

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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Stop the Loan to Fascist Spain!



Franco cleans up for U. S. envoys and bankers

U. S. Labor Leaders Say ECA Plan Helps Rich, Not Europe's Workers

By L.G. SMITH

The Marshall Plan has been a "miserable failure" insofar as skilled wage earners in Germany, Italy and France are concerned.

This was the opinion of John Livingston, vice president of the United Auto Workers (CIO), after a six-week tour of automotive and aircraft plants in Europe by a delegation of top union officials.

Livingston stated that he saw a good possibility of a democratic Western Germany, friendly to the United States if living standards were raised. But he feared an "upheaval" if they were permitted to stagnate or worsen. The same, he said, was true in Italy and France.

The delegation of union brass made it clear that they support the "original purpose" of the Marshall Plan, but that they feel the funds have not been used properly. Huge profits of companies, whose plants have been rebuilt and rehabilitated by Marshall Plan funds, and extremely low wages have lowered worker morale to make effective and convincing Communist Party propaganda, according to Livingston.

It seems that on the basis of his report the UAW is going to make specific recommendations to Washington for revision of Marshall Plan administration to see to it that a greater share of the money goes directly to the workers.

It is interesting to note that from the very beginning labor

leaders have been attached to Marshall Plan bodies as advisors. They have repeatedly warned against the fact that the Marshall Plan was being used to reconstruct Europe for the benefit of the capitalists and not of the workers. But their warnings and protests have had little or no effect.

THEIR VOICES DROWNED

If the Orient labor advisers have gone so far as to resign from posts in Japan and Korea as the anti-labor policies of the American authorities became so bad that they could no longer take any responsibility for them.

A CIO advisor on the Economic Commission for Korea resigned after the war broke out and made speeches on the West Coast which were so revealing of the real labor policies pursued by the American and Rhee governments that he was silenced on the ground that the Stalinist press was quoting his statements for their own purposes.

However, all this has had little or no effect on the basic political policies of the labor leaders. Even though one after another of their representatives closest to the facts of American labor policy throughout the world have been outraged by if their voices have been drowned in the general chorus of support to the policies of the administration. An open and above-board fight against these policies would strain the political alliance

of labor with the capitalist parties much too far for comfort.

And as far as the ranks are concerned, of course no effort has been made to acquaint them with the facts of the situation. It is easy these days to shout and yell against the Stalinists. It would not be nearly as easy to explain why workers should continue to support political parties whose foreign policies are greasing the way for Stalinist expansion abroad.

Unions Use New Tactics as Test—

Will Truman Break Rail Strike?

By LARRY O'CONNOR

As we go to press, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Order of Railway Conductors have struck a number of small industrial and terminal railroads. Their demands are the same as those of all operating railroad workers: a forty-hour week with no decrease in take-home pay.

A few weeks ago the switchmen struck on five Western roads for the same demands. After a threat by President Truman that he would break the strike in the "national interest," they narrowed the walkout to one railroad. But that did not help them. The government "seized" the road and got a

court injunction forcing the men back to work.

The trainmen and conductors are trying another strategy. They are striking on small industrial and terminal switching roads for five days at a time. Apparently they are trying to find out whether there is any basis, however mild, on which railroad workers can apply their economic strength against their employers.

CANADA TOO

As the railroad magnates have watched the government step in to break every major railroad strike in the past ten years, they have apparently come to the con-

clusion that they can safely refuse to negotiate with the workers. All they have to do is sit back and wait, and Washington will take care of them.

It remains to be seen whether the government will break this strike too. If it does, the unions are going to have to work out a brand-new strategy if they hope to continue in business.

At the same time, the operating railroad workers in Canada have tied up all of that country's railroads over a demand similar to that of their brothers in the United States. Will the Canadian government use the tactics to break the strike taught it by Uncle Sam?

Equal Sacrifice? Senate Bill Soaks Labor and People

By ALBERT GATES

The Congress of the United States once again has served notice on the people that it is the friend of big business, whose interests it guards zealously and unafraid. By 85 to 3, it voted a civilian mobilization bill that threatens the living standards of the people at large and the working class in particular, and by that same token it has said that its real interests are the preservation of the profits and special privilege of the nation's industrialists and financiers.

What kind of bill did the Senate prepare and pass for a conference with the House to work out whatever compromises may be necessary to the writing of a common measure? Where the House voted

to give President Truman the power to invoke a series of controls, dependent entirely upon his judgment, the Senate spelled out the presidential power. In this respect the Senate bill limits the power of the president; at the same time, however, in the measures which are important to every man, woman and child in the country, it laid down rules which cannot but harm those whose existence depends exclusively upon their weekly earnings.

Leaving aside provisions which would give the president the right to allocate scarce industrial materials, to curb hoarding of scarce items, control consumer credit, etc., the most important dispute took place over the question of control of prices and wages. This is really the heart of the national problem, and here the Senate passed the Bricker-Wherry amendment which requires the president, if he should decide to

impose wage and price controls, to do it on an over-all and simultaneous, rather than selective and piece-meal basis.

HEART OF THE PROBLEM

The intent of the reactionaries Bricker and Wherry and their supporters in the Senate is to enforce by law the lowering of the living standards of the people which have already suffered since the beginning of the "police action" in Korea, in the 13 per cent rise in prices on essential commodities.

For the people this is the heart of the problem: how to keep their wages pegged to rising prices. Already, the workers of the land have taken a beating in the constantly rising prices which reduce their real wages by percentages approximating the price rise.

Even a small shooting war such as is taking place in Korea creates a terrible inequality of sacrifice. Big business prospers, (Continued on page 2)

What Will CIO-AFL Do About Their Taffites?

Ohio Labor Skates Back Labor's Public Enemy No. 1!

On August 13, an Associated Press dispatch from Columbus, Ohio, announced the formation of a labor league for the re-election of Senator Robert A. Taft. It related that the league was organized at a conference held by 265 delegates, leaders from various unions in the state.

Taft is the notorious co-author of the hated Taft-Hartley Act, and both the AFL and CIO leaderships, in the nation and in the state of Ohio, have broadcast that he is the No. 1 target of labor in the November election.

The action of these 265 local "labor leaders" is a criminal stab in the back as far as labor's interests are concerned, and we hope that the men in their unions will make that clear to them. There should be no more room for an agent of the Taft-Hartleyites at the head of a local union than for an agent of the Stalinists.

It is no extension of this act to point out that Taft's Democratic opponent, Ferguson, is a weak nonentity put over by the Democratic machine, with no appeal for labor other than the fact that his name is not Taft. These "labor leaders," like others in the country, have been taught by the

AFL and CIO to believe that labor political action consists in making a choice between a Democrat and a Republican. For many of them, no doubt, Taft is the "lesser evil" because they believe his opponent has no chance of election and they might as well jump on the bandwagon in expectation of a few crumbs.

It will be easy for the orthodox AFLers and CIOers to argue against this. But it is a sufficient commentary on labor's line, in what it declares to be the most important contest in the country, when the issue boils down to a choice between one of the parents of T-H and a nobody.

What the Ohio situation underlines is that there is no LABOR candidate; and there is no labor candidate, not because of 265 pro-Taftites in the union movement, but because of the political policies of the AFL and CIO heads, because of their refusal to form an independent labor party.

ONE WAY STREET

Secondly, the AFL and CIO leaders have conducted a bureaucratic purge in the unions directed against Stalinists and unions headed by Stalinists on the ground that

these unions and unionists refuse to follow "CIO policy" or "AFL policy" on political questions. Support of Wallace, for example, was one of the bases for the expulsion of these unions from the CIO.

We also are for the ousting of Stalinists from positions of leadership in the unions, not by decree from above but in the way this was done in the United Auto Workers—by organizing the membership to vote them out of control. The CIO and AFL leaders chose to do this, to the detriment of union democracy, by laying down the principle of "political discipline."

Thus far, however, no such disciplinary action has been taken against the 265 delegates in Ohio who are backing labor public enemy No. 1. We are not demanding such political discipline in this case any more than in the case of the Stalinists. But it proves that as far as Phillip Murray and William Green are concerned, the "political discipline" principle is a one-way street, useful for getting rid of Stalinists and capable of extension even to genuine radicals and militants, but never to be employed against political lieutenants of the capitalists parties.

NAACP Rally Leads Off Campaign to—

Protest Jim Crow Outrage in Philly

By PETER LOUMOS

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 15—Three hundred and fifty incensed citizens declared war on police brutality in Philadelphia last night. The meeting, sponsored by the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was called to protest the vicious inhuman beating the police administered to Oscar Williams, whom they had arrested for disorderly conduct.

disorderly conduct in a local bar by two policemen who took him away in a police cruiser. Between the place of arrest and the nearest police station the cruiser halted and awaited the arrival of reinforcements. Finally two other cars and a patrol wagon arrived. Williams was pulled out of the cruiser and, before being transferred to the patrol wagon, was beset by eight policemen wielding clubs and blackjacks and mercilessly beaten into unconsciousness.

