

# LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

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## WALL STREET ORGAN WRITES:

### 'Drop A-Bomb... Market Needs Encouragement'!

From the FITCH UNLISTED SECURITIES BULLETIN, December 11,  
published at 120 Wall Street by the Fitch Pub. Co.

"Perhaps it's because we work in an industry which is dominated by logic and honesty [Wall Street!—Ed.] that we're surprised at the silliness and duplicity which govern the nations of the world in their relationships with each other. However, we must face the fact that one of the most important factors influencing the stock market, in the days to come, will be the effect of diplomatic and military decisions and actions. These decisions will be immediately reflected in the dollar value of stocks. . . . Last week before any controversy had arisen concerning the advisability of dropping the atom bomb on the Chinese Reds, we wrote, on this page, that such a bombing would be forthcoming. Logically, it is the only way to help us out of this 'tight fix.' . . . Clearly, it is the only logical thing left to do. . . .

"We think that anything short of elimination of the Red Chinese from the Korean fight, by means of atom bombing, will be appeasement. . . . The market would then respond by the topside testing of the 220-230 trading range within

which it has been twisting since the beginning of September. Appeasement would give industry a short period of 'business as usual' retarded only by the weight of an excess-profits tax and spurred upward by the constant prodding of inflation, which would become more intense. . . .

"[Truman should] make it clear to the power behind Mao Tse-tung's bayonets that we will brook no more international baiting of American capitalism. . . . We think that the Kremlin is gambling . . . and now is the time to leave the gaming table and accuse them of cheating. Let's not wait and lose all. Such actions will provide a strong securities market, now that the public is more acclimated to the idea of using the A-bomb.

"Lack of decisive international action will cause the market to continue to respond to war developments by churning within the 220-230 trading area; the market needs encouragement to make new highs. It's still a bull market, but world events will continue to keep it subdued."

## U. S. to Blackjack Allies into War Moves on China

By L. G. SMITH

The Chinese Stalinist government's flat rejection of the United Nation's cease-fire offer has brought to the surface a deep crack in the alliance of governments led by the United States. So important are the issues at stake that last week the British and French governments preferred to subject the United States to the humiliation of presenting a resolution branding China the aggressor in Korea without a single co-sponsor, rather than accept the risks of joining their powerful ally in this action.

Last week the reluctance of the Allied nations to continue the war in Korea forced the U. S. delegation at the UN to go along on a resolution which, by implication, offered China an eventual seat in the United Nations and a chance to negotiate over Formosa. This important diplomatic backdown was covered by meaningless phrases to the effect that the United States had not changed its position.

But when the Chinese Stalin-

ists rejected the offer and demanded a seat in the UN as a precondition to negotiations, as well as other terms which only a victor in war could expect to receive, the United States government announced that no further conciliation was possible, and demanded that the UN brand China the aggressor and immediately decide on measures to be taken against her.

In attempting this action the administration in Washington is driven more by domestic political calculations than by the necessities of its own foreign policy. This is true despite the fact that in a certain sense the American policy seems more "logical" than the policies of the other Western nations who have sent an army into Korea to fight one aggressor but would now prefer to refuse to put the brand on the back of a power which sent its troops in to fight them.

Although the American people are far from united on the Korean war or on the administration's foreign policy in general, the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling on the UN to declare China an aggressor. Even the

(Turn to last page)

Brake on U. S.



## UAW Leaders Crack Down on Free Press for Local Union Opponents

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Jan. 20—Both the question of freedom of the press and the internal democracy of the United Auto Workers (CIO) has been brought to the forefront through a series of action by the top leadership of the union, directed against local union publications.

About two months ago, the international executive board sent a special-delivery message to every local union editor whose paper was published in conjunction with the *United Automobile Worker* as a local union wrap-around edition. This message said that since the local union edition was considered under law as part of the responsibility of the international union, all copy would be checked by the international union for protection against libel and to conform with international union policy.

In no time at all, the skilled-trades edition of the *United Automobile Worker* was suppressed because its articles and program were highly critical of the policies of the international executive board. "We aren't going to put out money to have ourselves attacked," the editor was told by top officials.

Some local unions immediately decided to publish their paper without joint printing and mailing with the *United Automobile Worker*, to avoid any suppression.

However, one local union paper, the *Searchlight*, official publication of the Chevrolet Local in Flint, found itself under attack from the Reuther leadership even though it was not published in conjunction with the *United Automobile Worker*.

Its local union officers and editor were ordered to appear at a hearing to show cause why its policies and program were con-

trary to established international union policies.

The editor of *Searchlight* pulled a very shrewd publicity stunt to expose this move. He published the telegram, signed by Emil Mazey, in the middle of an otherwise blank front page. It created a minor sensation in the UAW.

### WHERE'S UNION DEMOCRACY?

Subsequently, the local union officers demanded a bill of particulars at a hearing, against claims that 50 stories, etc., etc. were slanderous, libelous, etc., etc. against the international union and its officers.

A whole series of exchanges took place by letter, telegram and so on. And once again the local union did a neat job of publicizing the whole issue by publishing the entire correspondence with the international union, asking the auto workers to judge for themselves.

There is no need to get in-

involved or lost in the technicalities of this case. Every auto worker knows that the *Searchlight*, as a reflection of its local union officers who were elected on an anti-Reuther program, carry anti-Reuther articles. They disagree with the escalator clause, they are against the five-year contract; they are, in a word, virulently anti-Reuther.

So what? Let us assume, for the moment, that the views of the local union, its officers and editors are wrong as against the viewpoint of the international union top leadership. Haven't they the right to be wrong? Can't a local union express its opposition to international union policies in its own local union paper? Where is freedom of the press? Where is UAW democracy in the attitude shown by the Reuther leadership?

This is not the least important question which should be before the coming convention of the UAW in April in Cleveland.

# Taft-Hoover Line Means Program For War—Without Europe as Ally

By BEN HALL

The hope of a New Deal and the fear of a return to old-guard Republicanism swept Truman into office in 1948. Little more than two years have passed. The Fair Deal, born a feeble, bloodless dwarf, is already dead, buried without decent sentimental rites by liberals and labor leaders who saw such promise in its growth. As war clouds gather, the focus of popular anxiety shifts to the uncertainties of foreign policy and public sympathy swings sharply toward the muddled pronouncements of Hoover-Taft.

The 1950 congressional elections brought the first omen. Labor officials, stumbling accidentally onto a profound truth, explained the Republican victories by the people's fear of war and a mounting uneasiness over events in Korea. The Republicans, they pointed out, raked in votes by playing upon these fears and hypocritically pretending to offer hope for lasting peace. But this unexpected effort exhausted the intellectual resources of our union officials. If the Republicans could only descend to the depths of hypocrisy, the labor leadership could only parrot the words of Truman.

A few months pass. The Korean war has turned into the Korean disaster. A grave crisis faces America. The administration continues as though nothing very startling had happened. It pursues the same worn-out policies; it maps out the same old plans, simply recording that they will now require additional millions of fighting men and billions of dollars. But at last the grim realities of world politics penetrate the mind of the American people.

A frightening suspicion begins to nag at popular consciousness. If world war comes, perhaps the old policies and the old political leaders will lead us into a world-wide Korea, a long, exhausting, bloody war. And after murderous sacrifices, what results? The people justifiably begin to fear a future war which cannot and will not stop Stalinism nor defend democracy. A desperate longing for a new policy finds no satisfactory outlet. Hoover-Taft offer only new dangerous illusions to replace the old. But the tragic fact is that no other influential party faction or organization offers any alternative.

### WHAT'S THE PROBLEM?

The Hoover-Taft program (if one could dignify that elusive shifting line as a program) commands attention not only because it attracts millions who want peace but, more important, because it represents the considered opinion of a powerful and influential section of the American bourgeoisie. In fact, it is now the only serious capitalist alternative offered to the Truman line.

A flurry of wild speculations followed the first Chinese victories. In the hysterical confusion, a clutter of assorted idiocies crowded the halls of Congress and a troth of half-baked ideas blared forth from loud speakers. Drop an atom bomb—Open a second front... every lunatic spoke his piece. This jumble has somewhat subsided and we can now listen to the sober, thought-out arguments and counter-arguments of respected and responsible capitalist politicians. What is the most they can produce at a moment of emergency? The "Great Debate," which turns out to be the great national zero.

What is the problem of American foreign policy? To state it is simple enough. To solve it is quite another thing. Stalinist Russia, which has already fastened its hold over many nations, threatens to expand its dominion and its reactionary social and political system until it dominates the whole world in a dictatorial, totalitarian grasp. This would be a catastrophe for the American

join hands with the masses of two continents.

