Trial by Confession

Sentences Cardinal;

Truman-Stalin Swap Invites To Peace Talk, Get No Place

If so much was not at issue, from the point of view of the peoples of the world and peace, the struggle of statement and counter-statement between Stalin and Truman might provide excellent relief in a comic opera. The upshot of the exchange seems to be that never were two men more "anxious" to meet with each other, but one is "grounded" by bad health and the other likes Washington so much that he couldn't dream of leaving for a moment. (Since Stalin cannot travel by "boat or plane" we could suggest a trip by submarine. equipped with one of the navy's new 'schnorkel" breathing devices.)

In any event, the whole matter has boiled down to nothing - there will be no meeting, at least under the circumstances and conditions proposed by Stalin. (Wasn't it Tru-

man, by the way, who described the gentleman from the Kremlin as a "good old Joe"?)

We are all familiar with the official reasons: Stalin suggests that Truman simply doesn't want to meet him, that America wants to continue its aggressive policy, etc. Truman and his Secretary of State Acheson -the latter eager to wipe out any past suggestion that he was not as "tough" with Russia as he should be -have coldly and sarcastically rejected the Stalin invitations on the grounds that they are "maneuvers"; that the UN is the proper mailbox for such requests; that the other powers involved in the dispute must also be present, etc.

COLD WAR SPREADS

In the meantime, our cleverest journalists are busily at work weigh-

Phila. PAC Discusses Action On State's Anti-Labor Laws

January 28, the Philadelphia CIO-PAC sponsored a meeting of all stewards in the area to discuss the antilabor laws which have been passed in recent years by the State Legislature. Harry Boyer, president of the Pennsylvania State Industrial Union

Chicago Printers Get First Break In Long Strike

CHICAGO (CTU) The first break in the 14-month strike of Typographical Union No. 16 against newspapers of Chicago and adjoining Hammond, Ind., came on Sunday, January 30, when the Hammond Times and the ITU local reached agreement on a separate contract and wage scale.

guarantees "greatest measure of union security possible under the Taft-Hartley law" and moreover provides that, when the law is repealed, "any provision of the previous contract . . . excluded from this contract solely because of the restrictions of the law" shall automatically become a part of the new agreement. A wage increase of \$12.50 also is incorporated.

The strike continues against dailies comprised in the Chicago Newspaper Publishers Association-McCormick's Chicago Tribune, Hearst's Herald-American, John Knight's Daily News, Ridder's Journal of Commerce and Marshall Field's Sun-Times. These newspapers operate under a "unanimous consent" rule which forbids any of them to make an agreement with any labor union unless each and every member corporation gives its assent to each and every clause of the proposed agreement.

The Chicago newspapers, hiding behind a smoke screen of Taft-Hartley legal subterfuges, have insisted on changed working conditions which, in the opinion of Typographical Union officials, would disorganize the printing industry. While constantly proclaiming that "all we want is a legal contract," they have demanded changes in former contracts which would increase their profits by millions of dollars annually and diminish the wages of their employees by the same figure. As to wages, even the best "tentative" offer made by Hearst, McCormick, Knight and their fellow news magnates is several dollars less per week than provided by the new contract with the Hammond Times.

A Federal Court injunction handed down last March and a "contempt citation" issued several months later have not noticeably affected the union printers' fight against the Chicago newspapers.

The Hammond daily, now again fully unionized, has a circulation of less than 40,000, as against the average circulation of more than 500,000 enjoyed by the strike-bound newspapers of Chicago. These figures are. as regards both Hammond and Chicago, far below those which prevailed before the strike.

Now that the Hammond paper is again on the fair list, the Typographical and other unions intend to raise its circulation by intensifying their campaign against Chicago dailies which are still produced behind picket lines. Previously the Chicago papers have done considerable business in the Hammond area.

"package of ten" anti-labor laws now

Since 1946 the Republican machine commonwealth has passed so many acts which hamper labor that the unions in this area operate under conditions as unfavorable as those of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Women's Act eliminated protection for female workers, such as limitations on working hours and age requirements. An "equal pay" bill lists ways in which an employer can legally avoid paying equal pay for equal work. Several other bills enable employers to reduce payroll taxes and to establish controls over group insurance plans.

One of the serious blows struck against labor was Act No 349, which eliminated payment of unemployment compensation for strikers out due to industrial disputes. The proponents of this act made much of the fact that \$12,000,000 was paid to workers in steel, coal and electrical industries in the spring of 1946. A number of activities have been named as unfair labor practices. These include "guest' picketing, secondary boycott and jurisdictional disputes.

The Republicans have also taken care of strike situations affecting the "general welfare." Public employees are prohibited from striking or exerting any pressure to induce improvement of working conditions. Act No. 485 authorizes the governor to intervene and force unions to operate public utilities without stoppages. The compulsory arbitration takes a minimum of 225 days before a decision can be reached. This law was passed in the hysteria following the Duquesne Light & Power stoppage in April. 1946.

Boyer's talk, although exceedingly long and poorly delivered, was well received by the audience. It was evident that the CIO membership is, in the main, serious about local political issues as well as national ones. The local PAC unit plans to hold monthly meetings. Previously it had only been active just prior to election dates. However, it does not seem likely that PAC will have much success if it follows Boyer's advice that in Pennsylvania the Democratic Party is truly pro-labor. Rather, it is true that the Democrats are a subsidiary of the Republican machine in many vital areas. Thus it is imperative that the unions' political organizations in Pennsylvania pursue an independent

ing up the score of who won the exchange, from a propagandistic viewpoint. The scale seems about even (that is, a fat zero on both sides), but it is perfectly clear that the much-maligned cause of peace has

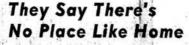
lost, and solidly too. The cold war continues and, in fact. extends itself to hitherto comparatively untouched areas and nations! We refer, of course, to the new strugale over the Scandinavian nations of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, which takes the form of Stalin's effort to maintain their "neutrality" (that is, refusal to join the North Atlantic pact) and Truman's effort to draw them into that same war alliance.

This is the only real, concrete result of the past few weeks' discussion-a deepening of the differences which have now reached the stage of outright military pacts, alliances and arrangements. In this light, the "rejected invitations" assume a farcical form and a primitive way of deceiving great masses of people.

STALIN'S MOTIVATION

We must ask ourselves, however, how can we explain the statements of Stalin and those of Truman? Was Stalin merely seeking to put his rival on the spot by having him reject a demagogically-proposed invitation? Was Truman simply slamming the door and proposing full steam ahead for war? It is not as simple as this. There is little doubt that Stalin would like a meeting at which a temporary and important settlement of today's most oustanding and sensitive differences could be settled. In Europe, at any rate, Stalinism has scored no recent victories; in fact, it has lost some serious struggles: Berlin, Yugoslavia, etc. Everything indicates the most serious difficulties

(Cont. in World Politics col. on p. 3)





Aimed at Opposition Truman Claims Right To Injunction Power

Undefined "inherent powers" are the resort of dictators. Such powers constitute "the-State-it-is-I" principle of government. Well, in the past week we were informed that the Truman administration believes it has such undefined "inherent powers" to

Secretary of Labor Tobin declared himself to this effect testifying before the Senate Labor Committee. Attorney General Clark gave the committee a written statement to the same effect. President Truman told reporters he has "constitutional and implied powers" sufficient to procure anti-labor injunctions. Such left-wing Democrats as Paul Douglas and Claude Pepper joined the chorus of "inherent powers" advocates.

All this came out in connection with the debate on the administration's labor bill now before the Senate Labor Committee and pertains to

rael, have ALWAYS championed the

right of Jewish immigration to Pal-

estine, supported the right of the

Jews to independence and self-deter-

mination and called for the defense

of Israel in the present war with the

Arab governments. However, that

does not mean that we accept the

Jewish state as THE solution to the

Jewish problem. On the contrary, the

Jewish state of Israel cannot exist

and prosper without a socialist solu-

The Jews are a world people num-

bering about 11,000,000. Optimistic

plans of the state of Israel call for

immigration of two to four millions

in 20 to 30 years. There can there-

fore be no doubt that they will RE-

MAIN a world people. As such, de-

fense of Jewish rights, the struggle

against fascism, the fight against war,

remain prime necessities for the Jews.

Israel will not become a major pow-

dent on Jewish aid from large and

prosperous Jewish communities.

Without world Jewish financial sup-

port, it is impossible to conceive of

large-scale Jewish immigration into

Israel. Present plans call for the rais-

ing of two and a half billion dollars

in five years. Israel IS dependent on world Jewry. World Jewry is NOT

tion of the Jewish problem.

the particular provision of the bill which calls for a thirty-day coolingoff period in strikes that involve the "national health and security" such as mine and railroad strikes. The Republicans, who favor continuance of the main features of the Taft-Hartley law, argued that while T-H calls for an eighty-day cooling-off period with the right of injunction by the government to enforce the provision, the new administration bill makes no provision for enforcing the cooling-off period. Whereupon the cat came out of the bag.

LEGAL SKULLDUGGERY

Secretary Tobin assured the committee that "No President of the United States ever is going to permit the economy of the nation to be brought to its knees in a great national emergency." Then the opinion of Attorney General Clark on the subject was read. This authority on the laws of the land holds that even in the absence of specific injunctive relief in the bill, the President would have authority to seek A. insunction in emergencies affecting national health and safety. The government always has that right, holds, Clark, when not specifically deprived of it. To fortify his position he referred to the government's injunction in the Lewis - miners case, upheld by the Supreme Court on the ground that the government has the right "to protion sections of the Norris-LaGuardia Act because the government is not specifically mentioned in that act.

The following day in his press conference President Truman stated that his Attorney General had told him that the "President's powers were sufficient to meet such emergencies." When asked by a reporter why this power was not specifically included in the administration's labor bill, Mr. Truman replied that it was not necessary since the Attorney General had advised him that the President has constitutional and implied powers. Mr. Truman feels that in time of emergency the President has "immense power to do what is right for the country." He does not believe his powers have "to be spelled out in the proposed law."

The implications of this position are far-reaching and sinister. It would mean that in important labor struggles the President could act as a virtual dictator to defeat labor. Once the principle of undefined "inherent powers" is accepted, there's no telling where it will lead. Certainly the head of the capitalist government is not likely to declare that it is "right for the country" for, let us say, hundreds of thousands of miners or railroad workers who may be on strike for better wages and conditions, to be granted their demands. It is

(Continued on page 4)

The trial of Cardinal Minds-

By EMANUEL GELTMAN

zenty before a Stalinist Court in Budapest, Hungary, ended formally on Tuesday, February 8, with the imposition of a life sentence. What the sentence has not ended is the world-wide protest occasioned by the trial, and the universal revulsion, outside of the Stalinist circles, against the sinister methods of "trial by confession."

