

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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The Path of Empire

It's going to be hard for the South Korea people to keep in mind that the U. S. troops there are supposed to be fighting for their "liberty." New regulations promulgated—in the name of the South Korean government, but clearly on the demand of the U. S. military—will make their own land a concentration camp for them, behind the American lines.

All Korean civilians must remain in their homes at all times except for two hours "daily liberty"—or else they will be executed "immediately" for a violation of this order. "Immediately" could mean on the spot or at least without trial.

All civilians must travel only by special trains—or be executed "immediately." All stragglers from the army must carry authorized identification—or be executed "immediately."

At the same time, a N. Y. Times correspondent reports with obvious restraint that the U. S. troops habitually treat the Koreans in the traditional manner of conquering imperialists—as inferior "natives" and with contempt. He points to their label of "gooks" for the Koreans, a contemptuous term, as was pointed out in last week's LABOR ACTION. "Korean officers are snubbed by some newly arrived U. S. officers." The Americans pat the children; but "Fundamentally, however, the U. S. soldiers look down on their Korean allies and the latter, sensitive and proud, are quick to feel it. . . . In recent days this correspondent has heard several higher-ranking officers in Korea make disparaging remarks, even in the presence of Orientals."

As far as the GIs are concerned, the dispatches emphasize that no attempt has been made to give them an inkling of why they are fighting—they are fighting "gooks." The officers, who presumably have been better "indoctrinated," follow the worst traditions of the imperialist predecessor of the U. S. in conquering the world, the British colonialists.

Russians Call for Sabotage in U. S.—

The CP 'Peace' Appeal Aids the Kremlin's War

For some months now, the Stalinists in this country and other countries have been pushing what they call a "peace petition." The petition says it was issued "at Stockholm in March 1950 by the World Committee in Defense of Peace." In actuality, it was cooked up in the propaganda offices of the Kremlin for world-wide consumption.

The "World Peace Appeal" to which the petition signatures are to be affixed is worded as bait for the peace-lovers who don't know any better. It demands "the outlawing of atomic weapons" under "international control" (unspecified). And isn't everybody in favor of that?

But we wouldn't sign a petition vaguely purporting to be for "freedom" which was circulated by Gerald L. K. Smith and his fascist "Crusaders." And we advise anyone who is against imperialist war not to touch the Stalinists' "peace appeal" with a ten-foot pole.

Any "peace campaign" by the Stalinists is a hoax and a fraud, designed to cover up the imperialist war moves and appetites of their own masters in Moscow. Those who sign, whether as addicts or dupes, are only building up an instrument which will be used to strengthen the propaganda of one side in the cold war—the Russian side at that.

The fair words in the text of the petition mean no more than do "peace-loving" speeches by the heads of American imperialism, who also represent their establishment of military overlordship over the world as being in the interests of peace. ("The business of policing the world," it is called by James Reston, the joint correspondent of the N. Y. Times and the State Department.)

The meaning of the Stalinist "peace appeal" was sufficiently underlined when, in the midst of the campaign around it, the Russian totalitarianism engineered the North

(Turn to last page)

Truman Moves Toward Full Wartime Footing to 'Police The World' by U. S. Armies

By MARY BELL

While no official proclamation of war has yet come out of Washington, every medium of public opinion regards the conflict in Korea as a "little hot war," as the first of a series of "little wars," as the prelude to the big war, but in any case as war. Stuart Symington, boss of the National Resources Planning Board, is reported as referring to the situation simply as "War III." The latter explains the refusal of the administration to declare a state of emergency out of a desire not to give aid and comfort to the Russians; but he admits to questioners that the economy is being put on a "war footing." Russia has not, and is not likely to commit her own troops if the war develops in a series of fringe areas, but will fight what Hanson Baldwin now refers to as "wars by proxy." The majority of informed guesses indicate that Russia did not anticipate United States resistance, and hence was not embarking on all-out war.

Hence the war in Korea, in its international applications, it appears, was not sought; neither Russia nor the United States wanted nor was prepared for war so soon.

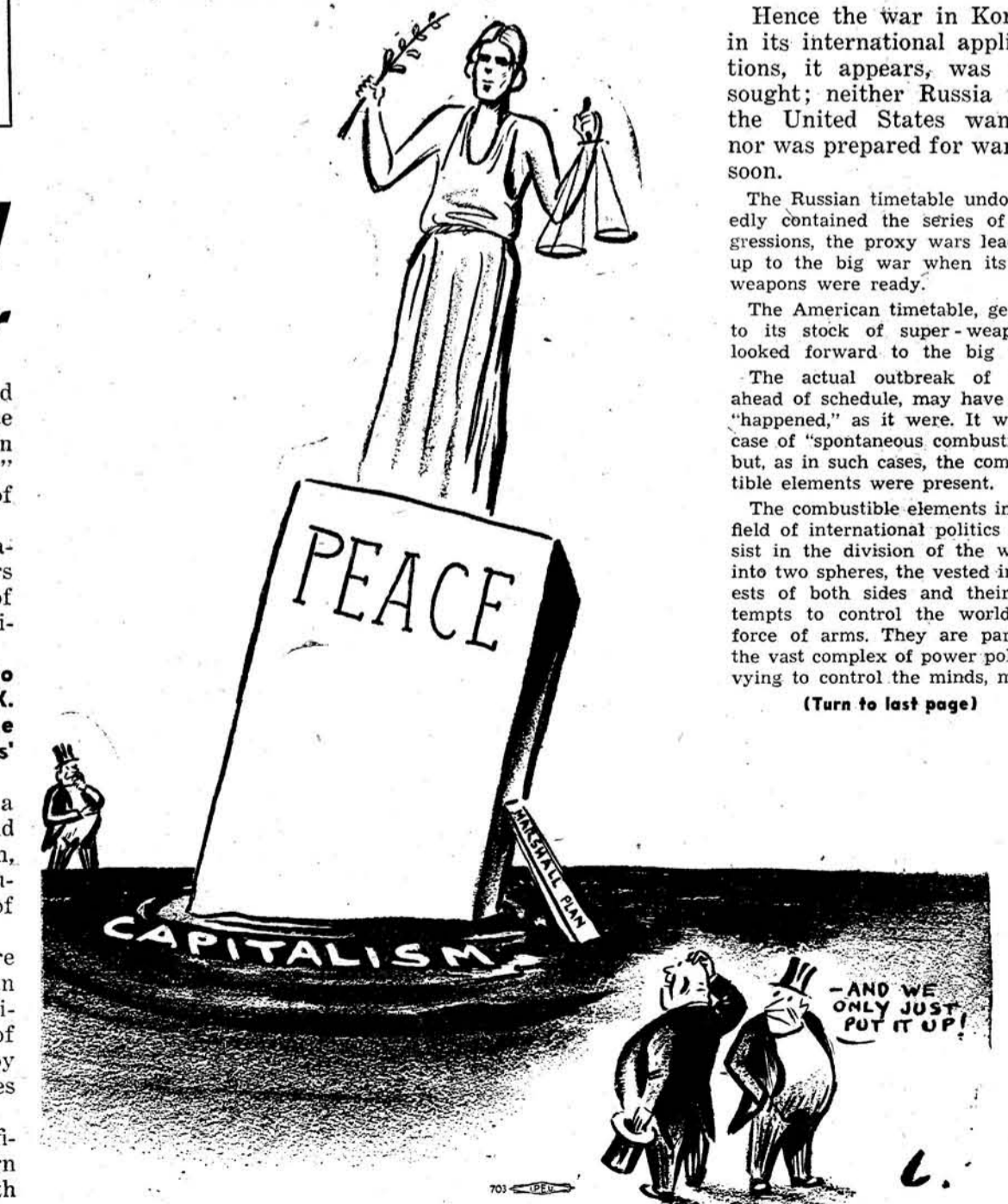
The Russian timetable undoubtedly contained the series of aggressions, the proxy wars leading up to the big war when its big weapons were ready.

The American timetable, geared to its stock of super-weapons, looked forward to the big war.

The actual outbreak of war, ahead of schedule, may have just "happened," as it were. It was a case of "spontaneous combustion," but, as in such cases, the combustible elements were present.

The combustible elements in the field of international politics consist in the division of the world into two spheres, the vested interests of both sides and their attempts to control the world by force of arms. They are part of the vast complex of power politics vying to control the minds, mate-

(Turn to last page)



UE Strike Ends At Westinghouse

By FRANK HARPER
 PHILADELPHIA, July 17—A 17-day protest work stoppage against the Westinghouse Corporation at the South Philadelphia Works ended Friday, July 14, upon acceptance by Local 107 of the United Electrical Workers (UE) of an interim agreement pending the signing of a national contract. Local union officials hailed the agreement as a continuation of the grievance procedure and working conditions of the contract which expired on March 31. However, examination of the agreement showed that the union had made no significant gains and today a sitdown became necessary in the plant's blade shop to protest a cut in time values.

The entire Westinghouse chain is in turmoil. The corporation's offer on pensions and social insurance has been very inadequate and unsatisfactory to all the unions. There have been local disturbances at many plants over grievance procedures and speedup. The International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (IUE-CIO) has been staging "round robins," short departmental work stoppages at Buffalo, Lima and East Pittsburgh. Various locals are on a slow-down and refusing overtime work.