How easily Taft concedes a political triumph for Stalinism over Europe! "Assuming something I trust will not happen," he says (hopefully), "assuming they [Russians] took Germany and swept our armies back to the borders of France, I suggest that Russia would stop, that in all probability that would rely on France turning Communist by itself, and they would probably rely on the British making some sort of arrangements with British socialism and not particularly objecting to Communism. I doubt very much if Russia would attack France or Britain in a military way."

Only a nation which is totally disoriented and ready to grasp at the shadow of a straw would give serious attention to such a prescription for international social suicide. A political corpse like Hoover mumbles hocus pocus and tens of millions of Americans strain ears, not to jeer but to hear mystic sounds of salvation. It is comprehensible only as a re-

Other millions, particularly in Germany, in England, in India, hate Stalinism and are determined to fight it, but they too distrust the United States because they fear its capitalist ruling class. They want to fight off Stalinism; but not merely to be sacrificed to the American capitalist class and end up its helpless satellites.

### INTO A VOID

And so the United States finds itself face to face with a terrible and powerful enemy, which can count on the support of masses of Asians and Europeans. But America stares into a void; it cannot point with full confidence to a single nation whose people will fight side by side with it, in solid alliance.

Yesterday, the vainglorious muddlers of Washington's foreign policy boasted that American might alone could frighten off any enemy. But Korea has ended these hollow boasts. Unless it can win over allies in a world-wide struggle for democracy and social progress, the American people is destined to be plunged into a heart-breaking, continuing, enervating war. Such a protracted war, regardless of who wins, can only force all humanity further along the road of totalitarianism.

And that is why we are socialists! Capitalism is thoroughly detested and feared, and justifiably, by the peoples of Asia and Europe. Only a working-class government in the United States can unify the peoples of the world in the fight for freedom, in the struggle to end Stalinism.

The American people must have reliable allies. And they will be found not in the governments of discredited and reactionary politicians like Franco in Spain, Chiang in China or Rhee in Korea, but among the masses of people who will fight because they need, democracy and want national freedom.

### REACTION TO TRUMAN

How would Taft-Hoover handle this most pressing task? They would admit to the world that it is hopeless, that it cannot be solved! If Truman and his followers would blithely proceed as though they had assurance of the support of Europe and Asia, placidly ignoring the lessons of Korea, Hoover-Taft learn from Korea only that a capitalist United States cannot expect the loyalty of the millions of oppressed peoples of continental Europe and Asia. They would base their policy unambiguously upon this premise, not by giving up capitalism but by abandoning all efforts to



TAFT

## Watch for the Zombie!

"Clinically speaking, the Fair Deal may not be dead, but it is certainly unconscious, and signs of life are hard to detect. And no one expects it to show any more signs of life in the present Congress or as long as the world crisis continues. The only possibility of its revival would seem to be next year, when the 1952 presidential election is drawing nearer. If President Truman is a candidate for re-election then, his leaders and supporters in Congress might decide that it would be a good idea to refresh the voters' memory on all the programs which he espoused and which his opponents in the Congress have refused to pass."

That's the N. Y. Times Washington correspondent, W. H. Lawrence, on January 21. Watch for the zombie next year! It will talk, it will walk, but signs of life will be hard to detect. . . .

## LABOR SCOPE

### It's a Good Idea—but How to Achieve It?

Thousands of workers are being laid off as factories begin conversion to war production. So serious has the problem become for auto workers, who will soon be turning out tanks and aircraft instead of autos, that Ford Local 600, largest in the industry, recently called a special mass membership meeting to combat "the layoff of thousands of Rouge workers."

We hear of no cases of nervous anxiety among the employees, who as always are fully protected by government subsidies and generous tax rebates against the costs of changeover. But, again as always, the workman is forgotten. If lucky, he will receive unemployment insurance, only a small percentage of his ordinary wage during the layoff.

UAW President Walter Reuther has asked Truman for special emergency legislation that would provide government subsidies for the worker during this period of unemployment, subsidies that would be added to his unemployment-insurance payments to bring his benefits up to his normal wage. Excellent idea! It is asking for no more than what the employers already receive. And who ever heard of big stockholders cutting down on eggs and meat to economize during a changeover?

But we fear that Truman will store Reuther's communication in a large basket labeled "File and forget." Such has been the fate of scores of fine CIO proposals even in the best days of the Fair Deal. And now the Fair Deal is dead. . . .

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### Crusher

The political arm of the AFL, Labor's League for Political Education, has given the show away—without even knowing it. In its League Reporter for January 22 (front-paged too), it undertakes to refute the reactionaries who attack the Truman administration as labor-dominated. Not true, it retorts in effect—we have no "power" in the nation's capital!

After all that support to Truman and the Fair Deal too! But here's the whole item exactly as it appears in the AFL organ:

#### "WHERE IS LABOR'S 'POWER' IN CAPITAL?"

"You hear a lot about labor's influence in the Truman Administration."

"Reactionaries try to make people think 'labor czars' are in control of the Fair Deal."

"If that were true, it would seem that there would be a number of trade union officers in the President's Cabinet."

"Well, how many representatives of workmen are there in the Cabinet? Let's look at the backgrounds of the nine Secretaries:

- "Secretary of State Dean Acheson is a lawyer.
"Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder is a banker.
"Secretary of Defense George Marshall is a soldier.
"Attorney General Howard McGrath is a lawyer.
"Postmaster General Jesse Donaldson is a postal career man.
"Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman is a lawyer and government careerist.
"Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan is a lawyer.
"Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer is a lawyer and publisher.
"Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin is a lawyer and government career man.
"Not a trade unionist in the crowd."

The reactionaries are sure effectively answered, eh? So is the AFL (and the CIO) next time they tell you to support the Democratic Party or Truman to further-labor's interests.

# It's Supreme Court That's 'Inciting to Riot' In Feiner Decision by Judges-in-Uniform

By PHILIP COBEN

On January 15 the Supreme Court rendered decisions on three cases involving civil liberties. While the cases were not in the limelight of publicity, like some others that the court has acted upon or has still to act on, on no other day has the light court of the country presented a more miserable picture of presumably eminent jurists caught up by the anti-democratic wave in the U. S. and tagging along after it on the stiller horses of judicial phraseology.

Only one of them was, in itself, a blow at democratic rights, but it is the combination of the three, and their mutual reflection on each other, that points up the trend of the judges-in-uniform.

The other two involved the right of preachers to conduct religious meetings on the public streets. A look at these first will highlight the third.

The decision on the Jehovah's Witnesses case was a clear plus for civil liberties—but on this alone the court pulled its punch and plainly indicated how the losing side could accomplish its purpose next time.

In this the only unanimous decision of the three the court ruled that the city council of Havre de Grace, Maryland, had wrongfully denied use of the city park for a religious service by the sect. The latter had sought a permit to hold a Sunday meeting in the park, and went ahead with the meeting even though a permit was refused. Two leaders of the group were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

### RACE-BAITER CLEARED

The basis on which the court decision was written was the fact that the city council had set up no standards or definite rules covering the use of the park; it had only an "amorphous practice" which gave full power to the park commissioner, subject to appeal to the city council. As far as the verdict goes, the Havre de Grace withholders will have to go to the trouble of passing a regulation. Such regulation, of course, would in turn be subject to court review, on appeal—if Jehovah's Witnesses continue the bout.

But still, this is on the plus side.

The second religious case centered around a racist Baptist minister, Carl Jacob Kunz, who was arrested in New York City for holding a street service in Columbus Circle without a permit, after making "scurrilous attacks on Catholics and Jews" as Justice Jackson noted in his dissent on this decision. An 8-to-1 majority of the court reversed the conviction of the anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic bouter.

In the light of the third case to be noted, it is interesting to note that Chief Justice Vinson's opinion on the Kunz case said that the lower courts had "mistakenly" supported their conclusion with evidence that Kunz's meetings "caused some disorder." A community had a right to punish disturbers of the peace, he declared, but "We are here concerned with suppression—not punishment." (The point about administrative standards was also made on this case.)

But when the court passed to the case of Irving Feiner, a university student at Syracuse, the climate took a radical change. The facts as reported in the press, are as follows:

Feiner was making a street-corner speech urging attendance at an evening meeting of the Young Progressives of America. This group was started as the youth adjunct of the Wallace Progressive Party and is, to be sure, a Stalinist front organization. There can be little doubt

that this fact, and not the issue of constitutionally guaranteed democratic rights, was the unofficial motivation of the reprehensible decision of the nine on the bench.

### "THREAT TO PEACE"

Again according to the press reports, Feiner had said, among other things, "President Truman is a bum." He also "made derogatory remarks, according to the court record, about the president of the United States, Mayor O'Dwyer of New York, Mayor Costello of Syracuse and other local officials, and the American Legion." (N. Y. Times.)

This is ALL that the Times reports about the content of the speech with regard to the bases of the court decision.

Now of course it is a matter of objective fact that Truman is not a "bum," since it is well known that he has visible means of support in the form of a fairly well-paid job. It is also plain that the statement was used to convey an attitude of extreme derogation—in other words, Feiner was expressing his opinion of the president, in language which has on occasion been approached in temper by Republican opponents of the administration.

