

# LABOR ACTION

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## Lupa Charges FBI Tried Threats To Turn Him into Stoolpigeon

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, June 13—Sworn testimony that the FBI coerces individuals to become stoolpigeons, by making false accusations against them as a threat, was the highlight this past week in the developments in the John Lupa case.

Over a popular Detroit TV show, in Detroit's Free Press, and at the hearing before the Army Security Board, John W. Lupa, a war veteran discharged as a "poor security" risk, declared that an FBI agent suggested that not only Lupa but his children would bear a stigma all their lives if he didn't join the Socialist Workers Party and report to the government on its activities!

In calm, careful tones over TV, Lupa told the people of Detroit how he blew up at the insidious suggestion of the FBI agent, whom he identified as Clifford.

It was further brought out in the

hearings that two character witnesses for Lupa were contacted by the FBI in another attempt to quiet down this embarrassing case.

FBI headquarters in Detroit have maintained a discreet silence in the face of this serious revelation.

In an effort to bring the whole truth out, the attorney for Lupa, William L. Sanders, and his two associates in this case, have wired C. E. Wilson and J. Edgar Hoover demanding that they order FBI and army personnel to testify at the hearing.

### CASE BLEW UP

The authoritative character of the charges against the FBI is indicated by the prominence of the two lawyers assisting in the case. They are Charles Lockwood, the attorney in the successful Milo Radulovich case, and Harold Cranfield, UAW-CIO counsel.

Lupa, a war veteran of 18 years service in the armed forces, was suspended from his job on April 7, 1954 on charges that he had once said he was a "Communist."

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## SPOTLIGHT

### The Victim

The dark implications of the Oppenheimer case are deepened by a fact which LA has not yet mentioned, and which ought to be mentioned. It concerns Dr. Oppenheimer's personal role in the whole drama. It is the fact that he himself can by no means be regarded as a knight in shining armor battling for justice and rectitude.

Painful as it may be to remember it, under present circumstances where one's sympathies go out to him as against the totalitarian-minded judgment of his accusers, there is still a real reason for keeping in mind the following:

(1) Dr. Oppenheimer himself has shown that he is quite willing to put the finger on a fellow scientist as a present or former Stalinist. This was the point of Dr. Condon's "personal attack" on him. Less prominent and less sympathetic personages who have complied with such pressures have been denominated stoolpigeon and informer.

It is the easiest thing in the world to understand the pressures that have been and are exerted on him. Let them be pleaded in extenuation, perhaps. But the fact itself remains. Oppenheimer, pressed by his investigators at one point to

squeal about his own brother, told them that he would do so if required but pleaded with them not to press him to the wall. According to the record, the inquisitors mercifully refrained.

The point is not to denigrate Dr. Oppenheimer, who undoubtedly has had his own cross to bear, but to underline that the victim in this case is NOT even a man who has stood up with principled firmness.

(2) The second fact about this victim is, similarly, that he is not a man who has taken any kind of meaningful stand with regard to the use of the A- or H-bomb.

With regard to this aspect, he has rested his case on an elementary point: his right to have once been mistaken in judgment without therefore being labeled a "security risk." He even denies that he ever had "political" objections to the crash-program to create the H-bomb, admitting "practical" and "moral" objections only; he denies, that is, even such political objections as those once publicly stated by David Lilienthal, objections which amounted to fears that the government might tend to substitute H-bomb strategy for peace-loving foreign-policy efforts, etc.

Now, in testimony made public

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EVERYTHING ELSE UNDER THE SUN CAME UP, BUT—

## Only One Issue Was Taboo At the McCarthy Show...

By GORDON HASKELL

For eight long weeks the army-McCarthy hearings have held the center of the political stage in America.

For eight weeks a score of "issues," "controversies" and "disputes" have been chewed over in the Senate caucus room, swallowed, regurgitated and chewed over again.

For eight weeks the hearings have meandered over so much territory, have strayed so far from the original accusations, that newspapers have to accompany their stories of each day's proceedings with a special note reminding the reader what the whole business is really supposed to be about.

But no matter how far afield the disputes may have gone, no matter how heated the exchanges may have become at times, there is ONE question, ONE issue, ONE aspect of Senator McCarthy's activities which has been avoided by ALL participants in the play.

This issue has been avoided by Democrats as well as Republicans, by Army Counsel Welch as well as by the latest knight in shining armor, Senator Flanders.

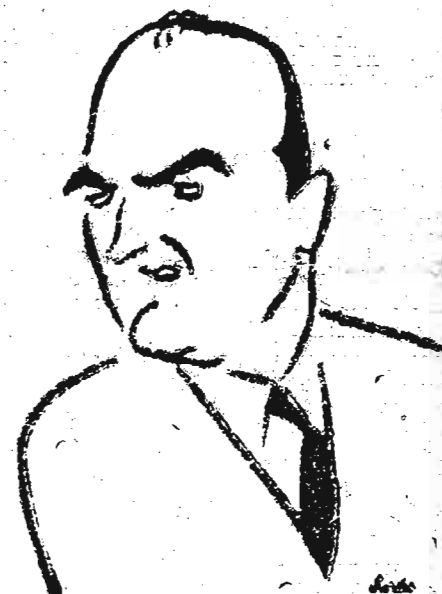
It is merely the issue which lies at the center of McCarthy's activities, the principle whose systematic violation is McCarthy's chief source of power. In a word, it is the issue and principle of civil liberties.

### ALL OVER THE LOT

It cannot be that the committee lacked the time to go into this question, or that the issue is too far removed from the army-McCarthy controversy.

There was time and opportunity for long questioning over who asked to have his picture taken with whom. Hot controversy raged over the proprieties of monitoring phone calls. Senators McCarthy and Symington locked horns over the burning question of whether it was proper for the latter to have advised Secretary of the Army Stevens to "forget Marquis of Queensberry rules" in fighting McCarthy. Searching inquiry was made into the tone of voice in which Roy Cohn had declared war on the army, as well as the tone of voice with which Army Counsel Adams had referred to Schine as a "hostage."

In the closing days of the hearings, both Senators Symington and Flanders raised the question of McCarthy's financial dealings, and his refusal to answer



McCarthy

questions about them before a Senate committee in the last Congress. Symington raised the issue as a counter to McCarthy's demand that he testify under oath to his part in bringing the army-McCarthy dispute to a boil. Flanders has introduced a resolution in the Senate which would disqualify McCarthy from committee chairmanships until he answers under oath the questions about his financial dealings raised by the old Senate committee report.

### NO OVERSIGHT

Yet neither of these two "courageous" senators, nor any of the big liberals in either house of Congress, has been willing to raise the issue which really disqualifies McCarthy from any role in public life whatever, including that of a powerful committee chairman. This is his systematic, consistent, proved and documented violation of the civil liberties of his victims, and his open advocacy of the right of a senator and of the government in general to violate these liberties in the future.

The failure to raise this issue is not an oversight on the part of these senators, nor is it really a result of cowardice. It is simply due to the fact that they, and all their liberal colleagues of both major parties accept without serious question that violation of civil liberties is an inevitable and justifiable weapon in the cold war.

All, all of McCarthy's immediate enemies in these hearings accept his view that it is perfectly proper to hound Stalinists and other radicals out of their jobs and to persecute them in other ways which deprive them in practice of their civil liberties without legal proof

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### Ultimate Sin

"Foreign correspondents are finding the Army-McCarthy hearings an interesting but not always illuminating facet of American democracy."

"The complexity of political behavior in this country was illustrated this week in a dispatch to a foreign newspaper by its Washington correspondent. The dispatch quoted a senator from one of the southern states as complaining that Senator McCarthy 'has put demagoguery in disrepute.'"

—N. Y. Times, June 14.



## The UAW and IUE-CIO Try to Grapple with the Problems —

# Democracy in Two CIO Trade Unions

By BEN HALL

Two opposing attitudes toward democracy peaceably coexist within the American labor movement, but the clashing discord goes unrecognized.

Unions are alert to encroachment on their own democratic rights but insensitive to the needs of democracy in general. They reject fiercely any effort to curb *their* right to strike, to meet, to publish papers, to picket. They will fight for *their* right to support *their* candidates for office and they will defend the rights and interests of all who support *their* general political outlook. This they do militantly, sometimes violently.

But let a movement arise in the union ranks which asserts *its* right to join together, to publish, to meet, etc., in an effort to change union policy or leadership and the imperious hand of bureaucracy quickly cuts them down.

**Does anyone notice a contradiction? Not at all. This grotesque situation is considered normal and natural. The right of officialdom to suppress organized opposition inside the American labor movement has been elevated to a sacred principle.**

Or let us say that the rights of socialists, radicals, pacifists—those who pit themselves against the social code of capitalist society—come under fire: Where the labor movement does not remain utterly indifferent, it joins in the cry against "subversives" in accord with the evolving maxim of modern democracy: "I disapprove of what you say and I will defend to the death any right to say so."

But a few unions try to be different. They make an effort to combine the defense of their own democratic rights with a defense of all democracy. They are, however, a distinct minority functioning in a country where democracy is under attack from all sides and where the labor movement has not risen honorably to its duties.

Compared to what exists everywhere else, these unions stand out as the epitome of good intentions. If we so frequently discuss what seems to us the shortcomings of their position it is not because these unions typify the worst in the labor movement. Quite the contrary.

They are grappling, in their way, with questions of democracy inside and outside the unions and thus give everyone an opportunity to probe into the problem. But the mood of our times obviously weighs them down and their efforts are self-contradictory and sometimes feeble.

### IUE RESISTS

A case in point is the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO). This union is now resisting the right of the General Electric Company to discharge, summarily and arbitrarily, workers who are accused by the company of being "security risks."

Just before McCarthy and Cohn were pinned down in the current show in Washington they had decided to branch out into a hunt for "Communists in industry." As Cohn explained on the witness stand, they had devised a simple gadget: simply haul witnesses before the committee and if they stood on the Fifth Amendment, get them fired from their jobs. It worked.

McCarthy made his sortie into Massachusetts where he induced GE to suspend and fire several workers whom he had publicly interrogated. After some delay, the IUE protested.

In a meeting with GE management it held that the dismissals were a breach of contract and demanded that they be processed through the grievance procedure. The company refused.

The union stated its internal policy as follows: "Refusal to testify before a congressional . . . committee by invoking the protection of the Fifth Amendment is not in and of itself proper ground for expulsion from a local union."