Arrested on December 27, 1948, the Cardinal was charged with plotting to restore the Hapsburg monarchy, with black market operations, with seeking foreign intervention in Hungary. Evidence to support the accusations consisted of a "confession" by the Cardinal before the court, and of various documents, purportedly in the Cardinal's writing. Thus, the trial fitted neatly into the pattern of previous "Moscow Trials," and like them must be stamped a frame-up-no examination before an open and free couft, no defense, except as authorized by the court, no witnesses or documentation subject to OBJECTIVE examination. no jury free to decide on the basis of the evidence presented the guilt or innocence of the accused; the "defense" attorney instead of defending, constantly excusing himself and his client and apologizing for his actions

Thus, every accusation could conceivably be true, in one degree or another, and yet the trial would bear the indelible mark of frame-un!

On the first day of the trial, Cardinal Mindszenty admitted to "guilt in principle and in detail of most of the accusations made." Specifically, he admitted: (1) to discussing with another defendant, Juszin Baranyai, a possible third war between Russia and the U.S., and the new government that might be formed after such a war: (2) to meeting Archduke Otto of Hapsburg in a Chicago nunnery in 1947; (3) to trying to influence the 1947 elections as a royalist; (4) to writing a letter, while under arrest, to U. S. Minister Chapin, asking for assistance in escaping; (5) to writing various documents found in his palace, documents which establish his connection with black market dealings, other governments, etc.

Against this confession there is the Cardinal's statement in a letter written last November that any confession he might make would be "a consequence of human frailty and, in advance. I declare it null and void."

Not enough detail was presented in the trial, as reported in the press (severe limitations were imposed by he Hungarian government on press overage), to even submit the accusaions to critical examination. The con-

(Continued on page 4)

Palestine Peace in Sight, But Jewish Problem Remains

By AL FINDLEY

Palestine is leaving the front pages. The probability is that there will be no more fighting, but peace (even formal peace) is still in the future. The armistice talks at Rhodes between Israel and Egypt are stalemated although discussions continue. It is reported that the U.S. has urged a quick settlement on both countries, offering a Marshall Plan for the Near

All other Arab countries have been invited to these talks. King Abdullah announced his acceptance and urged all Arab states to do the same. Syria and Lebanon have agreed in principle. It is still not decided when these states will start talks. Britain has informed Transjordan that she will no longer insist on the return of the Palestinian Arab refugees and will aid their resettlement in Transjordan, expecting that country (with Arab Palestine) to match Israel soon in population and strength.

The consesus is that without mass pressure in Arab countries there will be no peace in Palestine despite the fact that fighting will not be resumed. The ironic aspect of the situation is that while the Arab governments are reluctantly and hesitantly moving toward a grudging and sulky peace with Israel, it is their fear of popular reaction that slows the process.

This is partially due to the mistaken taken a positive attitude toward Ispolicy of the Jewish labor movement and of the Israeli government which took no steps to appeal directly to the Arab peoples instead of to their governments. A policy of winning over the Arab masses could have created popular Arab pressure FOR peace instead of against it.

Israel is an armed camp and will remain so until real peace is made. There is, however, little interest in the talks at Rhodes. Temporarily, interest has shifted to plans for the new immigrants and to the composition of the new government following the recent elections. No decision will betaken until after the February 15 elections of the trade unions (Histadruth) in which 180,000 people are expected to cast ballots. The relative strength of the Mapai and Mapam within the Histadruth-Israel's most powerful organization - will determine the composition of the government and MAY be decisive for the future of the Mapam.

JEWISH PROBLEM

The approach of peace for Israel and the projected plans for large-scale immigration have once again brought to the fore the question: Does the establishment of a Jewish state solve the Jewish problem? LABOR AC-

er and will therefore have as much power to protect the Jews of the world as Mexico has to protect Mexicans in the U.S., as India has to protect the Indians in South Africa, etc. Not only will Israeli efforts to protect Jews in larger countries be of little avail, but Israel itself is depen-

TION and the Workers Party have

Overflow Audience Opens Forum Series N. Y. Labor Action Forum Hears Ruth Fischer on Tito Split

By STAN GREY

NEW YORK-On Sunday, February 6, the Labor Action Forum series was opened with an outstanding success. A continuation of the forums on the same level of attendance and interest will guarantee that the series as a whole will establish itself as an important event in the life of New York socialists. One hundred and forty people packed into the hall while many others were turned away for lack of standing room.

Ruth Fischer spoke on the subject, "The Conspiracy Within the Cominform," and her talk and summary were unusual for their provocative character and point of view. It would be an ungenerous and unnecessary deprivation of our readers to limit this report to a cursory news item. The exceptionally interesting talk

deserves a fuller report and, this particular listener feels, some critical remarks as well.

ANALYZES TITO SPLIT

The subject of the talk was an analysis of the origin and evolution of that portentous fissure in the Stalinist empire, the Tito-Stalin split. The speaker divided her subject into two parts: 1) tracing of the history of Tito's opposition, which goes further back than is generally supposed; 2) an analysis of Tito's relation to the present tensions within the Politburo of the Russian party.

On the first point, the speaker constructed what to this listener was a very striking theory. Tito's personal history is such as to already separate him from the old wheelhorses of the Comintern and Cominform, the Gott-

walds, the Rakoczys, the Dimitrovs and the rest. Joining the party later in his life than the others, Tito was never a completely disciplined and indoctrinated automaton in the Comintern mechanism. He had devoted little time and interested to the study of the classic texts of Marxism, his major interests centering in military matters. This indifference to scientific politics and his relative independence from the party made him comparable, in Comrade Fischer's opinion, to Max Hoelz, the heroic leader of the German working class after the First World War.

The speaker then proceeded to trace a history of Tito's real and suspected oppositionism.

(1) Tito's wife, a Russian intellectual, was purged in the revolt of the (Continued on page 3)

dependent on Israel. To pose the Jewish state as THE SOLUTION to the Jewish problem, and one that takes precedence over the struggle for Jewish rights and the fight against the system that breeds modern totalitarian capitalist anti-Semitism, plays into the hands of the enemies of the Jews and makes the job of the exterminators easier. DUAL DANGER

Jews face a dual danger. They face the danger of atomic destruction and of national oppression, as do all the peoples and minorities of the world. However, they are confronted by a special and most urgent danger-of total physical extermination. The threat of complete and total annihilation of the Jews is TAE distinguishing feature of modern caitalist anti-Semitism. The arena of annihilation

(Continued on page 4)

WDL Public Hearing to Air World Slave-Labor Scandal

Slave labor and forced labor throughout the world, from Russia to the United States, will be the theme of a series of public hearings sponsored by the Workers Defense League and held by the Commission of Inquiry Into Forced Labor which was formed following a similar conference

Five sessions will be held over three days, and the league expressed the hope of producing a 2000-page documented record of slavery and peonage in the various countries.

The Commission of Inquiry includes Emil Mazey of the UAW, Norman Thomas, A. Philip Randolph, Sidney Hook, John Green, John F. Finerty and is headed by Harry Gideonse. A long list of sponsors of the commis-

sion is topped by John Dewey as honorary chairman; among the sponsors are Max Shachtman and E. R. McKinney of the Workers Party, Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, and Hal Draper, editor of The New International. The announced program is as fol-

Thursday, February 24 -- morning: Russia and Its Satellites; afternoon: Asia and Africa. Friday, February 25 -morning: Latin America: afternoon: the United States. On Saturday. February 26-morning: Russia an its satellites again. This Saturday session will be followed by a luncheon in honor of the commission with six speakers. Complete details on the pro-

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Report on AFL Executive Meeting

By WILLIAM BARTON

The news from Miami this week is not all weather. The 70 degree and above temperatures seem to be matched by the beaming look of the AFL's Executive Council members, still in session at the time of this writing. It's been 3,000 miles and seventeen months from the national convention in San Francisco in the fall of 1947, which this writer attended. To twist a popular song title-"What a difference a year and a half makes."

The San Francisco conclave was a meeting of scared and tired officials. The Taft-Hartley Act had just become law. The AFL had some hopes of changing the tide by appropriating money to a new Political Education Department, but there was little enthusiasm. The delegates became most alive in defending themselves against John L. Lewis' charge that the AFL had no "head" but an elongated "neck that haired and grew over." They knew they had over seven million members, a powerful treasury, a longtime functioning apparatus. But they had little idea of what to do, and they alternately feared their own membership and the powers of business and government already beginning to cuff them around.

SPIRIT OF EXPANSION

Reports from Miami this week indicate a truly rejuvenated AFL officialdom. Even under Taft-Hartley atmosphere, the rank and file of labor did not just lie down and cry "uncle." The political activity of the AFL fatigued uneasiness at San Francisco

turned out to be much more extensive and successful than anticipated at San Francisco. Coupled with the work of the CIO's PAC, it produced the change in political complexion seen in Washington.

And, fortunately, the AFL is not stopping with extolling its work up to last November. It is set to ask that the Democratic administration and Congress deliver, even if it has shown an expected willingness to compromise. Plans for even more extensive political action are in the offing. The gossipy Victor Riesel reports preparations to set up political organizations and run candidates in rural areas, to get into Southern primaries, to work within both major parties. The AFL Political Education League is reported to have spent a little over \$175,000 last year. It seems obvious that much more can and will be raised from here on in.

The spirit of expansion seems to predominate in all fields. There is hope of reaffiliating the 600,000-member Machinists Union. A large-scale three-union drive is under way in retail stores, in competition with the CIO There is serious talk of a new international labor federation, with the AFL as keystone. A big campaign is to be undertaken to increase the wages of federal employees. The mood of verve and hope seems to reflect the warm, sunny days of winter in Southern Florida, just as the

corresponded to the intermittent fall rains outside the auditorium.

OLD LEADERS REMAIN

Of course, it is still the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with all that means. William Green told newsmen that he might suggest an amendment to the new national labor law to give craft workers in an industrial plant the right to bargain individually. The attitude toward the CIO remains the same smug and haughty "come back in or we don't know you."