And in any case, the court stated that the student had a right to say what he did! Then why did the majority of six uphold his conviction?

He was a threat to the peace, they argued.

Here again are the facts as reported by the Times:

"Police officers, appearing at the scene in response to telephone complaints, reported finding the audience, extending into the street, 'restless.' They made no move to interfere with the speech, however, until some of the on-lookers twitted the police about their inability to handle the 'milling and shoving' crowd. At least one spectator threatened violence if the police did not act, Mr. Vinson reported."

"The police then asked Mr. Feiner two or three times to quit. When he refused and continued talking, an officer told him he was under arrest, and ordered him down from his box."

### SCHIZO JUDGES

Here is Vinson's hypocritical argument, made on the same day that the anti-Semitic preacher had been cleared:

"It is one thing to say that the police cannot be used as an instrument for the oppression of

unpopular views, and another to say that, when as here the speaker passes the bounds of argument and persuasion and undertakes incitement to riot, they [the police] are powerless to prevent a breach of the peace."

Justice Black, however, dissenting, stated that the record convinced him that Feiner had been sentenced "for the unpopular views he expressed." In a separate dissent Justice Douglas said that the record showed no imminence of riot or a breach of the peace. "It shows an unsympathetic audience and the threat of one man to haul the speaker from the stage," he said. "It is against that kind of threat that speakers need police protection."

Which just about hits the nail on the head. The crowd was "restless" and "unsympathetic," there was "milling and shoving" in the crowd, and ONE MAN threatened violence against the speaker. Instead of informing this lone would-be storm-trooper that he would be arrested if he tried it, the cop arrested—the speaker!

For "incitement to riot," argued the chief justice of the United States—even though he granted that the speaker had the right to say what he did. What then incited the prospective riot-

er to riot if not the "unpopular views" of Feiner—and that alone?

For that matter it is hard to imagine a more provocative "incitement to riot" than an anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic harangue on the streets of New York City. (Either one alone would do, but the combination. . . .) Vinson, who also wrote the majority decision on Kunz, however, was able to view this provocation with judicial equanimity, firmly remembering that it was his business to guard against suppression of unpopular views.

The majority decision of the Truman court (it is the Truman appointees who have converted the high court into an apologist for the cold-war withhunt) is an open invitation to hoodlums, in particular the "respectable" ones, to break up meetings which they find in conflict with their patriotism, hysterically whipped-up tempers, radical gatherings, and—it cannot but come to that in the end—labor gatherings. It is an open invitation to them to create disturbances so that the police might be able to cite their hoodlumism as a pretext—if they need one.

It is the Supreme Court that is inciting to riot.

## Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

### A LETTER TO THE TIMES ON THE RIGHT-WING 'FOMENT REVOLT IN RUSSIA' SCHOOL

To the Editor:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter originally sent to the editor of the New York Times.

The proposal made by Eugene Lyons is in itself an excellent one but he is addressing it to the wrong parties. The United States government is constitutionally incapable of fostering rebellion behind the Iron Curtain, despite the fact that it was quite capable of giving great assistance to the resistance movement against the Nazis during the last war.

The difference should be instructive. In the case of the peoples subjugated by the Nazis, there was no conflict between the American economic system and that of the oppressor. Even though socialists in the resistance movement may have hoped that they could influence it toward a socialist program for their countries once they were liberated, victory by the Allies did not mean for them turning back the wheel of history to an outlived economic system.

I am all for the adoption of Lyons' program of offering moral and material aid to anti-Stalinist movements in Russia and elsewhere, but this could only be done fruitfully by the labor and socialist movements of the United States and Europe. Even in the case of the latter, however, the confidence which they could arouse in the peoples crushed by Stalinism would be related to the degree to which they would be willing to assure the victims of Stalin that their revolution would be supported regardless of the economic and political institutions which it would seek to establish.

But when the court passed to the case of Irving Feiner, a university student at Syracuse, the climate took a radical change. The facts as reported in the press, are as follows:

Feiner was making a street-corner speech urging attendance at an evening meeting of the Young Progressives of America. This group was started as the youth adjunct of the Wallace Progressive Party and is, to be sure, a Stalinist front organization. There can be little doubt

that this fact, and not the issue of constitutionally guaranteed democratic rights, was the unofficial motivation of the reprehensible decision of the nine on the bench.

And in any case, the court stated that the student had a right to say what he did! Then why did the majority of six uphold his conviction?

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Here again are the facts as reported by the Times:

maintains that the policy of containing Stalinism implies a willingness to permit Stalinist oppression to continue indefinitely in the area where it now holds sway, and finds it deplorable that this simplification leaves the peoples now behind the Iron Curtain without hope for eventual liberation.

"I submit," writes Mr. Lyons, "that even on the level of simple political expediency our seeming disinterest in the fate of the unfree peoples makes no sense. It can only weaken the spirit of resistance where it exists and deepen the pessimism of those who have renounced hope. It can only serve to rally the Kremlin's captives around Stalin in sheer despair."

Although Mr. Lyons does not state concretely what the United States government should do to assist in the liberation of the Russian and satellite peoples, he implies that he would welcome a ringing statement from "our top leaders" to the effect that "the free portion of mankind will never reconcile itself to the permanent enslavement of the peoples in the Communist portion; that those who rise against Bolshevik tyrants can count on our moral and material support."

A proclamation along the lines advocated by Mr. Lyons would, it seems, imply that the United States is committed, in due course, at least to support revolutions throughout the realm of Stalinism, and at most to wage war for the defeat of Stalinism in its present strongholds.

What effect would such a proclamation have on the peoples and governments of the countries now allied with the United States? They can hardly gather their courage for the containment policy. But if they were convinced that the ultimate intent of the American government is not to establish a balance of power for the preservation of peace, but a preponderance of power to wage a war for the overthrow of Stalinism in Russia, China and Eastern Europe, it is probable that their reaction would be quite marked.

But how about a statement

which would make it clear that the United States will support revolutions for freedom against Stalinism, but will not wage war against Russia, China and the satellites for the purpose of "liberating" them?

The difficulty with such a proposition is that the terms "freedom" or "liberty" as used by Mr. Lyons, are divorced from any social or economic content. Yet in their actual application throughout Asia and Europe by the U. S. government they have been firmly linked with support to the existing capitalist form of social and economic organization.

It is true that the United States has not demanded that the British Labor Party cease its nationalization program, and that our government is willing to prop up the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. Yet it is generally recognized that in these instances the American government has no alternative which could be reconciled with the major policy of keeping or gaining allies in the world struggle.

In the case of Tito the United States is evidently prepared to support a bureaucratic-collectivist dictatorship as long as it is independent of and opposed to the United States is supporting capitalist governments which are opposed by a majority of their oppressed peoples. What reason, then, would the peoples subjected to Stalin's tyranny have to believe that, where they and they alone are concerned, the United States would give aid for any revolution which did not have as one of its aims the restoration of private ownership in the means of production?

The problem of the social and economic content of the struggle against Stalin's totalitarianism has already become a very real one for the only organized and active underground movement behind the Iron Curtain, namely the Ukrainian People's Army (UPA). This movement started in the Polish Ukraine and was originally directed against the Nazis. When the Stalinist troops returned, the UPA took up the struggle against them, and con-

tinues to fight till this very day. When the movement spread to the Russian Ukraine, an ideological differentiation took place. The Polish Ukrainians had been pro-capitalist nationalists. They found that in the Russian Ukraine there was a powerful movement for national liberation, but that this movement was firmly anti-capitalist and had as its objective the retention of nationalized and collectivized industry, but under the democratic economic and political control of the people.

Interestingly enough, this movement takes a position which is opposed to both Russia and the Western powers in the cold war. It does not look to the United States and her allies as liberators. It believes that its objectives can be achieved only through a revolutionary movement on both sides of the Iron Curtain which would liberate the peoples from capitalism and from Stalinism.

Whatever one may think of its political position, the existence of this movement illustrates the problem which would confront the United States government if it were to consider adopting the policy advocated by Mr. Lyons.

Though the peoples behind the Iron Curtain hate their governments, they are not willing to risk their lives for a restoration of capitalism. They have learned enough even from the corrupted and distorted "Marxism" taught by their governments to know that "liberty" can exist only on a socio-economic basis, and that it cannot exist as an abstraction.

It is patently out of the question for Mr. Truman to call for a revolution in Russia to re-establish the democratic soviets of 1918. Yet it is more than probable that any revolution in Russia would have as its political object something very much like that. And Mr. Lyons might well ask himself whether the United States government would support such a movement (especially if it showed a tendency to spread to peoples beyond the Iron Curtain) or whether it would oppose it as vigorously as it now opposes the extension of Stalinism.

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# The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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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.