On April 27, delegates to the union's GE conference voted to demand a new grievance procedure which would guarantee that all such discharges could be fought by the union through regular procedure. They voted to reject "the policy unilaterally adopted by General Electric to deal with subversives and those who invoke the Fifth Amendment. . . . That policy is the product of weak-kneed truckling to hysteria, combined with an arrogant disregard of the right of a union which represents the vast majority of the company's production and maintenance employees."

So far so good. The union decided to

stand up to the company and to McCarthy on the narrow issues raised by these firings.

But what about the broader questions of democracy?

The union will defend the right of a member to stand on the Fifth Amendment. But suppose he admits, to a committee or to the union, that he is or has been a member of the Communist Party? Will the union defend his democratic right to hold his political views and his job at the same time?

### HEDGING

Here is what the *IUE News* has to say:

"If any local has reason to believe that one who refuses to testify concerning his Communist membership or beliefs actually is a Communist he should be tried according to the procedures provided in the local's constitution and if there is persuasive evidence that he is a Communist then the local may take such action in accordance with its constitution as it deems appropriate."

Two aspects of this statement should be underlined:

(1) "Communist membership or beliefs" are made a crime, subject to union discipline. Just how these beliefs are to be defined is left to the inventive imagination of local trial committees.

(2) After defining the offense, the International hedges in setting a penalty. The local is allowed to decide. In one case, a democratic local union constitution may impose no penalty for "Communism." In another, the offending member might be expelled. Democracy in the union is subject to local caprice.

In sum, a man can be expelled from the IUE on the sole grounds that he holds "Communist membership or beliefs."

Yet in the largest union in the CIO,

the United Auto Workers, a member cannot be disciplined at all on such grounds. Never in its history has anyone been suspended or expelled from the UAW for being a member of the Communist Party. (One restriction is imposed: a CPer may not hold office.) And thus far, no responsible union leader has publicly suggested any change in this most democratic setup.

### UAW'S ATTITUDE

The readiness of the UAW to maintain its democratic principles was put to the test when the House Un-American Activities Committee returned to Detroit in the beginning of May.

This committee succeeded in whipping up a spirit of hysteria in Detroit in 1952 when it opened an investigation of Local 600 and others. In some shops, Stalinists and suspected Stalinists were run out of the shops by super-duper-patrioters.

At that time, the top UAW leadership timidly preserved a total silence when the committee moved into town, uttering not a single word of criticism. But after the hearings had stirred up a hornet's nest of anti-democracy, the UAW office was moved to act. In a special letter to all locals, it called for an end to the hysteria and reminded everyone that the UAW would defend the right, even of members of the Communist Party, to their jobs. To this extent, it was a welcome, even courageous, reaffirmation of a fine UAW principle.

Last month, the committee returned. This time, the UAW leaders spoke up in advance: "We think the Michigan hearings are regrettable and unnecessary," it said in a cautious and temperate statement. "They will not produce anything that will weaken Communism or strengthen the nation's security. They might possibly contribute headlines to assist Clardy La committee member in his campaign for reelection."

The UAW, after considering the experiences of 1952 and taking heart from a nation-wide revulsion against the methods of the McCarthy committee, firmly warned the committee that it would defend its members and its staff members from persecution:

" . . . it is the declared policy of the

UAW-CIO that no member or employee will be prejudiced in any degree in his relationship to the union merely and solely because he claims the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. We will resist through the procedures of our collective-bargaining agreements any discharge or other discipline of any member of the union by his employer on the sole ground of his having claimed the privilege. The UAW-CIO is determined not to become a party to the erosion of any of our basic liberties or democratic safeguards assured by the Bill of Rights."

Yet misgivings persist. In this statement, signed by the four top officers, we can find no reaffirmation of what was expressed so clearly less than two years ago.

### GOING BACKWARD?

Neither directly nor by inference does it proclaim the right of a man to his job and to his union membership, even if he holds Stalinist views.

On the other hand we read: ". . . that person [who stands on the Fifth] will be judged in our union by his actions, past and present, and by the positions that he has taken on the basic issues which sharply divide members of the Communist Party and fellow travelers from the great and overwhelming masses of loyal workers in the American labor movement."

We understand then, that if a man stands on the Fifth, and he is not now a member or fellow traveler of the CP, then the UAW will defend his union membership and his job. But suppose, after "judging his actions, past and present," the union concludes that he actually does follow the CP line? Will it then defend his rights? That is the basic question of elementary democracy.

Now the UAW seems to be ready to speak out more forcefully and more publicly. Now increasing sections of public opinion are becoming aware of the "erosion" of democracy. Two years ago, the UAW said clearly: Yes, we will protect the jobs of Stalinists however much we detest their opinions.

But today it seems to leave this question hanging in mid-air. If the UAW should retreat on this issue—and we hope our misgivings are without foundation—democracy moves backward.

## RUMANIA

### Stalinist Anti-Semitism Continues

# New Anti-Jewish Terror Trials Revealed

Anti-Jewish persecution in the satellite state of Rumania has been detailed in a "White Paper" issued by the World Jewish Congress, describing the campaign of the Stalinist regime to wipe out every vestige of organization in the Jewish community and to terrorize all Jews in the country.

Though much of this material has already been reported in *Labor Action*, there is also some new information concerning a new wave of frame-up trials in March.

Though a bit less than one half of Rumania's Jews survived the Second World War, living through the combined persecutions of the Nazi overlords and native Rumanian anti-Semitic government leaders, this still gave Rumania the largest Jewish population of any country on the continent, except for Russia itself. It numbered around 400,000. Most of them set out to reconstruct their lives in Rumania and rehabilitate the organizational life of the Jewish community.

For a couple of years after the end of the war, they thought the regime looked with favor on this aim. Zionism was labeled legal, and Jewish organizations were permitted.

Hundreds of synagogues were re-established; Jewish schools and libraries were reorganized; two Yiddish theaters (in Bucharest and Jassy) were re-created. Sixteen Jewish weeklies were established; the network of charitable organizations (hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged) were restored. The reborn Zionist movement quickly became very powerful, numbering 108,000 members in its component groups.

But by 1948 the Stalinist regime felt sufficiently consolidated and integrated into the Russian empire to act to break up this whole development.

The Stalinist Jewish agency used as the club was, to begin with, the Jewish Democratic Committee, which sought to

take over domination in every field of Jewish life. The ruling party adopted a sharp resolution against "Zionism" (in general the Stalinists mask their anti-Jewish pogroms under the guise of an attack merely on Zionism.) This was the signal for an increasingly violent assault on every aspect of the Rumanian Jews' community life.

In 1950 a wave of arrests of leaders of the Jewish community took place. The veil of secrecy surrounding these victims was first dropped in the fall of 1953 when a trial of 6 leaders of the former Zionist Revisionist Party in Rumania was held and the sentences announced (10-18 years in prison). A second trial in November hit two leaders of the World Jewish Congress's Rumanian section, Jean Littman and Susanne Benvenisti.

The White Paper now reports that after a lull of a few months, in March of this year, secret trials were started against more than 100 Zionist leaders. The details of only three of these trials have been learned.

One trial decreed life imprisonment for three Zionist leaders and 20 years for some others. The three were A. L. Zissu, "the courageous leader during the Nazi occupation and former head of the Jewish Party as well as of the Zionist Organization of Rumania"; Dr. Mishu Benvenisti, ex-president of the Zionist Organization; and Jean Cohn, ex-chairman of the WJC Rumanian Section.

The second trial which is known was directed against 22 members of Hashomer Hatzair. A defiant statement was made in court by the main defendant, Abir Mark; he got 20 years, the heaviest sentence.

The third and most recent of the trials known involved 40 Zionist leaders, and reports indicate that other trials of Zionists are being conducted in provincial towns, in contrast with the above-men-

tioned trials which were held in the capital Bucharest.

To stimulate world protest against these Rumanian atrocities, a number of Rumanian Jews in Israel went on a three-day hunger strike in order to draw attention to the situation.

### EYEWASH

In a statement protesting against Jewish persecution in Rumania, an Israeli Zionist leader, Berl Locker, chairman of the Jewish agency in Jerusalem, actually went so far as to argue:

"The Rumanian Jewish community is not hostile to the existing regime; it's only 'sin' is its longing for its homeland."

This accusation of some form of pro-Stalinism against Rumania's Jews (by their "defender") was, of course, intended to underline the enormity of the Stalinists' crimes, but it succeeds only in being both shameful and absurd.

It may be true that some of the persecuted Jewish leaders were pro-Stalinist as long as their own interests were left alone, but the onus for such types need not be shifted to the entire Jewish community. Locker's statement denigrates Rumanian Jews, but it cannot pull any wool over the eyes of the Stalinist regime.

The Stalinists know, for example, what happened at the end of the war in Besarabia and Northern Bukovina. These two provinces of Rumania were ceded to Russia, but in 1945, given the choice of opting Rumanian or Russian nationality, 50,000 out of 51,000 Jewish survivors in this area chose to remain Rumanian citizens even though their territory was being taken over by Russia. Of course, they could not know that Rumania itself was due to be thoroughly Stalinized.



## FRANCE

## EDC Barely Won in SP; CP Still Heavily Declining

By A. GIACOMETTI

PARIS, June 9—The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Party, which had to decide on the party's position on EDC, ended with an inconclusive victory for the "Europeans," headed by the party secretary Guy Mollet.

Even though discussion at the congress was democratic, its preparation was not. The point of view against EDC was not allowed to intrude in the SP's internal bulletin, which was supposed to prepare the congress. Likewise, the chairmen of the congress sessions were all chosen from the supporters of EDC.

Nevertheless, the pro-EDC wing of the party only rallied a majority of 57 per cent of the mandates, less than was expected. Of the others, 35 per cent voted against and 8 per cent abstained. The bulk of Guy Mollet's support came from large majorities of the big federations (Pas-de-Calais, Nord, Haute-Vienne); actually, a majority of the federations voted against, but this majority included many of the smaller federations, and therefore represented only a minority of the party's actual membership.

### MINORITY IS STRONG

Important statements on the minority's side were made by Daniel Mayer, former secretary of the underground SP, who insisted that "we have nothing in common with either communists or chauvinists" and that "we are against EDC in the name of proletarian internationalism"; by Jules Moch, who "refuses to become the advanced guard of an immense anti-communist coalition," and by Marceau Pivert, who appealed to solidarity with the German socialists, who are the only forces really capable to stop the rise of German militarism, and "whose task must not be rendered hopeless" by support of German rearmament.