Thus it seems probable that all the unions will ultimately have to strike the corporation to secure an adequate contract. Local 107 of the UE will be in poor condition to weather another strike because of the three-day stoppage in May and the three-week stoppage just ended.

The stoppage had started on June 27 in protest against the company's effort to wreck the grievance procedure and to institute speedups. The general grievance committee members were not being permitted in the plant except during their regular work shift and for scheduled bargaining sessions. This meant that the committee could not investigate grievances in the plant. The stoppage resulted in an agreement which contained the company's often-repeated promise to maintain working conditions in the old contract.

STRIKE VOTE NOT TAKEN
 The temporary agreement outlined an interim grievance procedure which provided time for union investigation of grievance by the stewards on step one level (but not on other levels, as the union desired) and the presence of invited members of the general committee at step two (chief steward level) of the procedure. Except for these small concessions on grievance procedure the "gains" of the interim agreement can be discounted.

When the protest work stoppage got under way the union members were promised by President Carl Gray that a strike vote would be taken within a few days. This vote was never taken because it was evident, as the stoppage progressed, that the membership mandate might be to return to work. As the stoppage ended, petitions were being circulated demanding that a strike vote be taken.

An incident involving employees who draw up the payroll indicates that there was little support for the strike among large numbers of employees. When the financial pinch of the strike was felt the union decided to send 100 payroll employees into the plant so the company could mail out checks for the two days worked immediately preceding the strike. The payroll

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Last Year's 'Coffee Shortage' Was Rigged, Probers Declare

As the price of coffee shoots up again, the congressional committee headed by Senator Gillette is still reporting on the coffee-shortage scare of last year. Its final report tells a story of manipulation by the big interests which deserved to make the front pages of the newspapers. Needless to say, it didn't.

The story is one of collusion between American coffee monopolists and the Brazilian and Colombian governments. It was the former who educated the latter on the know-how of making a killing out of U. S. consumers.

Back in 1906 "the National City Bank of New York, the Schroeder banking house of London, England, and the Rothschild interests of Europe" set up a "committee" which virtually monopolized coffee, raising its price, making "great profits" and going so far as to urge Brazil to burn coffee and dump it into the sea, in order to make it scarce and costly. (That wasn't the first time it was done.)

The Brazilian government learned

fast. With the bankers' aid, it repeated the operation in 1917-18 and 1921. "Three times in a row," the report says, "the Brazilian government hit the jackpot."

But jumping over to last year's scandal, we read that "Brazil selected George V. Robbins, president of the U. S. National Coffee Association and coffee buyer for the Maxwell House division of the General Foods Corporation" to engineer the coffee price-raising scheme.

"Robbins got from the Brazilian government several hundred thousand bags of coffee at a very favorable price, and did not make this known to the coffee trade," although he was president of that trade's association. The committee suggests he got this "cheap coffee" in return for his part in the scheme, which, among other things, kept surplus coffee out of the U. S.

"At the peak of coffee prices in November 1949, Mr. Robbins was awarded the Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil's highest award to a foreigner. In March 1950 the

same award was given to Mr. Kurtz, of the A&P grocery chain, the largest coffee roaster in the United States.

"The A&P advertises that its policy is to 'sell food cheap.' But Brazil doesn't give its highest medal to those who labor for lower coffee prices for the consumer," the report declares.

"If such awards were made for trying to lower coffee prices, the chests of the members of this Senate committee would be heavy with medals." Instead the committee is the target of "scurrilous radio and press comment in Brazil!"

The report also told how the coffee interests ran big newspaper ads in this country, saying prices were going higher. This started the scare which caused housewives to buy and hoard coffee.

Scorching parts of the report also blame speculation on the New York Coffee Exchange and the tax-law loopholes which enable speculators in Brazil and other countries to make huge profits in the United States without paying a dollar of taxes on these profits.

IN EASTERN GERMANY—

How They Transform Workers Into Bureaucrats in Stalinland

By BAROIS
 GERMANY—This year's convention of the Stalinist SED ("Socialist Unity Party"), state party of the Russian zone, which was to open on July 25, has been prepared under the slogan of self-criticism. In this fact there is nothing peculiar to Germany: "criticism and self-criticism" is a slogan that is being applied—recently, especially—in the whole area between the Elbe and the Japanese Sea. But nowhere more than in Eastern Germany, perhaps, does the "self-criticism" reveal the hatreds and the contradictions which are accumulating behind the cloak of the Stalinist police regimes.

Here is what a steel worker in the Maximilian Hütte plant writes to the Stalinist paper for Thuringia: "Those persons who are in the front office (and who fail to issue requisitions) ought to imagine the meaning of filling a blast furnace by the light of a flashlight. The night shift is in danger of death because of the absence of light bulbs."

Another steel worker named Lappenheit, from Renningsdorf, near Berlin, writes: "(The trade-union leaders) know only how to give orders and speak of plans, but they do not even know what a Martin kiln looks like." He continues further on: "What can I, an unimportant steel worker, do in the face of all that?" (Neues Deutschland, Berlin Stalinist paper, December 12, 1949.)

SLUICE GATES OPENED
 Here is what a rank and file member of a party branch says: "A barrier exists between the mass of the membership and the leading comrades. They behave as if nobody but themselves matter, and they believe themselves to be better than the rank and file members of the party." (Neuer Weg, August 1949.)

In the Schwarz textile mill in Thuringia: "The worker accepts criticism but attempts to criticize the 'big-shots' or even the 'minor big-shots' a little." (Arbeiter, organ of the unions, March 1950.)

In the ball-bearing factory at Leipzig, in regard to the union elections: "Once again it's a slate, and everything was prepared in

advance... we [workers] had nothing to say about it." (Neues Deutschland, January 21, 1950.)
 The essential fact is the following: As soon as the sluice-gates of self-criticism are opened, the workers, whom the regime pretends to represent, orient themselves against those "who are in the front offices" and against the "big-shots" and the "minor big-shots"—in sum, against the bureaucrats.

WHO ARE THEY?
 And who are these bureaucrats? They are—alas for human nature!—also workers. Or at least they were: In 1947, 50 per cent of the directors of the nationalized factories had been workers two years previously. Currently these directors who were formerly workers number around 65 per cent, according to unofficial estimates.

How did these workers, the majority of whom had been devoted militants, become transformed so rapidly? How did they become alienated from their comrades in the shop?

The process was complex and it is necessary to recreate for oneself the atmosphere following the Hitler debacle: famine, despair, the spirit of "every man for himself." The purge of the Hitlerite elements in the factories and in the administration had left a veritable void. Stalinist or union workers everywhere became supervisors, foremen or plant directors. This promotion of worker elements could have given excellent results if competence had been the sole criterion for retaining the interested parties in their new posts. But, unfortunately, what was decisive was faithfulness to the Stalinist line.

Often the new favorite of the regime proved incapable of accomplishing his tasks. But in order not to lose the advantages which his position gave him (notably officially distributed food packages) he flattered his superiors and proclaimed with frenzy his faith in the USSR. There were cases where newly promoted elements proved impossible because of their incapacity, but, to the astonishment of all, they turned up in another post which was still more important; they had proved to be docile

instruments.
 There were also cases of newly promoted workers who proved to be capable and were also on the side of their former comrades with all their hearts. But they soon became aware that all criticism and any serious act of initiative was forbidden them, and also that what was prized in them was not so much their efficiency as their fidelity.

PROCESS OF CORRUPTION
 They had found themselves able to be in agreement with the party when they acquired the new posts. But in practice, at some point they inevitably found themselves in conflict with their consciousness as militant workers: the Russian army dismantled factories and pilaged the country, the USSR was hated by ordinary people.

Those who had the courage to break at that point were very few: outside the circle of the leadership misery awaited them and, also, there had been significant arrests among their associates. The majority of the former workers assumed a non-thinking role. This was all the easier since they were overburdened with meetings, trips and conferences. The lack of time, fatigue on one hand and the consciousness of being under surveillance on the other, prevented the fruitful exchange of ideas even in intimate circles.

In order to break the solitude, to integrate himself into a milieu, the former worker-Communist thereupon yielded; little by little he accepted and justified situations which he formerly would have rejected with contempt. He was in the process of corrupting himself and likewise of becoming a docile instrument. In any event, in spite of his desires at the beginning the current had carried him along and he had become drawn away from his class in becoming alien to it.

From there to feeling himself a "leader," an element superior to the workers, was only a step. This step was all the more easily taken because, at that time, the working class actually constituted an amorphous mass without political will. This process, which had taken seven to eight years in the USSR, hardly took one year in the Russian zone; in Eastern Germany

there had not been a popular revolution, as there had been in Russia, but during the Hitler period, as well as after, everything had been decided from above and by brute force.

SCAPEGOATS
 Five years after the installation of the regime these former workers—currently minor bureaucrats (foremen, factory directors, ministerial clerks)—are being made to play the role of scapegoats. The regime is not popular; the common people—the workers in particular—are discontented. Since their condition cannot be bettered a guilty person must be singled out to them and a safety valve thereby provided.

But all this should not be seen only as a maneuver of the summit of the bureaucracy which has taken on the role of sacrificing the prestige of its subordinates in order to preserve its own. As a matter of fact the criticism and self-criticism never extend up to the Central Committee, to the Political Committee and especially to the Holy of Holies, the Secretariat.