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# YOU and SCIENCE

## FROMM ON 'HUMANISTIC RELIGION'

By CARL DARTON

The favorite text of army chaplains has been "There are no atheists in foxholes." To which one can reply, "Who wants to live in a foxhole?" However, as the whole world threatens to become a foxhole, it is little wonder that many have turned to religious as well as other irrational solutions of their problems. Regardless of their views, socialists, scientists and other rationalists cannot afford to underestimate the influence of religion as an actual cultural, social and political force.

Here we wish to speak of religion as a personal feeling. Socialists have fully documented the interrelation of religious institutions with the growth and decline of societies. Biological and other scientists have long since removed all excuse for antiquated theological cosmologies and theories of human origin. We say this even though some scientists, when they leave their own field of specialization, adopt philosophies and even religious viewpoints which could have been learned from no one (to quote one scientist) but "their nursemaids and schoolteachers."

It is in the field of psychology that the most important new studies of religion have been made. One of the best of recent books on this subject is *Psychoanalysis and Religion* by Erich Fromm (Yale Univ. Press, 1950, \$2.50).

### DISTINGUISHES TWO TYPES OF RELIGION

To understand Fromm it is necessary to realize that his definition of religion is a very broad one: "any system of thought and action shared by a group which gives the individual a frame of orientation and an object of devotion." Such a system gives man a sense of integration and security very necessary in a chaotic world.

The harmfulness of most such systems is that the sense of security itself, that is, the religious feeling, tends to become the goal of man's endeavor. This, Fromm states, is wrong. Rather "we must understand every ideal, including those which appear in secular ideologies, as expression of the same human need and we must judge them with respect to their truth, to the extent to which they are conducive to the unfolding of man's powers and to the degree to which they are a real answer to man's need for equilibrium and harmony in his world."

Because this need for integration is so basic Fromm feels that the question is not "religion" but which kind of religion—one aiding man's development or one tending to paralyze it. This is the essential difference between authoritarian and humanistic religions.

The essence of authoritarian religious experience is obedience, a surrender to a power beyond man. With authoritarian secular religions, the Fuehrer or the "Father of His People" or the state becomes the object of worship. Humanistic religion, however, is centered around man and his strength. By developing his power of reason man can best understand himself and his relation to his fellow men and the universe as a whole.

### STRESSES SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ROOTS

Fromm's analysis of the conditions which make for the development of the two different types of religion is of interest. "What people think and feel is rooted in their character and their character is molded by the total configuration of their practice of life—more precisely, by the socio-economic and political structure of their society. In societies ruled by a powerful minority which holds the masses in subjection, the individual will be so imbued with fear, so incapable of feeling strong or independent, that his religious experience will be authoritarian. On the other hand, where the individual feels free and responsible for his fate, or among minorities striving for freedom and independence, humanistic religious experience develops."

From the above premises Fromm proceeds to describe how the psychoanalyst, as the "physician of the soul," can lead his patient not to "adjustment" to a mal-adjusted society but to the best realization of his potentialities and individuality in an admittedly sick world.

There are some who will take exception to a broad definition of religion which includes all of man's striving for a better world through the realization of his ideals. They may feel that the term religion has become so associated, in the Western world at least, with authoritarian and reactionary forces that only confusion will result from neglect of its historic associations. However, religious forces, by whatever definition, are a living reality in the lives of many men (Fromm would say all men) today. Socialists and scientists cannot overlook this empirical fact. *Psychoanalysis and Religion* is helpful in developing a better understanding of the role which religion plays in the life of the individual and society today.



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# Reading from Left to Right

WHY WE GOT LICKED, by Homer Bigart. (Look, January 30.)

The famous Korean war correspondent of the N. Y. Herald Tribune takes a swipe at MacArthur for his notorious decision to launch his "home by Christmas" offensive on November 24, but pitches it on a completely military plane. The additional fact is that MacArthur's offensive was not only launched in the face of "unmistakable indications" that the Peiping Stalinists were not bluffing but also on the eve of the first session of the UN with a representative of Mao, which—at least the smaller nations hoped—would mean a diplomatic settlement of the war. MacArthur's "blind desperation," to which Bigart refers, can easily be interpreted to mean his anxiety to end the war by guns rather than by agreement.

That "blind desperation," writes Bigart, resulted from the tactics of the Chinese, which gave MacArthur little or no opportunity to swing the weight of his overwhelming superiority in airpower, seapower, armor and artillery. "Finally, in blind desperation, we tried to burn with Napalm every town and village that

might hide enemy troops and equipment along the mockingly empty roads coming down from Manchuria. General MacArthur complained that the enemy moved "surreptitiously," as though this were an unclean and indecent way of playing the game. But of course these stealthy maneuvers were no more novel or immoral than the tactics our Minute Men used against British Redcoats on the road back from Lexington in 1775."

But Bigart's big point is: "MacArthur grossly miscalculated the intentions, strength and capabilities of the forces against him. And no nation in the spot we are now in can string along with a leader whose ill-considered decision to launch the offensive of November 24 precipitated and magnified the swift disaster. . . ."

"Even after the initial Chinese attack, MacArthur believed the Peiping regime was bluffing and would back down in the face of his 'final' offensive. His chief of intelligence, Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, now concedes that there were plenty of storm signals indicating that the Chinese Communists were playing for keeps."

# WORLD POLITICS

## LATIN AMERICAN LABOR CONGRESS SPLIT ON PERONISM

By JUAN REY

The trade-union congress in Mexico City has confirmed our earlier analysis (last September) about the bankruptcy of the CIO (Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores) in Latin America. The CIT leadership, headed by Bernardo Ibanez and his Peruvian colleagues, was severely criticized at the congress for its rightist policy, which has been pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist.

It was a "yellow" leadership which betrayed the program of trade-union independence in favor of collaboration with the bourgeois governments of Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, etc. It followed a yellow policy incapable of gaining the support of the Latin American workers, of defeating the Stalinist CTAL, and of countering the totalitarian unions controlled by Peron, Vargas, Odria and the military government of Venezuela.

For this reason the congress in Mexico City became a virtual funeral service for the CIT and a defeat for the Ibanez-Romualdi leadership. It was also a defeat for the conservative AFL policy in Latin American union affairs, which is under the shadow of the State Department. Criticisms of its pro-imperialist policy were presented not only by the Latin American delegates from Mexico, Cuba and Argentina but even by the representative of the CIO, Potofsky.

The CIT became bankrupt and had to be buried primarily because of the consequences of its yellow, pro-imperialist policy. This is evidenced by the scrapping of the Ibanez-Romualdi leadership and the transference of its headquarters from Santiago, Chile, to Havana, Cuba.

### SPLIT ON PERONISM

The congress created a new trade-union center for Latin America, ORIT (Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores). The new general secretary is Aguirre of Cuba, now that Ibanez is out. Its new president is Arturo Sabroso of the Peruvian APRA — a mistaken choice, I believe, because the Peruvian unions have a fictitious character under the totalitarian regime of General Odria. The labor movement of the U. S. was represented by Potofsky of the CIO, Meany of the AFL and a representative of the United Mine Workers. The new organization affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It cannot be said that the con-

gress in Mexico was a success. Apart from the sad legacy of the CIT, it had to deal with the problem of the native totalitarian unions, especially those of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela.

The case of the Argentine Confederación General de Trabajadores, dominated by Peron, was a very hard nut to crack for the delegates, because its admission to the ORIT would or could signify open capitulation before the native totalitarian dictatorships, while the "free" unions claim to support democracy (poor-native democracy) and the fight against totalitarianism all over the world. The Peronist labor federation in Argentina made a bid to join the ORIT, in order to control it and transform it into an instrument or channel of Peronist propaganda.

### INDEPENDENCE NEEDED

On this question, the new labor organization suffered a split: the Mexican CTM (Confederación de Trabajadores Mejanos), headed by Fidel Velasquez, declared that it would not serve the interests of Latin American labor because it rejected the affiliation of the Argentine unions with their four million workers on the books. The CTM unions of Mexico as well as the Peronist unions of Argentina are therefore outside the ORIT. But there was no other solution because their acceptance could mean capitulation before Peronism.

The future that lies ahead for

the "free unions" of Latin America is very obscure. They must fight not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian dictatorships and against the Stalinist unions headed by Lombardo Toledano.

Stalinist influence is very strong, not only in Mexico and some of the countries of Central America but also in Brazil and Chile. Nationalist influence in the labor unions of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Mexico is even stronger than the Stalinist. The pro-U. S. odor inherited from the CIT is a serious obstacle in the path of its development.

The Latin American unions do not trust any union organization which bows to the interests of Washington's policy. It is therefore necessary to gain their confidence by a really independent policy, by defending the workers' standards of living against the attacks of imperialism by defending Latin American independence from the pressure of the State Department and its Latin American expert Edward Miller.