Even though the pro-EDC majority passed a resolution in favor of caucus discipline for the SP fraction in the Assembly, it did not adopt a motion of the Bouches-du-Rhône and Pas-de-Calais federations which supported Guy Mollet's formula of "automatic expulsion" for deputies who would vote against EDC in spite of the congress decision. The failure of the majority to adopt the latter motion is considered here as a victory for the minority. It certainly reflects the acknowledgment by the party leadership of the minority's strength, and of the danger to party unity that ruthless handling of bureaucratic sanctions would entail.

Of the 59 deputies who signed the anti-EDC manifesto in April, a majority is expected to vote against EDC, in which case the treaty would probably be rejected by the Assembly.

After the vote, Guy Mollet had much to say about party discipline. However, over and above their obligation to the party, not to speak of their obligation to Guy Mollet, the SP deputies have an obligation to the European socialist movement, in which there is a large majority against EDC. It is to be hoped that in the Assembly considerations of socialist solidarity will prevail over the pressures the SP's secretary knows so well how to handle.

### CP DECLINE

The 13th congress of the Communist Party, held at Ivry over the last weekend, served several important functions. One of these was to strengthen the "national unity" policy against reactions from the dubious ranks. The main burden of this fell on Duclos, who kept dwelling on that "unity with all who oppose EDC, whoever they may be" phrase.

Another function of the congress was to tighten the hold of the Duclos-Servin apparatus, which has been badly shaken by the successive Marty-Tillon and Lecœur crises. The police-minded Servin is now organization secretary; Auguste Lecœur was not present at the congress.

One of the most striking points brought out was the steady decline of the party's strength over the past years. The official figures show approximately 900,000 members for 1947, 780,000 in 1949, and 500,000 in 1954.

The Union de la Jeunesse Républicaine Française (UJRF), the CP youth organization, declined from a membership of over 188,000 in 1945 to 19,000 members today; it is still declining. Its weekly, *L'Avant-Garde*, had a circulation of 400,000 in 1945; today its circulation is 35,000 copies, of which only 20,000 are paid. The circulation of the CGT paper, *Vie Ouvrière*, dropped from 600,000 in 1947-48 to 230,000. The drop in circulation of the rest of the Stalinist press, *L'Humanité*, *France Nouvelle*, etc. is equally spectacular.

These are significant figures when placed in the context of the "self-criticism" at the congress: the party does not appeal enough to the youth, its average age is rising (11 per cent are now under 25); the party is losing its working-class following; recruitment in the factories is deficient; the proportion of Stalinists in the unions is weaker than it should be, not enough of those who could join a union have done so; etc., etc.

Clearly, French Stalinism is going through a crisis, which requires careful analysis.

It is also interesting to note that the CP press has been multiplying lately its attacks on "Trotskyites," which include the PCI, the *Démocratie Proletarienne* group, Marceau Pivert's tendency in the SP, Jean Rous, the POUM, as well as other elements invented for the needs of the amalgam. It seems that these "Trotskyites" are spreading "confusion" in the party's ranks.

### PATRIOTIC HYSTERIA

Meanwhile, the fall of Dienbienphu has had several unpleasant by-products, the most dangerous of which has been the strengthening of chauvinism in this country.

In the last month street vendors of *L'Humanité* have been attacked by people who call themselves "patriotic veterans," although they include elements who have never seen a front line in their life; CP headquarters have been stoned, red flags have been torn down, etc.

This rise of patriotic hysteria will strengthen all the reactionary tendencies present in French political life, notably those represented by certain Gaullists, by General Juin, by Minister of the Interior Martinaud-Déplat, by the colonialist lobbies and the rest of their ilk. Certain indications in recent weeks point to attempts at reorganizing the old fascist leagues of the Croix de Feu type, around the veteran's organizations of the Indo-Chinese war.

Also under the cover of war hysteria, the government has seen fit to move against the freedom of the press. After having seized the April 11 edition of *Humanité-Dimanche* for "offending a foreign government"—by carrying the headline "the blood spilled in Indochina rises on the New York Stock Exchange"—the government seized the May 29 issue of the liberal bourgeois *L'Express*, for publishing detailed information on the Ely-Salan report on Indochina—"divulging military secrets."

In reality, the report did not say anything everybody didn't know, notably that the "Vietnamese army" is a fiction of Defense Minister Plevin's mind, and that the French expeditionary forces have lost over 20,000 men within three months, including 2500 officers.

### A "NEW LEFT"

An interesting recent political development has been the appearance of a new organization in the Northern cities Rouen, Cherbourg and Le Havre, called "Nouvelle Gauche" (New Left). Politically the new group is a coalition of independent socialists, Stalinoids and Catholic-left elements, on what seems to be a radical neutralist program.

In the recent municipal election in Le Havre, the Nouvelle Gauche won three seats on the city council out of a total of 37, increasing its percentage from 4.3 per cent to 8.8 per cent of the total vote. In the same election the SP increased its seats from 3 to 5, and the CP maintained its positions at 14 seats.

It is difficult to tell at the present time what role the new grouping will play.

## LONDON LETTER

## Labor Party Is Debating German Rearmament

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, June 10—At Scarborough this week, by 6,035 votes to 5,388, the Co-operative Union, representing 11,000,000 members of cooperative societies, passed a resolution condemning German rearmament.

Mr. Machin of Blackpool was the main speaker. He feared that if we rearmed the Germans we would rearm the Nazis. They would then lead a war of revenge. Although some safeguards had been put into the European Defense Community to prevent German generals getting control over the German army, he did not believe that they would be effective.

Amid cries of "shame" J. W. Blower, the vice-president of the union, rose to support rearmament.

"If Germany is to become once again a sovereign nation, it will do what all other sovereign nations did—rearm. . . ."

"It is better to begin with German agreement and with Germany as a partner, than with a Germany in which nationalist anger has been further generated by frustration."

At Hastings the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers also carried by a large majority a resolution condemning German rearmament.

On an emotional plane was delegate McGreer's plea:

"It would be a crime against those who died in the war to rearm the Nazi generals who organized the bombing of London, Coventry and Manchester. . . . If we are to rearm Western Germany we should demolish the cenotaphs, because they would be an insult to the dead and a slander on the living."

Porter, a Labor MP, put the opposite view. He said we would have to allow Germany full sovereignty sooner or later. Unless we rearmed them now within EDC, when they ran their own affairs they would build as big an army as they liked.

So far every big trade union, shop workers, farmers, engineers and electricians—and now the Cooperatives and woodworkers—have made the same decision against the official Labor Party line. There are still the three big unions—the Transport and General Workers Union, the Municipal Workers, and the National Union of Mineworkers—who may support the official policy.

The Labor Party Executive has decided to hold regional conferences to obtain wider support for their policy on German rearmament. They may be too late. At the Labor Party and Trade Union Congresses in autumn this year, the official policy may well be reversed.

## Discussion: British Labor and German Rearmament

By H. D.

Our London Letters (including the latest one, above) have been regularly reporting the discussions in the British Labor Party on the issue of German rearmament. And they have also been making clear to our readers, we hope, one of the most disturbing features of that discussion—disturbing from the point of view of internationalist socialist policy.

It is also in the interest of socialist internationalism that we make this comment, which applies quite as much to American socialists as to British.

Insofar as Labor opposition to German rearmament flows from anti-war feelings and desires, it is of course healthy; but it is perfectly clear that a very large proportion of the actual opposition being registered to German rearmament flows from a very reactionary point of view, one which is disgraceful and even scandalous for socialists. It flows, we are afraid, from ANTI-GERMANISM, from narrow nationalism, from the desire—implicit or sometimes even expressed—to deny to the German people their right to national sovereignty.

We do not believe that any socialist worthy of the name—let alone anyone who considers himself a left socialist—can deny the German people their right to complete independence, and it must be underlined that their right to national sovereignty also includes their right to a national military establishment under their own control.

### INTERNATIONALISM

Opposition to German rearmament is very popular in the ranks of the Bevanite left in the British Labor movement; but perhaps in order to gain support from quite different elements, it seems to have become the accepted thing, in these circles, to argue this "Bevanite" position in terms which must make any left-winger blush. The quotations in the London Letter above are the case in point for this week. See, for example, the argument by Delegate McGree, for a clear and crass national-chauvinist anti-German appeal. There have been similar and worse expressions in the past, and by leading Bevanites too.

One of the most unfortunate results of this terribly mistaken line is that it is the right wing which gets—free for nothing—the opportunity to pose as the defenders of internationalism and democracy. Again, in the London Letter above, it is the right-wingers who take the opportunity to stand on the basis of such an elementary democratic sentiment as: "If Germany is to become once again a sovereign nation, it will do what all other sovereign nations did—rearm. . . ."

Now we know, as well as our Bevanite comrades in England, that the Attlee-Morrison defenders of German rearmament are not charmed by internationalism at all. They are supporting the Anglo-American war camp's line on EDC, which (as a matter of fact) does

not accord Germany any real national equality at all, and which (above all) is designed primarily to foster this imperialist camp's war drive in the world, as against the rival imperialism of totalitarian Russia. Their pretense at arguing, as internationalists is sheer demagoguery as long as they support this German rearmament—not just the general rights of the German people, but this plan to rearm this Germany of Adenauer and his neo-Nazi supporters as a part of this European army program.

But these right-wingers are enabled to strike the pose they do only because so many of their Bevanite opponents fall into a reactionary-chauvinist line.

### SOCIALIST LINE

There is more than enough room for a socialist type of opposition to the German rearmament program which the Tories support along with Attlee and Morrison. We have no doubt that it is this socialist motivation which accounts for the widespread support by genuine left-wingers to the anti-rearmament camp, in spite of the speeches of so many Bevanite spokesmen.

Such socialist opposition expresses the natural suspicion and hostility of workers to an EDC scheme proposes to remilitarize Germany—a Germany led by a reactionary government—within a framework which is clearly imperialist, in order to tie a reborn German militarism to the cold-war camp of the U. S.

This opposition to German rearmament is not opposition to Germany's national right to rearm, but to the specific, and presently proposed scheme for German rearmament which is being pushed by the U. S. camp in the form of EDC.

We quite agree with the British young socialist, quoted here two weeks ago, who wrote:

"As a socialist, I am against the rearmament of Western Germany because it is not designed to defend the interests of the ordinary people of Germany or Britain. . . ."