At the present time everything is being put into operation to encourage the workers, the poor salaried employees and the farmers to address their complaints to the supreme leaders in Berlin. The latter, enveloped in a mysterious cloud of intangibility and infallibility, deal out thunderbolts and rewards. In like manner did the czar and the kings of the period of absolute monarchy occasionally support themselves on the peasantry and even stir them up against the aristocracy in order to give their regime the semblance of a popular base.

WEEK by WEEK...

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

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Korean War Divides Ranks of Wallaceites; CP Calls Wallace a 'Shabby Jingo,' 'Traitor'

By STEWART PITT

The Korean war has had its effect on Communist Party fellow travelers and fronts. Hardly recovered from the effects of the dissension over Titoism, the CP is now busy burning its bridges behind it as the cold split between the Stalinists and the Wallaceites in the Progressive Party is finally reaching its muted climax.

To so dismal a state has this party been reduced since its brief heyday in the 1948 election period that hardly a ripple is caused by this final conquest of the party by the CP and the effective departure of its only national leader.

Tito's revolt against the Cominform cut deep into the ranks of all Stalinist fronts. O. John Rogge is probably the best-known figure among those who became disillusioned with Stalinism.

William Gailmor, the staff manager of the 1948 campaign and chief money raiser, made his pilgrimage to Belgrade and came away enchanted.

The New York Daily Compass, the fellow traveler's Daily Worker, was profoundly riven, with several of its writers becoming critical of the Kremlin. Louis Adamic, more of a Yugoslav patriot than a Stalinist and a key member of the Progressive Party platform committee, announced his conversion to Titoism in marble-mouthed phrases. George Seldes of "In Fact" has been praising the Yugoslav marshal likewise.

All this had its effects on the CP, that most ambitious of fronts ever launched by the American CP. Now the Korean war has

clipped off the other wing of the PP, the Wallaceite liberals, rendering the party nothing more than a thoroughly Stalinized outfit which the CP can pocket at will—and thereby "capture" itself for the Nth time.

WALLACE ISOLATED

When the national committee of the PP met on the Korean war, the active Stalinist core was in complete control and in a position to present the main policy resolution on Korea. Wallace demurred on the ground that Russia was clearly guilty of aggression. He held, he said, "no brief for the past actions of either the U. S. or Russia, but when my country is at war and the UN sanctions that war I am on the side of my country and the UN."

Thus, like the liberals of Americans for Democratic Action, Wallace wrapped himself in the flag and covered his doubts with the UN. Wallace did not get a single vote in favor of his own moderate resolution of support to U. S. intervention in Korea. He has not been able to carry a single section of the party: Indeed it is doubtful that he tried.

In reality, Wallace, like most of his friends, long ago recognized that the apparatus of the PP, at all levels, was securely in Stalinist hands. Whether he retains formal membership in the PP or quietly slips away will not matter. The cold split in the PP long ago became a fact and there are few, if any, Wallaceite liberals left in it.

Since the pro-Russian resolution was adopted by the PP, various sections of the party have taken a stand. The lineup is significant. Every organization of the PP that has issued a statement—and these include the New Jersey, Illinois, California and Washington sections—has come out squarely behind the Stalinists.

But a number of persons of stature among the liberals have, as individuals, come out for Wallace. Latest among these is James Waterman Wise, in addition of course to Rogge. A few days after Rogge announced his position, the scheduled session of the "World Partisans of Peace," sponsor of the Stalinists' so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal, was postponed. Rogge is a member of the international committee of the group.

ADVICE FROM STONE

Most peculiar was the treatment accorded by the New York Daily Compass to what amounted to a split in the PP. After all, the Compass has been the nearest thing to a PP organ (outside of the weekly National Guardian) and its editor, Thackrey, has been wont to write lengthy editorials on almost any political matter.

Yet to date the lugubrious Thackrey is still to be heard from on this matter which is most vital to his paper and its avowed politics. Events around the PP Korean resolution were given minor news treatment with neutral coloration. The fact is that the Compass staff itself is split—I. F. Stone and Jennings Perry (who is the poor man's Frank Kingdon, who is himself the Heywood Brown of the destitute) lined up against Johannes Steel and his crew.

The Compass had taken a brief position in support of U. S.-UN intervention in the first week of the war. But the only serious treatment of the PP situation was by I. F. Stone, by all odds the most honest liberal on the Compass.

Stone called for a "cease-fire" inside the PP. He recognized who controlled the party—the Communist Party-liners in the PP hierarchy can probably defeat the Wallaceites as easily as the North Koreans have the South.... Then

Stone assumes the role he has long seemed to relish of advising the CP on its best course: "Henry Wallace is the last figure of first-rank importance remaining on the American left, and any 'errors' in his separate statement on Korea are not as big a political mistake as he would have made if he had echoed the Cominform line." Stone thinks Wallace can still be useful if given a chance by the CP.

AX JOB

But with its typical sense of loyalty, the CP had already launched a campaign of vituperation against Wallace. Gil Green was assigned to wield the ax, and he did so wildly.

On July 18 he informed Wallace that true patriotism consists in accepting the North Korean version on the origin of the war rather than Washington's. He called Wallace a traitor to the cause of peace, guilty of "abysmal ignorance," "confusion," "blind adherence" to Washington, "jingoism," "shabby jingoism," and other such select phrases. On July 19 Green read Wallace a lecture on the UN, implying that Wallace was now a tool of Wall Street.

The Stalinist line on the Compass was finally laid down on July 21 by Alan Max. I. F. Stone was told that his "middle road leads through Wall Street." That took care of him. As for the Compass: "although the peace forces can work with the spokesmen of the Compass on issues like the seating of China on the Security Council, there is no doubt that continued support for the Truman invasion will undo whatever good work the Compass may attempt." Thackrey and Stone are thereby warned not to go too far.

And so another alliance with the Stalinists has reached the divorce stage.

Pecunia Non Olet

"While China's civil war goes on, trade flourishes between Chinese businessmen on both sides," reports an AP dispatch in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, July 16.

Some of it is direct and "Despite the bitterness of the civil war, both the Communist and the Chinese National regime approve of what is going on. Moreover, they have set up specific regulations concerning trade dealings between the 'two Chinas.'" And some of the trade is indirect via the British in Hong Kong.

Getting Results

The N. Y. Post's Jimmy Cannon, assigned to Korea to do an Ernie Pyle, records a warrant officer (named Brock) at an interrogation of a Korean suspected of being an infiltrator.

"How can you tell our Koreans [from the Northerners]?" Brock asked.

"When in doubt, shoot," advised a corporal carrying a typewriter. "This must make our Koreans very happy."

It also may serve to explain a mysterious item appearing on another page of the same issue of the N. Y. Post (July 24). According to this AP dispatch, Lieutenant General W. H. Walker has been taking care of the problem of North Koreans infiltrating behind the lines. An army communiqué said that his program has been producing results, but "General Walker has declined, thus far, to bare the details of his plans for eliminating this demoralizing type of attack. But in the last several days he has been unable to conceal his pleasure with the results achieved."

Maybe he wasn't trying very hard.

THE HOME FRONT AT WAR

When the Korean war broke, the stock market had a bit of a crash. Newspaper editorialists took advantage of the occasions to point out sarcastically that "Wall Street," far from being gleeful warmongers happy about the prospect of war profiteering, were scared by the outbreak of war.

Now we learn something else about that crash.

As a matter of fact, Marxism has little truck with the simple notion that "Wall Street"—meaning the top finance-capitalist interests of the country—consists of devils who spend their working hours and spare weekends plotting how to get the U. S. into a profitable war. The real connection between capitalism and war doesn't work that way.

But the editorialists' pointing of the finger to the crash at the inception of the war was just as simple-minded as the above notion. Wall Streeters don't plot to get into war, but the outbreak of war isn't exactly a catastrophe for them. Quite the reverse!

Financial columnist Sylvia Porter (N. Y. Post, July 24) writes: "The stock market has just gone through one of the worst crashes of modern times. But what have the 'big boys' been doing as prices have collapsed day after day? Buying stocks."

"They've been buying on the way down—picking up hundreds of thousands of shares, staking millions on their judgment...."

"In the first terrible week following the Korean invasion—when \$8 billion was wiped off the value of stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange alone—the 'giant' investment companies and trusts

actually bought twice as many stocks as they sold.

"In the days since, they've continued to buy.... The prices of some stocks have been virtually slashed in half. Countless individual investors, scattered from coast to coast, have dumped their holdings...."

"It's a fascinating, unique illustration of the gap between the attitude and operation of the giant professional and the individual investor in Wall Street."

In other words, the crash meant that the little investors who were hoping to get rich quick got burned, as usual, and the "professionals" (i.e., the "Wall Streeters" proper) cleaned up behind them. And that may be fascinating for them, but it is not unique.

As columnist Porter winds up: "The 'big boys' are playing the longer pull, placing a brighter bet on the 'international roulette table.'" They're betting that the house will rake it in on zero-hour.

Police-Cities

In decrees probably unprecedented outside of the totalitarian countries, two U. S. cities are trying to show that they are doing their bit. Both Detroit and Birmingham, Ala., acted on July 19 in city council decisions supposed to be aimed at the Communist Party. The pretext is the defense of Western democracy against Stalinist expansion; the results are two Stalinist-type ukases:

"DETROIT—The sale of subversive newspapers and literature, including the Daily Worker and its supplement the Michigan Herald, from all sidewalk newsstands in Detroit was banned tonight by the

Common Council. The council adopted a resolution by a vote of 7 to 1 that directs the police to enforce the order."