The grandiose perspective of political action is more than ever colored by the idea that it is possible for labor to operate successfully within the old parties. On foreign policy, the Council has, of course, completely gone down the line with the administration, with nary of word of criticism, and has declared that it "pledges its support and cooperation with the national defense program now being considered by Congress."

The AFL is still primarily run by the same Gomper-trained crowd of the past thirty years. But it is again vigorously alive. This new burst of energy will have to change them or push them aside, as has happened before. The prevailing ideas are still way behind those common in the CIO, but the AFL is, at the moment, organizationally more healthy. The coming period demands united action between the two federations and increasing movement toward genuine independent political action for both.

OHIO NOTES:

Ohio Unemployment Rolls Rise as Cutbacks Spread

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND - During January, the number of job seekers in this city rose 9,000 over December to a total of 21,400, according to a report of the Ohio State Employment Service. Manufacturing plants, trade and service industries led the parade of layoffs. The report tells us further that unemployment compensation claims increased 50 per cent to over 10,000. Job openings slumped more than 1,000 during the last two months.

Cutbacks and layoffs continued to hit industry throughout the city. The Weatherhead Co.'s 1200 workers and 240 employees of the Browning Crane & Shovel Co. have been working only three days a week for some time. General Dry Batteries has dropped from a working force of 400 to 100. These figures would have been larger but for the fact that some auto parts plants regained full production after model changes.

As usually happens in industrial slumps, the older workers are laid off first. Many of them are heard bitterly complaining. Those who are eligible for unemployment compensation are asking what they can do with \$20 a week at present prices. It seems like a good question.

Want Ferguson Act Repealed

Strenuous efforts are being put forth in Columbus to repeal the Ferguson Act, which was passed by the previous (Republican) legislature. This Act provides that no employee ary).

of a governmental subdivision in this state, including school teachers, may go on strike without forfeiting his job. In practice the act is held as a club over the heads of those public employees who are courageous enough to rebel against intolerable working conditions. If an employee does strike and then is rehired (with the approval of the appointing authority), he can get no more than when he left the job, can get no increase for at least a year and is on probation for two years.

The act is being fought by both the Ohio State Federation of Labor and the CIO. As one of the State Federation officials, Phil Hanna, said: "It is a brazen legislative decree dictatorially forbidding government employees the fundamental rights of other workers in America. There are many types of state employees, most of them lowly paid, who need the same protection as other workers."

l'éachers' Salaries

A move is on foot in the State legisature at Columbus to raise the saiaries of school teachers in this State by at least \$25 per month. This is not o much out of consideration for use needs of the teachers as it is out or year that the teachers will move to other states and thus leave a shortage of teachers here. It is reported on good authority that 4,300 teachers ies: Onio last year, chiefly for New York vhere the pay is higher (\$3,500 & ear average, still not a princely sal-

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

Several weeks ago, we discussed in this column the organizational crisis in the Stalinist youth movement. Our particular subject was the disappearance of the American Youth for Democracy (AYD), which actually disintegrated before its Stalinist mentors gave it the official coup de grace. This move was contemplated at the last national convention of the Communist Party which gave blunt evidence of its control of AYD and its intention of merging the remains of AYD with the Youth and Students for Wallace movement, alias the Young Progressives of America (YPA).

The Stalinist hopes ran high at its convention for a mass youth movement, despite AYD's collapse. For the Stalinists looked towards the Wallace youth as a new and irresistable force. The YPA was to reach peaks of membership and influence never attained by a "left-wing" youth organization; a front that was to be the transmission belt for the creation of a "Young Marxist League" affiliated to the Communist Party.

But something happened. Exactly what is not important at the moment. The fact is that all plans misfired and the YPA is now deader than could have been imagined during the preelection Wallaceite jamborees on campus. One hardly notices them today. An occasional leaflet is all we have to remind us of the YPA's recent prowess. Their meetings are few and uninspired. The "Jimmy Higgins" work is carried out primarily by Stalinist Party members and hardened "sympathizers." Here and there are even rumors of liberal opposition developing within YPA against the organizations Stalinist core.

BOOK MEMBERSHIP

We have just received a copy of the committee reports of the first founding convention of the New York State YPA. The sections of this report issued by the YPA which concern the organization's size and membership are significant. The total number of delegates, fraternal delegates, and observers at the convention numbered 428, of which 282 were regular delegates. All indications are that a delegate represented no more than a dozen members or major fraction thereof, which would mean a state-wide book membership of about 3000. This estimate is strengthened in the section on membership perspectives. We are informed that the goal is 10,000 members by April 1949. The resolution states that "in order to start the drive off with a big push, we propose that every delegate present pledge to sign up ten members of YP of New York ..." (emphasis ours).

Assuming that only the 282 voting delegates (that is, excluding fraternal delegates and observers) are covered in this resolution, it can be concluded that a pledge of almost 3000 new members to "start the drive off" towards a goal of 10,000 members, bears out our deduction that the YPA in New York State is probably no more than 3000 in number. The bulk of this membership we can be certain is strictly confined to the books.

Compare this figure with those claimed by several New York Wallaceite campus clubs before the elections and we can more graphically see its precipitous drop of membership and attractiveness. On two campuses in New York City-Brooklyn College and City College-the combined membership claimed by students for Wallace was well over 1,000. In other words the Wallaceite membership, less than a year ago, on two New York campuses was at least one-

third of our estimated total of New York State YPA membership today.

A comparison between the present status of YPA-a self-styled "broad" organization-with the Young Communist League of ten years also is even more unfavorable from a Statinist point of view. For the narrower Communist affiliate had on the above mentioned campuses, approximately 1,000 members and unquestionably had a larger state-wide membership than that of the present "mass organization," the YPA.

What is true of the local YPA is by no means exceptional. From all reports we have received it has met with no more success on the national level. On the contrary we know that some of its most powerful chapters. outside of New York have almost totally collapsed.

The Youth for Wallace movement has passed its zenith. We do not believe that the fading fight of this descending Stalinist star can shoot upwards again, illuminating the campus - and the Communist Party's hopes-with its folksy line of cornbred ballads and square dancing.

The reasons for this decline will be discussed next week.

Three Way Debate

This Sunday, February 13, at 3:00 p.m. at Labor Temple in New York City (242 East 14th Street) there will be a three-way debate between three socialist youth organizations on the question, "Which Road to Socialism?" The participating organizations are: the Socialist Youth League, the Young People's Socialist League and the International Socialist Youth. Admission is twenty-five cents. All are invited to attend this meet-

ing, which is the first of its kind in many years. Between presentation and rebuttal there will be an hour and a half for questions and discus-

We regret not having been able to announce this meeting sooner, as the final arrangements were not made until a few days ago.

Class Reminder:

This coming Monday and Tuesday at 114 West 14th Street, New York City, the third sessions of the three SYL study classes will be held. Onthe former day at 7:15 p.m., Hal Draper's class on "Principles of Leninism" will discuss olshevism as a distinct tendency in the International; at 8:45 p.m. the class led by Abe Kimbay, "An Economic Analysis of Capitalism," will discuss the theory of "underconsumptionism." On Tuesday at 8:30 the third class on. "Readings of Marxism," led by Jack Maxwell, will discuss Rosa Luxemburg's pamphlet, "Reform or Revolu-

There is a twenty-five cents tuition fee for each session.

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Questions Our L-L Statements

I should like to correct some major and minor errors in your articles in the January 31 issue of LABOR AC-TION, dealing with Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Debs.

Debs was never in Leavenworth. He began his prison term at Moundsville. W. Va., and was later switched to Atlanta.

Karl Liebknecht did not vote against war credits at the outbreak of the war, as the article declares. In the meeting of the Social Democratic parliamentary fraction prior to the voting, he did fight for that position, but upon being overruled vielded to party discipline in the acfual vote in the Reichstag, on August 4. However, when the second war dget was voted in December, Liebknecht became the first to defy the majority by voting against the war credits.

You also state that Liebknecht (and Luxemburg) were "murdered by the forces of the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske social democratic government." Despite the many crimes with which that government can be charged, this oné is, at least, open to grave doubt. The actual murderers, we know, were members of the unofficial Freicorps. That they were used to support the Ebert government is true; but there is no evidence that the Social-Democratic leaders ordered or even wanted this murder to take place. There is, in fact, ground for suspicion that Moscow was responsible. Luxemburg's biographer, Froelich, points out that Luxemburg and Liebknecht were arrested in the company of Wilhelm Pieck, present-day German Stalinist wheelhorse. The fact that his life was spared while the others were killed indicates that Pieck COULD have been the stoolpigeon who revealed the hiding place.

I have talked with one German Social-Democrat and trade unionist who publicly made this charge, which went unanswered. Certainly Moscow had reasons to fear Red Rosa for her opposition to the immediate formation of a Third International, and her political differences with them on the national question, national wars, the land policy, suffrage and democracy. Of course, since Lenin and Trotsky were in power then, and it is your theory that Moscow went wrong only when Stalin took over, I would not expect you to discuss these important

Sincerely.

Virgil J. VOGEL, Chicago.

The Answer:

Reader Vogel is right about Debs' place of imprisonment. He is also right about the fact that Karl Liebknecht's lone vote against the kaiser's war credits came on the second war budget in December, not on August 4, 1914, when he obeyed party discipline; but it was not the intention of the caption quoted to gainsay this point in noting the fact that Liebknecht was a "member of Reichstag at outbreak of World War I" and that he "voted against war credits." We can see, however, that the immediate juxtaposition of these two facts

give the wrong impression. Sorry. Our correspondent's remarks on the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, however, unlike the above two points, has a political in-

The statement that Liebknecht and Luxemburg were "murdered by the forces of the Ebert-Schneidemann-Noske social-democratic government." says Vogel, is "open to grave doubt." We have room here to cite only a small part of the evidence, which in our opinion leaves no doubt at all. Vogel's reference to Froelich, Luxemburg's biographer, is misleading; his book (pages 330-333) is entirely clear in implicating the Social-Democracy, and naturally Vogel's "madein-Moscow" theory is nowhere to be smelled in its pages.

WHOSE FORCES?

(1) The "actual murderers" were members of the cavalry division assigned by the government to "guard" Liebknecht and Luxemburg after their arrest; we do not understand why Vogel feels called upon to dispute the statement that they were murdered by "the forces of the . . . social-democratic government." These and their similars were the forces indeed which Social-Democratic Minister Noske organized, in his OFFICIAL capacity, to repress the gathering revolution. There was nothing "unofficial" about their relation to Noske, even though they were not yet organized as a regular army. The government had NO other forces.