"But there are many people who oppose the NEC decision for quite different reasons. From 1939 to 1945 we in Britain were subjected to a stream of propaganda which attacked not just Nazism but also the German people. . . . the lie was spread around that the German workers were responsible for the rise of Hitler and for the second World War. . . ."

"The resulting anti-German prejudice lies at the bottom of quite a lot of the opposition to German rearmament. . . . These arguments are the very opposite of socialist internationalism. . . ."

As American socialists who wish only well for our British comrades and particularly for the left-wingers of the Bevan tendency, we very much hope to see more left-wing voices raised in clear differentiation from the chauvinist anti-democrats.



# YOU and SCIENCE

## Social Science Is Recognized by the Supreme Court

By CARL DARTON

Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia, in a radio interview, criticized the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, caustically said that one used to have to be a lawyer to sit on the court (a bit of an inaccuracy) but now one only has to be a sociologist and psychologist. One can feel a bit hurt, but not very surprised, that Hummin' holds social science in such low esteem. It is a pleasant surprise to learn that the court holds it in such high esteem.

Socialists, of course, have viewed the court decision as a great step forward for the American people—a step forward, however, long overdue. The decision must be followed by rulings and perhaps by legislation necessary to implement it. It will be interesting to observe how rapidly and firmly the executive branch will press for obedience to the letter and spirit of the law.

To a considerable extent the May 17 decision was the result of the international political struggle just as the freeing of the colored people was bound together with the Civil War. It is also the result of a widespread hope that if we can solve the race problem in America we can make capitalist democracy really work. There are also those (may their numbers increase) who want to see the realization of equal opportunity and equal protection of the law for all citizens regardless of race, color, creed, religion or national origin.

After we have considered all of the above factors we must come to the conclusion that Governor Talmadge has a grain of truth in his remark. The brief which the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People presented before the court and the supporting testimony leaned heavily on the findings of social scientists.

This type of presentation, made famous by Justice Brandeis, evidently made a great impression on the Supreme Court. The wording of their decision bears out this claim:

After admitting the futility of considering legal precedent, the text said in part:

"Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of these cases. We must look instead on the effect of the segregation itself on public education. . . .

"We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. . . .

"To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . .

"A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. . . .

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. . . ."

Toward the end of the text are listed a number of sources. Two of these are the excellent general sociological treatments of the Negro question in the United States by Frazier and Myrdal. The others are essentially technical reports by eminent social scientists on the various effects of segregation.

One member of the NAACP legal staff has expressed the opinion that, even though the findings of science have on several occasions been used to substantiate legal rulings, this decision is the first one which used social science as a basis for formulating a major legal ruling.

The scientific evidence which was accepted by the court can be used with equal validity to outlaw segregation and discrimination of every sort. Science, not legal precedence, practice or morals, has been recognized as the highest authority. This is a major gain second only to the decision itself.

## Joint AFL-CIO Conference in N.Y. on Organization of Puerto Rican Workers

At last it can be reported that the New York labor movement has taken steps to do something about helping, and integrating into the movement, the new mass of Puerto Rican workers who have been flowing into the city in the last few years. It is about time, but it is to be hoped that some serious efforts are due.

On May 8, a joint conference of important AFL and CIO unions took place to set up the "Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs." There were about 40 CIO representatives and about 54 from the AFL, and more strength was expected to come in after the conference.

On the AFL side, locals of the ILGWU were most prominent, plus the Hatters, Building Service Employees, Hotel Workers, and others. For the CIO there were reps from the city council, Auto Workers, Amalgamated, IUE, and several others.

The work of the conference was to establish an organizational setup, with

constitution, officers, provisions for financing the work, etc.

Under the head of "General Objectives," the conference statement read:

"New York City contains about 450,000 Puerto Ricans, of which about 60 per cent are in the labor force. (There are also an additional 100,000 other Spanish-speaking persons.) Each of these persons is a potential trade-union member. The history of the labor movement in Puerto Rico proves that Puerto Ricans are not only receptive to trade unions but they make enthusiastic union members.

"The newly arrived Puerto Rican worker has the problem which has been suffered by every other immigrant group arriving in this city: exploitation by unscrupulous employers and open shoppers. Such exploitation also threatens to depress wage standards and working conditions of all other organized workers.

"Therefore it is the responsibility of the trade-union movement to combat such exploitation and bring the normally union-minded Puerto Ricans into the ranks of organized labor. The trade-union movement has already begun this important work by enrolling approximately 60,000 Puerto Rican workers into its ranks by the usual democratic process of simply organizing the unorganized.

"However, this has revealed a variety of problems caused chiefly by the language barrier and the different cultural background of Puerto Ricans. . . ."

The statement ends with a listing of 10 concrete activities and services which the labor organization proposes to carry on toward the end of integrating Puerto Rican workers.

### YOU'RE INVITED

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

## Witchhunting the Doctors

The following news item is reprinted complete from — of all places — the Scripps-Howard paper in Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh Press, for May 16.—Ed.

By JOHN TROAN

The Communist hunt in the U. S. is making many doctors see red these days. They're upset at the way the U. S. Public Health Service is knocking medical scientists off research projects financed by the government.

The way it now works, no physician can get a government research grant if there happens to be any "derogatory information" in his file at the Public Health Service headquarters.

This "derogatory information" may be the real thing—in which case nobody would shed any tears for those who are bumped off the taxpayer's wagon.

But the information also may amount to nothing more than gossip—or even an outright lie rooted in professional jealousy or personal pique.

And this is what has the doctors running a fever.

W. Palmer Dearing, the deputy surgeon general of the U. S., admits the Public Health Service makes no effort to check any of the charges it receives about a man's alleged Commie ties. He says the agency has no power to make such investigations.

So as long as somebody says something bad about someone else, that's it. The accused is blackballed—period. He not only doesn't get a chance to defend himself, he isn't even told what the exact charge is.

About 30 research grants to medical scientists throughout the country now

have been revoked on this basis. In some cases, scientists already had ordered special equipment or hired extra help which was to be financed by the government money when Uncle Sam called signals off.

Incidentally, none of these research projects involved anything of a security nature. Most of them were tied to basic studies in various fields of medicine—studies designed to find out what really makes us tick. (Perhaps nature is wondering about this, too, by now.)

The government's latest remedy for subversion, compounded by White House druggists, has produced some serious howls of anguish from at least two top-flight organizations which embrace many of the nation's leading medical research men.

These are the American Society for Biological Chemists and the American Physiological Society. Now the American Society for Clinical Investigation is taking a mail vote of its members on this question, in line with a resolution adopted at its recent Atlantic City convention.

This resolution, by the way, was introduced by a Pittsburgh physician who prefers to remain anonymous lest somebody construe this very action as "derogatory" to him!

The medical scientists who are protesting the government's actions want to make it clear they're just as anxious as Joe McCarthy to cut out the cancer of communism.

But, they contend, the policy on research grants makes about as much sense as prescribing castor oil for every belly ache. Even when you're pretty certain it's appendicitis to begin with.

## Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

### WHO FIRST INVENTED WHAT WHERE?

To the Editor:

May I be permitted the use of your columns for a few remarks on the article "Myths About American Superiority" by Victor Howard which appeared in your issue of May 24.

It is regrettable that a full page of LABOR ACTION is used for an article which at best reflects a serious immaturity in its approach. Immaturity is the best one can say for it; more seriously it reflects a variety of vulgar denigration of one's own national traditions which I had hoped had vanished forever from the socialist movement. It is the obverse of that medal of Stalinist chauvinism which ascribes to Russians the invention of all virtues and to others, especially Americans, the creation of all vices.

All this would be bad enough if the facts were correct, but I am at a loss for a name to call it when the instances cited are as confused and in error as those used in this article.

Comrade Howard calls the Englishman Langley one of the developers of the airplane. He certainly was but he was no Englishman—he was born in good old Roxbury, Mass. and did most of his research in heavier-than-air flying machines while secretary to the Smithsonian Institution. And the Bessemer process was developed simultaneously in this country by William Kelly, who even managed to convince the courts of his priority.

Comrade Howard fails to observe his own injunctions a few paragraphs later on, in which he points out that inventions are rarely the result of the work of a single individual or even a single nation. Note the following instances:

Howard ascribes to the Scotsman Baird the invention of television; if such an "invention" can be ascribed to anyone I suppose it should be Paul Nipkow of Germany who rigged up a form of television as early as 1884. However, modern television had to await the superseding of Baird's mechanical scanning by the electronic scanning methods devised by Zworykin and Farnsworth, both American citizens. And why give Marconi all the credit for wireless—he based himself on the work of Maxwell and Hertz, respectively a Scot and a German.

So the Austrian Mitterhoffer invented the typewriter in 1864? I cannot conceive why this name was selected from the 200 or so recorded inventors of typewriters from 1714 to Sholes' patent in 1867. Sholes' machine had some unique virtues however; it worked, it was simple to operate and relatively cheap to manufacture.

And the German Diesel invented the internal combustion engine? Diesel in-

vented a type of combustion engine in 1892, a very important, but not the most common type. The kind you have in your car was invented a good many years before by N. A. Otto, and even he had been preceded by a few dozen others. And it's Benz and not Daimler who generally gets the credit for the first internal combustion auto.

The "Russian" Ipatieff who "discovered" high octane gas, is and has been in this country since 1931. And last, but not least, the helicopter was first proposed by Da Vinci in the 16th century.

All the above examples selected from three consecutive short paragraphs of Comrade Howard's article. I shall not try your patience with similar examples and statistical abuse in the rest of it.

But the main thing is this, that every nation has its glories and its traditions, and the United States not the least of all. There is much to be proud of in our land, and no earthly reason for us to minimize it. Some of these traditions provide a background for a socialist struggle and give it a meaningful continuity.

There is also much that is wrong in this land. That is why we are socialists and why we realize the foolishness of the chauvinist panegyric quoted by Comrade Howard at the beginning of his piece. But to answer such drivel in its own kind is to descend to a level without merit.

One final word: when the history of our time will have been written in its entirety, the word "American" will stand for that technological development which made possible an abundance that will guarantee a full life to free men.

J. R.

Reply by Comrade Howard is due for the next issue.—Ed.

### NO ANONYMOUS LETTERS

In accordance with the usual rule, it has been the policy of LABOR ACTION not to publish anonymous letters—though, of course, we withhold signatures on request.

At the moment we are in receipt of a long letter (dealing with the material recently published on Arab socialism and Zionism) by an anonymous writer. We would like to communicate with him regarding it, if he makes this possible.—Ed.