"BIRMINGHAM—The City Commission outlawed the Communist Party within the city limits today. The commission, in an ordinance unanimously approved, gave Communists forty-eight hours from publication of the notice to get out of town or risk arrest. The ordinance said that Communist Party membership also will be taken for granted if a person shall be found in any secret or non-public place in voluntary association or communication with any person or persons established to be or to have been members of the Communist Party."

That the decrees are directed against the Stalinists, who represent the interests of Russian totalitarianism, does not gainsay the fact that both city actions are blatantly unconstitutional and in violation of the Bill of Rights.

Dummies

The growth of government-by-executive, bypassing not only the people, but even the people's presumed representatives in Congress, is beginning to get under the skin of the said representatives. A Washington dispatch in the N. Y. Herald Tribune reports (July 16): "A sense of frustration and futility has engulfed Congress in the last three weeks as the president has handled virtually all the major decisions dealing with the close-to-war crisis in Korea."

"Congress has perched on the sidelines while the White House, after making the initial decision to launch the 'police action' in Korea, has wrestled with the problem

of how much military strength is needed to do the job and to what extent the home front will have to be called on for help."

"Congress and its leaders have not in any real sense been consulted on these vital decisions. Congress as a whole has had no report from Mr. Truman on the situation. Even its leaders have only been advised of vital decisions after they were made and ready to be announced to the nation and to the world."

"All this is something of a new experience for Congress.... "One member who has attended most of the White House briefings for Congressional bigwigs in the last three weeks put it this way: "We are called down to the White House and lined up like a bunch of dummies. The president tells us what the situation is and what he has decided to do. Sometimes his decision is announced before we even get out of his office. That's all there is to it."

Menace

District Immigration Commissioner Edward Shaughnessy, guarding the portals at Ellis Island, has announced that he has been detaining five British delegates to the convention of Jehovah's Witnesses scheduled for New York. Shaughnessy explained that Jehovah's Witnesses are pacifists and that "at this time" we should exclude anyone coming "to engage in extreme pacifism" as a "menace to public safety."

Jehovah's Witnesses intend to fill Yankee Stadium with a rally this month, "engaging in extreme pacifism" all over the place. But five more Britishers are a menace to public safety....

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERESTED?
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New York

I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.

I want to join the ISL.

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'CLASS ANGLE' ON "THE WHITE TOWER" AND MOUNTAIN CLIMBING

By PHILIP COBEN

The big-time Hollywood production of "The White Tower" will be hailed in the rope-and-piton circles as "mountain-climbing coming into its own." It could be, at any rate. It's the first production with all the trimmings on the theme, up to and including technicolor.

Actually, the film's producers could not quite steel themselves to really making mountain-climbing the center of the picture, even though two-thirds of it is devoted to the climb itself. The mountain, which is the chief protagonist in the James Ramsey Ullman novel of the same name on which the film is based, in the Hollywood version becomes auxiliary to an Electra complex. It is turned into a father image; for the girl, reaching the top becomes a necessity in order to achieve a mystic reunification with her father, killed on its slopes.

The psychoanalytical treatment which is thus given Ullman's original plot may or may not be valid—this writer wouldn't dare say. But certainly, from a point of view which was that of Ullman himself (in the novel) but which I fear will appeal to fewer people than dissection of its Freudian dress-up, the film thereby misses the point of its own set theme—mountain climbing.

What the point of mountain climbing is, in fact, is a question which seems to have bothered the film's reviewers also. The New York Times critic (for example) could hardly discuss the film intelligibly at all for dint of wondering what the characters were doing in the first place. Naturally no one need be denounced or even looked at askance for being unfamiliar with the sport, but this critic exceeded the terms of his license by insisting on parading his ignorance as if it were a badge of superiority.

Now, as a matter of fact, mountain climbing has not been an esoteric pastime for a long, long time (and we are referring to the break-neck department, not the milder tramp-and-trail stuff). It's been here to stay for a century. Yet it is perfectly true that none of its inarticulate devotees or more articulate publicists (like Ullman) have been very happy when confronted with the question: "Why?" Nothing below should be taken to mean that this writer is any happier.

A Note on the Social Roots

There is an aspect of it, however, which is not entirely mysterious. Certainly the kind of vague verbalization which commonly purports to answer the question indicates that the drives are not in the conscious sphere even as far as sheer rationalization is concerned. Anyone who wants to drive the psychoanalytic wedge in at this point is welcome to try to do better than Hollywood. But—no matter how skeptical one may be of the utility of "class-angling" everything in sight—the social context of the rise of mountain climbing as a sport simply leaps to the eye.

So much so, in fact, that in his informal history "High Conquest" Ullman (no determinist scholar he) cannot possibly fail to note the amazing coincidence of dates in the rise of mountain climbing as a sport and the rise of capitalism. (It is the extreme closeness of the coincidence which is amazing, not the fact of the correspondence.)

Part of the relationship is due to the rise of the scientific temper. Part of the relationship was due to the rise of urban civilization. Primitive peoples do not climb mountain peaks. They either fear or worship them—both acts being suitable only from afar. Not only primitive peoples: modern country people are rarely interested in "conquering" even nearby mountains. The profession of Swiss mountain guides was imported and fostered by the enthusiasts from without; it did not arise among the peasants of the mountain valleys themselves. And so on. To those who live among them, mountains are more often an enemy than an object of desire. It was urban civilization which developed the concept that mountains can be beautiful.

Is this the social aspect? No. For a recurring element in the language of mountain climbers is the word "conquest." It is even the most prominent word in the literature on the subject. Satisfaction with the urban ant-heap can account for an urge to solitude or "roughing it," but to climb the Matterhorn for either motive would seem to be pushing a good thing unreasonably far. Mountain climbers set out to conquer their peaks.

The reason? I think it is the following: the third relevant element in our modern society is its complexity, the feeling of the individual that he is in the hands of blind social forces which he cannot and does not control. The vicissitudes of modern life are not primarily storms, earthquakes, drought or other natural calamities. These are the direct enemies of more primitive peoples—who fear nature and do not love it à la Rousseau. The shadowy fiends of modern man are unemployment, war, social convulsions, totalitarianism, etc.—control of which seems as far removed from his powers as the demons of Everest to the Tibetan.

On the slopes of an Alpine peak the climber feels: "I can determine my own destiny. I may lose, but I can also conquer: it depends on me. I am not merely the plaything of superior forces I know nothing of. I can do what I want. I am sufficient unto myself. I am an individual."

That is a temporary illusion, of course; therefore it is a sport.



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Reading from Left to Right

THE GREAT AWAKENING, by Morris H. Rubin. (The Progressive, July)

This article (pre-Korea) mainly consists of an assemblage of quotes from a variety of columnists and commentators, expressing dismay at the way in which the Truman administration's foreign policy evidences itself mainly in pro-war talk. Where is our peace policy? They ask in effect.

Here are some samples:
Harold Callender: "The key to the French attitude is to be found in the anxiety aroused in France by the constant talk in the United States of the 'cold' war and the resulting tendency to concentrate attention on military preparations. . . ."

Walter Lippman: "The administration's foreign policy has during the past year created the impression here and abroad that it places virtually complete dependence on material and military power. This country has hardly begun to realize the extent and the depth of the loss of confidence in our wisdom and even in our motives."

Marquis Childs: "We are doing little to preserve the peace, if it can be preserved. . . ."

David Lawrence—quotes John Foster Dulles who had said: "Today our nation is relying greatly on material and military might. This is dangerous."

Thomas I. Stokes: "Lately a tendency has been noted in the administration to whip up a sort of sabel-rattling jingoism which does not become us, with less emphasis upon the leadership for peace, to which we are obligated."

Irving Pfau, Chicago Sun-Times foreign editor: "It is difficult to arouse enthusiastic, sustained support for peace solely through preparations for war."

Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor: "The administration in Washington is so accustomed to getting from Congress what it considers necessary in the name of fear and crisis that it no longer knows any other way to play the hand."

And Rubin himself: "So military-minded is the Acheson-Truman approach to foreign policy that professional soldiers are beginning to sound almost like pacifists in contrast."

WORLD POLITICS

Indian Socialists Denounce Nehru's Brand of Taft-Hartleyism

While Prime Minister Nehru of India is hailed in this country (during his recent visit, for example) as the very incarnation of the world's democratic conscience, a true liberal, etc., the Socialist Party of India and the trade unions of that country have been fighting a constant battle against violations of democratic rights by his government.

The most important center of this fight at the present time is the legislative program introduced by the Nehru regime for control of labor, an Indian Taft-Hartley Law.

Following is a brief description of the two bills, the trade-union bill and the labor relations bill, which embody Nehru's proposals. It is taken from the draft resolution presented to the Socialist Party's convention in opposition to the program.

(1) The right to organize into trade unions is completely denied to employees in domestic services.

(2) The right of association is denied to civil servants; for they cannot associate with other employees who are not civil servants, and they cannot affiliate their unions with All-India or international federations comprising unions of employees who are not civil servants.