(2) Froelich fixes special attention upon the so-called Reichstag regiment, known officially as "Auxiliary Organization of the Social Democratic Party, Section XIV." It was established by the findings of a court at a later date (in a libel trial) that a price of 100,000 marks had been set on the heads of Liebknecht and Luxemburg in the names of Philip Scheidemann (top Social-Democratic leader) and Georg Sklarz. Three leaders of that regiment declared under oath that Fritz Henk, Scheidemann's sonin-law, had expressly confirmed to them the existence of this bait and promised them that the money would be paid the moment it was earned; a number of other witnesses from the regiment confirmed that the order for the murder was common knowl-

edge in the regiment. (3) The Social - Democratic press deliberately whipped up a lynch spirit against the two leaders. Two days before their murder, the official central organ of the S-D Party, Vorwaerts, published a direct and unequivocal incitement to murder. Writes Froelich:

"The crusade culminated in the shout for the blood of Liebknecht and Luxemburg to crown the bloody saturnalia. The social-democratic Vorwaerts took the palm for shamelessness with a poem by Artur Zickler published on January 13 and ending with the verse:

"Many hundred corpses in a row -Proletarians!

Karl, Rosa, Radek and Co .-Not one lies there, not one lies there!-Proletarians!

"And it was the Vorwaerts which had the honor of announcing in advance of all other papers on Thursday, January 16, that Liebknecht had been 'shot whilst attempting to escape,' and Luxemburg 'killed by the people."

Speaking of the days just preceding the murder, Froelich writes: "Both bourgeois and social-democratic organizations did their utmost to hound down the two leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, cooperating with each other in eager rivalry."

OTHER TESTIMONY

(4) We cite Froelich because Comrade Vogel chose to refer to him. The most authoritative bourgeois historian of this period in the U.S., R. H. Lutz, writes: "The bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats openly rejoiced over the death of the two communist leaders. . . ." We spare the piling up of endless quotations on this point. It is all rather a far cry from Comrade Vogel's belief that the Social-Democratic leaders did not "want this murder to take place."

(5) Equally illuminating are the undisputed facts about what happened to the murderers. We cite another bourgeois historian, Luchr:

"The conduct of the trial against the brutes responsible for the murder of the two sincere Communists was as disgraceful as the murders of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. . . . The government appointed two men from the Central Council and two from the Berlin Executive Council [of the workers' councils, which were controlled by the Social-democrats] to sit on the military tribunal, which was to try the charges. But the dilatory tactics and the obvious intention of the army not to cooperate with the civilians soon caused the four to resign. The accused were only arrested after plentiful opportunity had been given them to escape to foreign countries, while the few who were arrested were imprisoned together, giving them excellent opportunity to discuss their plight among themselves and to decide on a common story. The courtmartial resulted infamously in acquittal. . . . "

The decision was confirmed by Noske, as the superior military official, being Minister of War in the Social-Democratic Cabinet. Two of the murderers were slapped on the wrist after the evidence had cut through the farce to the full enlightenment of all: Lieutenant Vogel received a two-year sentence for misdemeanor as an officer and for disposing illegally of a corpse (!); his military superiors thereupon promptly gave him a false passport and an auto to get across the frontier and await an amnesty. Leo Jogisches. Luxemburg's comrade, who worked untiringly to bring the evidence to light, was arrested on March 10 and taken to police headquarters by a detective named Tamschik, who there murdered him in cold blood; Tamschick was later promoted to police lieutenant by the social-democratic minister Severing "in recognition of his services." (See Froelich for all this.) All this was the Social-Democrats' direct responsibility.

CRUDE SLANDER

(6) There is much, much more to be said, but perhaps this will do. We are especially surprised by the fact that Vogel has permitted himself to swallow the Social-Democratic stupidity with which he closes. The murder was ordered by "Moscow" or Lenin? Let us leave aside the fact

that neither Vogel nor anyone else knows of a single case where the Bolsheviks under Lenin used assassination against political opponents (as did the Social-Democrats); no one could possibly be as principledly opposed to such methods as they.

The evidence? Wilhelm Pieck was with Luxemburg when she was arrested, but HE was not murdered, therefore . . . We trust and pray that Vogel will forgive us if we say that if you want to find any place where such "evidence" is taken seriously you will have to peruse the testimony at the Moscow purge trials of Stalin. Pieck was THEN a third-rater and quite an unimportant figure as compared with Luxemburg and Liebknecht. There was no price on his head, nor any reason for the reaction to thirst for his demise. On this bare fact that Pieck was also arrested, the Social-Democrats anticipated Vishinsky and Yagoda in building a fantastic case of "could have been." The charge went unanswered? It should be quite obvious that there is nothing to answer, nothing to refute; the absurdity was merely denied and laughed down, as it deserves; though it does crop up in unexpected places, just as the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion persist in popping up from time to time.

We should like to point out to socialists like Vogel that their anti-Bolshevik opinions, which we are always glad to discuss with them, should not, however, impel them to swallow blind the crudest anti-Bolshevik slanders which make the rounds-at any rate, not the crudest.

Answer from Brad On Indonesia Policy

Robert Magnus' letter in last week's LABOR ACTION begins auspiciously enough with the recognition that "Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution as applied to semi - colonial countries has proved false in many countries." He then proceeds to completely ignore this statement and to propose a policy which has validity only if one accepts the discarded theory, and even then only if one forces it into a very narrow, tight-hooped barrel.

Magnus contends that "the Republican government of Indonesia with its social - democratic care - takers is hindering the struggle for national independence." Therefore the workers must struggle against the Republic, attempt to sweep away the compromisers and establish a workers government as the only assurance of independence or at least of no compromise with the Dutch. This is the essence of Magnus' objection to my

Now Trotsky's theory led to the conclusion that native bourgeois classes in colonial and semi-colonial countries could not lead the fight for independence to fruition because their very rise as national bourgeois classes already created the antagonisms of class conflict. Out of fear of their own working class and because they could not break their ties with imperialism, their struggle was doomed to be one which sought concessions, or modifications of foreign

workers, said Trotsky, at the head of all oppressed classes to take the lead in the struggle. Trotsky's error consisted in his underestimation of the colonial bourgeoisie. Hard as it is for revolutionists to acknowledge it, it is nevertheless a reality. Magnus, too, under-

the spoils, but not for full national

freedom. Because of this fatal flaw

in the very marrow of colonial rul-

ing classes, it devolved upon the

estimates this fact in his letter. He states that independence has been achieved "more by the break-up and decay of the British and French colonial empires than by the strength of the indigenous capitalist class. But this (independence - J. B.) has only been the case in large semi-colonies no colonial country has attained its independence under the leadership of the bourgeoisie." Here is the crux of Magnus' error. India, Burma and Ceylon, all of which are now independent state, were colonies and not semi-colonies. And, in each case, they achieved their independence under no other leadership than the bourgeoisie. Not one of these nations had political independence before the war and since the distinction between colony and semi-colony is the measure of political separation from imperialism, each of these states was formally a full-fledged colony.

Nor is it so simple that the decline of European capitalism was the greater factor in these changes. This decline created the conditions which gave the necessary superiority to the struggles of the colonial bourgeoisie. Class power is a relative measure. The same conditions would have applied to a socialist revolution in these areas.

However, it is not enough to let it

go at that. The most important fact

of the colonial world is the post-war revolt of Asia, in which the achievement of independence in these three nations as so many major incidents. The entire continent is aflame-China, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Philippines, the Middle East. A powerful dynamic is moving the entire vast area which contains more than half the world's population, shaking it out of its 2,000 year lethargy, upsetting its stagnant and stratified economy. These changes are basically the culmination of 300 years of conflict and contact with the West. It is a manifestation of the world conflict between colony and declining metropolis. The rise of the native capitalists is one side of this equation. Their economic potential was sharply increased during the war This was one of the major immediate factors in the post-war struggle. Another cause was the widespread Japanese victories with their slogan of Asia for the Asiatics and its deliberate policy of fostering certain independence movements, as in Indonesia. In no case has the working class taken the lead of these struggles. This is an unfortunate fact.

Whether or not the capitalists can organize these nations into stable entities is however questionable. One major section of Trotsky's thesis remains as yet unchallengeable. For it seems unlikely that Asiatic capitalism will achieve a new flowering or even succeed in carrying through the bourgeois revolution to the level of the European states. It is improbable that the social forms in Asia will be

(Continued on page 4)

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Recalling the Moscow Trials____

The technique of "trial by confession," which has been most recently used by the Stalinists in the Cardinal Mindszenty case, was perfected during the great purge trials of 1935-1937. A different type of defendant was then on trial. The defendants then were, all of them, socialists, representing the various wings of the revolutionary movement in Russia, Trotskyist and so forth. Their extermination was sought precisely because they were revolutionists and because the Stalinists regime had broken every last connection it may my have had with socialism.

works see No one knows the numbers who went to their vistami death in the trials, or in the general purges which visition accompanied them. Great names were among them the great figures who had led a nation to and whose existence was intolerable to a regime that had crushed their achievement, the Russian Revolution. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Radek—these were the men who had led the revolution of 1917 with Lenin and Trotsky. Nameless and numberless others, who had also been part of the revolutionary generation, went to their doom. The principal defendant Leon Trotsky the great revolutionary whose mere existence was a thorn in the side of the Stalinist dictatorship was beyond reach of the court; he was reached instead several years later by a Stalinist assassin in Mexico.

The trial and conviction of the revolutionists did not of course provoke the same kind of reaction as has been accorded the Cardinal. Liberals, workers, millions of people everywhere in the world denounced the trials. But no mayors led protests on City Hall steps, as did Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City for Mindszenty. Governments did not use pressure, and we don't remember them being urged to by the powerful press. That of course is in the nature of things.

There were, however, many people who were interested in ferreting out the truth about the trials. The most thorough investigation was held by a Commission, chaired by the noted philospher, John Dewey, which held hearings in Mexico and elsewhere, interrogated all the witnesses they could (notably Trotsky), and examined the trial in minutest detail. The Commission published its findings in two volumes, "The Case of Leon Trotsky," and . . . "NOT GUILTY." Readers who are not familiar with these reports ought to do their best to acquaint themselves with them.