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There Seems to Be a Rift on the Right—

## New McCarthyite 'Youth' Group Is Too Revolutionary for SFA

By AARON ROTH

NEW YORK, June 14—Last Wednesday Remington-Rand, the company justly notorious for its vicious anti-labor record, proved its true-blue patriotism and public-mindedness by lending out its swank private auditorium for an "anti-Communist youth meeting."

The meeting was officially sponsored and organized by the "Junior Activities Committee" of AWARE, a group of self-styled McCarthyites who describe themselves as "an organization to combat the Communist conspiracy in the entertainment world."

We had never heard of AWARE, not to mention its "Junior Activities Committee," but decided to attend when it was rumored that the affair was being "run by" Students For America, the noxious youth organization dedicated to ideas which make Wisconsin's junior senator look like a piker in comparison.

As regular *Challenge* readers know, the SFA is an ultra-reactionary group and makes no secret of the fact. While it is perhaps premature to label SFA fascist, the group does not to our knowledge exclude fascists and certainly has quasi-fascist overtones.

Anticipating, therefore, one of the infrequent public appearances of the far right, we were somewhat surprised by the actual "rally."

Despite widespread publicity—including at least one plug in the daily press—the total audience was about 100. Of this hundred the great majority were middle-aged or past, and only about 25 could qualify as "youth" by any standard. Most of the audience appeared to be composed of well-to-do conservative types, but mixed in was a not too illiberal sprinkling of the lunatic fringe of the far right—including, perhaps, about 10 actual SFAers.

The rumors of SFA sponsorship proved false. The AWARE group was the sole sponsor and seems to be composed largely of conservatives—McCarthyite conservatives, it is true, but nothing like the SFA.

### TWO FACTIONS

The AWARE Statement of Principles, for example, declares in part: "We want our opposition to Communism in all its forms to be no consolation or attraction to fascists, racists and religious bigots; to those who, fighting Communism, use the method of the totalitarians. We repudiate such elements. We also repudiate those who attack decent causes because Communists have leached on to them."

It continues: "We see no need for new laws respecting subversion. We would not silence Communism. We seek only to label the conspiracy and the more Communism talks and writes, the more it reveals itself."

Only one of the seven or so speakers was clearly to the liking of the SFAers present, and he was one of the few speakers who was clearly not an official of AWARE—and probably not even a member.

He was a barely literate young man named Dennis P. Ball, who was announced as the winner of the J. B. Matthews Essay Contest held by the *American Mercury*. A Fordham student who loudly proclaimed himself a Korean vet, he attacked progressive education, socialism, John Dewey, Stalinism and liberalism, all in one breath—and managed to refer to the Chinese as "Chinks" twice in the course of so doing.

The other speakers ranged from a very middle-aged woman who spoke, relatively inoffensively, as the "co-chairman" of the "Junior Activities Committee," to a Fordham lecturer, one Godfrey Schmidt, who spoke against internationalism and for "occidental civilization" and "civilized communities" versus the "jungle."

Of the other speakers the only one who didn't appear to be a fading ham actor was Vincent Hartnett, the youngish co-

author of *Red Channels*—the book that serves as a guide to witchhunters in the entertainment field.

Despite his record as a professional red-hunter and his pro-witchhunting speech, he seemed to be exceptionally displeasing to the SFA contingent.

An SFAer arose in the question and discussion period to criticize him vigorously for drawing a distinction between Stalinists, socialists, and liberals—and for his (Hartnett's) possible implication that only the Stalinists were dangerous and had to be "rooted out."

In the course of this discussion Hartnett was asked: if he did not understand that "it is just as bad to get socialism by constitutional means as by violent revolution?"

Hartnett answered, after assuring his audience that he was by no means a socialist (a fact to which this writer will testify), that he believed that any group had the right to work democratically (i.e., within the framework of the Constitution) to change our social system.

The SFAers obviously disagreed with this point of view, and after the meeting we overheard one of them saying (in tones that he evidently considered "ominous"), "Well, at least we now know where people stand."

### AN EDITORIAL

## A New Forum for Socialist Views

The Young Socialist League welcomes the appearance of the magazine *Dissent*.

Two issues of *Dissent* have now been published, and it is possible to make an estimation of the character of the magazine and of the use to which it can be put within the socialist movement.

It is clear that *Dissent* is not an "open forum" in an absolute sense of the term. The points of view of certain of its editors have already had a greater weight than many other possible positions. Yet at the same time, it is clear that *Dissent* has printed—and will in the future print—articles representing divergent socialist attitudes. If it is not an open forum, neither is it a closed magazine adhering tightly to a particular line. It falls somewhere in-between, and as such, it is a phenomenon which we welcome, one which may be put to good use in the tremendous educational task which we face in the United States.

The Young Socialist League is obviously in disagreement with many of the positions already expressed in *Dissent*, and with the personal politics of many of its editors. We make no secret of the fact that we are in disagreement with all but a Third Camp, anti-war socialist point of view. Yet, inasmuch as *Dissent* offers the possibility of communication between various socialist tendencies—and we think that it does—we would simply state that we trust that it will, in the future, provide space for those who agree with us. We certainly do not advocate the silence of all but our own point of view. And as *Dissent* does give the possibility of discussion, we welcome it.

Our receptivity toward this venture does not, of course, mean that we think that a magazine can take the place of socialist organization. It can supplement socialist organization, provide a forum for various organizational and personal positions—but it cannot replace the necessity of organization. Today, above all, it is necessary for socialists to stand up and be counted, and to make a clear and forthright statement of their own point of view—and to fight for that point of view.

Yet given the fact that we most certainly do not believe that *Dissent* can take the place of socialist organization, above all today, and taking into consid-

## One Year After the June Days in E. Germany

One year ago this week, the working class of Eastern Germany went out into the streets against Stalinist totalitarianism.

*One year later: what difference has it made?*

The June Days of 1953 did not overthrow Stalinism and its puppets in East Germany. In immediate, practical terms, they may well have occasioned severe measures of repression against politicals in the working-class movement. As to what part this action played in the lessening of Stalinist brutality throughout its empire, we cannot say.

Was it then a failure, a gesture, and nothing more?

Perhaps in the future, the archives of our time will reveal that the June Days had their immediate and practical effect for the good. But even without such hypothetical knowledge, we can say that the actions of the workers of Eastern Germany were of the deepest significance—above all, that their effectiveness, far from being confined to immediate consequences, continues today.

For once and for all, and under the most terrible of conditions, the workers of East Germany proved that Stalinism cannot crush its opposition, that there is an alternative—a huge, sometimes slumbering but always present, force. The June Days were made by this force, and its organization, its articulation was by the working class.

The workers of East Germany had not lived with free trade unions for twenty years. They had suffered under Hitler

and they suffered under Stalinism. The young workers could not have ever attended a free trade-union meeting. Yet they emerged from those twenty years into June of 1953 a disciplined, coherent and political force, capable of making a mass demonstration which required a precision of motive and will. They stood against Stalinism. They did not take the obvious lure and stand for American schemes of "unification." They did stand as an independent force.

### COMPARE!

Compare the June Days with the reality of American politics. To whom does Washington look? Toward the East German workers? Toward the workers anywhere? Toward the colonial masses who are on the march in Asia and in Africa? Toward the forces of democracy and freedom whose interest do not lie with either imperialist force? List, alongside of June 1953 in Berlin, in Leuna, in all of East Germany, alongside of these men who are to us nameless, those who do have names: Chiang, Franco, Bao Dai, Syngman Rhee.

The June Days do not prove that there is an easy, a miraculous, way to overthrow the two titanic imperialisms. The workers who suffered for their participation know this. Yet they do show that there is a way—of struggle, with the workers and the colonial peoples, for democracy and freedom, for socialism.

The working-class movement has had a long roll of such days: June 1953 proved that it has not ended, nor can it end until imperialism and exploitation cease. Now June 1954 comes with the shoddy reality of imperialist war and the breakup of imperialist foreign policy. The anniversary points the only way to the future.

## YSL Educational Conference

Here is the latest information on arrangements for the YSL Educational Conference to be held on the weekend of June 26-27 at Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, New York City.

The two-day conference, a systematic discussion of the problems of socialist politics, will be divided into four sessions:

(1) INDOCHINA—a discussion of the socialist analysis of the Indochinese situation and of colonialism in general. *Speaker:* Max Martin, National Chairman, YSL. Saturday, June 26 at 10 a.m.

(2) SOCIALISM AND WAR—an analysis of the Third Camp alternative to imperialist war. *Speaker:* Michael Harrington, acting editor, *Challenge*. Saturday, June 26 at 2 p.m.

(3) POLITICAL ACTION—trade-union political activity, the nature of the two major parties, prospects for a labor party. *Speaker:* Sam Taylor, member of the YSL NEC. Sunday, June 27 at 10:30 a.m.

(4) THE ROLE OF SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION TODAY—a discussion led by Gordon Haskell, Assistant Editor, LABOR ACTION, Sunday, June 27 at 2 p.m.

Registration for all sessions of the conference is \$1; registrants will receive a study kit of literature dealing with the conference topics. All members and friends of the YSL are urged to make a special effort to attend. Those registering from outside of New York will, if

they request it, have housing arrangements made for them.

To register, and for further information, write to YSL, 114 West 14 Street, New York City.

## The YSL's Aim

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

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

—From the Constitution of the YSL



# AMERICA'S ALLY IN ASIA: REACTIONARY THAILAND

We reprint Richard Deverall's article on Thailand (Siam) not only because of its general interest as a report on a little-known country but particularly because of a fact not mentioned in the article.

The land which Deverall calls fascist is the *only* one in Southeast Asia which Washington can count on to follow its lead, even most of the time.

This fact rounds out a picture which we have often emphasized: Such is the character of U. S. foreign policy that it counts for support on the most reactionary and anti-democratic regimes in the world—from Chiang Kai-shek on the east end of Asia to Franco on the west end of Europe.

No matter what part of the world you look at, this enormously tell-tale fact is illustrated. We are glad to illustrate it for Southeast Asia with the help of Mr. Deverall, who visited Thailand in his official capacity as roving Asian representative for the AFL's Free Trade Union Committee. The article is reprinted (by permission) from the *New Leader*, whose generally pro-State Department line in foreign policy and rabid "anti-Communism" underlines the political point.—Ed.