(3) To deprive civil servants and government employees of participation in political activities militates against one of the fundamental human rights, which should be assured to all citizens in a free and democratic society.

(4) One of the major objections against these bills lies in the fact that the right of collective bargaining of the working class through trade unions of their own choice has been reduced to a farce by the provisions for compulsory conciliation and compulsory arbitration and by illegalization of effective strikes, all at the instance of the government. Voluntary negotiations and recognition of the right to strike, i.e., the right to withdraw collectively, are the very foundations of collective bargaining.

(5) The labor bills in their present forms will inculcate a litigious spirit among the workers and will seriously hamper free collective bargaining.

(6) Government interference at practically every stage of the labor dispute and particularly with the independence of the judiciary is one of the most obnoxious features of the two bills.

"(7) These labor bills will call for a revolt from the entire working class in the country, in view of the freedom given to employers to renege workers. These vital issues affecting the workers as to their very right to work and to have protection against unemployment, and the right to live coupled with freedom from hunger, will be outside the jurisdiction of the tribunal, being not covered by the definition of labor dispute."

Another draft resolution before the Socialist convention puts forward the idea of a Southeast Asian federation, a very important concept which was discussed in LABOR ACTION last year.

The draft resolution states in part:

"It has become difficult for newly freed countries of Asia to keep out of these rivalries [of the colonial powers], preserve their freedom and embark on any program of reconstruction. A close association with either of the power blocs would drag them into military pacts and international arms race which can only ruin their already retarded economies; entail loss of initiative in international affairs and even spell the end of their national independence. Such association, by dividing the world into two hostile camps, might even lead to another war."

"In place of becoming victims of great power rivalry, the National Conference feels that it is now high time that the governments and peoples of the Southeast Asian countries came closer together and achieved coordination of policies in regard to foreign relations, defense, trade and economic development."

"Such a consolidation and rallying of the forces of freedom and democracy, neutrality and peace, in Asia would transform the relationship of political forces and would help destroy the remnants of colonialism in this region, by generating a movement away from the colonial powers and the Soviet Union. This will ultimately compel these powers to withdraw and by strengthening the forces of democracy and freedom also enable them to resist the Communist attempts to create chaos and disorder and eventually annex them to the Russian bloc."

Nehru's India Censors Private Mail In Violation of Democratic Rights

We reproduce on this page one piece of striking evidence of the state of democracy in India under the Nehru government.

Liberals in the United States who think of Prime Minister Nehru as an outstanding paladin of democracy in the world may be surprised. Socialist and labor forces in India itself will not, we are sure. [See "World Politics" column to the left—Ed.]

Without in the least implying that India is a "police state" today, with all that this implies (such exaggerations are the peculiar property of the Indian Communist Party), it is certainly clear that the labor movement still has to gain, against Nehru, some elementary democratic rights which even reactionaries here do not think of questioning openly.

The document which we reproduce represents a blunder on the part of someone in the Indian equivalent of the FBI. It proves documentarily that the Nehru government violates its own constitution and laws by censoring private mail, at least of political opponents.

The story behind this document is the following simple one:

Early this year LABOR ACTION wrote to the Socialist Party of India requesting literature published by it. A bundle of this literature finally arrived in our office, containing printed pamphlets and back-number copies of the Foreign Bulletin of the party, all completely public material and listed on the document by the censors themselves.

Amid the material in this bundle we found the censor's "Interception Report," obviously included by mistake after the bundle had been opened and checked.

We therefore have the unique privilege of presenting a secret report form of the Indian political police revealing its habitual tampering with the mail and violation of the country's constitution.

They Say It's Unconstitutional

We say "violation of the constitution" on the strength of information given us, in reply to questions, by the office of the consul general of the Indian government in New York City. Without mentioning the document itself, we inquired whether there was any legal provision in India for censorship of mail leaving the country. An official of the consulate warmly repudiated the very idea, volunteering the information that any censorship of the mails, whether domestic or foreign, would be a violation of the constitution.

We do not ourselves know whether the Indian constitution specifically prohibits censorship of the mail, but it need not be stressed that the idea is abhorrent to democratic principles. Nehru might be embarrassed to explain its existence before the audiences of liberals who showered admiration on him on his recent tour in the U. S.

We must also emphasize that the Socialist Party of India, while in opposition to the Nehru administration, is violently anti-Stalinist. Not only would it be irrelevant to the general democratic principle, but it cannot even be claimed that censorship of the Socialists' mail has any relationship to "defensive" measures against Stalinist "fifth columnists" or similar "justifications."

The "Interception Report" is apparently an original copy, not a duplicate or carbon, filled out in handwriting in blue ink by two censoring officers. We have blacked out their names (which are signed, in the original) since we see no reason to facilitate any penalties which may be imposed by their bosses for their carelessness.

Especially interesting is the name of the government

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

The Needle

To the Editor:

When a person is up to his eyes in quicksand—especially when it is the quicksand of orthodox Trotskyist theory—it is, perhaps, a little unkind to ask for explanations. But ask we must. Politics is a harsh school! This Cannon told us many a time. It ruthlessly separates the "masters of the dialectic" from the "petty-bourgeois fast talkers."

What we would therefore like to inquire of the Socialist Workers Party is what has become of that slogan which at one time divided the "genuine proletarian revolutionists" from the "petty-bourgeois pacifists" on the question of war. We refer, of course, to the SWP's

slogan of Trade Union Control of Conscription.

Of the tactic involved in this slogan, Trotsky said in one of his very last letters: "There are two great advantages to this position; first, it is revolutionary in its essence and based upon the whole character of our epoch, when all questions will be decided not only by arms of critics, but by critique of arms; second, it is completely free of sectarianism. We do not oppose to events and to the feelings of the masses an abstract affirmation of our sanctity."

The "whole character of the epoch" has obviously not changed. On the contrary, the "critique of arms" is certainly a bigger factor in United States policy than it was in 1940. We are also ready to ac-

cept that there is even LESS opposition to conscription than there was ten years ago.

Why, therefore, in these days of war, does the SWP, the executor of Trotsky's political estate, not find itself able to say with him, "Conscription? Yes. But made by ourselves?"

Was this slogan, with its chauvinist undertones, permissible in a war against a fascist state, whose destruction by another capitalist state was, in any event, of little interest to the SWP, insofar as making a choice between them is concerned?

Does the SWP more or less vaguely feel that this slogan if employed today ("Conscription? Yes. But made by ourselves") might, however, aid in whipping

up a chauvinist spirit against Russia, which they are, theoretically at least, obligated to defend in the event of war between the United States and Russia?

Or has time proved the slogan to have been a somewhat inept one? We would like to know.

Of course, we hardly expect an answer. There are so MANY confusing questions for the SWP today.

We don't want to appear unsympathetic, however, or lacking in positive proposals. We'd like to offer a simple way out of all these dilemmas. It's not at all original with us, modestly compels us to confess. In fact, it was developed by the French co-thinkers of the SWP. It consists in turning the SWP into a Yugoslav travel agen-

cy, as seems to have been done down the PCI in France. Then, all theoretical cares abandoned, The Militant, like La Vérité, can be turned out a travel folder with one simple foolproof slogan: "Visit Yugoslavia!" J. M. F.

You're Invited

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

This is what was included by secret censor's blunder in bundle of literature mailed by Indian SP to LABOR ACTION

SECRET No 3972
SPECIAL BRANCH, C.I.D. Bombay, 15th March, 1950
INTERCEPTION REPORT
(The Secrecy of the Interception may kindly be safeguarded.)
1. Post office of Interception ... Foreign Mail Post-Office, Bellas Air.
2. Date of Censorship ... 15th March, 1950.
3. Sender's name and address ... 'Socialist Party', Central Office, National House, 2nd Floor, 6, Tollymore Road, Appleton Road, Bombay 4.
4. Post mark and date ... Ajmal, 28th Feb 50.
5. Date of letter ...
6. Language of letter ... English
7. Addressee's name and address ... Hal Draper Esq., 2410, Labour Action, Iron Sides, 4 Court Square, Long Island City, New York, U.S.A.
8. Whether withheld or delivered ...
9. If delivered copy kept or not ...
10. Name of Censoring Officer ...
11. Additional Information and Remarks ...
1. One booklet, 'Policy Statement, Socialist-Party'.
2. Remnants of Agrarian Revolution.
3. Foreign Constitution of the Socialist Party (India) 1949.
4. ...
5. ...
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...
9. ...
10. ...
11. ...

The Politics of Korean Stalinism

By JACK BRAD

Stalinism has utilized a dual approach in Korea calculated to yield maximum results. On the one hand, it has insisted that the war is a Korean affair, the actions of the people against national division, Rhee reaction and U. S. imperialism. This has not for one moment hindered Stalinism from claiming the victories of the North Koreans as victories for the Russian camp and integrating this war into its strategy for the conquest of Asia.

According to Pyongyang, the invasion of South Korea is the continuation of the politics of unification by other means, forced upon the North by Rhee's "aggression." The important part of this idea is the identification of the Communist Party with national unity while placing the odium for division on Rhee. To a very considerable extent this propaganda has been successful because Rhee's policies have been so clearly those of dependence on the U. S. for economic and political survival.

In the events immediately preceding the outbreak of war the Pyongyang regime conducted a well-organized campaign for national unity around itself, always linking this program with an attack on Rhee and his landlord associates.