The Moscow Trials have never been forgotten, either by the Stalinists or by their opponents. The Mindszenty trial, which employed the vicious methods of "trial by confession," should serve as a refresher, a reminder, an occasion to broadcast the truth about the Moscow trials.

Among the many books and documents written in connection with the Moscow trials, one of the best is Max Shachtman's "Behind the Moscow Trial." It concerns itself only with the trial of Zinoviev, Wamenev, Smirnov and thirteen others in 1936. They were charged with conspiring with the German fascists to murder the most prominent Russian leaders, and of having murdered S. M. Kirov a year and a half before. In his book, Shachtman tears the "evidence" against the defendants apart, and shows as well how fraudulent were their confessions. We print below a few excerpts from Shachtman's book, (pp. 47-53), regrettably brief ones. (We call our reader's attention to the reference to the 1922 trial of Social Revolutionaries. The democratic, revolutionary government of that period, before it was destroyed by Stalin, did not hesitate to allow the defendants to conduct their defense freely. Their lawyer was Emile Vandervelde, Belgian social-democrat, and an outstanding opponent of the Soviet regime.) -Ed.

How Confessions Are Obtained

d'ant.

The argument most frequently and triumphantly made by the Stalinists in order to make credible an otherwise incredible story, is that the evidence was voluntarily presented by the accused themselves, that they refused attorneys, that they admitted their guilt. The defendants confessed! The completely contradictory character of most of the "confessions," we have already established; in what is still to be written, we shall establish that the other "confessions" have the same value, that is, no value at all. But the indisputable fact remains that the accused at least appeared to volunteer their self-indicting testi-

Upon examination, the "confessions" so proudly referred to by the Stalinsts prove to be another relentless condemnation of the régime which caused a spectacle to be enacted. We have enough material at our disposal to enable us to form an exact picture of how the confessions were

First of all, the prosecution studiously avoids any reference to the manner in which the plot was discovered, or why it took the G.P.U.—the most efficient and ruthless police service in the entire world—so long to make its disclosure. Like so many other aspects of the trial, this one too is unprecedented. Who told the authorities of the existence of the Center and its plot, that is, who was the first to tell? Who was the man, or the men, who first gave the authorities the clue that led to uncovering the whole conspiracy? Of this, not a syllable anywhere. Yet it is the most elementary, and the customary thing in any trial at all similar to this

The unofficial answer to this question, already asked by others, is given in the organ of the Comintern: "It would have been the gravest mistake to make this known and thereby to aid the enemies of the Soviet Union to refine their methods and to guard themselves against being apprehended in the future." (Rundschau, Vol. V, No. 42, p. 1779.) This is sheer nonscnse. If there was a plot, there are, it would seem, only three possible ways in which the authorities could have discovered it: by accident or some involuntary imprudence of a plotter, which is the same thing; by one or

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Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874 more of the plotters being overtaken by remorse and volunteering the information to the police; by a police agent, working under cover among the plotters, and rendering a report to his real superiors. In any one of these three-the only possible-cases, the explanation of Rundschau, however mysterious and impressive it is supposed to sound, is so much poppycock. If any of these three was the case, there is absolutely no reason why the prosecution would not make it known. If it does not-and it doesn't-then it is only because the first news of the conspiracy was not conveyed from the ranks of the accused to the ranks of the prosecution, but the other way around. In other words, the prosecution invented the plot and compelled the accused to enact it at the trial for the first time of their lives.

In Contrast: the 1922 Trial

Let us see how this explanation fits in with the

actualities of the "confessions." Take the trial of the S. R. leaders in 1922. They were accused of having organized a fight, with arms in hand and in alliance with the Allies, to overthrow the Soviet government, and of having directed the assassination of the Bolshevik leader Volodarsky and the attempt on Lenin's life by Dora Kaplan. The twelve men and women on trial were never partisans of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the Soviet government. They had organized the armed struggle against the Soviets and for the so-called Constituent Assembly and had done it with the support of the Allied imperialists because, they said, the "Russian Democracy" was still in alliance with England, France, Belgium, Italy and the United States. These facts were not brought out at the trial by means of those abject and suspicious "confessions" that marked the August 1936 trial: no witnesses were needed to prove them; nobody, anywhere, sought to deny them. In fact, summarizing the charges, Emil Vandervelde, the Belgian socialist attorney for the defendants, stated: "The Social Revolutionaries admit this fact and are proud of it. . . . The Social Revolutionaries admit this fact and are only sorry that they did not succeed in carrying this [the armed defense of the Constituent Assembly] to a successful conclusion. . . The Social Revolutionaries admit this [the waging of an armed struggle against the Soviet government] as an undeniable, historic fact." (The Twelve Who Are to Die, Berlin 1922. P. 62.)

The defendants did, however, deny responsibility for the assassinations. But in this case, the accusations were, at the very least, historically and politically plausible, whatever one's opinion might be of the conclusiveness of the concrete evidence adduced against the defendants. Every one of the twelve was not only an avowed and bitter opponent of the Soviet régime but also a long-standing defender of the theory and practise of individual terrorism against all despotisms, among which they included the Czarist régime and

the Bolshevik régime as well. But in the 1936 trial of the old Bolsheviks? Never have genuine terrorists, not even the most repentant, made such statements in court as came from the lips of every one of the accused! They reviled themselves and each other; they cursed each other as "mad Fascist dogs"; they vied successfully with the Prosecutor in vilifying themselves, outdoing him-not an easy thing to do when one reads the lexicon of vituperation drawn on by Vishinsky; they cringed, they humiliated and flogged themselves in public in a positively inhuman manner; they even added charges that the prosecutor hadn't mentioned, volunteered information that was not requested! Not one of them, for years so permeated with an uncontrollable hostility to the Stalinist régime, so filled with a fierce hatred of the party leadership, had a syllable of criticism to offer of Stalin or his domination or his policies. On the contrary, they outdid each other in eulogy of his grandeur and the marvelous achievements made by the Soviet Union under his gifted and inspired leadership,

Made-to-Order Confessions

What person in his right senses can read the testimony of the defendants and conclude that it was normally given and represents even an approximation of the truth? A few examples: . . . "Vishinsky: Accused Zinoviev, you too were

an organizer of the murder of comarde Kirov? "Zinoviev: In my opinion, Bakayev is right when he said that those really and mainly guilty of the scoundrelly murder of Kirov were primarily myself-Zinoviev-Trotsky and Kamenev, who organized the united terrorist Center. Bakayev played a big role in it, but by no means a decisive one.

"Vishinsky: The decisive role was played by you, Trotsky and Kameney, Accused Kameney, do you join in the declaration of Zinoviev that you. Trotsky and Zinoviev were the main organizers and Bakayev played the role of the practical organizer?

"Kamenev: Yes."

And this:

"Vishinsky: How are your articles and declarations to be evaluated, which you wrote in 1933 and in which you expressed your devotion to the party? As deception?

"Kamenev: No, worse than deception.

"Vishinsky: Perfidy? "Kamenev: Worse.

"Vishinsky: Worse than deception, worse than perfidy; do you find this the word-treachery? "Kamenev: You have found it.

"Vishinsky: Accused Zinoviev, do you confirm this?

"Zinoveiv: Yes. "Vishinsky: Treachery, perfidy, two-tongued-

ness? "Zinoviev: Yes."

One cannot come to any other conclusion except that the "confessions" were made to order. The defendants must have felt themselves under some moral, mental or physical compulsion to make the kind of confessions they did. If they really made them of their own accord, they should have been turned over, not to the executioner, but to an

institution for the treatment of mental aberrations. How were the confessions obtained? We know by now how similar confessions were obtained in other trials, where the same kind of stupefying testimony was given with the same unanimity and zeal as in the August 1936 trial. All held in public, have been monotonously identical under the reign of stalin: No demands, no material cvidence, nothing written adduced, all the evidence confined to the "spontaneous" and "voluntary" confessions of the invariably penitent accused. This has been the case from the days of the Shakhty trial to the Zinoveiv trial.

Confessions vs. Evidence WORLD ROLLINGS

(Continued from page 1)

in economic relations both with the occupied lands and in the occupied lands (particularly Eastern Germany). Furthermore, the victory of Chinese Stalinism in Asia is only remotely a victory for Stalin, since it hears no direct relation to the Russian armies or Russian imperialism itself.

America, on the other hand, particularly by contrast with Russia, has scored some definite victories in Europe and-most important-now appears in a position to move to the offensive and to gather some fruits from its billions invested in European recovery. The ERP program has had definite successes; European capitalism is again a going concern. The content of Stalin's answers to the loaded questions put to him shows Uncle Joe's awareness of this and his desire to stop future progress. "Want to settle the Berlin issue?" Then don't form a Western Germany. "Want to have peace in Europe?" Then drop the idea of a North Atlantic Security Pact. "Want to have world peace?" Then stop the rearmament program, liquidate your atomic bomb construction.

The motivation of Stalin, therefore, is to force a halt in the expansion and aggressiveness of American imperialism. This halt must be on all levels: political, military and economic.

THEY CANNOT BRING PEACE

Truman's rejection has, of course, the same origin. As the leader, spokesman and champion of American capitalism, he must advance his country over the only road which can fulfill its objectives, in imperialist

That means preparation for war (rearmament, atom bomb construction, etc.); formation of a strong Western German state as a buffer and the creation of a solid military bloc out of the Marshall Plan nations (North Atlantic Pact). How can he turn back, without liquidating his entire foreign program? No more than Stalin can change the seemingly defensive tactics which have been dictated to him today by circumstances beyond his con-

In short, then, the cold war will and must continue. In fact, the temperature can only get warmer, particularly after such fiascos as this latest! The issue of peace does not lie in the hand of either Truman or Stalin: they are two men pursuing similar paths which, while they may not always be parallel, will inevitably meet at the crossroads of war.

MINDSZENTY: MEA CULPA

Cardinal Mindszenty has "confessed" (or, at any rate, partially "confessed") and the trial in Hungary has drawn to its inevitable conclusion. Inevitable, we say, because it is sure that Stalinism cannot undertake such risky ventures as its confession trials without absolute, iron-clad guarantees in advance that the play will unfold precisely as the GPU script writers have written it up.