By RICHARD DEVERALL

I recently visited Thailand, the linguistic "land of the free." It was my fifth visit to this exquisite land of water buffaloes, languid Thais and ever-busy Chinese.

The free-and-easy climate of Siam has noticeably changed. Forces at work inside Thailand, coupled with the march of Asian events since the consolidation of Communist power over China, now cast long shadows across the Buddhist kingdom whose last ruler was murdered in bed and whose present king relies on a pistol as a life-insurance policy.

Once Siam approached the definition of a democratic state. But, in the past few years, a tremendous military build-up and the widening corruption of the Pibul Songgram regime have practically done democracy to death.

The old 1932 constitution (with its several revisions) was abolished, and, on March 8, 1952, Thailand received a new constitution providing further ribs for the semi-totalitarian regime of Premier Songgram. In the National Assembly, half the representatives are appointed by the Government. Most of the appointees are Army, Navy and Air Force officers.

Corruption is reaching monumental proportions and threatens the future of Thailand as a nation. The police department not long ago decided that it would be well to issue a statement denying certain rumors, to wit, that the Songgram group "have made full preparations to flee the country; that the financial situation of the country is deteriorating to a situation similar to what the Chinese Nationalist Government was experiencing before the Communist Government took over the administration; that public morality has deteriorated to the lowest depths; that there is no justice in the administration; and that corruption is rife in Siamese Government circles."

## CORRUPTION

The denial of the rumors is interesting, because the denial lists rather accurately the poisons which are infecting the body politic of Thailand. The cost of living has risen considerably. Some of this is due to the squeeze by Government. Some stems from the corruption of Government officials and the police. And some results from the impact of the large numbers of Americans employed by the Embassy and U. S. Government missions.

Police General Phao Sriyanondh called for a sweeping crackdown on profiteering merchants. The police were authorized to inspect import orders, letters of credit and merchants' books. On the one hand, this could check profiteering. On the other hand, it gave the police an opportunity to squeeze more out of the merchants.

Police General Phao also called for a buyers' strike. The same man imprisons workers at the slightest pretext. Workers who went on strike in 1952 were kept in prison chains by the police for several months.

Perhaps the most serious immediate economic problem is that of the rice trade. Thailand produces about 4.5 million tons of rice each year. Ordinarily, the country would export at least 1.5 million tons at a good price, giving Thailand a favorable balance of trade. Thanks to the state intervention and governmental greed, it is no longer easy to dispose of surplus rice. Thailand must

now face a buyers' market and growing economic difficulties.

When the Thai Government declared it had smashed an attempted Communist coup d'état backed by Red China and the Vietminh of Indochina, a realistic American observer, Hugh G. Grant, formerly U. S. Minister to Siam, noted that "the so-called revolts in Bangkok come with amazing regularity." He made the further comment that "this time the revolt coincided with the arrival in Bangkok of our American Ambassador, General Bill Donovan."

Premier Songgram is loud in his denunciations of Communist aggression, which he fears may come from Chinese Communists in Malaya, from Kuomintang remnants in Upper Burma, from Red China, and from the Communists of Indochina. Along with the anti-Communist screams from his semi-fascist government come hints that more American aid would be useful in stemming Communist aggression.

The threat of Communist aggression against Thailand is real, of course. Chinese Communist irregular forces in Malaya recently were using Southern Siam as a base for operations against the British in Malaya. The thrust of Communist forces in Indochina to the Thai border has pointed up the reality of the threat from Red China and its Vietminh puppet.

## CHINESE PROBLEM

Potentially, the greatest threat is from Siam's Chinese minority of 5 million, who make up 25 per cent of the population. Premier Songgram's major political rival, former Premier Nai Pridi, is a full-blooded Chinese. The Songgram group detests the Chinese in Siam primarily because the Chinese, through their energy, have gained control of the tea and rice trade and most of the small and medium-scale industry of the country. The Chinese make up the skilled labor force of Thailand as well as the backbone of its trade.

Most Chinese are vigorously anti-Songgram and anti-Thai because of the persecution of all Chinese by the armed forces. An estimated 2,000 Chinese youth

leave yearly for "higher education" in Red China. The government obligingly operates a steamship line between Bangkok and Red China's Swatow, which speeds up this long-range subversion of Thailand through Communized youth.

The Chinese Communist party of Siam numbers at best 3,000 members and is currently underground. But thousands of non-Communist Chinese are a potential fifth column because of the persecution of the Chinese by the Songgram government.

What about the labor movement? The older Bangkok Labor Union was almost entirely Chinese and under Communist leadership. It has been either smashed or driven underground. A few years ago, the government set up the Thai National Trade Union Congress. The secretary-general of the TNTUC until recently was Nai Sangh, editor of the semi-governmental daily newspaper, the *Bangkok Tribune*. He was also chief sparkplug for the government-sponsored MRA movement. At last count, the TNTUC claimed about 6,000 members.

When Vice-President Richard Nixon arrived in Siam, Nai Sangh used the columns of the *Bangkok Tribune* to berate the Lord Mayor of Bangkok for alleged "kowtowing" to Americans. Within the day, Nai Sangh had been fired from his newspaper position by Premier Songgram and shortly thereafter fled the country, reportedly for Calcutta.

## AMERICANS' ROLE

The TNTUC has hit a new low, and competent observers in Siam report that the labor movement is now all but extinct. Yet, if any country needs a strong and articulate labor movement, it is Siam. The cartelization of industry and commerce by the earned forces and the growing corruption can best be combated by a strong and vigorous free trade-union movement.

When this writer worked in Thailand during 1951, the American Embassy seemed almost afraid of the word "labor." When we mentioned that the government had expressed interest in labor legislation, the Embassy asked us to lay off "because we do not want any labor laws in Thailand." Later, after the STEM group arrived, Director August Flegel made known his conviction that there was no "labor problem" in Siam. Flegel was and is anti-union. The United States has lost a golden opportunity in Thailand to spread trade-union principles.

Siam revisited presents a grim and depressing picture. Chinese who once smiled when asked about Songgram now bitterly and openly attack the regime. I found that Thais were fearful of being observed talking to me. "The police listen nowadays," a young man explained.

Thailand has been hailed as the bastion of anti-Communist democracy in Southeast Asia. Thailand is anti-Communist. But it is far less democratic today than before the American aid program began.

American labor should demand a truly pro-democratic, anti-Communist policy in Thailand. Pussyfooting and floundering are only promoting fascism and may one day provide another satellite for an aggressive Red China.

# SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

(Continued from page 1)

this week by his attorney, Oppenheimer's case is made to depend in good part on his argument that he was just as anxious to develop military uses for, and push the use of, the A-bomb as the next man or anyone else. Not for him, evidently, that drawing-back in horror from the implications of atomic warfare that has been true for many a scientist with fewer claims to political sophistication or moral enlightenment.

Again, it is useful to remember that it is THIS type of victim—so far short of being a martyr whom one can unqualifiedly admire for his own stand and own views—who is

the butt of the police-state reasoning of the AEC loyalty board.

Many an editorial has been saying something like "If a man like Dr. Oppenheimer can be subjected to such persecution, then..." Usually what is meant is "a man like Dr. Oppenheimer who is so brilliant, who has so served his country, who is so eminent," etc. We can say the same thing, with a different meaning.

It takes the cases of such men, and not real principled opponents either of H-bomb strategy or loyalty board witchhunts, to throw the hardest light on the development of the police-state climate in the U. S.

## On the Home Front

### Witchhunt Joker

An attempt to put a witchhunt joker into a housing bill has been turned down by a Senate committee. The rejected plan was to make loyalty oaths mandatory for occupants of all federally assisted housing, both public and private. The House had already approved this atrocity, which would have gone beyond even the present Gwinn Amendment, which requires such oaths only from occupants of certain low-rent federally aided housing.

The constitutionality of the Gwinn Amendment will be argued soon before the New York Court of Appeals in a test case.

### Hit Brownell Scheme

The Chicago Bar Association has adopted a report of its civil-rights committee opposing the scheme to compel testimony by offering immunity to a witness who stands on the Fifth Amendment. This scheme, sponsored particularly by Attorney General Brownell, is an attempt to get around and make a dead letter out of this provision of the Constitution.

The bar association's opposition was grounded on the following arguments:

- (1) The witness would have no protection against prosecution in state courts.
- (2) The courts and not the attorney general should determine whether public interest would be served by granting immunity.
- (3) The provision for party voting in the proposed Keating bill would set a dangerous precedent.

The Keating bill provides that a congressional committee could compel testimony by a witness if two-thirds of the committee members so vote, with the affirmative votes including the votes of at least two members of each political party.

The third point made by the bar association therefore made the following unanswerable remark:

"Such a provision suggests a recognition that this bill might allow political persecution, unless some check by the minority party is provided. If that danger will in fact be introduced by such a proposal, then no protection is granted to anyone who is not a member of one of the two major parties."

### The System

How use of unevaluated charges can cost a federal employee his job and entangle a highly respected organization was made clear in San Francisco recently.

The issue concerns a local Veterans Administration worker who had been suspended from his job, largely because of membership in the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, a group formed to seek improved race relations. Its membership includes prominent business, civic and religious leaders.

The case came to light after the employee, who held a non-sensitive job, appealed to the Northern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. He had been notified by the VA security officer:

"In 1952, you were associated with persons who are or have been members or supporters of communistic organizations in the San Francisco area by your admitted affiliation with the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, which reportedly had been successfully infiltrated and whose policies are directed by the Communist Party."

The Council protested vigorously to the VA, and Rep. John F. Shelley, San Francisco Democrat, called on Attorney General Herbert Brownell to clear the organization. But the VA declined to make any finding regarding the organization. It said the information had been supplied by "an investigative agency."

The employee was accused of belonging to two other organizations, neither of which is on the attorney general's list but which apparently were considered suspect by unknown informants. He submitted a written answer in January but by April had not been given a hearing.



## BOOKS and Ideas Concluding a Review of Steinberg's Book on the 1917 Revolution

# CONFESSIONS OF AN ANTI-BOLSHEVIK

By HAL DRAPER

In this second part of our review of I. N. Steinberg's book\*, dealing with its "anti-Bolshevik" case, we need few other materials than the information supplied by Steinberg himself. Another review could well be written in terms of what Steinberg's story of the role of his Left Social-Revolutionary Party omits and glosses over in the historical record; but for present purposes Steinberg's account provides its own refutation.