RALLYING POINT

Witnesses have already submitted statements verifying the facts and adding that three police clubs were broken over the head of the helpless prisoner before the cops stopped beating his bloody and unconscious form.

In a city that has become almost calloused to police brutality—espe-

cially to minority groups—the Williams case promises to be a rallying point in a real fight to stop the sadistic practices of the police. Sharing the platform with representatives of the NAACP were Dr. William Gray, Philadelphia editor of the Afro-American, William Garner Smith, Philadelphia correspondent of the Pittsburgh Courier, and Captain Gibbons of the Philadelphia police whom the police department had sent down to assure the crowd that the case would not be "whitewashed."

BRANCH ORGANIZED

The captain's presence on the platform was no deterrent either to the speakers or to the audience, who ended the meeting with a resolution that the eight responsible policemen be dismissed and that a continuation committee be authorized to call future meetings of

Equal Sacrifice? Senate Bill --

(Continued from page 1)

prices rise, and wages remain at their old level. The very suggestion of an excess-profits tax and control of profits generally meets the fiercest resistance of Congress and the administration.

The argument that if you are going to mobilize manpower for military and industrial purposes and if the government is going to hand out profitable contracts to business, then business and profits should be mobilized as well, is met with silence as the lawmakers determine to prove beyond a doubt that their primary purpose is to secure the profits of business in the war venture. For them mobilization means controlling the manpower of the vast mass of the ordinary working people, and ending business enterprise with special privilege. In this situation, the administration is feeble and without a program. The best its spokesmen could offer was a bill requesting stand-by powers for President Truman to invoke those controls he might consider suitable for the moment.

Every senator, representing his own particular special interest, got into the act. More than two score amendments were introduced exempting this industry and that from any kind of controls, the object being to secure enormous profits out of the war. But no one spoke up for the workers; that is, no one spoke or acted vigorously against the profiteers. The feeble effort of O'Mahoney was brushed aside by the reactionary tide in the Senate, and he was almost alone.

TO PAY FOR THE WAR

The mass of people face—already feeling—the effects of a new inflationary spiral with a simultaneous fight by big business, its Congress and its press, against increases in wages, for a wage freeze and for a no-strike pledge to ensure in advance crippling the ability of the workers to fight against a decline of their living standards and an improvement of them.

Price controls are an absolute and instantaneous necessity to save the living standards of the

masses. The whole labor movement ought to get behind CIO President Murray's demand for a price rollback to June 27. That is step No. 1.

But it is only the first step. The second step should be a campaign for increases in wages to fill the gap created in recent months by the wide disparity between wages and prices.

Instead of an increase in the taxation of the workers' income by the presidential proposal for an across-the-board rise in taxes, labor ought to fight against all increases in the taxation of workers' incomes. To establish real equality of sacrifice there should be no taxation of this income, for the effect of the present high taxes and the proposed increase is to bring about a wage cut on all wage earners. The demand should be: no taxation of incomes under \$5,000 a year!

To carry on the struggle for equality, labor, bearing in mind the experiences of the past war, ought to champion the demand: no incomes larger than \$25,000 a year!

COME TO THE WISCONSIN SUMMER CAMP-SCHOOL!

The Socialist Youth League and the Independent Socialist League are sponsoring for the benefit of their comrades and friends a national camp and school during the week of September 7-17. The encampment is being held at the Workman's Benefit Fund's Recreation Camp at Genoa City, located in picturesque Southern Wisconsin, 55 miles northwest of Chicago.

The camp itself covers an area of 235 acres of woodland, farm area, fields, and camp sites. The living quarters are ample and pleasant, with clean private rooms and modern toilet facilities. Choice foods that are excellently prepared in "old German style" are served in cafeteria fashion in a large dining hall.

Among the camp's attractive features are bowling alleys, dance hall with juke box, a cold-water swimming pond, baseball diamond, indoor and outdoor facilities for holding classes, rathskellar serving the best Milwaukee brews, and the broad expanses in which to enjoy the healthful Wisconsin climate.

Our educational program as it is tentatively set up will consist of a series of five lectures by Hal Draper on contemporary critics of Marxism (including Hook and John Dewey) and a series of five lectures by Max Shachtman including: America in Europe and Social Democracy in Power. A debate will take place between Shachtman and Draper on political-action policy.

A thorough recreational and social program is now being worked out. It will include various sports activities such as baseball, touch football, volleyball, swimming, etc. We also intend to have some social activity each evening—camp fires—weenie roast and folk songs.

Why not make this your summer vacation? Fill out the enclosed application blank (including whatever communications, questions and/or suggestions you may have) and mail it with a five dollar deposit to:

Socialist Youth League
Post Office Box No. 8112
Chicago, Illinois

The deposit will enable us to make a down payment on the total expense to the owners of the camp. The cost per individual for the entire encampment will be \$40 (including your deposit). \$5 per day will be the cost for seven days or less.

Come up for one of the week-ends if you cannot make the full ten days.

Patriots

The largest bank in Washington, D. C.—and one of the largest in the country—has explained why the merchant fleet of the tiny republic of Panama is the fourth largest in the world and includes one-fourth of all the tankers owned by U. S. oil companies.

The Riggs National Bank issues a weekly news sheet put out by its economist, Phillip S. Brown, who wrote:

"Panama has few regulations and those it has are not enforced. By enabling shipowners to escape supervision by their own governments, avoid taxes, etc., Panama collects a revenue large in relation to the country's size."

The same shipowners who avoid paying taxes in this way—and also keep seamen's conditions down—get rich subsidies from the U. S. treasury.

Books Received

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Signet and Mentor pocket books, to be published August 23:

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR, by Willard Motley, A Signet Double Volume, 608 pages, 50 cents.

THE NEW HANDBOOK OF THE HEAVENS, by H. J. Bernhard, D. A. Bennett and H. S. Rice. A Mentor book, 240 pages, 35 cents.

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AUGUST 31

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British Labor Party Turns to U. S. Capital To Underwrite Financing of Colonial Plans

By GORDON HASKELL

The National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party has come out with what it terms a world plan for mutual aid to sustain the prosperity of the industrial nations and to combat communism and fascism in underdeveloped areas. This plan would be undertaken by the anti-Stalinist nations when the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) expires in 1952. Its object would be "to attack poverty everywhere, in developed and undeveloped countries alike."

Although the details of the plan, even as worked out in the BLP statement in general terms, are not yet available, it appears from reports in the press that the plan involves a pooling of the efforts of the United States, Britain and the United Nations to assist underdeveloped countries. Participating countries would contribute to the plan's costs according to their abilities.

In other words, what the BLP seems to be proposing is a Point Four program on a world scale, with Britain taking her place side by side with the United States and the United Nations (presumably excluding the Stalinist governments) in its development.

What does this mean in real political and economic terms? The answer can only be made if we understand the BLP's colonial policy as it has developed since the Second World War.

As everyone knows, Britain has been beset with grievous economic problems since the end of the war.

Africa and British Economy

When we speak of the British Empire today, we must bear in mind the fact that we are speaking of Britain, Malaya, parts of Africa and some other more or less minor territories. The dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations are not colonies in any sense of the word. They form an economic area to the extent that they are tied together by the pound sterling and some degree of preferential tariffs. But the dominions are not subject to development or exploitation by Britain in the sense that the colonies are.

There are two ways in which Africa can help the British economy. The African people can be exploited cruelly and mercilessly, as they have been in the past; or Africa can be developed with a tremendous investment which will raise the productivity of the population to a point at which it will be able to produce vastly more for itself, as well as for the British.

Whites Demand Control

The 23 million inhabitants of Nigeria have an average income of about 10 shillings a year; and on the Gold Coast, with far richer natural resources and a higher degree of development, it is about two pounds sterling. The fate of the famous peanuts scheme in Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya indicates the tremendous investment which must be made before any appreciable return can be hoped for.

Added to this economic aspect of the problem of the development of Africa is the political one. Every increase in the standard of living of the native population INCREASES the demand for self-government and the resistance to continued colonial rule. The Labor government in Britain has stated that it will grant increasing political powers to the colonial population as they develop the capacity to exercise them. But this is the old language of imperialism. And even if the intentions of the BLP may be different, the Africans have no reason to take them at their word.

This fact is reinforced by the

ment is trying to work out for Africa.

That they will not work it out satisfactorily is attested by simple political logic, and also by the periodic riots and "disturbances" which have broken out in Africa during the past few years. (As to Malaya, it has been in constant turmoil, with the Stalinists finding willing response to their propaganda and leadership among the population.)