In May 1948 elections were held in the South under UN supervision. These elections were pushed through by the U. S. to give Rhee a legal cover. Almost all parties other than Rhee's opposed holding the elections because they would mark the definitive split of the nation and bring to an end international efforts at reconciliation. It was felt—and this was supported by several members of the UN Commission itself—that, under the conditions of terror and police hoodlumism prevalent throughout the area, such an election would simply be a plebiscite guaranteeing the return to power of Rhee and his corrupt clique, thereby assuring for the South a political orientation away from unity.

Attract Nationalists

The CP undertook to organize and seize the leadership of the overwhelming anti-election and pro-unity sentiment and thereby to discredit in advance the sanction of power to America's puppet. A conference was called in April, one month before the elections, to which were invited representatives of all Southern political groups except Rhee's.

This coalition conference exerted a great attraction. It was the first effort by an all-Korean group to unite representatives from both halves of the country around one idea. Kim Koo, right-wing head of the Independence Party and a leading figure of the movement in exile during the Japanese occupation, attended. He was later assassinated by Rhee's police for this. Kimm Kiuisic, rightist, liberal and chairman of the U. S.-appointed Interim Legislative Assembly of 1947, was another leading personality at the conference. The Social-Democratic Party was represented together with other rightist and centrist groups in Southern politics.

Altogether 240 Southern delegates attended in spite of the bitterest campaign of repression by Rhee as well as the U. S. military command. A program was adopted calling for an end to national division, as well as to the occupation by both Russian and American armies.

In spite of these moves, the U. S. military government pushed ahead with the elections, determined to get a United Nations seal of approval for its object of retaining an American bastion in Korea. It already became clear at this time that any effort at national unification would result in an eclipse of American influence.

Grist to Their Mill

Only Rhee and his cliques participated in the elections. All other groups boycotted it. In spite of this Rhee announced that his victory signified popular authorization for a national regime, and launched a government which claimed jurisdiction over the entire peninsula. MacArthur flew over from Tokyo to bless the new state.

The Stalinists replied by rejecting the Seoul government as a puppet and called for a "national election" to be held in August 1948 as a reply. This election was to be conducted secretly in the South with the participation of many of the parties which had attended the coalition conference. Out of this apparent national election, Stalinism created a "People's Democratic Republic," which likewise claimed to rule the entire country. Whereas Rhee's state, in spite of its similar claim, contained only Southerners, the Stalinist government at Pyongyang seated in

its assembly "representatives" of various Southern groups.

Rhee replied by a drive to suppress all groups or individuals who desired a rapprochement with the North. This was grist to the Stalinist mill. The Northerners wrapped themselves more securely in the patriotic mantle of unity.

In June 1949 they launched a "United Democratic Fatherland Front," bringing together many Southern groups under a program of "a general election to be held in South and North, without any foreign interference, peaceful unification of South and North, the matter of the state system to be decided by the Korean people themselves." This has remained the announced CP program to this date. In the context of the Russo-American conflict as it expressed itself in Korea Stalinism was actually able to parade as the defender of democracy and self-determination.

CP Linked with Unity Aim

In May of this year a conference of the Fatherland Front assembled at Pyongyang to plan "the peaceful unification of the country" which was to be accomplished by "liquidation of the puppet government" at Seoul. A detailed appeal was drafted to "fellow countrymen, workers, peasants, middle and small industrialists, officers and men of the 'national defense' [Southern army]" as well as to guerrillas, in an effort to isolate Rhee from all other groups.

This campaign was stepped up in June because of the threat of a reorientation of U. S. policy in Asia which would affect the status of Korea. As Kim Il Sung, head of the Russian puppet state, declared in May: "The American imperialists are intensifying preparations for entering [South Korea] into an alliance with Japan." In terms of Russia's interests in the northern Pacific, the American program of permanent military bases in Japan was a threat to its hold on Korea since inevitably such bases would in time be linked up with the only continental toehold still in American hands. While Washington moved slowly along this line, Russia was able to thwart and outflank the entire project by using its Korean puppets. But the political groundwork for such a move had been laid by two years of consistent struggle linking Stalinism with the idea of national unity and thoroughly discrediting the American-sponsored regime.

Political Bombshell

Rhee's increasing isolation from all classes of Southern society created the condition in which the North could appeal to almost every group against him. In the May 1950 election Rhee suffered a severe defeat. The army was rife with discontent and riddled with pro-unity sentiment. There was no sentiment in the army for civil war. On June 9 Rhee declared a "quasi-emergency" along the entire 38th parallel because of increasing military pressure from the North. Missions were dispatched to Tokyo and Washington to purchase armaments. Early in June, only a few weeks before the actual invasion, the South Korean envoy in Washington informed Acheson that his country was on the verge of collapse.

In the midst of this disintegration of political life in the South, the Stalinists, in the name of the Northern Legislative Assembly, proposed "to effect the peaceful unification of the country by uniting the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean 'People's Democratic Republic' and the so-called National Assembly of South Korea into a single legislative organ for the whole of Korea." This was a political bombshell, and it struck a responsive chord in the South.

It appealed to the Southern National Assembly over the head of Syngman Rhee and aimed at his final isolation. In the light of subsequent developments this appeal of June 19 must be understood as an ultimatum. In this way Stalinism was able to accomplish its Russian strategic aims within the framework of Korean politics.

First Objective on Way

The program outlined above is today being put into practice behind the Northern lines. The Associated Press reported on July 16 that numbers of Southern legislators had joined the new Seoul government formed by the Stalinists. Among them are Kimm Kiuisic, whom we mentioned above, and Cho An Sang, head of the Socialist Party.

The Pyongyang radio reports a broadcast by Song Ho Song, former commander in chief of the Southern

army, "calling on all officers and men of the puppet [Rhee] army to turn their guns on the Korean traitor, Syngman Rhee." Song has been given a command in the Stalinist forces. His job is to organize former Southern soldiers. Numbers of other Southern officials have joined the victors at Seoul.

Stalinism is well on the way to accomplishing its first political objective of establishing an all-national regime with well-known Southern political figures. Such a step would be tantamount to final liquidation of the political power of the Rhee group. The idea of national unity and Stalinism will have been sealed together. Even Rhee has recognized the danger in this by calling upon his American defenders not to stop at the 38th parallel.

Stalinist politics consists of destroying this artificial boundary. In reality the parallel as a boundary no longer exists. It has been effectively destroyed militarily and is now being wiped out politically as the new Stalinist national front takes shape. This frontier can be reimposed only at the price of unremitting bloodshed.

Social System Being Transformed

Even more fundamental than the steps described above are the irrevocable measures being taken by Stalinism in the social sphere. Wherever the conquerors go they establish "people's committees" which in their initial stages are apparently representative of the population. These committees have already organized the distribution of land on a local basis and driven out, jailed or punished in some other way, the landlords and their friends.

On July 12 a new taxation system, based on land division, was introduced, wiping out the landlord-feudal multiple levies. In place of this ancient oppressive system a single centralized tax was established which could not be increased. Until power is consolidated this tax will probably be kept at a low level. Any attempt to restore the old taxation system would meet with popular revolt.

The very fabric of society is being altered. The old power is destroyed; Asiatic feudalism is being replaced by a new tyranny whose real nature is initially not clear to the people. "People's Courts" have been set up to try "traitors." A large part of the old ruling class is being physically destroyed and all of it is being rendered impotent.

The youth and intelligentsia in particular are rushing to the new banner. On July 9 one thousand college students in Seoul joined the Stalinist armies. The following day 500 girl students volunteered. The same is happening in other Southern cities.

A commission has been established to investigate the "war crimes" of Syngman Rhee and his clique as well as of the U. S. A list of "war criminals" has been published. Demonstration trials are in the offing.

Under Banner of Restoration

And the cult of the leader is making its appearance. In Kaisung, South Korea's second largest city, "citizens paraded through the streets carrying pictures of General Kim Il Sung." Demonstration and messages in honor of Kim are reported daily by the Pyongyang radio. In all these ways, long strides have been taken to establish a new bureaucratic totalitarianism which will not be easy to uproot.

What answer has the U. S. to social revolution, even a reactionary one? The Koreans do not desire Russian domination, but even more they cannot return to a decadent society.

But the U. S. marches under the banner of restoration. That is its tragedy in Korea as it was in China. Washington's politics consists of the narrowest military-strategic values, which can hardly arouse popular enthusiasm in Korea. Whatever American soldiers manage to achieve militarily in Korea is undermined by political failure.

Washington has not even begun to think ahead of military events or even to take an attitude toward that social policy which Stalinism has already introduced. Even a military victory would not eliminate the dilemma of what to do politically in Korea.

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The Pro-Titoism of the Socialist Left

Beginning a Criticism of a Widespread Illusion Among European Marxist Groups

By HAL DRAPER

Most of a year ago we published a series of articles in LABOR ACTION on "Titoism and Independent Socialism" which took up a number of questions raised for socialists by the Yugoslav development; and this series had been preceded by several articles in *The New Internationalist* analyzing the driving forces behind the break in the Cominform. We refer to this, to begin with, because we do not intend to repeat much of the analysis made there. The present articles will have a more circumscribed aim, though treating of the same general questions.