A world federation of trade unions independent of the Kremlin is certainly a progressive aim, but such a one could fulfill its tasks only by independence from U. S. capitalism, by defending the interests of the world working class right down the line, and by upholding the program of the independence of labor as the instrument of working-class self-determination.

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## BOOKS and Ideas THE NEW BOOK ON THE FBI—6

# A Look at J. Edgar Hoover, Cop

By SAM ADAMS

We have made reference in our previous articles on Lowenthal's *The Federal Bureau of Investigation* to the "untouchable" nature of the FBI and its director, their virtual immunity from criticism and the manner in which this bureau achieved and maintained its sacrosanct position in government life. It would be wrong to believe that the obsequious attitude of Congress toward J. Edgar Hoover and his organization is due to congressional cowardice.

It is rather the result of a community of views. A large part of the American congressional representation is made up of politicians in the simplest meaning of the term. They are party hacks rather than bourgeois statesmen and their reactions to the problems of their society are on a mean and primitive level, lacking objective and theoretical sense.

They are continually and consistently alarmed by Hoover and his luridly exaggerated reports on the internal dangers to the country and its well-being, above all from the non-conformist radical movements, groups and individuals.

As in all bureaucracies, the element of self-interest and self-preservation predominates. Where the very existence and extension of the FBI is dependent upon congressional approval and the appropriation of large funds, it is obvious that the bureau will present itself in such a manner as to guarantee approval of its work and sufficient funds to carry it on.

Criticism of the FBI has usually come from a minority in Congress and most often from the more enlightened elements, those who have some generalized conceptions of government and law and who have, in their own way, some respect for constitutional tradition and procedure. Those individuals have always run the danger of public abuse—and even more—for criticism of this federal police agency. The attorney general's office is likewise a pliant tool of the FBI and acts largely on the material and recommendations of the bureau and its chief functionary.

It must be said again, however, that this official acquiescence occurs primarily in the field of maintaining supervision and surveillance over politics, i.e., the politics of the working class. The FBI is the defender of capitalism against all opposition and criticism and because this is its basic role, it is guaranteed the faithful support of the legislative body of the government.

### Inner-Governmental Conflict

But this is merely the simplest formulation of the question. Since our society is anything but simple, the complexities of social and political life produce all kinds of contradictions which in turn create the inner-governmental conflicts which sometimes produce a wave of opposition coming from bourgeois circles, particularly those elements deeply concerned with democracy and the democratic process.

The rise of bureaucracy in government and the complete bureaucratization of the FBI is another reason for the existence of inner-governmental conflict. Opposition and critical attitudes to the FBI range from the extreme reactionary-conservative groupings (like New York Daily News and Chicago Tribune), to genuine liberals and radicals who are justifiably horrified at the manner in which the FBI intervenes in the field of political organization and political thought.

J. Edgar Hoover is unquestionably a competent administrator of the FBI. The bureau, under his direction, has achieved international prominence. Its reputation in the nation as the caretaker of the country's security and well-being is fully established and because the bureau is Hoover, in so many decisive aspects, it is necessary to look at the man himself, if only briefly, in our final review of Lowenthal's book.

The FBI and its chief are always discomforted by reference to the Palmer raids and the General Intelligence Division and its activities during the years from 1919 to 1924 (under Hoover's direction). Today, Hoover divests himself of all responsibility for this lawless period of the bureau's activities. His friends have argued zealously in his defense on the ground that Hoover had nothing to do with the events of the aforementioned period. In an earlier article we cited the example of Raymond Moley's pitifully unobjective review of Lowenthal's book in which he stated that Hoover was merely a "clerk" under Attorney General Palmer—not a very complimentary remark, to be sure. But Moley is only one of many such defenders.

In 1939, Hoover reactivated the General Intelligence Division and its card index. Some alarm was expressed in public circles for fear that this would mean a reversion to the practices of 1919-24. An interesting exchange of correspondence followed between the historian Mary R. Beard and Alexander Holtzoff, a Detroit Department of Justice lawyer and for many years adviser to the FBI.

### Mary Beard vs. an Apologist

In spite of the fact that in 1935 Attorney General Homer Cummings made public a confidential FBI report that the GID was organized in 1919 "under the direct administrative supervision of J. Edgar Hoover," and that he had been "since 1917 in charge of counter-radical activities as a special assistant to the attorney general," Holtzoff went on to deny this obvious fact. Writing to Mrs. Beard on March 25, 1940, he said in part:

"It so happens that for the past 15 years I have been, and am now, connected with the Department of Justice in a legal capacity. . . . I have had numerous official contacts with the bureau, sometimes almost daily. In addition Mr. J. Edgar Hoover is my close personal friend. Consequently I have had an excellent opportunity to observe the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at close range from day to day. . . ."

"I feel strongly that all liberals should support the Federal Bureau of Investigation. . . ."

"Mr. Hoover himself represents the best type of career men in the Government. . . . Personally Mr. Hoover is a practical idealist. . . . He is a man of an artistic temperament, and is highly sentimental not only in his own personal circle but also in his relations with all of his subordinates, and even at times in dealing with persons whom he has to arrest. . . ."

"There have been a few criticisms recently directed against the

bureau which, on analysis, do not hold water. These criticisms have originated from three groups of persons. . . . Some persons who are moved by professional jealousy. . . . those who have been interested in persons who have come out of the criminal law. . . . a few isolated liberals. . . ."

"I also know that you would not want to do an injustice to a group of efficient, high-minded public servants, who, after all, have not lost the feelings of human beings merely because they have entered the federal service."

Mrs. Beard replied immediately, saying:

"I did say that 'an incipient OGPU or Gestapo appears to be taking form' . . . The proof . . . is provided by Mr. Hoover's own testimony. . . . On November 30, 1939 . . . that he had 'found it necessary to organize a General Intelligence Division! . . ."

"Granting that your high praise of Mr. Hoover as a gentleman is entirely correct, I must say to you that I have first-hand knowledge (evidence) of the kinds of offenses against decency and democracy which were committed in the days of A. Mitchell Palmer when the same Mr. Hoover was associated with the same kind of general intelligence work he is now undertaking. . . ."

### The Official Record Is Conclusive

The rest of the correspondence follows the pattern of Mr. Holtzoff denying Hoover's involvement in the affairs of the Department under Palmer and Mrs. Beard's recital of his true role in them. Holtzoff declared that the "sins of Mr. Palmer and Mr. Daugherty" (the first time we hear of "sins" from such a quarter) should not be visited upon Hoover. Holtzoff adds:

"I strongly feel that any intimation that Mr. Hoover is in any way responsible, or should be judged even to a partial extent by the character of the raids conducted in the Palmer regime, is grossly unfair, especially as I happen to know that he has personally disapproved the course then pursued. . . ."

We don't know that Hoover ever did so disapprove since there is no public record of such disapproval that has come to our attention. But we will let Mrs. Beard speak again in reply to Holtzoff:

"You were not in the Department of Justice in 1919-1920 and your statements bearing on that period must be based on some documentary evidence, rather than on hearsay. May I therefore assume that you have such documents which you can refer me to or send to me? Or that you have talked . . . with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and have his personal authority for your statement concerning his relation to the actions then taken against elements called 'subversive'?"

Holtzoff wrote saying: "My statement to you to the effect that he did not direct, supervise, participate in, or have any connection with the manner in which these dragnet raids were conducted was based on Mr. Hoover's personal authority to me, and therefore I am willing to vouch for it. . . . His function was confined to the preparation of evidence. He did not participate in ordering or carrying out the arrests."

This would seem to be conclusive, wouldn't it? But Mary Beard in reply pointed out that here was a question of historical accuracy. Official records showed that Hoover was director of GID and of anti-radical activities from 1919 to 1924, described his role in arranging the Palmer raids (see previous installments) and supervising them, and told of his assistance to Attorney General Palmer in defending the raids before Congressional investigating committees, as well as the bureau's espionage over labor unions, senators and congressmen in the Daugherty years. She then asked the following question: "Was Mr. Hoover head of the General Intelligence Division after 1919?"

Although official records make abundantly clear what the answer is, Clyde A. Tolson, associate director of the FBI, said at a public forum in 1947 that "Mr. Hoover in no way was responsible for the manner in which the (1919-1920) raids were carried out, as clearly established by the record. . . ."

It seems strange that the dispute over Hoover would take this form: an oblique condemnation of the Palmer raids and the activities of the GID and a defense of one of their principal agents as innocent of any participation in the affairs of those days. On what, then, was Hoover's promotion in the department based? his artistic temperament? his sentimentality? practical idealism?

(Concluded next week)

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# 'Hundreds' of Youth Joining Underground, Admits Moscow Order vs. Ukraine Partisans

By Vs. F.

WEST GERMANY, January—Propaganda materials from the Ukrainian anti-Stalinist underground movement (the UPA, Ukrainian People's Army) have again arrived here through UPA couriers who came in November. They consist of articles, pamphlets, photographs and letters.