What can the BLP do in this situation? Britain does not have the capital to modernize her own industry fast enough to meet her own needs. She has had to borrow constantly from America to maintain economic stability. The desperate plight in which she found herself last year has been alleviated primarily by the American boom which preceded the Korean war and has been intensified by it.

It is clear that she cannot possibly find the capital resources with which to undertake the vast economic development of Africa which is needed, even if she could find a political solution to the growing demand for self-govern-

Political Conditions Will Be Set

Ivor Thomas, speaking for the government, stated: "There is only one source at the present time from which . . . capital investment in the colonies can come. If we face the facts we know that that source must be the United States of America."

And Lord Winterton, speaking for the opposition, stated that "the honorable gentleman will agree that we as a nation welcome American participation in the development of British colonies" and "this bill is the one means of obtaining it."

It seems that now the Labor Party is seeking another means of obtaining such participation. To date very little American capital has been drawn into British colonial development by the various schemes devised for that purpose. Furthermore, the vaunted Point Four program has been starved into a semi-coma by the U. S. Congress. So now the BLP is coming up with a much more ambitious scheme which is calculated to achieve those purposes which past efforts have failed even to approach.

In the concrete circumstances of world relations today the talk

The British Labor Party has prepared a new pamphlet "Labor and the New Society" which will be of great interest to everyone who is concerned with the development of the program of the BLP. Although this document is not yet available for study, press reports on it give a fairly good idea of its content. We will comment on the pamphlet as a whole in due course. This article takes up only certain aspects of the program which relate to the colonial policy of the BLP.—G. H.

ment and independence among the African population.

Increasingly the BLP (and the Tories along with them) has been thinking in terms of two approaches to the problem. The first is for some kind of pooling of the colonies of the Western European powers, at least in Africa. Extensive discussions have taken place with the French and Belgians. The pooling would be, of course, chiefly economic.

But even more important, the British have been casting around for ways and means of drawing American capital into their colonial development schemes. This was made clear by both Labor and Tory spokesmen in the debate on the Colonial Loans Bill.

It is worth noting that this program fills in with some detail one of the ideas which was implied in the BLP's rejection of Western European unity (see LABOR ACTION for June 26). In its document "European Unity," the BLP plumped for closer cooperation with the Commonwealth, with the whole non-Stalinist world, and especially with the United States, as against the unity of Europe. The present statement attempts, it seems, to indicate how such "unity" can be implemented.

The question remains: Is there any alternative policy for the BLP? Yes, there is. But it requires a sweeping and revolutionary change in the whole approach of the BLP which does not seem to be in the cards right now.

In outline such a policy would involve the unification of Western Europe on the basis of a planned, socialized economy. The capital resources of such a combination would be far greater than the mere sum of the capital resources of its parts. They could be used to increase the productivity of European labor much above its present levels. The political impact of such a union would go far to destroy the ideological hold of Stalinism on the workers of Europe. Such a combination could also make available a tremendous amount of capital equipment for the development of Africa.

But for America to invest heavily, certain political conditions will have to be met. This has been learned by every government which has received Marshall Plan aid. And even the British who, as the most powerful recipients of such aid, have been able to stand up most sturdily to the political pressures, should understand clearly by this time that neither American businessmen nor the American government will develop Africa for Britain.

If the BLP program ever becomes a reality, it will simply mean that American capital, either under private or government auspices, will fall heir to the British African empire with Britain hoping to retain the position of a junior partner.

Only such measures could convince the African population that the old imperialism has given way to freedom. Economic development could be inaugurated on a vast scale without exploitation only on the basis of a partnership between a socialist Europe and a free Africa.

Such a solution to the colonial problem is fraught with all kinds of uncertainties and risks. That is obvious. But no other solution has ANY prospect of a result other than the perpetuation of the subjugation and exploitation of Africa.

It may not even have that prospect, as far as the traditional colonial powers are concerned. The proposal of the BLP is to mortgage Britain's African holdings to American capital with good prospects that the property will pass to the mortgagee through default. And given the probability of African resistance to ANY form of traditional exploitation, would it be too far-fetched to guess that Stalin might turn out to be the true beneficiary of the proposed transaction?

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DEBATE—Friday, Sept. 22

Is Yugoslavia on the Road to Socialist Democracy?

Yes!

No!

O. JOHN ROGGE

HAL DRAPER

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The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERESTED?

Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League—

4 Court Square Long Island City 1 New York

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

I want to join the ISL.

Name Address City Zone State Tel.

YOU and SCIENCE

The Korean War and Effects on Science

By CARL DARTON

How has the "little hot war" in Korea affected science and what are the prospects for the future?

To some extent the Korean situation has caught the United States off balance in its long-range military planning, and so readjustment will inevitably be made in its military science program. We can be sure, however, that more and more science will be harnessed to destructive purposes rather than applied to the good of the people.

There will be emphasis on short-range development of improved weapons for immediate use rather than concentration on more fundamental research which might pay off in improved weapons in five or ten years ahead. There will be a tendency to readjust the balance toward neglected development on tactical weapons such as tanks, fighter planes, artillery, and anti-tank weapons. Development and production of long-range bombers, A- and H-bombs, however, will not be neglected.

Truman asked Congress on July 7 for \$260,000,000 for hydrogen-bomb development. Then the massive DuPont industrial empire was selected by the Atomic Energy Commission to build and operate plants for the production of the hydrogen bomb. In contrast, the president has forgotten to name the members of the commission to administer the recently created National Science Foundation, and it will probably be a long time before funds are requested to aid fundamental research.

It appears strange to some that we are now at war but no A-bombs have yet been dropped. This question is considered in the July issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. There it is pointed out that atomic weapons are utterly useless in the present stage of the struggle of the two great powers. The destruction of the capitals of either North or South Korea would not destroy the fighting capacity of the armies but would rather have a profound political effect against the user.

Thus the problem of the United States is how to aid a nation invaded by Russia or its satellites without resorting to area bombardment by atomic or other weapons with the wholesale destruction of the cities which they are seeking to "protect." It should be pointed out here that dynamite and the torch are somewhat more laboriously destroying the Korean villages and cities.

Where Ignorance Is a Virtue—

The Bulletin further writes, hopefully, that the possession of A-bombs by both camps may preclude the breaking out of the "hot war" with devastation of the homelands. However, if such a war should break out, the use of atomic weapons would be justified from a military point of view against highly industrialized countries such as Russia and its satellites. Yet there still would remain the political dilemma that atomic war cannot annihilate a political system without annihilating the people dominated by that system.

These comments from the Bulletin show that the futility of present-day wars are becoming more and more apparent. They also show that political factors are increasingly important and apparent to scientists.

Here in the United States it is certain that the restrictions which already exist on a free science will increase. More and more will political coercion be forced upon scientists and technicians in the name of "security." In the July 21 issue of Science a protest is made against such restrictions on the "independent spirit of inquiry necessary to science." Soon the licensing of doctors, dentists, engineers and other technicians may be contingent on proper political beliefs if the recent action of the coast guard in licensing radio operators is permitted to establish a precedent.

For many years, by act of Congress, the coast guard has licensed radio operators for the merchant marine. Normal investigation as to "character, habits of life and physical condition" has been enforced. Recently, however, the commandant of the coast guard has stated that applicants are not to be "considered safe or suitable persons to be licensed" if it is believed that they are affiliated or sympathetic to the principles of any organization on the attorney general's "subversive" list. A continuation of such a trend would mean the application of political tests to many fields of private employment for technicians and scientists.

Once upon a time a scientist was deemed competent if he possessed sufficient knowledge in a specialized field; now, more and more, a scientist's ability even to earn a livelihood depends not on specialized knowledge which cost money and time to acquire but depends upon real (or feigned) complete ignorance or indifference to the political atmosphere in which he and other workers live.

Where ignorance and indifference are virtues, there science cannot live.

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Reading from Left to Right

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE NEGRO, by Henry L. Lennard. (The Crisis, July 1950)

A New York psychologist raises the problem, for the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

Most Europeans, as Negro GIs found, are relatively unprejudiced against their color. Yet immigrants in the U. S. from these same countries readily develop Jim Crow attitudes not different from others here. Why?

(1) "The newcomer to this country, whether he lands in New York or Boston, soon sees the Negroes for the most part employed in certain occupations. He sees them only in service or unskilled positions."

(2) "... he becomes exposed to the existing stereotypes and attitudes which he is under pressure to absorb since he wants to become 'Americanized'..."

(3) "In addition there is the economic problem. The new immigrant usually lands at the bottom of the economic ladder. He is exploited and he has no social status, besides making little money. It is only human for him to derive satisfaction out of the fact that there are others below him in the social stratification of the society. The exception to this picture are immigrants with a history of participation in social-democratic movements who are conscious and aware of the race problem in the United States and watch their perceptions and attitudes very carefully."