As we have pointed out, in his first three chapters, Steinberg defends the October Revolution, for the period during which he and his party were in coalition with the Bolsheviks. Then for five chapters he discusses run-ins between himself (as commissar of justice) and the Bolsheviks, over "terror" against counter-revolutionaries. He describes a series of incidents in the ominous tones of one who is seeing the future in the egg. Then comes a group of four chapters of "theoretical" discussion, thrown in at this point.

Then suddenly (to the reader), in Chapter 13, we find him—in jail!

What has happened? For a whole chapter our honest author goes through descriptions of some local prison color, ponderings about the French Revolution, tales about prisoners, etc. . . . and not a word about why he and a whole group of Left S-Rs have been imprisoned. He barely manages to mention casually even that the Left S-Rs had left the government: why? not a word.

At one point, he pictures himself as wondering: "Was this the final breakup of the once common front?" The reader naturally must suppose that this breakup has taken place because of the Bolsheviks' action in jailing their ex-partners. . . .

It is well-nigh incredible but Steinberg drags the reader through three more whole chapters before he even discusses his own version of what had happened to the coalition.

The reason for this peculiar structure is no mystery or personal idiosyncrasy.

Steinberg is deliberately engaged in creating the impression—without deliberately lying at all—that he and his Left S-R party broke with the Bolsheviks over questions of democracy and terrorism, that is, over questions which today are "respectable" ones for the Standard American Version of anti-Bolshevism.

And, of course, the indisputable historic fact is that his party broke with the Bolsheviks over an entirely different issue—and one which Steinberg does not seem too happy to recall or even discuss, even when he finally gets around to it.

The Left S-Rs broke because of their intransigent and violent opposition to the Brest-Litovsk peace with Germany, and for no other reason.

### Their Real Reason

The tsarist army had disintegrated, the whole land in revolution was in turmoil, the German army was threatening on the borders, whole regiments were deserting the lines, the front could not be held; better yield to the Germans' robber demands for a peace than have the revolution crushed; a revolutionary war against the German invasion could not be sustained; there was no choice. . . . So Lenin argued, not only against the Steinbergian phrasemongers but also against a strong minority of the Bolsheviks themselves, a minority which publicly campaigned for its position outside of the party and against its majority.

The Left S-Rs advocated war, not peace; but this position was defeated at the Congress of Soviets which met to ratify the Brest treaty. Thereupon, right there, Steinberg announced for the Left S-Rs that they were withdrawing from the government—"to the consternation of all present," he adds.

One searches the six meager pages which he devotes to the whole question of the Brest peace, the issue—no other—which brought the fateful break. One searches it, naturally, for Steinberg's statement of reasons in favor of his position of continuing the war rather than accepting the forced peace. This is what one finds:

Continuing the war by partisan warfare "might encourage the German people to resistance against their own masters. But 'peace' would automatically strengthen the German imperialist forces both at home and abroad."

Now, as a matter of record it was the Brest peace which did play an important part in stimulating revolutionary discontent in Germany; but the 1917 general strike wave in Germany and Austria proved that the revolution there was not yet ripe; and it was not at all necessary for the Left S-Rs to agitate Lenin about the quintessential need for German revolution to come to the aid of the Soviets; and. . . . But all this is really beside the point.

Steinberg and the Left S-Rs did not adopt their position out of overweening anxiety for the German revolution. It is transparent rationalization. If not, the Left S-R position would have been merely tactical opposition to the Brest treaty, as indeed was the case with the dissident Bolsheviks. On the contrary, as Steinberg makes clear, for the Left S-Rs the surrender of Russian territory to the German robbers was a principled "capitulation" of the revolution.

Steinberg quotes himself from an 1918 article: If we sign, "no trace will remain" of the meaning and content of the [Soviet] republic." At the end of this chapter,

\*In the Workshop of the Revolution, by I. N. Steinberg. Rinehart, N. Y., 3-6 pp., \$4.

we also find that the Brest treaty "broke the moral backbone of the coalition."

Why? Why were the Left S-Rs so frenetically and principally outraged by this peace signed at the point of Germany's guns? Was it, perhaps, the infusion of sheer national-chauvinism in their fuzzy ideology which prevented them from accepting the loss of Russian territory, even in order to save the revolution?

Yes. But whoever indignantly rejects that explanation will not find any other in the few phrases that Steinberg devotes to the reasons for this fateful break.

### Astounding Story

Well, then—to come back to the point in Steinberg's book where the scene had suddenly gone black—had the Bolsheviks thrown him into jail just because he and his Left S-Rs had quit the government? Of course, no; but in this curiously organized historical account it is not until Chapter 18 that Steinberg gets around to even mentioning what happened next!

The Left S-R party decided to make up for their defeat in the Soviet Congress by embroiling Russia in war with Germany by their own organized provocation.

On July 6, two Left S-R agents assassinated the German ambassador, Count von Mirbach.

Please note: Steinberg does not boggle over the question of the party Central Committee's responsibility for this move. The party's leader, Spiridonova, proudly claimed full responsibility for the act, in the traditions of S-R individual terrorism. The last thing the party wanted was to have the assassination treated as merely involving two individual murderers. It was the party that had ordered Mirbach's assassination in order to provoke Germany into renewing its assault on Russia.

Steinberg writes that "In actuality the Left S-Rs at that time had had no intentions of staging a revolt." (Italics added.) That is, at this time they were "merely" trying to get a war started against the country so as to bring about the "revolutionary war" which the majority of the country had rejected. (Democrats they are, you see.)

Perhaps some readers will not believe that a man can be so naive as to tell this story on himself and still continue to write as if his party was engaged in nothing out of the ordinary from the point of view of its democratic rights. But the fact is that Steinberg actually writes the following fantastic and almost unbelievable words:

"But Lenin and Trotsky could not forgive another party for acting independently and thus challenging their dictatorship."

He actually writes this after himself recounting his party's war plot! The Left S-Rs were just "acting independently" of the government—is that a crime? Doesn't a party have the democratic right to assassinate an ambassador in order to get a war started against its own country? You call this a revolt? And so what if our "revolutionary war" program has been voted down by the Soviet Congress? So what if I, Steinberg, nowhere in my own book even claim that a majority of the country was really for it? Is it not another proof of Lenin's "dictatorship" that he could not "forgive" this little innocent plan to start a war? Are we not great democrats and he a dictator?

Like a character straight out of Wonderland, Steinberg continues to write about the Left S-Rs' "deep shock" when the Bolshevik government reacted sharply.

But this was July 1918. It was not until seven months later (later in point of time—but five chapters earlier in the book!) that Steinberg found himself wondering about things in prison. What had happened in this interval?

Specifically, we have already seen that Steinberg had written that "the Left S-Rs at that time [July 1918] had had no intentions of staging a revolt." How did their intentions develop?

### Armed Insurrection?

This brings us to the question of the Left S-Rs' going-over to the program of armed struggle against the Soviet government.

This party, which had broken with the Bolsheviks over the issue of war-rather-than-peace, which proclaimed that it regarded this issue as involving the whole content of the revolution, which was so frantically anxious to blow up the Brest peace that it reverted to its terrorist-assassination methods in order to embroil the country in a war on the vote of its own narrow Central Committee as against the vote of the Soviet Congress—was it true or wasn't it true that this party then moved to a program of armed insurrection against the government?

In future there is no need for anyone to argue this point. Steinberg not only states but documents the party position.

In a chapter devoted mostly to this question (Ch. 14), Steinberg first summarizes the thinking of the party on attitude to the government.

"Almost unwittingly, a policy of 'war on two fronts' evolved," he writes—one war against the White interventionists and simultaneous war against the Soviet government. "They might have said: We shall fight the bourgeois counter-revolution as if the Bolshevik state did not exist, and we shall fight bolshevism as if social reaction did not stand poised to stab us in the back."

But—Steinberg continues in summary of his comrades' thinking—could such a two-front war succeed? Perhaps we should table our quarrel with Bolshevik policy in order to defend the revolution's future?

"Should the Left S-Rs then inform the regime of their decision, so that they might be released and take part in the battle? The conclusion seemed logical, but—

"It did not satisfy the moral conscience of the prisoners."

(Note that Steinberg implicitly demonstrates that he has no doubt that the Left S-Rs would have been freed from jail if they had been willing to adopt this position, against armed insurrection.)

How did the party divide on the question? It was debated among the Left S-R prisoners and "argued in the secret correspondence with the illegal Central Committee of the Left S-R Party outside."

One faction (the "moderates") declared "We . . . reject for the time being any armed struggle against the Bolshevik government because it might play into the hands of forces hostile to the revolution." (Italics added.) The other faction ("intransigents") argued for the two-front war: "you cannot destroy one without the other." They were for armed struggle now and against calling for a "fight against the Denikins under Bolshevik leadership."

Who won? All Steinberg reports is that the "moderates" were "restrained" and their will "paralyzed" by their fear that they might be regarded by the others as selling out to the Bolsheviks. Is it fair to conclude then that the "intransigents" dominated the party councils? At this point Steinberg simply ignores the obvious question. And of course it should be remembered that the "moderates" were those who did not favor immediate organization of armed struggle.

### Documenting the Truth

In any case, Steinberg next presents the text of a document, hitherto unknown to this reviewer, which is decisive by itself.

It proves to the hilt, without any possibility of doubt whatsoever, that the Bolshevik government asked only, as the condition for releasing the Left S-Rs, that they state publicly that they were against "armed action" to overthrow the government. This the S-Rs refused to do. Hence there is no possibility of dispute over why they were in prison.

All this emerges from the text of the document itself. Steinberg does not point it up one way or the other. One can even wonder whether he realized the meaning of the document which he quotes!

In August 1919 the Left S-R Central Committee, with the agreement of "all party circles," decided on negotiations with the Bolsheviks for an agreement which would legalize their party and free their prisoners. Kamenov, Beloborodoff and Stassova represented the Bolsheviks; the Left S-R delegation of three included Steinberg. There are six pages of direct quotation from the discussions, as selected by Steinberg himself.

The Left S-Rs proposed to "transfer the center of our political operations to the provinces occupied by the Whites." In exchange for this, they demanded: legality in these provinces after liberation, and immediate release of all jailed party members.

Immediately, all Kamenov wanted to know was: "Will you give up your tactics of armed struggle against us?"