The couriers and letters report that in spite of the death of General Taras Chuprinka, the UPA commander in chief, last March, the movement continues to carry on successful revolutionary propaganda activities among the working masses of the USSR. Its other losses have been very small. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), which is the underground revolutionary government, named Colonel Vasyly Koval to succeed Chuprinka.

The UPA couriers also brought a very interesting document, the order of the head of the GPU of the Ukraine—that is, the minister of state security (MGB), Lieutenant General M. Kovalchuk, the Kremlin's police dictator of the region. It was never published in the official organs but was plastered up around the cities and villages in the form of a leaflet.

Dated December 30, 1949, No. 312, it orders all members of the underground movement to quit and appear before the authorities, threatening death as the penalty for disobedience. But the most important feature of the document is the statement that "hundreds of youth" had recently gone underground, that the youth, who had been forcefully mobilized into vocational training schools under the decree of October 2, 1940, were escaping those mobilizations by running away to the woods to become partisans (the document calls them "bandits"). Such an official and public statement on this by the Stalinist authorities is a very rare and important event.

Among the other articles and pamphlets brought from the Ukraine there is an appeal from the underground leadership to Ukrainian emigrants abroad. It calls on the Ukrainian DPs resettled all over the Western world:

"All of you have now become workers. You have a job to do together with the Western workers. You have to tell your Western brothers that there is no socialism in the USSR, that they are being deceived by Stalinist reactionaries. You, the Ukrainian workers abroad, should join the workers' organizations of the Western peoples; you have to give an example of brotherhood and solidarity. You have to struggle together with other workers against imperialism and totalitarianism, for real democracy and social justice."

In addition, the couriers brought letters from the underground for the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic

**ILLUSTRATED ON THIS PAGE**  
and on page 7 are three propaganda leaflets of the Ukrainian underground, 1949-1950, consisting of anti-Stalinist cartoons printed on cards and spread among the people.

Party (URDP) abroad. We learn that a discussion is going on in the ranks of the UPA between its nationalist wing (represented by P. Poltava) and its revolutionary socialist URDP wing (A. Babenko) on questions of theory.

Both groups have the same political program but there are ideological and theoretical differences. Poltava, as a nationalist, strictly rejects Marxist socialism, although he accepts the political program of the classless society based on the socialization of the means of production and political democracy, rejects all the imperialisms, and considers that the classless society

must be built all over the world through the abolition of capitalism and private property.

Babenko asks how his acceptance of this program squares with his rejection of Marxism, the program itself being precisely the Marxist program. Poltava replies that his program came out of the practical reality of conditions in the USSR and not from any political theory or doctrine. He adds that he rejects Marxism because, he claims, it underestimated and failed to solve the problem of nationalities.

The discussion was published in *Vpered*, the organ of the URDP put out in Germany, No. 4/13, 1950.

## Non-Marxist Nationalist Wing in Ukraine Avers: Only Socialism Can Overthrow Stalin!

Following is a section of an article published by the Ukrainian People's Army in the Russian Ukraine in August 1948. The article dealt mainly with an explanation of the practical tasks of political propaganda by the movement.

P. Poltava, the author, is the leading writer of the nationalist wing of the underground movement. As noted in my accompanying article reporting on the latest news from the Ukrainian underground, the nationalists are compelled by the real conditions in Russia to accept the program of revolutionary socialism, and the last passages quoted below show this clearly. It means that only on the basis of that program is a successful struggle against Stalinism possible.

Poltava's article was republished in *Vpered*, No. 2/11, 1950, with a similar comment.—Vs. F.

By P. POLTAVA  
Our revolutionary movement is a serious political revolutionary force on the scale of the whole USSR. There has been no other such force in the USSR up to now. For the first time within the USSR there exists an organized political movement, embodied in our underground organization, which has very great experience in the revolutionary struggle, which has strong skilled cadres hardened in revolutionary struggle, which has the most progressive national and social ideas.

It is the first time in the history of Stalinist Russia that the masses of people are able to listen to the revolutionary word, that they can see the mission of a new and better world, that they can see revolutionary action, courageous, brave and full of idealistic devotion and heroism. It is the first time in the history of the totalitarianized USSR that its masses, reading our revolutionary literature or meeting the revolutionaries, are able to understand how the Stalinists deceive them, how the Kremlin's imperialists oppress and exploit them.

Besides the fact that they help us, this situation binds us, the revolutionaries, morally: we cannot abandon the millions of our unfortunate and oppressed and exploited people and leave them without support; we cannot fail to help them understand their present situation; we are obligated to show them the road which can lead them to the better future. . . .

Our propaganda must be directed toward such aims:  
(a) To reveal the imperialist and anti-social essence of the Stalinist regime in its national, social and cultural relations.  
(b) To show that the peoples of the USSR can achieve a really free and happy life only through the road of revolutionary struggle.

(c) To prove that only the reorganization of the USSR on the principle of independent national



In the shadow of the Kremlin, a partisan puts an end to Stalin (representing the regime). The caption consists of a verse from the new official Russian anthem—with a difference:

"If war comes tomorrow  
And the enemy attacks like a storm,  
The whole Soviet people  
Will rise against the Kremlin!"

The last line of the anthem goes: "Will rise to defend the motherland."

# "Darkness at Noon" on the Stage Kingsley Tries to Dramatize 'Ends and Means' Phrase in Adapting Koestler's Novel

By MARY BELL

Undoubtedly the most serious and provocative play on Broadway, widely acclaimed by the professional theater critics, is the cleverly staged adaptation by Sidney Kingsley of Arthur Koestler's novel *Darkness at Noon*. Like revivals by superior craftsmen, Ibsen and Shaw, it is a play of social and political relevance. The distinction of the Kingsley play lies in its crucial timeliness: it is the story of the loyal Stalinist bureaucrat who confesses and is executed for crimes he did not commit, and an arraignment of a brutal totalitarian tyranny. How effective it is, is another question.

While the play is based upon the novel and is literally faithful to it in many respects, liberties were taken, with Koestler's blessing. Some of them are undoubtedly a result of the transposition to the stage. Others reflect the evolution of Koestler since the time the novel was first published in 1941 as well as the touch of Kingsley. The play is undoubtedly inferior as a work of art, for both of these reasons, to the novel. Even if effectively staged, it is difficult to transpose a book which dealt primarily with

the ideas and the ruminations of a soul in torment to the flatter, more direct techniques of the stage.

The original Rubashov of the novel was a more consistently realized character, that of an Old Bolshevik become Stalinist, even if there were basic faults in the character which was contrived to demonstrate Koestler's theory that Stalinism and Bolshevism were both of a piece. Kingsley's Ruba-

shov is an ideological creation, a character carpentered to the author's political and ideological estimation of the development of Russian society. Rubashov is an abstraction and his ideas are abstractions of abstractions, although less far removed from actuality than the characters and ideas in George Orwell's "1984" or Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. There is no doubt, moreover, that the ideas in Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* are presented not as exercises in esthetics but as ideas, and further, as political ideas. Was not his purpose in part to answer the fascinating political question in terms of a personality: Why did they confess? And do not those who currently write of the brilliance of his achievement consider it an illumination of the Moscow trials of the thir-

ties, which it was?

If the typical fictional novel is likened to a plain "bounded by two chains of mountains neither of which rises very abruptly—the opposing ranges of poetry and of history" (as does E. M. Forster), then the historical or political novel lies in the foothills separating plain from mountains and is subject in part to the canons of literature and in part to the criteria of historical and political judgment. If this is so, then one encounters overhead the low-lying storm clouds of political dispute, partisan interest, and, however remotely, the field of class struggle, even if such an idea is repugnant to those who are acutely aware of the perverted Stalinist interventions in the field of literature, science or any other discipline.

### Central Idea: a Hollow Phrase

The central political idea of both play and novel that motivates Rubashov in his role as one of the Old Guard (and by implication, the entire regime as well) is the bare unhistorical abstraction that "the end justifies the means." This is the shabby idea that is decked out in Koestler's clever style. On this thread is strung the personal tragedy of Rubashov, a man of brilliance and talent who, by his devotion to such an abstraction, comes to his inevitable doom. By implication, the whole totalitarian tyranny is also the result of adherence to such principles. Such is the origin of the analysis of the story that it is a tragedy of the mind, Bolshevism, and hence Stalinism, flow from the cult of "pure reason" (shades of Immanuel Kant!). In the play, the Neanderthalian Gletkin, Rubashov's inquisitor, is made to say, in repudiating bourgeois virtues, that "decency has been replaced by pure reason." It would seem that Koestler had gotten his Russian Revolution mixed up with the French.