THE QUARTERS' POLLS. (Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer 1950)

This department of the magazine chronicles the pollsters' results for three months. Some miscellaneous gleanings of varied interest

(whose reliability is claimed by the polling outfit and not by us):

(1) Thirty per cent of the people have not heard of the H-bomb, and another 18 per cent have heard of it but don't know anything about it.

(2) Forty per cent have not heard or read about Formosa, and another 11 per cent have heard of Formosa but are not informed on its significance in the news.

(3) In Great Britain, the following question was asked by the British Institute of Public Opinion, and the results catalogued by economic status: "Would you say that your marriage has been successful or not very successful?"

The answers, grouped by economic status, seemed to indicate that poverty and happy marriage go hand in hand. The figures for the "Very Successful" answers show the same trend as the other categories:

Table with 2 columns: Category and Percentage. Wealthy 72%, Average 75%, Below average 64%, Poor 45%. (4) And for those Americans who think that the U.S. is the bearer of civilization in the world, there are the following figures. The question was "Do you happen to be reading any books or novels at the present time?" The percentage for the United States of those caught in the act was 21. This is the lowest of the following six: England 55%, Norway 43%, Canada 40%, Australia 35%, Sweden 33%, United States 21.

These are the only other countries the magazine lists for comparison.

Readers Take the Floor...

Yusuf Meherally

To the Editor:

News of the death of Comrade Yusuf Meherally in July of this year has come to us in an announcement of Janata, organ of the Socialist Party of India.

Yusuf Meherally was one of the oldest and most respected Socialist leaders in India, a comrade who devoted his life to the socialist movement despite the serious illness he suffered from during the last seven years. He was a pioneer in India's youth movement.

On his two visits to America, both Comrade Shachtman and myself, as well as other comrades of the ISL, met Comrade Meherally on many occasions and held many valuable and interesting discussions with him. Despite our disagreements on various political issues, we learned much about India and its problems from Meherally. He was, furthermore, a fine type of socialist comrade and truly selfless. I particularly recall his friendly help on a visit to India long ago.

I think I express the feeling of Comrade Shachtman and other ISL comrades who knew Yusuf Meherally in extending our sympathy to the Socialist Party of India in its loss.

Henry JUDD

Another Language?

To the Editor:

I was astonished by your headline of the letters criticizing the ISL statement on Korea as "Three Letters from Pro-War Critics" on page 1 of the August 21 issue; and

again Mary Bell's "A Reply to Pro-War Critics." In no sense can the letters from "A Friend" and H. D. Coleman be considered pro-war, and A. Rudzienski's article can be thought pro-war only in a very special sense. Such headlines are not worthy of LABOR ACTION. A discussion among us must not be embellished with any propagandistic tricks.

May I specifically ask that my statement, which you noticed for the next issue, be not given any misleading headline, and that this letter be printed in the present issue?

Susan GREEN New York City, August 19

AVC Discussion

To the Editor:

Individual chapters of the American Veterans Committee are engaged now in a discussion of the resolution on Korea which was adopted by the National Planning Committee of AVC. This resolution, which was evidently drawn up and passed in the heat of the moment, is a blanket endorsement of the U.S.-UN action.

A minority of three members of the leading body, all from New York, offered a series of minority amendments to the resolution. These were rejected. The nature of the amendments was to endorse the UN action but at the same time to disavow the regime of Rhee, as well as those of Chiang Kai-shek

Next-A Labor Party! by Jack Ranger. A Hard-Hitting, Meaty, Simple Presentation of the Need for an Independent Labor Party. 25 cents a copy. Order from: Independent Socialist Press, 4 Court Sq. Long Island City 1, N. Y.

THE PRO-TITOISM OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT—5 How the Titoists Defend Totalitarianism

By HAL DRAPER

The preceding articles have dealt with a theoretical analysis of the pro-Titoist view. As we have tried to indicate, we are aware that such considerations of theory cut little ice with some of the European Marxist elements who are being sold on pro-Titoism. To theory they counterpose "The Facts"—an entirely just procedure, to be sure, if there is really a contradiction between the two.

"The Facts" to which they point, however, turn out to be mainly, if not exclusively, concerned with—theory. That is, the "facts" they point to are the speeches, articles and other declarations of the Yugoslav leaders which, it is claimed, prove that the Yugoslavs have broken with the theory, ideas, principles and methods of Stalinism.

If this is so, then it is indeed a Fact of historic importance. The Yugoslav leaders have broken with the Russian Stalinists and with Russian domination. They have entered on the road, we have emphasized, of building a national-Stalinist state. They are seeking to adopt a national-Stalinist ideology to fit their own needs. This means: an ideology which remains Stalinist in fundamentals while differentiating itself from Russian Stalinism only within the framework of Yugoslav nationalism and its requirements.

It is only the more stupid of the pro-Titoists (largely in the Fourth International press) who write as if the Yugoslavs make a break with Stalinism every time they publish another criticism of the Russians. What are these criticisms? Are they within the framework of the Stalinist system or are they criticisms only of the Russian variety of Stalinism? What do the Yugoslavs propose to substitute for the Russian ideas they attack?

The Pro-Titoists' Claims

What is worth discussing is the claim of pro-Titoists that their heroes have broken with Stalinist fundamentals or indeed with all of Stalinist theory.

- Stalin, Comrade Paul Roberts, in LABOR ACTION of July 17: "The Yugoslavs have begun to subject the entire Stalinist system to quite merciless analysis."
• Comrade Luis Alonso, in La Batalla (Spanish POUM), July 19: "It can be said at the present time that the Yugoslav Communists have, in the recent period, posed all the problems that revolutionary socialists have been examining and solving for years back, and many others derived from their own experience."
• William Ballantine, in the British ILP's Socialist Leader, June 3: "Freedom is the main thing in life, and since they have won their economic liberty, the Yugoslavs are doing everything necessary to put Lenin's teachings into practice completely." [Quoted from the Yugoslav Review of International Affairs.]
• La Verité, June 1950: "The Yugoslav Revolution takes up the struggle where the Russian Revolution stumbled. What had been understood by a small vanguard of the Bolshevik party and the Communist International is today the acquisition of several hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav Communists..."

This fantasy is often buttressed by quotations from the Yugoslav leaders (evidently selected with great care, if the quotes have read much of the material) full of pleasant things about democracy, anti-bureaucratism, workers' councils, workers' control of production, etc. And one would never find out from the pro-Titoist press—or from Comrade Paul Roberts' discussion article in LABOR ACTION—that the Yugoslav leaders proclaim without qualification their belief in the monolithic one-party state in which all other organized political opposition is outlawed.

That is, they vigorously defend the central concept of Stalinist totalitarianism without a single indication, to this day, of making any concessions on the matter even for demagogic purposes (which is certainly not excluded for future contingencies).

We start with this fact—one of the The Stubborn Facts we promised to take up—because nothing else about Tito-Yugoslavia can be understood without first understanding the Titoists' purely Stalinist concept on political opposition and the monolithic state.

Djilas on the Monolithic Party State

The first witness is of unimpeachable authority among the pro-Titoists. He is Milovan Djilas, one of the top four of the Yugoslav regime. We choose that work of his which has been published for international circulation by Yugoslav propaganda agencies and which pro-Titoists have hailed as the best, or among the best, to show the Yugoslavs' return to Leninism. It is entitled New Roads to Socialism [See Les Voies Nouvelles du Socialisme, Livre Yugoslave, Paris, 1950] and is the text of a speech delivered last March 19 at an important meeting in Belgrade during the recent national election.

Much of it consists of an attempt to sketch a theory about the degeneration of the Russian, which we will take up later under that heading. This same theoretical "masterpiece" (so we have heard it called) begins with—a stiff-necked justification of the monolithic-party state. Since our pro-Titoists have been too shy to present the views of the masterpiece on this subject, we present it here.

Djilas begins his discussion of the question: "As you know, the opposition does not present itself among us in the elections; there are no opposition candidates. One may wonder if that is indeed in conformity with democratic principles, if the dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily implies the presentation of a single list of candidates—the 'governmental' list. In other words, do the working class and the peasantry 'need' bourgeois opposition lists in a country where they have taken power? The question is of a purely practical kind."

The quotation marks around "need" are Djilas's. The word already anticipates the totalitarian theory which follows. This theory consists precisely in the assertion that political democracy is a "purely practical" question in the sense that someone will have to demonstrate, to Djilas's satisfaction, that the "workers"—that is, the regime—"need" for itself a list. Any opposition, of course, demonstrates the specific "need" for itself only after and through its work. In advance, there is only the "need" for freedom of opposition within the framework of socialist democracy in order that any specific "need" may be satisfied when it arises. This idea, the ABC of real democracy, is as foreign to Djilas as to Stalin.