In these previous articles, and in the 1948 resolution on the international situation adopted by the Independent Socialist League, we made plentifully clear our position on (for example) the defense of Tito Yugoslavia against Russian aggression. This question is hotter, as we write this week, than it has been for many a month; a current note is in order before taking up the other issues.

Yugoslavs on Korean War

Yugoslavia, in our opinion, is a national-Stalinist state; but we believe that a people has a right to national independence even under a regime which we detest. (Casting an eye back before World War II, for instance, the Marxists never made Chiang Kai-shek's anti-democratic regime in China a reason for opposing military support to China against Japanese imperialist aggression. But it was, certainly, a reason for opposing Chiang's regime itself.)

This applies to Yugoslavia as to other countries. In a war which is really fought on the issue of self-determination—independence—Yugoslavia must be defended; and certainly any direct or indirect attack on Yugoslavia by the Kremlin would be such a war.

But we recalled at the same time that a Russian attack on Yugoslavia would not be taking place in a vacuum. If a Yugoslav-Russian duel broke out, how long could it remain apart from the Third World War?—in which case the issue of Yugoslav national independence could not, very likely, be separated from the world imperialist conflict which might break around it, in roughly the same way as World War I broke out around Serbia's national-independence struggle and World War II broke out around the rape of Poland. It would be swallowed up in the general imperialist character of that war.

This is not a question of our own invention. The Yugoslav leaders are perfectly cognizant of it in the light of their own foreign policy. It explains, as a matter of fact, much of their line on the Korean war.

They have been (quite justly) scared by the Russian-sponsored invasion in Korea. They see themselves in the cast of characters. Although voting in the UN against that body's complete capitulation to U. S. dominance—this differentiates them from the Western camp—they have remained tight-lipped with regard to any plaudits for the Russo-Koreans. (Parenthetically, the Titoists' admiring sycophants of the "Fourth International" have remained equally tight-lipped about this "failure" on Tito's part to spring to the defense of the "progressive" side in the war, which the official Trotskyists support—North Korea.)

On the contrary, a current dispatch conveys—in my opinion, accurately—the Titoists' real attitude on the war. It is an interview with "a top official of the Yugoslav government" in the latest U. S. News & World Report (July 28).

The magazine editorially states that "Both the questions and the replies have been discussed by the Tito cabinet, so the views expressed here represent the authoritative opinions of the Tito Communists," although the "top official" remains anonymous. If Belgrade's Tanjug Agency issues no denial, the interview can certainly be accepted as gospel. (And if it does, I would myself regard it as a purely formal disclaimer.)

The interview adds up to an attack on the Russian-North Korean side and, I think, a clear implication of approval of the U. S.-UN side on a straightforward basis of Yugoslav national interests.

Said the top official:

"This conflict in Korea is sheer camouflage on the part of the Russians. The USSR wants to confuse and complicate the situation in the Far East. It wants to provoke a war between the U. S. and China. This is the key to the entire issue. Russia would like to see American forces tied up in China. They reason logically that, once the U. S. is embroiled in a war with China, Russia's hands would be freed to subjugate other countries, especially Iran, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Finland and so on.

"Q.—Does it mean a general war?"

"A.—The Soviets are not yet ready to start a war with the U. S. . . . Moscow knows that the conflict in Korea will end badly for the Koreans.

But what Moscow is maneuvering for is to get America's hands tied up which she herself is free to prepare for war. Russia's action in Korea is rank aggression. Korea is of little value to her. The only reason for Russia's action in Korea is to get the U. S. bogged down.

"Q.—Do you see any parallel between Russia's attitude toward South Korea and her policy toward Yugoslavia?"

"A.—Indeed we are aware of the parallel. The primary purpose of Russia's attack in Korea was to test America's reaction. If the U. S. remained aloof in this situation, Russia's aggression would have been extended to other countries in Asia, and maybe to countries in Europe, including Yugoslavia. [Our emphasis—H. D.]

"Q.—Should war break out between East and West, do you think Yugoslavia can escape being involved?"

"A.—We are realistic. We realize that Yugoslavia is in a delicate strategic position. Whichever side controls Yugoslavia will have control of the Balkans, and the Balkans are a key to all of Europe."

As an interpretation of the Kremlin's aims in the Korean war this view is, to say the least, simplistic. But it is rather characteristic of the Titoists in illustrating how they look at everything through the spectacles of their narrow national interests. The Korean war has many elements in it, including very likely the one pointed out by the Belgrade spokesman. But the latter can see only the elements which concern Yugoslavia.

The Titoists cannot afford to give the Cominform radio too much material for its propaganda; the "top official" is careful. But it can hardly be doubted that he is stage-whispering, for the benefit of the American public, that he only hopes that, in event of a Russian attack, the U. S. will do as well by his marshal as for Syngman Rhee.

In this event, we note, Tito will be in no political dilemma: his divisions will fight without embarrassment together with those of American imperialism. The embarrassment we have in mind will pertain to other people—namely, some of those who will be the subject of these articles. We are thinking in the first place of the official-Trotskyists. Their dilemma will be excruciating:

Russia is a "workers' state," and they must "defend the Soviet Union" against the U. S. But Yugoslavia has recently become an even more satisfactory "workers' state." They must defend it against Russia. But if the Yugoslav and U. S. forces are fighting cheek by jowl in the same war...? It may be difficult to "defend" one part of the same front against Russia and another part against the U. S.!

We do not suggest that our subjects will be unable to write a resolution to resolve the difficulty in theory; we suggest that in practice there can be a considerable tug upon them to see unexpected blessings in American imperialism in the Third World War. They too can complete the circle, arching around left-Stalinism to what Lenin, in his honest indignation, called "social patriotism."

One prominent variety of the pro-Titoists in the U. S. has gotten there already, via Belgrade. We refer, of course, to the O. John Rogge strain of the Stalinist fellow travelers, who have plumped for Washington's Korean enterprise.

To Be Discussed

But in these articles we aim to stick closely to the more limited subject of the pro-Titoism of the anti-Stalinist left, particularly in Europe. As we have made clear in LABOR ACTION, it is rampant.

Titoism has made little dent on the masses who follow the Communist Parties in Western Europe (this fact gives us no joy—quite the reverse!—but it will be interesting to ask the reasons thereof) and, as a matter of fact, it has made little impression on those who still follow the social-democratic parties; but it certainly has landed with a mind-dislocating shock on the left Marxist groups which stand outside both.

From our point of view, its effect on them bids fair to be a tragic one. We can do no less than to put forward our own views and analyses in a discussion with them, for their consideration, just as we have on our part carefully read and considered their own.

For LABOR ACTION readers, this viewpoint which we shall criticize has been presented in our columns by a discussion article by Comrade Paul Roberts (issue of July 17). The points he makes will be taken up as we go along.

Closely connected with all of this, and of broader interest, will be the recent theoretical writings of the Titoist leaders themselves—to which many of our pro-Titoist socialists point with pleased approbation—such as Djilas' *New Roads to Socialism*. We too have found these writings of great interest; but if our reason for this is the belief that they confirm our analysis of Titoism, we beg only that this conclusion shall not be denounced in advance as opinionated until the reason can be explained.

(Next week: Some Theoretical Consequences of Pro-Titoism)

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Not in the Headlines

Art Note

When Politics magazine ran a humorous piece on a Russian political émigré who had been sentenced to a term at forced labor for erasing the mustache from Stalin's portraits, readers laughed. But recently in Perleberg, Germany (Russian Zone), according to an AP dispatch which appeared in the New York Times for July 18, three nurses were sentenced to prison terms of thirty months, two years and one year respectively for drawing mustaches on portraits of the East German Stalinist puppet president, Wilhelm Pieck. The charge was "slander."

Doctored Figures

The U. S. spends over twice as much for medical care as Great Britain in proportion to population, according to a report of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics. Yet the British people get much more.

The committee points out that the British program of government-supported medical aid to all covers 95 per cent of the population at an average cost of \$27 per person. In the U. S. \$63 per person is spent for the whole population under the present private system.

Bragging

The NAM NEWS is boasting about the success of its propaganda department. It reported in July:

"NAM launched a concentrated program this week to widen by many millions the audience for its motion pictures. The association's Radio and Television Department offered the first of its three newest sound films, the Price of Freedom, to the leading television stations in the twelve cities having the greatest number of video receivers. All twelve accepted promptly. This procedure will be continued until the nation's television transmitting centers have been blanketed."

Just imagining those twelve stations, eagerly grabbing up a canned broadcast by labor unions!

Still Going Up

While the electric utilities yell about what the Fair Deal has been doing to them, their own figures reveal that Washington has not put them in the poorhouse. The net profit of the companies for the first half of 1950 was \$448 million, compared with \$392 million in the same period of 1949. That's an increase of 13.2 per cent.

Books Received

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, published July 28, 1950:

NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR, by George Orwell. A Signet book, 25 cents, 240 pages. Complete and unabridged. (Belongs on your "must" reading list.)

ARCH OF TRIUMPH, by Erich Maria Remarque. A Signet book, 35 cents, 413 pages.

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Truman Moves Toward Full War Footing

(Continued from page 1)

rials and resources of the world. In the propaganda war between them, the Russians have the edge over the U. S. in manipulating a completely totalitarianized society in which no voice may be raised in opposition. In the United States, the controls on opinion are partial. But the government is acting much more drastically than in the Second World War, much more quickly, and largely but not entirely, against those (the Stalinists) against whom criticism was frowned upon when they were our allies in the last war.