While the theory of "the end justifies the means," thus formulated, is an historical abstraction, appearing ever and anon in his-

tory, with limited concrete meaning in *The Prince* and Jesuitical writings, it is used as a quite historical criticism of the Russian Revolution and its subsequent generation. It has been classically used by the liberal and social-democratic critics in an attempt to deny the necessity for revolution. It was used by Stalinist apologists, often the same aforementioned persons, when the Stalinist bureaucracy solidified itself, became almost respectable for a while—making pacts with capitalist governments, to justify the Moscow Trials.

What Koestler makes of this "principle" in the novel is no less than the philosophic polar star of all of the leaders of Russian society since the time of the revolution. No distinction is made between the period of Bolshevism and the period of Stalinism, between revolution and counter-revolution. "Ends justify the means" governs throughout. All principles, ideas, distinctions, conditions, historical circumstances and personalities are subsumed under this formula. It is not merely implicit; it is expressed time and again in the utterances of Rubashov and others.

### Tailored to Anti-Socialist Propaganda

Now, this was never a principle of Marxism nor of the Old Bolsheviks who based themselves on Marx. As a piece of philosophic baggage, it is of such universal application as to be virtually meaningless. The Old Bolsheviks were guided not by "the end justifies the means" but by an application of the principles of Marxism for the purpose of emancipating Russian society from czarism, of ending the bloody slaughter of the First World War and democratizing Russia. Nor was this formula a "principle" of Stalinism. The new bureaucracy, in its beginning anyway, supplied itself with a theoretical foundation in the idea of "socialism in a single country," and proceeded to reorganize Russian society in a new way, at the same time attempting to graft its principles on to the body of Marxism.

If one wanted to measure with this crude tool which Koestler employs, one would have to distinguish between the "ends" of Bolshevism and the "ends" of Stalinism and the means employed by each. Take the matter of violence, a "means." Koestler implies that the violence of the revolution inevitably led to the regime of violence, Stalinism. Gletkin says in the play that Rubashov's crime was that he wanted the leaders "to renounce violence, to be at peace with ourselves." The crude instrument soon wears out. One has to go further: Against whom was the revolutionary violence of the revolution directed? Against whom was the regime of violence directed? Violence, the identical

"means," can be employed to crush a reactionary, fascist regime or to install a democratic one.

In Koestler's simplistic picture, the "end" never varies. There is no real distinction between the end of the early Bolsheviks and the later Stalinists. Socialism is presumed to be the end of both, just as similar means are presumed to be employed by both. In its fidelity to this idea, Koestler's novel is written like a tract and Rubashov's entire life is tailored to this measure. This is, moreover, not an original idea of Koestler's, but bears a very close relationship to the end-and-means criticism of social-democrats and liberals directed against revolutionary socialism. Thus we have in the novel a character and a society carpentered to the critical specifications of a definite political and ideological current. That current polemizes against socialism by identifying it with Stalinism. Hence the novel itself becomes a kind of polemic against socialism.

It is this schema which gives the novel its artificial quality which carries over into the play. In the sense that "proletarian" novels are based on crude class-struggle conceptions about life, Koestler's novel was based on a slightly more sophisticated political criticism of Russian society. Political knowledge is no prerequisite for the usual novelist, though indispensable for the politician. But in this borderland type of fiction, political accuracy assumes high importance. In an art form employing political

events and ideas, misunderstanding, ignorance or distortion of the truth can do violence to art.

Ignoring or misunderstanding the real motivations and principles of social development, Koestler seeks out that common refuge of the disillusioned, the Absolute. More emphatically in the play than in the novel, Rubashov recalls that as a boy interested in astronomy, he had believed the universe finite, and speculates that therein lay his real guilt.

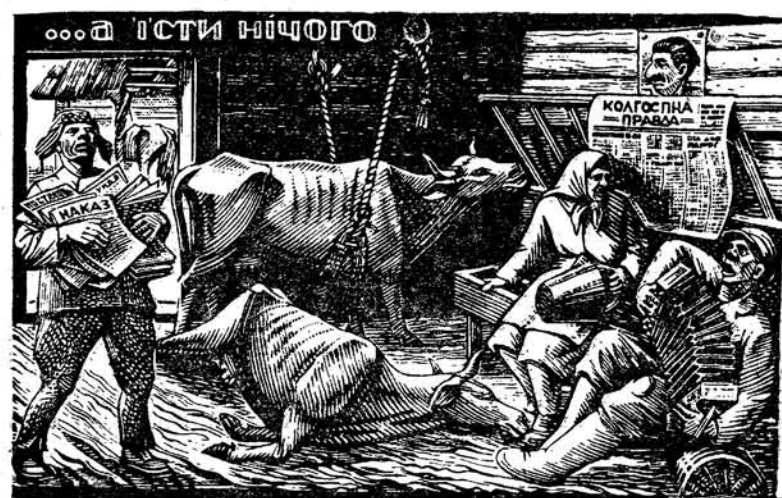
If the bare idea "end-justifies-the-means," presented as the dogma of the revolution and the counter-revolution alike, is the flaw of novel and play, the virtue of the novel lay in its supplying some clues on how the confessions were extorted. Neither novel or play is without some genuine, if rather simple, and now widely held conceptions of Stalinism: the bureaucratic tyranny over the individual; the physical, mental and moral slavery; the doctrine that the party is never wrong; the thorough duplicity of the trials and confessions; Stalinist "means" and "ends"—"what was right must shine like gold . . . what was wrong must be as black as pitch."

### No Understanding

The play is more concerned with displaying the horrors of such a society. Because of the liberties taken in the play, its timing and its more highly accented selection of ideas, it is a propaganda piece for the West. The Times' critic Atkinson calls Kingsley's work a "glib propaganda play," questions its artistic integrity and suggests that a similar vehicle for the ideas of the "other side" would be quite as objectionable. The novel, on the other hand, is more abstract than the play and was written at a time when the politicians of the West were still to officially glorify the Eastern tyranny as part of the democratic concert of nations.

The well-written novel and the ingeniously staged play are both superior to their content. The play, well-acted in its major and minor roles with several notable exceptions, is marred by the fundamental flaw of Koestler's novel as well as by Kingsley's tamperings and determinations to make it a trumpet call for the West in the present world situation. Whatever his study of the Russian Revolution and the struggle inside the Bolshevik party between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the various oppositions, Kingsley shows that he does not understand at all the real meaning of that struggle.

In following Koestler's main theme he was limited by his misreading and misunderstanding of history. Given his own special ideological interests the play is extremely weak in illuminating the motivations of its leading character. It fails as a stinging indictment of that specific, reactionary and totalitarian phenomenon known as Stalinism.



Life in a kolkhoz (state farm) . . . the caption above reads: "... nothing to eat," amid an abundance of government propaganda.

shov, excellently played within the limits of the role by Claude Rains, is a real pastiche. Into his mouth are put snatches of speeches and pamphlets from all kinds of figures, Lenin, Trotsky, Kamenev, Stalin, etc. We had thought the last drop of usefulness had been squeezed out of the casual remark of Lenin on the Apassionata, related by Gorki in his memoirs, and out of that old favorite of the social democrats, Kronstadt. But no, here they are on Broadway. Lenin's remark is completely distorted; the word Kronstadt is uttered as though it were as familiar and meaningful to the world at large as Valley Forge. (If the play receives a wider audience than the "political" latter references will prove downright bewildering.)

Most of the critics and commentators on the play were pleased with the results of Kingsley's research into the literature of Russian society, except Brooks

Atkinson of the N. Y. Times. "Speeches that would burn a hole in the mind if they came directly out of the soul of a character have a hollow sound when they are fitted into scenes," he wrote—discerningly. As a matter of fact, generally the more true to Koestler the lines of the play are, the better they ring.

But if it is a patchwork on the stage, the essential character of Koestler's dark hero, Rubashov, remains unchanged. Who is this hero? Atkinson feels that the stage Rubashov becomes "very much the Trotskyist," departing from the novel's Rubashov. Max Lerner sees him as a "character-composite . . . he is Radek and Piatakov, Trotsky and Bukharin" combined. Even if the play makes of him a melange of actual political personalities he is none of these. He is Koestler's peculiar amalgam of Old-Bolshevik-Stalinist-Oppositionist.

## ПРОТИ НЕВОЛІ



The bottom caption reads "People Under the Yoke," and above: "Against Slavery!" The driver behind the plow bears on his breast the initials of the ruling Communist Party, symbol of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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# U. S. Set to Blackjack Allies --

(Continued from page 1)

new-born neo-isolationist tendency represented by Hoover and Taft chimed in . . . for their own reasons. With United States troops far outnumbering the soldiers of the other Allied powers in Korea, it is a "natural" for the isolationists to demand this action from the reluctant UN in the hope that its very reluctance will convince wider strata of the American people that nothing is to be gained by sending American troops to fight for such timid allies.