"For the toiling masses led by the working class, in our epoch the bourgeoisie represents a hindrance to their development and to the development of the country's productive forces; and consequently the presence of its candidates in the elections would constitute a useless obstacle."

At no point does Djilas even raise the question of permitting political opposition which is not "bourgeois," let alone discuss it. Not only is it a question of a socialist party independent of the CP, but

also of a peasant party independent of the CP. As a matter of fact, any such party would no doubt be "bourgeois" to the Yugo-Stalinist mind. In any case, Djilas lumps all opposition together as "bourgeois."

The question of permitting "bourgeois" opposition (writes Djilas further) depends on "the concrete conditions of the moment," the class "relationship of forces," which decide whether the right to opposition which the bourgeoisie possesses "formally" is to be exercised.

If a "bourgeois" opposition constituted a real danger to the Titoist state today, Djilas would tell us that "concrete conditions" do not permit this danger to "socialism" to be given free rein. But he does not even attempt to use this line. There is no bourgeois opposition in Yugoslavia worth a plugged nickel. And so, with model Stalinist sophistry, he bases his argument on the exact opposite!

"It follows that the absence of opposition candidates is not a proof of the anti-democratic character of our elections and state system. On the contrary, it is a proof of the strength of the working class and the toiling masses, a proof that our democracy is truly popular, that it is agreeable to the people, to their immense majority. To accuse us, under the circumstances, of anti-democraticism would be to reproach us—as and the masses of people—with not helping the bourgeoisie, with struggling against it."

The existence of a "bourgeois" opposition is, of course, not "practical" when the state is in danger. And the stronger the regime becomes, the less "practical" such an opposition becomes. When then is it "practical"? From the East European Stalinisms we know well enough that there is a "need" for it only when it is a fake opposition party, set up and dressed up only in order to garner votes for the regime and led by quislings who are willing to be "opposition" puppets of the dictatorship. Tito went through this stage too. There is no "need" now.

This is how the Titoists "subject the entire Stalinist system to quite merciless analysis!"

The Role of Elections Under Totalitarianism

But Djilas is not through. He actually raises the question: Well, then, if no opposition lists are permitted to exist, why have elections? What are their "role and importance?"

His answer: "They must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat..."

"(Not only a Marxist, but any realistic political thinker, ought to understand that the very necessity of 'reinforcing' the dictatorship—that is, governmental repression—testifies not to the triumph of a classless harmony, but to the growth of new social antagonisms."—Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed.)

"They must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, socialist democracy, by constantly enlarging its base... pushing forward its internal democratization... developing the initiative of the masses..." etc.

"Besides, the elections confirm the line to be followed, which must be put forth and explained in the course of the electoral campaign; for it is evident that the question whether the candidates will be elected or not is secondary, since they will be elected anyway; what counts is the conscious and active participation of the masses in the electoral campaign on questions of a general nature, the problems of the line of development, of the tightening of the bonds between the masses, the party and the popular power."

The bonds between masses and party must indeed be tightened, always one way; and even if the balloting is a foregone farce, the ballot must be dropped, the voters dragged to the polls, election speeches made, majorities announced, etc., just as if something real was happening. The important thing is to participate—it doesn't matter that the election result is known in advance...

It is a hallmark of Stalinist totalitarianism, as distinct from other kinds of dictatorship, that it demands this. It is not satisfied even with the TOLERATION of its rule by a passive population; it demands that the oppressed PARTICIPATE in the engine of their oppression. If you have read Orwell's "1948": it does not merely demand that you bow the head to Big Brother; you must love Big Brother.

Thus the state becomes "yours" too; thus you get a "socialist democracy" without the "useless" trappings of opposition lists and such, for which there is obviously no "need."

Here is the heart of "the entire Stalinist system," not subjected to "quite merciless analysis," but expounded.

(Next week: Kardelj's defense of totalitarianism)

NOTE ON YUGOSLAV SOURCES

To avoid repeated explanation of Yugoslav sources which will be cited in the course of this series on pro-Titoism, these are identified below. Virtually all references to internal Yugoslav developments and writings will be from these sources. They are all official publications of government agencies (with the exception of the last, which, however, contains only official Belgrade propaganda).

- TANJUG. Daily bulletin. Published in French by the Tanjug agency (Agence Télégraphique Nouvelle Yougoslavie), Paris—the official Yugoslav government press agency.
YUGOSLAV NEWSLETTER. The U. S. equivalent of Tanjug. Published by the Yugoslav Information Center, New York.
LES NOUVELLES YUGOSLAVES. Semi-monthly propaganda newspaper. Published in French by L'Agence Yougoslave d'Information, Paris.
YUGOSLAV FORTNIGHTLY. The English-language equivalent of Les Nouvelles Yougoslaves.
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Bi-weekly magazine. Published in English by the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists (in Belgrade).
FOR THE DEFENSE OF PEACE. Bi-monthly magazine. Published in English by the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defense of Peace (in Belgrade).
VARIOUS PAMPHLETS AND BROCHURES, published by the Belgrade, Paris and New York agencies noted above; speeches and articles by top Yugoslav leaders.
DAILY REPORTS, FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS (Section on Yugoslavia). Published daily by the U. S. government, Washington. Consists entirely of English translations of monitored broadcasts of Yugoslav radio stations, without comment, order, form or organization. A mine of information if one wades through it. All references to Yugoslav radio broadcasts are from this publication.

"MURDER IN MEXICO"

Ten Years After Leon Trotsky's Assassination, New Light Is Shed on The GPU Plot

MURDER IN MEXICO, by General Leandro A. Sanchez Salazar, ex-chief of secret service of the Mexican police. With the collaboration of Julian Gorkin. Secker & Warburg, London, 1950; \$2.50.

By MARY BELL

This August 20 marks the tenth year since the murder of Leon Trotsky, the exiled Bolshevik leader who for over a decade, following his expulsion from Russia by Stalin, had been the animating genius of revolutionary socialism in the tradition of the great Russian Marxists and at the same time the foremost analyst and opponent of the Stalinist counter-revolution in Russia.

We are fortunate in having at hand the book by General Salazar, who conducted the investigation into the two major attempts on Trotsky's life which occurred during his Mexican exile—the first a failure, the second ending in the death of the beloved revolutionist.

There is probably no one, given Salazar's unique role, who could write a more thorough account of the police investigation. Trotsky publicly commended the inquiry which he conducted into the first attack of May 24, 1940, declaring: "In no other country in the world, either in France, Switzerland or Spain, has one of the crimes of the GPU been exposed with such thoroughness as was the attempt on my life on May 24 in Mexico."

The police at that time traced the attack to Stalin's GPU and the Mexican Stalinist painter David Alfaro Siqueiros. Trotsky's only difference with the conclusions of the police at that time was with their belief that Robert Sheldon Harte, one of the guards at the Old Man's house, was actually a GPU accomplice.

Most Complete Source

Salazar is a soldier turned chief of police who appears concerned with the honor of his office and the probity of justice in the only country which offered asylum to Trotsky. He was on orders from the then President Cardenas to assure protection to the exiled revolutionary. His book, in its way, on the plane of fact and detective analysis, is the most complete source of information on the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

In an introduction by Julian Gorkin—who was a member of the Communist International in its early days, a one-time supporter of Trotsky against the Comintern, for years a libertarian socialist and a spokesman for the Spanish POUM—the reason for publication ten years after the event is explained. The delay in this case, as in the postponement of the publication of Trotsky's biography of Stalin, resulted from the political atmosphere surrounding the wartime alliance of Russia with the Allied powers. Gorkin was given to understand that its earlier publication "was not opportune."

The book is fascinating and melodramatic as a fictional murder story as one sees through the eyes of the police chief and follows the intricate, painstaking and often surprisingly effective police methods which include interrogations, disguises, sudden confrontations of contradictory witnesses, exhumation, medical evidence, organized searches, etc.

Testimonial from a Soldier

The mass attempt on Trotsky's house, where he lived, barricaded in a fortress complete with alarm signals, armed guards and lookout post, occurred on May 24, when Salazar was brought into the case. The latter saw Trotsky and his wife shortly after the attackers, clad in police uniforms and equipped with machine guns, scaling ladders and an electric saw, had riddled their bedroom with 73 holes and yet miraculously missed killing them. The calmness of the ex-Red Army commander amazed the police leader. It was in part this stoicism, plus the failure of such a well-armed and obviously well-planned attempt, that led to Salazar's early and later discarded theory that the attack was "staged." One sees the shock of the soldier's mind as Trot-

sky, while feeding his caged rabbits, tells him whom he suspects:

"The author of the attack is Joseph Stalin, through the medium of the GPU."