The question is again with us: why these self-incriminating "confessions," which seem so useful to Stalinism? A broken "Old Bolshevik"-yes; but an active cardinal of Rome? We suggest, to begin with, that we should be no more surprised at the alleged confession than the Catholic Church itself has been. Rome laid the basis for an "explanation" of the confession as soon as Mindszenty's arrest took place by its charges of corture and mysterious "confession-inducing" drugs. What they expected has taken place, although hardly for the reasons they suggest. It is not necessary—in fact, it is futile-to seek explanations in such over-simplified tales as drugs, beatings, etc. The fact is that there is no one all-embracing and all-satisfying "explanation" such as one reads at the end of a detective thriller. The

technique of Stalinism is far subtler and more serious. We don't claim to have "the" explanation; we only suggest that it is a combination of many factors and forces, operating together and so cleverly used and played upon by the GPU masters that-and why should this be inconceivable?—the confessor actually believes, to a great extent, his own fantastic explanation!

Why cannot there be some elements of factual truth in the cardinal's "confession"? Is it inconceivable that he was involved in black market currency manipulations, for example; or that he approached Western circles for aid, etc.? Basing themselves upon these kernels of truth, upon isolation, questioning, trickery and a combination of psychologically demoralizing techniques well know to students of such matters, it is not impossible to conceive of Stalinism rapidly breaking down and undermining a Mindszenty. These, of course, are secondary factors in the tragic trial now concluded.

Furthermore, the historic tendency of the church has always been to compromise, to seek a modus vivendi with the state power, regardless of whom this power was. The story of Nazi Germany is familiar. We contend that this principled readiness to compromise in itself prepares the moral and psychological basis for a capitulation and 'confession" such as this. For, unlike other social systems or varieties of capitalism, totalitarian Stalinism cannot compromise with the church so long as that church rests upon the Vatican (that is, the West). Faced with an enemy who will not compromise with him, the Catholic Church in Stalinist lands must meet a new situation which it hitherto has never had to face. That is, it must become either a principled, outlawed opposition, leading an underground existence—or cease to exist as a Roman Catholic Church and become a Stalinist State Catholic Church.

We shall now see whether the Hungarian bishops break with Rome to form a new church or go into the opposition. But this unexpectedly harsh enemy who will not make a "deal" (except on his own terms) has sowed confusion and despair among the church leadership. This is the moral groundwork for "confessions."

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF THE TRIAL

Furthermore, if we examine briefly the social structure of Hungarian Stalinism, the picture is even clearer. In this backward land, two-thirds of the population were peasants, cemented to the big landlords by the influence of the Catholic Church over them.

The transitional social basis of Stalinism consists of these same peasants whom it has converted into small landowners by its program of division of the estates. But this is a transitional, opportunistic and very unstable base for Stalinism, in the long run. This same peasantry formed the major reservoir of resistance to the new regime and the church's influence over the peasantry must be broken as a part of the struggle of Stalinism to dominate this same peasantry. (This, of course, with an eye to the period when collectivization of the small farms must be begun.)

The trial, then, must also be seen as an effort to discredit and humiliate the Catholic Church before the Hungarian peasantry. The cardinal has "confessed"; 'he did not fight like a man": he has disavowed the Vatican by offering his resignation to the Hungarian government; he traded in American dollars, etc., etc. How can such a compromised church authority build up and organize a future opposition to the present re-

There are many other implications in this sensational trial which must wait for more information and details. The above analysis, of course, assumes that our readers share the same revulsion and discust that we do with the whole affair, stamped as it is with the sinister methods of Stalinism.

Henry JUDD

241

Y. Forum Hears Fischer

(Continued from page 1)

Yugoslav School in 1928. In the nature of Stalinist prosecution, this could not but reflect on Tito himself.

(2) During the Spanish civil war, Tito was close to Antonov-Ovseenko, the brilliant military strategist who played an important role in the 1917 revolution. Antonov - Ovseenko had been close to Trotsky and had capitulated. Thus Tito was suspect by his association with a capitulator. (Comrade Fischer relates that the civil war in Spain revived hope in the Communist Party that the revolutionary energies released by the event would help weaken the totalitarian grip held by Stalin over the party. These hopes were dashed by the trials which took place soon thereafter. This renewed hope, not unknown to the GPU, would tend to exaggerate any slight suspicions which already existed.)

(3) Tito was opposed to the Stalin-Hitler pact and especially to the casual Russian tolerance of German occupation of Belgrade.

(4) Tito's entry into Jugoslavia as a guerrilla fighter was itself an onposition move. Unlike the Gottwalds and Dimitrovs who would have to come to power by leave of the Russian army, Tito was building himself a mass base in the country.

(5) Tito fought against Moscow espionage from the beginning.

This bare outline of Ruth Fischer's talk does not suggest the richness of detail with which she described the espionage and counter-espionage that goes on in the Stalinist parties. This constant feature of conspiracy and intrigue in the party, she said, gives the lie to the notion that the Communist Party is a monolithic organization.

On the second point, Fischer outlined the two points of view in the Politburo with respect to the war and peace question. The extreme war faction believed in pushing ahead without moderation towards the immediate conquest of Europe by the national Communist parties. The moderate wing emphasized the unexpected and "exceptional" strength of capitalist America vis - a - vis the weakness of Russia and advised caution and delay in proceeding with world conquest. Yugoslavia's probable future, because of its geographical position, as the first victim of any war which would break out convinced Tito that his best interests lie with the moderate wing. Thus the Tito-Stalin break ties in

with internal dispute going on at the top levels of the Russian party. CHALLENGES INTERPRETATION

This reporter felt that Comrade Fischer's analysis of the Tito opposition was something less than satisfactory. One of the by-products of the Tito event has been that it has caused many anti-Stalinists to make explicit their theories about the nature of Stalinism. The Socialist Workers Party for example was thrown into a trance by the Tito break and awoke from it with the cry of "Comrade Tito." Their pretensions to consistent anti-Stalinism will be very difficult to maintain consistently. Likewise, Comrade Fischer's talk revealed an attitude toward the Communist Party and the Tito rift which. in this opinion, shed less light on the subject than it did on a contemporary phenomenon, the distortion of socialist ideals by Stalinism.

Comrade Fischer explicitly cloaked the Tito opposition with the tradition of previous oppositions to Stalin. She said at one point that the old opposition to Stalin has not died, it has assumed new forms. She did not clarify whether the new forms were such as to give the new oppositions a different social character. It was interesting to note the associations which she made with Tito. First with Max Hoelz, an authentic leader of the people, whose politics were of an anarchisticdemocratic variety. Then the Yugoslav School revolt which was a revolt against Stalin's totalitarianism. Then the association with Ovseenko, Trotsky's associate, and connected with idea of Trotskyism which was an opposition to totalitarianism.

The listener could not help but conclude that implicit in the analysis was a glorification of Tito, an ascribing to Tito the continuation of the democratic oppositions to Stalin. (Tito's complaints about Stalin's espionage in Yugoslavia cannot be considered a democratic protest for the complaint is not against the institution of the GPU, but the instituting of the GPU against Tito himself.) Such a conclusion can be maintained only by overlooking what must not be overlooked. namely, the Stalinist character of Tito and his regime.

In response to a question about the economic causes of the Tito split, the speaker quite correctly replied that she had chosen to delimit her subject to the conspiracy within the cominform. However, while it is necessary

to delimit a subject, Comrade Fischer was obligated to discuss at least one aspect of the economic causes of the split to sustain her thesis. If the primary cause of the split was Russia's attempt to keep Yugoslavia an agricultural colony of Russia itself, it would follow that a deal between Tito and Stalin which would enable Tito to industrialize Yugoslavia would have removed the major cause for the split. But if this is true, what becomes of the speaker's construction that Tito was really an old oppositionist and the split was the culmination of a long history of opposition previous to the establishment of Tito's Yugoslavia. It is hard to see how such a thesis could stand up. 395 1713 11 . 17

FURTHER CRITICISM

Finally, Comrade Fischer spoke about the fight against Stalinism. Her remarks were more than usually interesting and, at least to one listener, ominous. The CP is not a monolithic party because in actuality it is riven by conspiracy and intrigue. This rather misses the point, and not an academic point as we shall see. The point is that the CP is riven by conspiracy and intrigue precisely because it IS a monolithic party! It is only in a monolithic party that opposition must assume these forms. One of the surest tests of the nature of a party is the character assumed by its opposition. Comrade Fischer's rejection of the term monolithic is followed by her with the idea that it is not impossible to fight the CP. How must this fight be carried out? She stated explicitly that we must learn from the Tito events that conspiracy, intrigue are essential to the struggle against Stalinism. Tito, it would seem, has offered up a model of struggle.

Comrade Fischer's hatred of Stalinism allows her to accept, even to advocate, any and every method which will weaken the Stalinist empire, even the methods of Stalinism itself. Today, unfortunately, this notion of combating Stalinism by any means not excluding totalitarian measures, is one which is not peculiar to the speaker. It is the reaction of those whose program has only one plank, anti-Stalinism.

It would be one of histories ironies, and not the first of its kind, were such a struggle against Stalinism to eventuate in the victory of a new totalitarianism which, though not called Stalinism, would be no less barbarous.

FRANCO:

ABSTENTIONS IN VOTE A BLOW AT DICTATOR

The following article is reprinted from the December 22, 1948 issue of La Batalla, organ of the Spanish POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity). It was written by La Batalla's correspondent in Barcelona.

The elections have taken place, "with complete order" and "without incident." An insignificant minority of heads of families went up to the polls to deposit their ballot for either the Government ticket or the other ticket-also the Government's.

We have obtained ample and accurate information on the actual percentages of the voting. Of 19 polling places in 7 districts of Barcelona which we have examined the percentage of votes was between 20 and 25. And, in general, one can be sure that if the complete figures were known they would not be far off from that mentioned. In some workers' districts, mainly in the precinct of Clot. less than 12 votes were registered for 300 electors. And in several polling places in Sans, the falangists made election day statements about their "joy" over the "success" obtained.

The spirit of indifference was prevalent all over. The people seem to be much more interested and preoccupied by the restrictions on electric power which were made more severe the morning after the voting, than by the more or less corrupt councilmen who were making up the municipal governments.

OFFICIAL RESULTS A FRAUD

Just as in the "referendum" of last July a considerable number of ballots were voided because they contained anti-Franco or humourous statements. The well-known expression, 'Viva la Pepa!", was the one usually employed. It seems that in some precincts groups of neighbors cooperated in voting for "Pepa," since in some ballot ooxes numerous ballots were found so marked.

All members of the Franco repressive apparatus, whatever their age or condition, voted. Despite the wholesale falsification of the results they remain as we have indicated above.