Spy Hunt

Coming on the heels of the "special regulation" to make the infamous attorney general's "subversive list" a test of loyalty for the armed forces, a spyhunt by all citizens has been urged by President Truman. "I suggest that all patriotic organizations and individuals likewise report all such information relating to espionage, sabotage and subversive activities to the Federal Bureau of Investigation..." he said.

Such a program is bound to play upon feelings of insecurity and fear and to create an atmosphere of hysteria. It is an open invitation to the forces of reaction and the heresy-hunters. It is a technique similar to that employed in Stalinist-dominated countries, where citizens are urged to report all criticism of the regime to the GPU—in this case, to the FBI.

N. Y. Times writer James Res-

ton, no critic of the over-all policy of Washington, criticizes the "less attractive habits" of the last big war, now being slipped into again by Washington. He complains that "no real effort is being made to release or expose the basic documents that would provide an accurate story of the United States' Korean policy from the time of the Cairo conference to the moment of the Communist attack across the Thirty-Eighth parallel." He laments "the danger of glorifying one's allies" as was done in the last war. "For years," he writes, "official Washington built up the Soviet Union and Nationalist China, concealed and distorted the true facts of life in those countries and condemned reports to the contrary as detrimental material that gave aid and comfort to the enemy."

Policing the World

Reston also refers to the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru's effort to mediate in Korea has also fallen under the official rubric of "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Apparently, the government, or its State Department, did not wish to publicize Nehru's personal request to Acheson to bring the Chinese Stalinists into the United Nations, based on his concept that if once Russia and China were present and then did not cooperate, the world would have a clearer picture of Stalinist aggression.

Such non-Stalinist groups as Jehovah's Witnesses, looked upon as dangerous because of their "extreme pacifism," have been having difficulty with the Immigration Service in entering the country to attend their world convention.

Such examples demonstrate that the clamping down of the lid on freedom of expression is far from being designed WHOLLY against the Stalinists, in whose case it can be argued that they are ideologi-

cal representatives of a foreign government, and whose co-thinkers at the Stockholm peace conference have, for example, proclaimed the necessity of sabotage in the interests of Russian expansion.

As in the political field, in the economic field likewise, the country is being geared for an all-out war mobilization. As James Reston put it, "Business as usual" of the future means the business of policing the world." The tempo of industrial mobilization depends upon the tempo of the Korean war, and future unknown outbreaks. The anticipated danger spots, so far as the small wars are concerned, are areas where the Russians can conduct their wars of proxy: Chinese Stalinist expansion in Indo-China, Burma, Formosa or even Korea; Iran, Berlin, Greece and Yugoslavia.

Sacrifice?

The current funds demanded by the president for increasing the armed forces by 600,000 are over \$10½ billion. The raising of this sum calls for an increase in taxes on both individual and business incomes. The most likely possibility in the near future is an across-the-board increase, with the probability of a 10 per cent hike in individual income taxes in the lower brackets. "Across-the-board" is the opposite of an "equality of sacrifice" measure. The hardest share proportionally will be borne by the masses of working and low-salaried people.

The magazine U. S. News & World Report can't suppress a note of almost high glee about the prospects for business, converting to war in the midst of high production, with the Federal Reserve index at 197 per cent of the 1935-39 average. It is happy that the prospects are for a continued boom; the ghost of a depression has been

laid; military production will take up the immediate slack and ultimately eat into civilian production. It is anticipated that the war in the midst of full production will cause little or no conversion unemployment. It is even felt that the "preclusive" buying order of the president, whereby the government will purchase more in Europe, will go far to ease the "dollar gap" of the Marshall Plan countries.

More Drastic Controls

Profits and high salaries will have greater controls levied on them in this war. The government is expected to approve "reasonable" salaries and "fair" profits. World War III profits will be "renegotiated," with some kickbacks to the government. However, the general estimate of businessmen is that the Price Adjustment Boards of the last war, which were liberal toward the war contractors, will be only slightly less so in this one.

Allocations of critical materials, mostly in the field of metals, credit controls, loans to small business, will all be put into effect. In one form or another, the old letter boards of the last war will be back: OPA, WPB, etc. Price, wage and rent freezes are all in prospect. A no-strike pledge has not been asked for. No War Labor Board has yet been proposed. It is felt by some that the Taft-Hartley Law will take care of the labor problem, plus the president's powers and the threat of an additional clause or two to the T-H Law if labor persists in striking in wartime after the 80-day injunction period. The draft won't end; it will be stepped up.

Since this war, as it develops, promises to be a bigger one, for higher stakes, all controls promise to be more drastic and far-reaching.

Let 'Em Read Comics

The wisdom of the ages may be contained in books but over 35 million Americans have no access to them. According to the results of a three-year public library inquiry made public at Columbia University, that many don't have a library around they can get to.

About one quarter of the nation's population are outside areas served by public libraries. There are public libraries in less than half the municipalities of the country, not to speak of rural areas. Only one-tenth of the 7408 public library units are capable of providing "a modern public library service as defined by official objectives." Total expenditures for libraries in the U. S. during 1949 represented less than one-sixth of one per cent of the public budget for public services of all kinds.

Banjo on His Knee

A gentleman named Walter W. Cunningham enjoys the position of "Executive General Agent" for the Illinois Central Railroad. This railroad has recently gone into the propaganda business in a big way. Its Cunningham, whose job it is apparently to keep his eye on Louisiana and its state legislature, is distributing match folders to friends and acquaintances bearing his name, telephone number and the following in black type:

"Executive General Agent, Illinois Central Railroad, President Protem, Third House, Baton Rouge, Louisiana."

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The CP's 'Peace' Appeal - -

(Continued from page 1)

Korean invasion. Now *Pravda* has dotted the i's and crossed the t's.

In an article by its writer Leonid Sobolev (a translation of which appeared in the London Economist and is reported by the New York Times), *Pravda* explained what the "peace" signatures mean, as far as its sponsors are concerned. In Sobolev's interpretation, it runs:

"I vote against war—and this is not merely a matter of words. It means that I shall do my utmost to prevent war. I shall stop the trains; I shall refuse to unload the ships carrying war materials; I shall not supply fuel for the planes; I shall seize the arms of the mercenaries; I shall not allow my son or my husband to go to war; I shall deprive the ministers of food, drink, telephones, transport and coal. Let those who are dragging us into war do the fighting themselves."

In a word—military sabotage. This is not an appeal to oppose an imperialist war—one, moreover, which is imperialist on both sides. This is an appeal to JOIN the war to aid the Russian side.

Socialist Opposition to War

Independent socialism has nothing in common with this line. Our political opposition to the war (by both camps), to the measures by Washington which undercut democratic rights in the name of defending democracy against Stalinist expansion, to Truman's foreign policy, to conscription, etc., is through a presentation of our political views and socialist opinions.

Our opposition to the war is also "not merely a matter of words." It is a matter of bringing to the people the ideas and program of socialism which alone can bring real peace, of urging them to defend their interests and rights against the government's attack upon them, in the name of war unity, of educating them to understand what is wrong with this war-torn world.

But acts of sabotage will not bring one American worker closer to understanding the nature of imperialist war or of the Fair Deal's imperialist policies. The Stalinist patriots of the Kremlin, in peace-lovers' clothing, who represent this as a consequence of anti-war fervor, are merely trading on pro-peace sentiments among the people to grease the way for their own war machine.

Only when a majority of the people turn against imperialism, against capitalism and its wars, and enter on the road to socialism, will they be able effectively to stop this war or the larger one which is looming. Meanwhile, so-called "direct action" in the Sobolev sense by a minority can only be ununiformed service in the cause of Russian arms. It is not the line of the "Third Camp" but a maneuver of one of the war camps.

Between Jingoism and Saboteurs

But it is important to note that, right in the middle of his catalog of acts of sabotage, Sobolev includes language which is designed to remind the reader of an entirely different type of anti-war opposition: that of the individual conscientious objectors and pacifists. With an eye on what is happening in this country today, no one need be surprised if a brush dipped in Sobolev's tar is used here to smear the pacifist opponents of war also.

We ourselves are opposed to conscientious objection as an expression of anti-war opposition and to pacifism as a social theory. But we believe that every real democrat and liberal, not to speak of every radical and socialist, must defend the RIGHT of a man to elect conscientious objection.

Even as far as the Stalinists are concerned, hysterical subversion of democratic rights like that proposed by Detroit and Birmingham is a danger to civil liberties. Sobolev's article does not make every Stalinist a "fifth columnist," "saboteur" or "traitor." To be sure, those who choose to follow *Pravda's* instructions are no more the concern of civil liberties than any other spies or foreign agents. The government has its organs which are supposed to take care of these matters—including the matter of proving its charges: Outlawry of the Communist Party, or the equivalent of outlawry, or any other form of political persecution, can only be a confession that the government cannot cope with Stalinist ideas. And how bankrupt must a system be that it cannot cope even with the ideas of those who praise the most brutal despotism in the world?

What with the jingoism on the one hand (see the report in this issue of the recent monstrous decisions of the Detroit and Birmingham city councils!) and the Kremlin's appeal for saboteurs on the other hand, honest opponents of the war face serious threats to democratic rights. Such threats are at the same time the test of civil liberties in this country.