Later, thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this assertion by weight of evidence, confessions and the political aid supplied by Trotsky, Salazar pays tribute in his own way to the quality of Trotsky:

"For the needs of the investigation and for the purpose of surveillance I had to remain in touch with him during the three months which followed the first attack. Trotsky was an exceedingly energetic man, courageous and cool. A long life consecrated to the revolutionary movement, the historic events in which he had played a most important part, and the intense persecution to which he had been subjected had made him into a being of exceptional character. I still remember with admiration and astonishment the serenity with which he had received me an hour after the attack on May 24. No one would have thought that he had just passed through so terrible an ordeal. I am a soldier, and as such I have taken part in many cruel battles; for years I have lived among men to whom death was familiar. Consequently, I readily appreciated the courage of such a man as Trotsky. Even so, I greatly admired his calmness and firmness as he faced this danger which never ceased to threaten him."

"He Lived Only for His Ideas"

"A soldier knows more or less who is his enemy, the arms he will use, the approximate spot where death threatens, the way in which it may come; he goes to meet the danger, forced on by the feeling of duty, fully conscious of the mission he is accomplishing. Trotsky, however, felt himself constantly menaced, but without knowing from where exactly death would come. To face the menace of this terrible persecution, of this danger without definite form, demands a special sort of courage. Trotsky possessed this courage. He struggled against the invisible web which was being woven about him. He was determined to defend himself—to defend not only his life but his political ideas. The two could hardly be separated, for he lived only for his ideas."

Trotsky's assassination was the most famous and diabolic of all the GPU murders, ordered by the head of a regime which is without parallel in history for its vengefulness. Don Leon, as Salazar respectfully saluted him, anticipated assassination from the time of his expulsion by Stalin from Russia to Turkey in 1929. This ever-present possibility followed him from country to country as his collaborators, secretaries and family were murdered. His archives were burned. He was the most effective and politically dangerous opponent of a regime which could tolerate no opposition. He traced the fever-graph of Stalinism. The necessity for his removal on the part of Stalin was reaching a climax during his stay in Mexico. Preparations had started in 1939, when a shake-up took place in the Mexican Communist Party and the leadership was removed for the reason that its struggle against Trotskyism had not been effective. Its slogan was "Death to Trotsky!"

In 1939, Trotsky had effectively exposed and condemned the Stalin-Hitler pact and the invasion of Poland and Finland by Russia. His views were widely published in the press. At the same time it was known that he was working on a biography of Stalin. These two things alone made more urgent the immediate assassination!

The Mexican Stalinist press created the proper political aura for the attempt on Trotsky's life, particularly *El Popular*, organ of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, led by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Moscow's principal spokesman in Latin America. Toledano accused Trotsky of

preparing a general strike against the government of Cardenas, which permitted Trotsky's stay in Mexico. Other Stalinist papers accused Trotsky of being in league with anti-revolutionary, reactionary agents, and circulated the old canard, "in league with German fascism through its Mexican agents."

As was to be expected, when the Russians changed sides in September, 1939, and joined Hitler in the division of Poland, Trotsky became, according to all these same sources, secretly in league with the U. S. Dies Committee.

GPU's Methods

After the actual assassination had been carried out, Toledano's paper went along with the rest of the Mexican press in denouncing the murder but suggesting that it had been prepared by agents-provocateurs. Antonio Pujol, another Mexican Stalinist painter, who, with Siqueiros, was the principal organizer of the May 24 attempt, wired for the benefit of the police: "Declarations C.T.M. on Trotsky same as Chicago gangsters' technique; they condemn crime and send wreaths to victim. Lombardo Stalinist. Waiting guarantee life in danger to give myself up to justice."

The investigation into the first attempt revealed the power of the GPU; it had the money to employ the best of the GPU's methods of agent posts, knowing and unknowing accomplices, ideologically motivated and deliberately misinformed assistants. Trotsky's cook was implicated; Siqueiros and Pujol led the attack; miners who had vague sympathies for Stalinism



were used; prostitutes were employed.

But the GPU left its calling card when one of the assailants called out "Long live Almanzan!" This was the typical Stalinist frame-up trick. The assassin would be identified as Trotsky's followers and also *Almazanistas*, i.e., supporters of the conservative opponent of Cardenas. The investigation led immediately to the Communist Party. Trotsky furnished the political analysis for the police and in the public press as a background the capture of the would-be assassins. He even guessed that Siqueiros, from his role in the Mexican CP and Spanish civil war, was involved.

Robert Sheldon Harte, the guard on duty at the gate the night of the attack, disappeared. Salazar assembles impressive evidence to sup-

(Continued bottom of next page)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST VIEW

War and the 'Lesser Evil'

The 'Real Choices' in the War

By BEN HALL

One of our sternest critics, H. D. Coleman, admonishes us to avoid "ambiguity in the present position of the organization [ISL] with respect to Russia." Coleman obviously suffers from a remarkable case of political amnesia.

We remind our forgetful adviser of the facts so that the unwary reader may be fully acquainted with what is really at issue in this discussion.

The revolutionary socialist movement, whose authentic traditions the Independent Socialist League carries forward, began the fight against Stalinism in the world working-class movement more than a quarter of a century ago when it was in its incipient stages. When tiny groups of Marxists led by Leon Trotsky sounded the first alarm, wisacres grinned at what they thought to be interminable hairsplitting about abstruse questions.

During the days of Peoples Frontism and collective security, when every liberal became half a Stalinist enamored with the "noble experiment," wagging his head in perturbed dismay at the "disruptive" Trotskyists, our movement, virtually alone, warned against the dangers of Stalinism and its policies to the working class and to the fight against fascism.

When the Moscow Trials, directed toward the extermination of all remnants of revolutionary socialism in Russia and its discredit throughout the world, were understood so easily and so sagely by liberal friends of Russia and by official opinion in the United States as a "strengthening" of Russia against espionage, we hammered home that these frameups aimed at entrenching the totalitarian bureaucracy; we picketed the Russian consulate, protesting the execution of the Old Bolsheviks, only to be jailed by a magistrate who denounced the importation of "foreign" ideological disputes to the unsullied shores of America.

It Does Not Ring True

More than ten years ago, on the eve of the Second World War, when "defense of the Soviet Union" under the Stalin regime became an immediate political question, we, who later founded the Workers Party and then the ISL, raised the slogan: "Against Both Imperialist camps—for the Third Camp of world labor and the oppressed colonial peoples." Molotov was then shaking the hand of Ribbentrop over the "eternal" pact of friendship between Russia and Germany.

And when Roosevelt grasped the hand of Stalin, when the air was filled with hosannas for our "brave allies in the fight for democracy," when the post-war world was parceled out among the victorious allies, when the United States wagged assent to Russia's "peaceful" rule over its own slaves, when censored news articles and magazine features glorified the "economic democracy" of Stalinism, the ISL continued unremittently and without qualification to speak out the truth about the monstrous anti-socialist totalitarianism of Stalinist Russia.

Without the destruction of Stalinism, without the

In the following article Ben Hall contributes toward a presentation of the Independent Socialist League view on the questions raised by correspondents H. D. Coleman, A. Rudzienski and "A Friend" in their letters on the war (last week's LABOR ACTION).—Ed.

obliteration of every vestige of its influence over the peoples of the world, the labor and socialist movement cannot triumph. That is what we have always said and what we continue to say today.

It was bad enough to be ridiculed, reviled, slandered yesterday because we were bad-mannered enough to keep repeating the truth. But to be rebuked for "ambiguity with respect to Russia" just when our former detractors, opponents and even former friends, under the pressure of respectable opinion, have decided to enlist (figuratively speaking) in a holy war against Russia, one which has nothing to do with the interests of socialism, democracy, or labor—this is too much!

No, it does not ring true. Our socialistic pro-war critics are not really disturbed by our attitude toward Russia (Stalinism), which has been unambiguous enough. What distresses them is the fact that we accompany our opposition to Stalinism with an unambiguous rejection of capitalism, imperialism and its war and that we refuse to be swept along with those liberals, ex-Stalinists, Republicans, Democrats, Wallaces, socialists, ex-socialists and future ex-socialists, who swirl together in the winds of pro-war propaganda.

So that, when Coleman writes of the ISL's willingness "only a few years ago" to "defend the Soviet Union" we can only reply that his letter contains a "few lines" which easily lend themselves to falsification provided they are not carefully interpreted in a manner totally contrary to their sense.

Results of Allied Victory

The policy we are urged to adopt is as simple and banal as it is old and shop-worn. The world working-class movement is disoriented and impotent, they tell us. The United States, though capitalist and imperialist, retains large areas of democracy; Stalinism, totalitarian and utterly reactionary, is the main danger. The working class and its allies are unable to deal with either capitalism or Stalinism at the present time. Therefore: rally to the side of the United States, as the lesser evil, and overthrow Stalinism.