Of course, the Bolsheviks also kept pointing out that it was impossible and absurd to have a situation where a party was illegal in (say) Moscow because of its program of armed insurrection while it was legal in a recently liberated province, insecurely held, with the same program. This is so obvious that the skirmishes on this point are not worth quoting from the document. The Bolsheviks kept hammering away at the main point:

In his very first speech, Kamenov said: "Can we ever come to an agreement with you, as clear and decisive as our split had been? Back in October (1917) we had differences of opinion too, yet we were able to work together." And in this framework he posed the decisive question of "armed action."

Turning and twisting, the Left S-Rs refused to say yes or no. One of them evaded by merely saying that "You have no proofs whatsoever of our participation in any plots." But the Bolsheviks were not asking for proofs one way or the other. They were merely asking for a public statement of party policy against armed action.

The second S-R evaded with the following phrase: "And anyway, we have been refraining from armed action against you for some time"—apparently not even realizing what he was admitting with this formulation.

Steinberg didn't even refer to Kamenov's insistent question (according to the text of this first conference as given in his book).

The second and last negotiations conference took place in September. Here the Bolsheviks were even more insistent in narrowing the issue down to armed insurrection.

It is not enough for you S-Rs—the Bolsheviks explained—quite patiently—to say that you reject armed insurrection because at the present time you don't actually have the means for it. That only convinces us that as soon as you can gather your forces, locally or nationally, you will act as before. What we are asking for is a statement of party policy against it. . . .

Steinberg replied: "Our party has not, so far, officially proclaimed any armed struggle against the Bolsheviks."

(Turn to last page)



# Only One Issue Was Taboo — —

(Continued from page 1)

that they have violated any law or have conspired to commit such violation.

The most spectacular demonstration of this was given by Army Counsel Welch, McCarthy's cleverest and most effective opponent in the hearings.

McCarthy attempted to bring the hearings to a rapid close before his "boys" had to take the witness stand by claiming that the hearings are preventing him from going after "130 Communists" in armaments plants. Welch did not demand proof from McCarthy that these alleged Stalinists have violated any law or plan to violate it, before they are dragged before the tender mercies of his committee. Instead, Welch demanded that McCarthy turn their names over to the military immediately, so that they can be dealt with by administrative procedures "before the sun goes down."

Similarly, when the Fort Monmouth hearings were brought up, Welch's attack on McCarthy was not that innocent people had been hounded and intimidated, but rather that McCarthy had failed to turn over the "information" he had on "infiltration" at Monmouth to the army long before he held his hearings.

In the midst of Welch's questioning, McCarthy struck at him with his usual weapons. He brought up the fact that one of the young members of Welch's law firm had at one time belonged to the National Lawyers' Guild. Welch lost control of himself, practically broke down in tears, and denounced McCarthy for "ruthlessness" and "recklessness."

## COMMON GROUND

Though sorely wounded when the shaft struck close to home, Welch again showed his basic agreement with McCarthy's attack on civil liberties. It turned out that when Welch had found out about his associate's former membership in the National Lawyers' Guild, he had kept him as far away from the hearings as possible. Here again, the principle is accepted that no one who has had any connection, however brief or tenuous, with a Stalinist front organization is entirely to be trusted, or at the very least, that it is impolitic to defend the record and the rights of such a person.

Liberals, both in Congress and in the press, have leveled their chief attack on McCarthy's claim that he has the right to receive information from anyone inside the government, regardless of the "security" nature of the information. They have cried that this breaks down the separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches of the government, that it creates a "sixth column" inside the administrative setup, and that it prevents the "orderly" administrative handling of "security" matters.

Welch, for instance, demanded that

## Confessions — —

(Continued from page 7)

You will not be able to find a single such decision in our party conferences. That is why we do not need a paragraph about it.

Of course the party had not yet proclaimed any armed struggle. That was in question at no point. As to a statement of party policy, not a word could be elicited from the Left S-R delegation other than what we have quoted above.

And that settles that.

This question of the course of the relations between the Left S-Rs and the Bolsheviks is the only one for which Steinberg's book has any special value. And on this question it contains invaluable evidence—all the more powerful considering the source—against the foul lies and heinous slanders which have replaced the history of the Russian Revolution among the anti-Bolsheviks as among the Stalinists.

## Definition

For the record, we note the answer given by Roy Cohn (at the McCarthy show in Washington) to the question "What is a subversive?"

Answer: "A person who favors interests unfavorable to the United States government."

Try that on, just for size, on various "controversial" personages, from right to left.

McCarthy give Stevens any information he may have on Communists in the military or civilian armament industry, that he "sic" Stevens had on such culprits. He contended that Stevens could do a far superior job of getting rid of such persons by administrative methods than McCarthy can by public disclosure.

But one of the chief methods by which civil liberties in this country have been undermined is precisely by the substitution of administrative procedures for legal ones in dealing with charges of "subversion." These are the procedures by which administrative officials become jury, prosecutor and judge, while the "defendants" have none of the legal safeguards of the right to cross-examine witnesses or to know the exact character of the evidence against them.

## ORAL LIBERALS

These are the procedures by which organizations get placed on a "subversive list" without hearings or charges, after which their members and sympathizers are denied passports, hounded by the FBI, discriminated against in the armed forces, and subjected to a thousand major and petty types of attack and persecution.

None of the liberals in Congress, it would seem, is liberal enough to attack the whole witchhunt on democratic grounds. Even those, like Stevenson, who make ringing speeches against fear and conformity and for courage and bold thought leave the issue of civil liberties and the administrative attack on them strictly alone.

Senator Flanders, who has now made the boldest attack on McCarthy, suffers from the same shrinkage of democratic conscience when it comes to this issue. After his first sally against McCarthy

several weeks ago, he returned to the Senate to say that if the junior senator from Wisconsin were to confine himself to attacking "20 years of treason" by the Democratic administration he would have no objection, but that McCarthy is going too far when he includes Republicans in his category of "Communist coddlers."

## UPSHOT

Now Flanders has returned to the attack with his demand that McCarthy be removed from committee chairmanships if he fails to defend himself against the charges of improper financial transactions. This is like trying a notorious gangster on charges of income-tax evasion. But it appears that McCarthyism has so much support in Democratic ranks that the Democrats will fail to support even this flanking attack on the formidable senator.

What will be the final upshot, and the net effect of the army-McCarthy hearings? It is now clear that this attempt to catch McCarthy off-base on an issue totally unrelated to his primary and most dangerous activities has collapsed from a lack of clear-cut damaging evidence.

It is true that in the course of the hearings the "clipped photograph" and the "hot letter" and McCarthy's own antics have tended to rub some of the luster off his armor. But as long as his chief stock-in-trade is not attacked, as long as his enemies accept his basic premises and are actually accomplices in his chief crimes against democracy, McCarthy will continue to lead the reactionary forces which comprise McCarthyism in America today. And as long as all this is true, even the personal downfall of McCarthy would not, by itself, stem the dangerous tides which are running toward a police-state.

# Lupa Charges — —

(Continued from page 1)

nist," that he had associated with Ernest Mazey, a former leader of the SWP, by having dinner with him, had attended a movie once at the SWP headquarters, and had once subscribed to the *Militant*, a weekly publication of the SWP.

On two major counts, the army-FBI case against Lupa blew up in its face. He was charged with associating with Mazey since 1933, and when it was proved that he hadn't even lived in Detroit until 1937, the army and FBI made the lame excuse that this was just a matter of a "typographical error," although the charges were repeatedly printed in the press, including the date 1933.

FBI sources—no names, please—said that late in 1942 Lupa had said to one individual in a plant where he worked that he was a "Communist." This charge is pure fabrication on two counts: Everyone who knew or associated with Lupa knows that Lupa never was a Communist, and the FBI also must know it, even though the charge was part of its report to the army; and in the second place, Lupa was in the armed forces at the time he was supposed to be in a Detroit plant saying he was a Communist!

It seems that the McCarthy investigators are not the only ones embarrassed by contradictions between claims and cold facts.

## SUPPORT GROWS

The indignation among Lupa's attorney's and friends over the crude attempt to ruin him if he didn't become a stoolpigeon brought a rush of good character witnesses for him, and led Cranfield to make the public demand:

"We want to know, and we think the American people want to know, if the FBI makes a practice of falsely accusing loyal Americans in order to force them to act as stoolpigeons."

Lupa told the people of Detroit in his TV appearance that the FBI promised him a job at Ford or Packard if he agreed to become a spy on the SWP.

The stench in this case is so obvious that both his parish priest (Lupa is a Catholic) and the service officer of the Detroit Veterans of Foreign Wars are backing him solidly.

As in the Radulovich case, the hearings going on in Detroit are a mockery of justice. The army presents its charges in writing; Lupa must prove they are wrong. There are no army-FBI witnesses to question—such as the individual who faked the statement that Lupa said late in 1942 that he was a Communist. The

most irresponsible rumors, stories or reports on individuals are part of the record, but the individual is given no recourse in the case. He is guilty until proved innocent.

The "star chamber" character of this hearing, as Attorney Lockwood described the similar Radulovich hearing, speaks for itself.

It may be recalled that when the Lupa story broke, it was pointed out that most of the past 20 years Lupa has been in service. He enlisted in World War II, and no claim was ever made that he was a "politico." His acquaintance with Ernest Mazey was casual, both being in the Wayne County CIO Council as delegates at one time. As for subscribing to the *Militant*, in the past two years thousands of auto workers had done that at one time or another, including many prominent union leaders. Some UAW locals even subscribe to the *Daily Worker* to find out what the Stalinists are writing.

## WHO NEXT?

There has been much public sympathy for Republican Fred Fisher, attacked by Senator McCarthy as a member of a "Communist front organization" because Fisher is in Army Counselor Joseph Welch's firm.

What about Lupa, and even more, what about the whole procedure that condemns an organization as "subversive" and smears its members, without so much as a hearing, a trial, charges, or anything else?

Maybe many people are tired of congressional investigations—and surely so many of them are phony from the word go—but a real public service could be accomplished by a public investigation of the methods of the FBI as raised in the Lupa case and in the whole security program and policy.

For each Oppenheimer or Lupa case there are hundreds where the individuals involved have not been so fortunate in obtaining significant public support. Meanwhile the FBI continues to use the methods employed in the Lupa case, and attempts to force decent people into becoming something repulsive to everyone except a police mind: a stoolpigeon.

Since Lupa was a loyal veteran with an excellent war record, a devoted Catholic and a decent family man, he looked like a "sure thing" to the FBI. They forgot that a sense of decency is still a powerful factor in America, and Lupa is a decent man.

Whom will they pick on next in Detroit?

## 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 worldwide 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!

## Get Acquainted!

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