Of course it is clear that the "official" results are another thing. The Radio Nacional announced a percentage of 60 to 70 in the cities and a total vote of 80 per cent to 90 per cent. (There is a story now current of the Englishman who, not at all versed in geography and unacquainted with the names of the Spanish provinces, was sitting in a café in la Rambla when these latter figures were announced. His comment: "What,! New elections in Bulgaria!") The surprise of the listener was even greater when the commentator on Radio Nacional announced joyfully that the regime's ticket had triumphed. Since when was there any other ticket? For the first time we are informed of the existence of an opposition. Apparently it deported itself in a very dignified manner and did not give much of a fight.

Certainly there were three distinct tickets in Barcelona. One of these ordered us home. It was covered profusely with pictures of buildings, shops, etc. Everyone knew that it would come out the winner. It was headed by Melchor Baixas de Palau. Among other names on this ticket were Garcia Tornel and the Baron of Esponella. These gentlement promised to bring Paradise to Barcelona. Blocks of dwellings for workers, hospitals, modern transportation etc., would rise all over by magic. Baixas, son of a mining industrialist, in iron and steel and a big time grafter, is mediae president of the Transport Union of the

The other two tickets-on one of these was Junyent Quintana, running as an independentwere completely unknown. They only served as a cover for the ridiculous satire of an "election."

Despite preparations, threats and all kinds of ressure, the Franco farce was valuable in that made known the strong opposition of the great majority of the population-as evidenced by abstentions of 75 per cent to 80 per cent - to

the oppressive Franco-falangist regime. (Translated by Dick S.) Translator's note: Re "restrictions on electric power." This is caused in part by the building of reservoir and dam in Flix. This job is being done with much graft and corruption and waste of materials. Streetcars in Barcelona have been curtailed 40 per cent and electric railway 50 per cent. There is also a severe water shortage for the same reason. "The falange tries to remedy the conquences of the catastrophe of Flix by means of organized supplications and processions imploring for rain," says La Batalla.

New Party in Germany

In the British zone of Germany a labor organization, calling itself the Independent Communist Party, has risen.

The UKP—this is the abbrevation of the new party-has applied to the British military authorities for the authorization necessary for public political activity.

Klemens Bendes, one of the leaders of the UGP, has declared the new party would become the digger of the grave of Stalinism in Western Germany. (From La Batalla, Dec. 22, 1948.)

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Stalinist Court in Hungary Follows Moscow Frameup Technique

Mindszenty Trial Seen Aimed at Opposition --

(Continued from page 1)

fession (with its admitted authorship of the documents) was the sole proof. For example, it is entirely conceivable that a Catholic prelate would be sympathetic to a monarchy, and equally that he met Archduke Otto of the Hapsburg dynasty in Chicago. But something more than the court's sayso, and the Cardinal's confession, is required as proof. Are there witnesses? Is there any objective evi-

EVIDENCE OF FRAUD

Or, with respect to the admission of seeking Chapin's aid in escaping. It is entirely conceivable that the Cardinal might have wanted to es-

But: (1) would he be so stupid as to write the details in a letter and think he could get it to Chapin: (2) having written a letter, on the assumption that he could get it to the U. S. ministry, how did it fall into the court's hands? (3) would he have offered the U.S. minister \$4,000 to get a plane and a pilot?

Or, the documents found in his palace: would the Cardinal have left them lying around in the palace cellar to be picked up by the police?

Further, parts of the accusations could be entirely correct, and still not constitute a crime in any state but a

(Continued from page 2)

capitalist. What is true, however, is

that these bourgeois classes can lead

the struggle for independence to the

point of establishment of the nation.

They did so in India and elsewhere.

They are struggling to do so in Indo-

nesia, and they are playing a consid-

erable part in the struggles in Viet-

In an earlier review of the Indone-

sian struggles in LABOR ACTION it

was pointed out that this movement

has continued without cessation al-

most since the day of the Dutch con-

quest. Since 1918 the Dutch have not

enjoyed many years of imperial peace.

So in Indonesia the lesson has been

sharply etched in history. The bour-

geoisie can and will struggle for na-

tionhood. That the Republican leader-

ship is willing to make all manner of

disastrous compromises is another

thing altogether. To struggle against

compromise one must accept the

framework of the Republic, how-

The decisive fact is this: The Re-

public, with all its many faults, is

fighting. More than that, it is not the

same Republic today that it was when

it was blockaded and withering in the

hills of Jogjakarta. It has more popu-

lar appeal today than ever before

precisely because it is fighting against

the Dutch. It is the rallying center

and inspiration for the ancient Indo-

nesian cry for freedom, Mederka. Its

guerrillas are everywhere. It does not

permit the free exploitation of the

country. It has aroused support in

It would be false and suicidal to

act now on the basis of yesterday's

facts. As socialists we prefer the vic-

tory of the most conservative repub-

lic over the most paternalistic Dutch

It is likely that tomorrow the Re-

publican leadership will offer or ac-

cept some sort of compromise. That

may have to be fought against. But

to earn the right to do so one must

fight for the Republic today. And to

prepare for such an eventuality one

must organize the struggle as a social

one. Revolutionary socialists conduct

the struggle with a program of land

for the peasants, break-up of feudal

estates and privileges, full democratic

rights, and the revolutionary alliance

of workers and poor peasantry. In

this way the socialist workers can

achieve hegemony within the Repub-

lic and be in a position to oppose com-

promise. They can become the Re-

public in fact; but only by defending

it now. They can give the Republic

a social content which would be irre-

sistible and victorious. And they can

do this within the "constitutional

For it is important and not a mat-

ter to be lightly discounted, as Mag-

nus does, that the Republican consti-

tution is democratic and has social

clauses" which Magnus disdains.

all of Southern Asia.

regime.

Nam and elsewhere.

Letter on Indonesia --

However much the accusations might seem to jibe with over-all Vatican views and objectives, past experience with Stalinist trials is itself sufficient to cast infinitely more than a reasonable doubt on this trial. The whole business of "trial by confession" is an abhorrent contribution of Stalinism, no matter against whom used, whether a revolutionist or a

MOSCOW TRIAL PATTERN

The press has speculated on the use of drugs. No one can say for sure what methods were employed, but it is hard to imagine the Cardinal confessing except under some form of

A whole generation of revolutionists was wiped out in the infamous Moscow purges of the thirties. Possibly, the same methods used to force confessions then were used now; possibly different ones. It is likely that many different devices were used to exact confessions in the Moscow Trials, from outright physical torture, to insidious forms of mental torture, to appeals in the case of those to whom Russia still represented a socialist fatherland (however degenerated), to serve the cause of humanity by a final act of sacrifice, suicide by confession. The Cardinal may have

clauses which call for nationalization

and give recognition to many so-

cial problems of national construction.

Such a constitution does offer more

possibilities for struggle and for

worker-peasant hegemony. Laws are

The main task is not to warn

past defections, but to give revolu-

tionary content to the present. Mag-

nus is wrong when he says that the

Republic now exists "within legal

democratic bounds" which the con-

stitution defines. The Republic does

not exist on such a plane. Its exist-

ence today is a matter of daily popu-

lar struggle. To this struggle we are

completely loval. We should not at

this time seek to establish an alter-

native arena of struggle. We should

join freely with all other elements.

particularly with the social demo-

crats. And without conditions, Utiliz-

ing the democratic framework, we

to other programs. As I wrote in the

original article: "Socialists have the

special task of regrouping workers

and agricultural laborers' cadres in

The difference between Magnus and

myself can be summarized as follows:

He takes his point of departure from

the "inevitable" treason of the bour-

geois leadership tomorrow in the in-

dependence movement. My point of

departure is that today all elements

of the Republic are engaged in mor-

tal combat and, what is more, the

"inevitability" of the above may not

be as absolutely certain as we once

believed. Therefore, the main task is

not the struggle against the native

bourgeoisie, but the immediate one

for national independence: With a

program of social revolution, within

the framework of the Republic, to

attempt to grasp the leadership for

the revolutionary working class and

peasantry within the framework of

Finally, these opinions are my own.

The Workers Party has not taken any

position on this question.

republican democracy and struggle.

underground leagues of struggle."

can posit a revolutionary framework

against future treason or to recall

not meaningless to revolutionists.

been drugged, may have been tortured, who knows?

There is, of course, an important distinction between the men and women exterminated in Russia, and the Cardinal. The accused then were revolutionists who could not possibly have committed the acts with which they were charged. One of them might have turned against a lifetime of dedication to socialist struggle. But all of them, almost the entire generation who led the Russian revolution to victory in 1917-for them to turn against their achievement, their principles and resort to terror, complicity with fascists, etc.-Impossible, Despite this distinction, the court's case against the Cardinal does not stand

The Cardinal, as a servant of the Vatican, with its pro-West and anti-Stalin orientation, could possibly have negotiated with Western nations for one or another purpose. But even this important distinction means nothing against the absence of evidence. The Vatican is most decidedly a reactionary institution. But its accusers in this case are not a revolutionary, democratic, socialist government, but a monstrous dictatorship.

The trial might have had some credibility had the Cardinal been able to choose his lawyers from outside Hungary, to freely prepare his defense, to ask for witnesses in his behalf, to solicit independent handwriting experts, to impose the burden of proof on the accuser (which in the case of Stalinists is a double burden for they will not hesitate to utilize any fraud). As it is, the trial must be held a frame-up.

For example, it makes no matter in this case that the Cardinal opposed the secularization of the schools under its control. Secularization of the schools is normally a progressive achievement, and the Cardinal's opposition was as typically reactionary as his church. But few things are done for progressive purposes in Stalinland -Stalinist controlled schools will educate as little as Church controlled schools. This occasioned a big struggle last November. The Cardinal then ordered the ringing of all church bells in mourning. And, it was in November that he wrote his disclaimer of a confession. But the pros and cons of that dispute, or others like them, have nothing to do with the trial!

WHY THE TRIAL?

The Vatican has been known to accommodate itself to the most totalitarian of regimes. It got along fine, for the most part, with Mussolini. It is not inconceivable that the Stalinist government might have worked out a settlement, a modus operandi, if only a temporary one, with the Cardinal. Or sought to bring the Cardinal under its control, as it is apparently doing with the bishops of Hungary. After all, 65 per cent of this predominantly peasant country is Catholic. Why not try to wean the pe without outraging too violently, in the initial stages of establishing the authority of the regime, their religious affiliations.