The proponents of this view seem unconcerned with the fact that precisely this policy has dominated the world working-class movement for decades and was tried in the ordeal of two world wars. The result, not of the defeats but of the victories of the camp of the lesser evil, has been less democracy—not more; fewer rights for the

working class—not more; more barbarism—not less.

The very power of Stalinism, the terrible threat which it represents to civilization, is a product of the VICTORY of the Allied camp in the last war. The cost of this policy to the world has been increasing reaction; the cost to the working class has been demoralization and disintegration of its socialist consciousness.

Coleman asks whether the two imperialist camps are "equally reactionary," as though this question of policy can be decided by trying to balance two sides of an algebraic equation. We say "only" that the wheel of history can be turned from right to left only if and when the oppressed peoples consciously organize independently of the two imperialist war camps and struggle against both for democracy, national freedom and socialism; that if another war results not in the victory of this Third Camp but in the victory of imperialism (either imperialism), humanity will speed down the road to reaction, and will continue to do so until the toiling people struggle against capitalism, Stalinism and any and all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Stalinism vs. the Status Quo

But, says Coleman, you grant that capitalism and Stalinism represent different social systems. Nevertheless, he charges, you refuse to draw any political conclusions from this profound fact.

He is so blindly, so completely, so irrevocably committed to his pro-war position that his mind is unable to grasp any other approach to the question. These are two different social systems, say the Stalinists, Stalinoids and their left-wing hangers-on, therefore you must support Russia. These are two different social systems, says Coleman, therefore you must support the United States. We reject his conclusions, we deny what he claims are the consequences of the antagonism between capitalist imperialism and Stalinism, and we reject the analogous argument of the Stalinists.

Capitalist America confronts not merely another imperialist rival but a rival which represents a new social order, reactionary, oppressive, anti-socialist, anti-working-class, but a NEW system. When it calls for the overthrow of the old property relations, it creates its own dynamic momentum; it gains enormous powers of attraction. Millions of people are deserting the banner of capitalism to go over to Stalinism. Therefore, more urgent and more valid becomes the slogan of a Third Camp of socialism against both camps of capitalism and Stalinism. Such is the only alternative to the rise of this new reactionary social movement.

The two outmoded social systems which face one another across the trenches of the hot war are irreconcilable enemies. If we add this to what we already know about the nature of modern warfare, its aims and consequences, we gain a frightening hint of what threatens mankind. When we understand that each side seeks not merely the military defeat of the other, but its destruc-

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"Murder in Mexico": Ten Years After --

(Continued from page 6)

port the theory, denied by Trotsky and the official Trotskyist movement, in a case that may never be proved, that Harte was an accomplice of the GPU.

Evidence on Harte Case

The evidence includes the declaration by Nestor, whose testimony led to Siqueiros and Pujol, that Harte knew "Felipe." The latter, never traced to this date, and identified by J. Edgar Hoover as George Mink, the notorious American GPU gunman, is assumed to be the GPU "brain" which organized the assassination.

The evidence includes statements by participants that Harte walked, was not forced, away from the first attempt and drove one of the cars which, incidentally, were in Trotsky's garage and had the keys in the ignition—a fact known only to the guards. It includes a deposition of Harte's father, since repudiated by him, that he thought his son was a Stalinist and did not know of his Trotskyist sympathies. It also includes evidence that after the first attempt Harte remained alive and free for several days in the GPU hideout where he was finally shot and buried, without having made an attempt to escape.

The evidence is of the "circumstantial" variety, but there is a weighty amount of it. To prove Harte's guilt, Salazar carried through a melodramatic scheme of confronting one of the witnesses with the lime-pit where Harte was buried and staging a fake shooting of a fellow-policeman who was represented as a recalcitrant witness in order to shake the first witness' testimony—to no avail. The witness insisted he had seen Harte alive and apparently a free agent after the first attempt.

The book contains the *grand corrido de Leon Trotsky*, a folk song made up by the people, which quaintly expresses their sadness and a certain understanding of the premeditation of the murder and the tragedy involved. It also contains the account by Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, of the events leading up to the shooting. His morning litany following the unsuccessful attempt was, "They didn't kill us during the night, and still you aren't happy." She recounts the tragic irony of her concern on the day of his murder that he was going bareheaded in the sun. "To protect him from the sun when he was threatened by a terrible death!"

Jacson's GPU Credentials

The assassination by Frank Jacson, Mornard van den Dreschd or Mercader, as the killer was variously known, took place on August 20. The events surrounding it are well known. After the fatal blow, Trotsky was able to say little except to name his assassin, warn his guards not to kill him, ask that his beloved grandson be kept out of it, and tell his wife he loved her—she felt the finality of his words.

Jacson had his GPU visitor's card on him when he was taken after the murder in the form of a letter which made him out as a disgruntled disciple who had been ordered by Trotsky on a terrorist mission to Russia, first of all, against Stalin—the *agent-provocateur* which the Stalinist press collusively suggested.

Jacson was convicted and sentenced for twenty years, the Mexican maximum for murder. For a time he virtually ran the jail through a Stalinist official, Siqueiros, aided by Stalinist officials in the various governments, spent some time in Chile and today remains a free agent in Mexico, untried for all his crimes. Siqueiros tries to jus-

tify himself, presenting his deed as motivated by noble ideas. Jacson wrote articles for the press while in prison, also justifying his crime. He maintained that Trotsky was an agent of Hitler. This assertion he made in 1943 after the Stalin-Hitler pact had been broken. In August, 1940, in the letter found on him, Trotsky was presented as an agent of the United States, the Dies Committee and the American consul. As Gorkin remarks: "Dead or alive, they made him change camp according to the one in which Stalin found himself. And in each case Jacson-Mornard's remarks were dictated by the GPU."

Gorkin adduces in the prologue the evidence which seems most reliable and which has appeared in LABOR ACTION before, on the real identity of Jacson. He is the son of a Catalonian Stalinist woman, Caridad Mercader, who left another son in Russia, possibly as hostage to the GPU. She appeared in Mexico in 1944 and 1945 and her attempt to rescue Jacson from prison with GPU help was foiled. Mercader, whatever his flesh-and-blood relationships, remains a Stalinist hero: the "heroic" and "glorious" assassin of Trotsky.

The Gorkin-Salazar book is an important and interesting stone in the mosaic of Trotsky's life. It is worth reading for the light it throws on the specialized assassin's techniques of Stalin's secret police. Outside the scope of the book, even though both Salazar and Gorkin in their different fields were indebted to Trotsky's insights, is his vast pioneering work preserved in a multitude of articles, pamphlets and books on Stalinism and the Russian bureaucratic regime, to which all who oppose Stalinism from the viewpoint of socialism are indebted. His murder by Stalin's agent served as further confirmation of his thesis that Russia was a "prison of the peoples."

The 'Real Choices' in the War — —

(Continued from page 7)

tion as a system, its social extinction, we begin to understand what the vanquished can expect at the hands of the victor.

The Third Camp Is Divided

Our critics see the world labor movement as it is, bowed under the weight of innumerable defeats, its self-confidence drained away, its ideology perverted. There is your Third Camp, they cry—impotent, disorganized.

It is undeniable that the Third Camp does not exist as an independently organized and united force, conscious of its own interests, fighting in its own behalf. But it does exist in the world proletariat and the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Third Camp IS DIVIDED, caught in the struggle between Russia and the United States.

Those peoples who have already felt the lash of Stalinism or who still enjoy the stock of dwindling political and social rights permitted in the richer capitalist countries, or who can see no alternative to the brutalities of Stalinism, incline toward the United States. But other millions, who know from long experience what capitalism and imperialism mean in terms of degradation and exploitation, and who see no other way out of their impasse, flock to the banner of Stalinism. The evils of capitalist imperialism drive millions into the arms of Russia; the terrors of Stalinism drive other millions into the arms of the United States.

The Third Camp, socially disoriented, is not united behind either imperialist camp but divided between both; and precisely because each of the two camps are imperialist, neither is able to unify the Third Camp in its own struggle against the other. If either could do so, all its main problems, which derive from the coming war, would easily be solved and its opponent placed in a hopeless position. Coleman does not like "bald phrases about two imperialist rivals." At least one thing is clear from the imperialist character of the coming war: no political



toupee will make capitalist United States seem more charming to the millions drawn toward Stalinism.

The United States is, if anything, in a far more desperately isolated position in the war for the minds of the world's population than is Stalinist Russia. Stalinism fights militantly and aggressively against the status quo. It has been able to rally those who seek a way out, who want a new social order. Their hopes turn to ashes after a Stalinist victory. But so long as there is no other enemy of capitalism, Stalinism will continue to feed upon discontent and oppositionism.

