They caught four of them, who were later carted off to St. Vincents Hospital.

NEW GROUP IN BLIND ALLEY

The police arrived on the scene and arrested 15 of the goons, including Hunt and Moriarty (another staunch Curran-appointed official.) The city papers, for once, carried full unbiased accounts of the incident. The New York Times reported that "at least one unfired pistol flew through the air" in the course of the battle. It stated further that John Hunt was "identified by police as a leader of the invading group." "After a day-long investigation Capt. Thomas Hamill Jr. of the First Detective District said: 'The Curran men are definitely the aggressor this time.'"

The truth is that the Curran men have been the aggressors ALL the time. This incident is only one of many. The paid thugs that have been roaming the port, especially on the West Side, have been carrying on similarly for months now. Every seamen in New York is aware of this disgrace and repelled by it. The police and the city administration are aware of this. The newspapers are aware of this. But a discreet silence is maintained by those who could stop it, because they do not want to embarrass "Big Joe" who is fighting to "protect democracy from Communism" on the waterfront. It is high time that liberal and justice-minded citizens in the city got together and raised a hue and cry about the existence of such terrorism in a city like New York.

The conference itself accomplished nothing of any worth except to prove to a good handful of honest seamen who were there, but who are opposed to both Curran and the CP, that this conference had the blessing of both the Communist Party and its controlled unions. The proposed slate that was the product of 13 hours of petty maneuvering and verbiage, does not constitute any serious challenge to the Curran machine. Usually slates produced after much wrangling have a joker on them. But this proposed slate is loaded with such incompetents and discredited members and if put forward, will be virtually disregarded by the ranks. These people are not serious about conducting a fight within the National Maritime Union. They obviously have their heart set on a "new militant federation" led by Bridges. Maybe they will attain their goal, but it will be without the NMU membership.

Did Capitalism Create Race Hate? SYL Forum Speaker Says It Did

CHICAGO, Feb. 12—Over 70 people heard St. Clair Drake, noted sociologist, speak on "Imperialism and Racism" at the regular Sunday afternoon forum of the University of Chicago Socialist Youth League. Drake, who is co-author of the book "Black Metropolis" and a professor of sociology at Roosevelt College here, gave a fascinating lecture which was followed by an extensive question and discussion period.

Drake's main contention was that racism is a modern phenomenon arising with the appearance of European capitalist states. By racism he meant a systematic doctrine spread by the institutions of society that certain groups differ in their capacity to learn or in their personalities as a result of different biological organisms. Drake pointed out that some justification was needed for the imperialist system and its policy of slavery in many parts of the world. He claimed that the older justification about the white man spreading Christianity to the heathen had long since been antiquated by the conversion of large numbers of Negro peoples.

At the conclusion of his talk Drake stated that the disappearance of racism is intimately tied up with the disappearance of imperialism. He claimed that with the elimination of world imperialism human behavior would rid itself of racist doctrines.

The Chicago SYL announces that anyone interested in its forums and other activities should write to the league at 333 W. North Avenue, Room 3.