And there we think lies the possible answer to the whole ratty affair. The Vatican is committed to the West. Agreed. The Vatican and Russia, for reasons implicit in the authoritarian nature of each, and for dozens of other reasons as well, are mortal enemies. Agreed. But that the Stalinists should have chosen this moment for an attack of this kind solely on the ground of its anti-West objectives is unlikely. It has stimulated wide opposition. It has given the U.S. government, the Catholic Church of the U. S., and the press an opportunity to howl loudest at the very moment that Stalin is vigorously promoting propaganda moves to win sympathy. It will

Think About It!

There are two million more unemployed this month than in January. And there are four million fewer workers employed now than last summer. Whether the figure is 2,650,000 as the government claims, or considerably more as its own figures lead one to believe, the specter of unemployment is again haunting the American worker. Capitalism again shows its inability to provide security to those who work. American capitalism may have many features unique to itself but in this it is not one whit different from other predatory capitalisms. The fear of idleness is etched in acid in every worker's experience.

Jack BRAD.

supress and exploit the people it engulfs, that is, colonies, the Negroes in the U. S. These people are offered the alternative of death or slavery. Anti-Semitism is centuries old; its roots go back to theology, etc., creating a latent anti-Semitism that breaks out into overt anti-Semitism in times of social crisis. In the past, however, anti-Semitism attempted to destroy the Jews as a national community and incorporate the Jewish individuals into its society, religion, etc. Modern anti-Semitism-flourishing in a highly technological and scientific age organized into its highest form by the decay of the capitalist social system which requires a scapegoat and is anxious to get rid of competitors-has marked the Jews as totally expendable.

In a fundamental and in only too real and immediate a sense, the survival of the Jews as a people, or even as individuals, is dependent on the overthrow of capitalism. For Jews the overthrow of capitalism is not only an idea, something for the general welfare, but a real and immediate need for survival. To paraphrase an old quotation: "The Jews are in need of socialism more than any other

tries like France and Italy whose support the Stalinists are particularly anxious to win.

The reason must lie primarily in Hungary itself. The Catholic Church there is the channel through which peasant opposition against the government's program is expressed. The Church is a base of organized opposition. It goes without saying that the Church, above all the Catholic Church, is more than a religious institution. It does engage in political affairs. In Hungary, whether the peasant program is good, bad or indifferent, this program was voiced by the Church.

Something more along the same lines is equally involved. It has happened in the past (under Hitler), and it will happen again: where other channels of opposition are destroyed, the people will utilize the Church as a means of organizing, of getting together, of fighting for democratic rights (if only the democratic right to freedom of religion). Even the reactionary Catholic Church can be-

come the center of a democratic movement in a totalitarian country. (Pastor Niemoller became such a symbol in Hitler Germany.)

In these we think lie the motivations for the trial, a trial in the Stalinist manner. Perhaps there are socialists who react with sympathy for the jailers because the jailed has on his side a Cardinal Spellman, and because his victimization is utilized by sundry capitalist politicians and the press to cement the fortifications of the cold war. Nothing could be more dangerous. Nothing more harmful to the interests of socialism.

Socialism is the champion of democracy. Socialism is the enemy of Stalinism. The one is equal to the other. A frame-up is a frame-up against no matter whom practiced. A "trial by confession" is a "trial by confession." no matter who the victim. It is the way of tryanny, It outrages democracy.

The trial of Mindszenty is a "trial by confession."

It stands as a frame-up!

Injunction Right ---

(Continued from page 1)

foregone conclusion that such strikes by workers for better health and greater security, will automatically be considered against the "national health and security."

REPUBLICANS CROW

It should be recalled that some two years ago during the railroad strike, President Truman actually sent a special message to Congress that he wanted strikers drafted into the army. With the principle of undefined "inherent powers" accepted, a president might not even have to go Congress to get strikers drafted

The anti-democratic position taken by the Democrats on this point has given the Republican senators a decided advantage in the debate. Senator Taft of T-H fame now makes more sense to those who believe in anti-labor injunctions, than the administration does. He said, among other things: "I disagree with the attorney general and think he is certainly wrong. I don't know of any inherent right of the President to get injunctions in a national emergency. If you want to do that you ought to say so in so many words. You ought to say it in clear law" Republican Senator Morse made his contribution to the effect that "the administration is trying to work both sides of the street by telling labor it opposes the injunction feature and telling the public it has it anyway."

Even a Republican can be right sometimes, and Morse has almost hit the nail on the head. In fact, Mr. Truto above, all but admitted that he labor its mortal enemy.

MEYER SCHAPIRO

"Asia in Revolt."

HAROLD BROWN

GUENTER REIMANN

thorne."

ISAAC ROSENFELD

MAX SHACHTMAN

first assured himself of his nower to get injunctions against labor by getting his Attorney General's opinion; then, as a grandiose gesture to labor, he did not put it into the bill-it was

The clarification by the administration on the subject of "inherent powers" has placed the officialdom of the CIO and AFL in something of a fix. They have stated their approval of the administration bill. Now they find themselves in the company of the Republicans on this business of "inherent powers." Logically and according to Attorney General Clark's own opinion, labor leaders should demand that government, as industry, be "specifically deprived" of the right to seek court injunctions against labor. Although Arthur Goldberg, CIO general counsel, has stated that he would make "some constructive suggestions to clarify" certain provisions of the administration's bill, it is not likely that he will ask for that much clari-

The basic logic of the capitalist government has revealed itself in this debate on the right of injunction. It is clear that no matter what the law says or does not say, the government will find the loophole "to protect itself" against its mortal enemy-militant labor.

On the other hand, labor's forte is the justice of its cause, the strength in its numbers and in its solidarity and its ability to convince "the public" that labor's wellbeing is also public wellbeing. This is labor's forte not only in strikes but in the field of politics also, where it must make strides toward the goal of a workers' man in his press conference referred ment which will not consider militant

-by GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Leader-

LYNSKEY REPORT PRODUCES NO SENSATION

Fleet Street waited expectantly, special editions were run off when the news came through but, all in all, the moguls of the press were bitterly disappointed with the findings of the Lynskey Tribunal. The mud which they were so anxious to sling at the Labor Government turned out to be nothing more than some dirty-colored water.

It is true that two prominent figures of the labor movement have been found guilty of allowing their friendship with certain business men to influence their decisions on matters of public interest and procedure and that their political lives have been abruptly terminated. But, while such casualties are to be regretted and deplored, the morale and fighting qualities of the army of labor remain unimpaired. Those who had prophesied a major debacle were confounded, and despite the fact that the Tories will make more than sure that the incident is not forgotten by the electorate at the general election, it will need much more than this comparatively minor episode to shake the faith of the common people. Furthermore, the alacrity of the government in taking action on the matter discounted to a very large extent any possibility of the sordid episode being used effectively as political propaganda against the labor movement. However, I know that Transport House (Labor Party headquarters) was distinctly relieved at the mildness of the strictures contained in the report. But it is to be hoped that their relief will not cause them to pass off the episode as of no importance and to forget it. For years many workers have had doubts about the integrity of Labor leaders although they have continued to give them their support. Labor must accept the lesson of this incident and impose a stricter discipline on those of its members who undertake public office. No movement can be completely sure of the integrity of its members but it can insist on a mode of conduct which does not give offense and bring the move-

Ironically enough, J. H. Thomas, a former Labor cabinet minister, who was banished from the House of Commons in 1936 for divulging budget secrets, died a few days before the publication of the Lynskey report. It seemed that history was anxious to emphasize the fact that Labor leaderswho mix with society or big business do so at their peril. It may be pleasant while it lasts, but quite often it doesn't last long.

DEBATE ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION

The Palestine debate caused the government some anxiety. It all came right in the end but only after Mr. Attlee had announced that he would regard the decision of the House as one of confidence in the government. Nevertheless there were a great number of Labor abstentions and it is stated that there is to be some tough talk

when the Parliamentary Labor Party meets next week. This debate was markedly different from every other debate on foreign policy since Labor's accession to power, insofar that Bevin, formerly the darling of their political lives have been abrutply terminated. But, while such casual-

It was a curious line-up. Richard Crossman of the Labor "left" made a savage commentary on the deficiencies of Mr. Bevin and so did a number of Tory speakers. Formerly Bevin has been criticized for being the tool of America: now he was attacked because he had not shown the same sweet reasonableness toward the state of Israel as has Mr. Truman.

There is no doubt that Bevin does not want to fall from grace too quickly, hence his announcement that recognition would be made after consultation with other members of the Commonwealth. But that the state of Israel will be recognized there is now no room for doubt.



Apart from the government's general attitude on this question of Palestine, it is believed that they have been perplexed by the fact that both Russia and America have acted with accord in granting recognition. What they have failed to understand is the motives of these powers. Truman is anxious to retain the support of the Jewish section of the American electorate. Stalin, on the other hand, while giving lip service to the cause of the Jews and at the same time causing difficulties for Britain, is likely to reveal his hand more clearly in the near future. Having removed Britain from the scene, he will switch his support to the Arabs as part of the conflict against the USA.

Britain has been completely in the wrong on the question of Palestine and has been easily exposed. Nevertheless, those who imagine that the U.S. and Russia are motivated by any high ideals in the matter will shortly have a rude awakening. The real battle for the Middle East has vet to start. Let those who doubt this watch Washington and the Kremlin from now on. The office boy is on his way out and the two who are left are going to decide who is to be boss.

BEVIN'S REMARKS ON A UNITED EUROPE

Bevin may have had a bad time over Palestine but he certainly showed some sense when addressing the Foreign Press Association on the day before the Commons debate.

Speaking on the conception of a United States of Europe, he declared: "Argument was no answer against Communism (Stalinism). A good standard of life and happiness in association with Western civilization was probably the greatest contribution we could make. We were ready to pool our scientific, engineering and industrial resources with all the other countries

Mr. Bevin is not quite clear as to what form he wants this unity to take and much criticism could be directed to certain aspects of his speech. Nevertheless, the fact that he has the conviction that European unity is essential to progress is a welcome sign. From such small beginnings the conscience of the British nation might be aroused to determine the fate of millions of people. The initial answer to Stalinism is European unity. Having created the substance, we could shape the form to suit the needs and aspirations of

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ALFRED KAZIN and IRVING HOWE

"The Growing International Crisis."

TIME: Sunday Evenings at 8:00 o'Clock

"War and the Novelist."