The United States, at best, promises the maintenance of the status quo, with slight liberal modifications in the distant, indefinite future. Such promises are not exactly gilt-edged and can be withdrawn at a moment's notice when its war with Russia is settled and it no longer requires the same social support.

The only sentiments that the United States can arouse among those masses who reject Stalinism is passivity and indifference. Nowhere has it been able to inspire millions, or even hundreds of thousands, with an active passion for enlisting in its war with Russia.

"Practical"?

The United States fights a small war in Korea with its own men, its own equipment, its own dead, its own wounded, while its allies hasten to throw into the tides of battle resolutions of congratulations, a warship or two, a few men here and there as token encouragement, and packets of UN flags. And even while locked in drawn-out battle with merely one advance patrol of Stalinist Russia, when its lack of mass social support reveals itself with telling effect, the United States cannot rise above calling its own few friends in Korea "gooks."

What policy for the peoples of the world? Our critics are hard-headed, practical men who operate like Coleman "within the framework of the real choices imposed by the brutal realities of the present world situation." In a mood of overflowing generosity or in the grip of the wildest madness, we can toy with the fantasy of uniting the peoples of the world—the French workers,

the Italians, the Chinese, the Indo-Chinese, the Indians, the Russians, the Germans, the South American people, etc.—as enthusiastic soldiers in a war against Russia led by and dominated by capitalist United States. But to demand that we grant that such a policy, as distinguished from the program of the Third Camp, is "practical," "realistic," or realizable is nothing more than a "brutal" assault upon our intelligence "within the framework of the real choices imposed by the present world situation."

But leaving aside the question of how *practical* is this program, we ask how correct is it?

A Lesson from the Last War

We emphasize that we are discussing a *socialist* policy on war, which is nothing if not an *internationalist* policy.

Our internationalist outlook is not a "sacred dogma" inscribed on tablets from heaven. Because we understand that inexorable tendencies in capitalism lead toward dictatorship and oppression; that Stalinist power arises out of the rot of capitalism; that it in turn is dictatorship drawn to its outermost limits; that a new war threatens to drive worker against worker in the interests of their exploiters, to pit one nation against another in a struggle which leads into the abyss—therefore we understand that an international policy for the unification of the peoples is necessary and we remain socialists.

The dictatorial trend of modern society is revealed with graphic awesomeness in its wars and their aftermath. Modern imperialist wars are not battles fought merely for slices of territory, for concessions and spheres of influence, after which political and social life continues more or less along the same old pattern.

Aside from its effects within the borders of the warring powers where the bureaucratic vise is clamped tighter and tighter, imperialist war today means the annihilation of nationalities as free and independent peoples, their disintegration as real powers, their relegation to a position of impotent, pitiful subjects to the more powerful victor or victors.

Such is the horrifying lesson of the last war.

Whole nations, ally as well as enemy, fell under the colonial rule of Russia in all of Eastern Europe: Poland, the ally, as well as Hungary, the enemy; Czechoslovakia, the democracy, as well as Rumania, the military dictatorship. Their nationhood is wiped out; they are ruled by puppets and their sustenance sucked away for the benefit of Stalinism.

Modern Germany lies dismembered and like Japan subjected to a dismantling program and a prohibition and circumscription on the development of modern industry aimed at their permanent reduction to the status of secondary, dependent powers. Their future was vividly portrayed in the Morgenthau and Vansittart plans to make Germany a nation of rural peasants and urban small traders.

These policies formed the basis for American action as long as a peaceful world condominium of Russia and the United States seemed possible. They were modified only when it became necessary to build bastions and bases against Russia for the war whose object will be to wipe out the Russian threat and simultaneously to eliminate the need for such liberal modifications in imperialist policy.

The "Lesser Evil"—Across the Lines

Rudzienski concludes somewhat abruptly—after registering the hatred of the Polish workers for their Stalinist regime, their desire for the defeat of Stalinism and their determination not to play the "role of agent of U. S. imperialism"—that the workers of the United States and Poland must be for a war by the United States against Russia. The people of Poland, like those of every nation oppressed by imperialism, must persist in its struggles for freedom before, during, and after any and all wars. That is axiomatic. But the question posed is somewhat different.

Can the peoples of the world, those oppressed by Stalinism and by capitalism, those in Russia as well as those in Poland, those in China as well as those in France, seek their freedom through the victory of the armies of the United States over Russia's? We think not.

Rudzienski assures us that "a crushing victory of American imperialism which would dominate the entire world, introducing a new totalitarianism all over the globe . . . is hardly probable." The fate of the world, in all its concreteness, in the event of a victory of one imperialist power over the other, is hidden in the mist of the future. It is quite possible that a victorious United States (or for that matter, even Russia) will find it impossible, unnecessary, or inadvisable to clamp the whole world in one monolithic totalitarian grasp. The domination of the earth will indubitably require a hierarchy of nations in varying degrees of dependence or degradation vis-à-vis the world ruler.

But the lessons of the past demonstrate with terrible certainty that if the entire earth will not suffer such a fate, whole nations and continents will. The victory of Russia, everyone will concede, would put new millions in slave chains. But for Russia and its allies, defeat by capitalist imperialism can only mean national extinction, dismemberment, if not on a "global" scale then on a colossal continental scale.

This at least, omitting the possible fate of those allies of the victor who prove not to be pliable, yielding, and subservient enough. If we have not learned *this* about the nature of modern war, then what have we learned?

But we are dealing not with simple chauvinists but with people who are and hope to remain *socialist* pro-war advocates. They undoubtedly will promise to fight against these brutal manifestations of "bald" imperialism; they will deplore, they will agitate, they will arouse.

But on what grounds can you promise the peoples of the

world, including the Russians, that YOUR socialistic policy, your democratic good intentions will prevail in your war camp and not the policy of the bourgeoisie? None whatsoever—quite the contrary!

You can only promise the opposite: ". . . in view of the defeat of revolutionary socialism by Stalinism and the weakness of the proletariat enslaved on the one hand by capitalism and on the other by Stalinism, the opposition to the war has no probability of even ideological, to say nothing of practical, success. The socialist alternative lacks all reality while there exist the two world imperialisms and the impotence of the revolutionary camp." This is the crux of Rudzienski's policy, a policy based on the impotence of the camp of democracy.

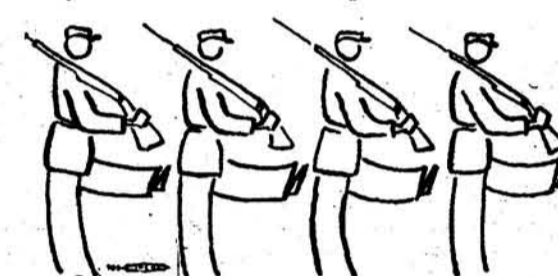
If the Third Camp is powerless and *therefore* the Polish and American workers should support the war, what should the Russian workers do, or for that matter the hundreds of millions of peoples who have had enough of capitalist imperialism? If there is no other road, they will rally to Russia, to Stalinism.

The independent struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples is impotent? Then they must conclude that they must support their oppressor in the hope of staving off the threatening national decimation.

The Implications of Hopelessness

Our critics are blind to the implications of their own hopelessness.

They are under the illusion that once they have written off the Third Camp only one alternative remains. If the only alternative to the triumph of Russian Stalinism



is the victory of the American bourgeoisie, then the American working class must and will strive first and foremost for the military defeat of Russia at the hands of the armies of capitalist imperialism.

But by the same token, if the only alternative to the victory of capitalist arms over Russia is the triumph of Stalinism, then the Russian people and the Chinese and millions of others will see no way out, no way of avoiding foreign imperialist domination, except through the victory of their own reactionary ruling class in war. Such is the "brutal reality."

The choice is not between the policy of the Third Camp and some other socialist program. Either the Third Camp program or no consistently democratic, internationalist, socialist policy is possible. Either the unity of all oppressed and exploited peoples in a common battle for national freedom, for democracy, for socialism—or the fratricidal war among the peoples, nation against nation, worker against worker, each clinging to its own ruling class, to its own imperialism, to its own imperialist ally in the desperate hope of avoiding its own doom by guaranteeing the crushing of the other.

If the Third Camp does not emerge out of the next war as a potent force, and if the conflict does not end in the common ruin of all humanity, and if it will be possible to tell victor from vanquished, then some nations will be utterly destroyed, some reduced to a helot status, others will retain a spurious independence, and still others will stand at the elbow of the victor as jobbers in oppression.

The policy of the lesser evil, considered on a world scale is and can only be an international scramble for highest place on a pile of ruins. Those who enjoy the "lesser evil" will have won only the unenviable right to tarry a few rungs behind on the common descent into barbarism. Precisely because we understand the only real, brutal alternatives, we dedicate ourselves to the resurrection of a politically conscious Third Camp in the fight for the Socialist alternative.

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