The American government is putting the pistol to the head of its allies, and it is possible that by the time LABOR ACTION goes to press two thirds of the nations in the UN will have voted for the U. S. resolution, as Washington predicts. But it is also likely that once China has been branded an aggressor, it will be much more difficult to get any important group of nations to agree to take harsh measures against the Stalin-

ist government of Mao Tse-tung.

The make-up of the blocs of nations which take distinct attitudes on future policy toward China is deeply significant. The most reluctant to commit themselves even to the "aggressor" resolution are a group of Asian and Arab nations headed by India. The spokesmen of these governments are clearly reflecting not only the fear that to brand China an aggressor may bring a full-fledged unlimited war upon the world but also the feelings of their peoples that the United States is arrogantly refusing to recognize that it is confronted in Asia with a great power which must be recognized as an equal and treated as such.

## TWO BLOCS

Another bloc of nations, headed by Britain and France, are concerned chiefly with preventing the absorption of American military power in Asia which would leave little with which to back them up in Europe. Above all they want to

forestall any extension of the war at this time. Their own holdings in Southeast Asia are so shaky that even if Russia did not move in Europe it is doubtful whether they would be able to hang on to them for long should China choose to move into Indo-China.

Thus, even if they should be compelled by American pressure to vote for the aggressor resolution, it is likely that they will resist to the utmost any attempt to involve them in sanctions against China.

The chief argument given by liberal supporters of U. S. military intervention in Korea was that this action would strengthen the will of the Asiatic nations to resist the military advance of Stalinism. Even though the U. S. troops are hanging on in Korea with great tenacity, it should now be clear for all to see that their presence in Korea has accomplished nothing but disaster for the Koreans, a political victory for Stalinism, misery for

themselves, and a split in the allied nations in which the Asiatic powers are farthest removed from the United States.

## NEHRU'S LINE WON'T DO

A major political victory the Stalinists have already gained, and it appears that everything the United States government tries to do just increases its dimensions. And although India and her close associates have been moving heaven and earth to find a formula of compromise, to avert the most immediate spread of the war, one must say that their policies have been motivated more by fear and wishful thinking than by a clear understanding of the nature of the Stalinist governments with which they are dealing.

To demand that the United States agree to admit China to the UN and to turn Formosa over to her just because China is a great power is, to be sure, to base a policy on a political reality. But

the other part of the reality—that the Chinese government represents a totalitarian, oppressive, fundamentally reactionary and expansive social system, Stalinism—demands a much more positive approach by the peoples of South Asia.

If the United States were to agree to all of the proposals made by Nehru the present war would in all likelihood come to an early end. But this would not build a bulwark against the eventual expansion of Stalinism into South Asia. Such a bulwark could be built by a federation of South Asian states based on a social and economic program which can stop the political and economic appeal of Stalinism for their peoples. Once the peoples in their overwhelming numbers have been rallied by such a social program, and not in the defense of capitalism, Stalinism would appear to all as the brutal imperialism it is. Only then could it be resisted successfully.

# Rousset Wins Case on Russian Slave Labor

French Stalinists Are Fined for Defamation; U. S. McCarran Law Enters as Saboteur of Anti-CP Case

The trial held over the court suit instituted by David Rousset against the Stalinist publication *Les Lettres Françaises* has ended with a complete victory for Rousset—not only in the judgment of the court but, more important, in its effect on public opinion.

Rousset, a former prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp during the war, sued the CP periodical on grounds of defamation, when the latter accused him of being a falsifier of quotations and other choice crimes. His real crime in their eyes was his proposal, which received a great deal of publicity in France, for a commission of inquiry composed of ex-inmates of Nazi concentration camps to investigate slave-labor

camp systems in the world, including Russia.

Rousset had suggested that, given free access, such a commission could not be fooled by dressed-up appearance, since they had had experience with the realities of concentration-camp life. Unloosing their usual pile of filth upon any hint that Russia was less paradisaical than their columns claim, the literary hacks of *Les Lettres Françaises*—which is the same publication that was involved in the Kravchenko libel trial in Paris—went after Rousset. Claude Morgan, the editor, and Pierre Daix, the writer, were up before the tribunal.

The judge found them guilty. The penalty was a fine of 20,000

francs for Morgan and 15,000 for Daix, plus a payment of 100,000 francs to Rousset. The court also ordered the publication of the verdict in *Les Lettres Françaises* and in ten other periodicals to be selected by Rousset.

## McCARRAN SABOTAGES

The trial was marked by effective testimony by first-hand victims of the Russian slave-labor system, and other incidents which served to discredit the Stalinists, as has already been reported in LABOR ACTION. There were not a few embarrassing moments for the Stalinist defenders.

For example, at one point, a witness for the Stalinists—who claimed that "slander" of Russia was warmongering—was asked by Rousset's lawyer: "We are fighting for the abolition of the Markonisos concentration camp. Would you call this warmongering?" The witness replied automatically, "Of course it is," in the belief that the reference was to a Russian camp. Then it was explained to him that the Markonisos camp is in—Greece. . . .

If the trial, like the Kravchenko trial, has had an effect toward education on the realities of Stalinist Russia, there was another incident which shed a momentary spotlight on reaction in the U. S. It was, of course, not intended by Rousset—who is pro-American in foreign policy, having gone far to the right since the dissolution of the RDR which he headed. His lawyers had to stand up in court at one point and explain that several witnesses they had intended to call, former inmates of Russian slave camps now living in the U. S., could not be brought over to testify because of American law—that is, the infamous McCarran Act. (If they left the country, they would run into the McCarran Act on trying to return.)

Sideshow outside the court, and virtually out of this world, was

provided by a resolution, solemnly adopted by the French official-Trotskyist group Parti Communiste Internationaliste and printed in their organ, condemning "both sides" in the trial. Reasons: (1) Rousset is not a Trotskyist, they proclaim, even though the Stalinists call him one. (2) When Rousset was a Trotskyist, in 1945, he presented a pro-Stalinist resolution on Russia; (3) Today Rousset is pro-U. S.

All of these facts are entirely true, and certainly justify attacking Rousset's political views, but—the issue in the trial was whether slave-labor camps exist in Russia. The resolution seemed to imply that any attack on the Kremlin's totalitarian system was only grist to the Western imperialists' mill—this from characters who reprint Tito's propaganda handouts without even a blue pencil.

## Not in the Headlines

### Mumbling Voice

An article in Harper's magazine may be helpful to those who wonder why the virtues of the U. S. cause are not transparently clear to the people of Europe and Asia. The title is "The Mumble in the Voice of America," and the author is William H. Wells, who has been studying the effect of American and Russian propaganda throughout the world.

Wells says flatly that the U. S. is losing the propaganda battle, not because it is not spending enough nor because the Russians are jamming its radio stations, but because the U. S. hasn't got a positive program to offer.

He points out that in too many cases "freedom" in American standards has meant a free hand for capitalists to grind down workers.

"The United States . . . has been, and still is, unable to make up its mind whether it is fighting for the preservation of capitalism or of democracy," declares Wells. Therefore, the "mumble."

The fact is that Washington's leaders don't have to make up their minds on that point, but it doesn't make good propaganda to issue a clarion call to the people of the world to defend the bastions of capitalism.

Wells says in effect that if the U. S. is fighting for capitalism it might as well give up now, for "in many other nations, capitalism and private property rights connote an exploitation of the many by the few which would be shocking to most Americans."

### Who's the Gouger?

Don't blame the farmers for the high price of milk.

The *Cooperative News Service*, published by the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., reported January 5:

"Milk prices charged the house-

wife by a number of Chicago dairies went up a cent a quart. That raised to 22 cents the price for milk taken to the doorstep.

"But of that 22 cents, Chicago area milk producers [the farmers] got only 8.22 cents."

It is the big milk companies, not the farmers, who take the big bite out of your milk dollar.

### What Goes On?

A disgraceful red-baiting attack on the CIO is nothing new, but when it appears in a publication sponsored by the CIO itself (among others), it deserves a raised eyebrow.

The American Trade Union Council of the National Committee for Labor Israel threw a testimonial dinner for William Green, AFL president, on January 11. A testimonial pamphlet was published for the occasion, containing a fulsome biographical sketch of the AFL head, signed by one Harry Lang. This centerpiece of the pamphlet winds up with:

"Whatever relates to American conditions, every trade-union concept advanced by the CIO has previously been expounded by the AFL, whose platform is broad enough to include every sector of the American labor movement. The rise of the CIO was due to the maneuvers of international communism."

Listed on the back page as officers of this pamphlet's sponsoring organization are Green and Philip Murray as honorary chairmen and a long list of both AFL and CIO leaders as honorary vice-chairmen, co-chairmen, and what not.

Rabid anti-CIO slander of the sort quoted is to be expected from a hack of the ex-social-democratic *Forward* like Harry Lang, but the CIO men need hardly be expected to (virtually) sign their names to it. Maybe they ought to look the stuff over next time. . . .

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