

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

APRIL 9, 1951

FIVE CENTS

GIVE TO THE ISL FUND DRIVE!

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Fight in Spain Spreads; World Labor Offers Aid

Spain continues to seethe with revolt. The movement which started in Barcelona last month, and culminated in a general strike, has now spread to Madrid. A short Associated Press dispatch dated April 2 from Madrid stated that on that day police clashed with students during a demonstration against a recent increase in streetcar fares.

Some 3,000 Madrid students attempted to march to the City Hall to protest the fare increase to Mayor Jose Moreno Torres. Scores of armed police halted the demonstrators and in the struggle several students were injured and some were arrested. The significance of this is obviously that the students in Madrid have taken their cue from those in Barcelona and are developing a movement with exactly the same tactics.

An anecdote related by the *Nation* for March 31 illustrates the widespread solidarity which the general strike in Barcelona stimulated among the suppressed people of that city. A student, pursued by the police, lost a shoe just before he found refuge in the buildings of the University of Barcelona. Before the cops could

Force Ouvriere of Leon Jouhaux, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with its headquarters in Brussels, are attempting to bring pressure on the Franco government on behalf of the arrested strikers, and to obtain funds for their assistance. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor in this country are both affiliated with the ICFTU. However, to date we are still awaiting word of any concrete action by the most powerful sector of the world labor movement, that of the United States,

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get hold of the shoe as evidence, a man walking by picked it up and made away with it.

The police waited at the door of the university for a student to come out wearing but one shoe. At the lunch hour, however, two hundred students walked out—each with only one shoe on!

As reported last week in *LABOR ACTION*, the arrests by the Franco regime in connection with the general strike in Barcelona exceeded 5,000 according to *La Batalla*, Spanish POUM newspaper. It is heartening to know that the European organized labor movement is rallying to the support of their embattled Spanish brothers.

In France, the non-Stalinist

UAW Still Leads in Social Program; Shows Tendency To Cramp Union Freedom

By BEN HALL

CLEVELAND, April 2—As anticipated, the United Automobile Workers convention meeting in Cleveland has begun the adoption of a program modelled upon the statements of the United Labor Policy Committee and which in some respects, goes further. The first day of this convention, which will last all week, heard Reuther's report rejecting a no-strike pledge, calling for a return to the "crusading spirit of 1936," and urging a special united conference of all labor in preparation for the 1952 elections as a hint that he might favor a more independent political policy. The delegates voted to print and send to Washington the text of a speech by Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, criticizing Truman and his administration as responsible for the anti-labor trend in national policy.

At a preconvention conference as well as at the convention itself, Mazey was more blunt and outspoken than Reuther. Under no conditions would the UAW give a no-strike pledge, he stated categorically. It intends to build a strike fund of \$25 million in the next five years preparing to strike whenever necessary to defend its contracts and gains, even to extend them. The union expects many crises in the next months and will meet them with action.

"Won't the union promise to avoid all strikes in defense industries," one reporter asked. He replied without hesitation, that they will not. "We have to fight the big companies and the government at the same time," he declared. "The Truman administration has abdicated to big business. Under such conditions if we gave a no-strike pledge, we would lose what we are supposed to be defending—democracy . . ."

At the same time, he pointed out, the employees would be moving in to hit at the union.

NO BARGAINING

He was asked: "what are your minimum demands, the rock bottom basis that could patch up your differences with Truman." "There is no minimum basis," he replied. "There can be no bargaining with the policy of the United Labor Policy Committee. We insist upon a complete change in the course of the government, in prices, taxes, (Continued on last page)

HELP FIGHT SPANISH FASCISM

We reprint the text of a leaflet which is being distributed in connection with a picket line at the Spanish consulate in New York City sponsored by the organizations listed below.

The Spanish working class is on the march against fascism. After thirteen years of brutal oppression and starvation by the murderous Franco regime the people are revolting against high prices and government protected profiteering.

Three weeks ago, more than a quarter of a million workers shut down the city of Barcelona in a great two-day general strike. Fierce government repressions, including imprisonment of 5,000 strikers, has not ended the fight. Despite rigid government censorship, reports from the anti-fascist underground announce that the strike struggles have spread to other industrial regions of Spain.

These heroic fighters against Franco have issued an appeal to the world labor movement and to all anti-fascists for support in their democratic and progressive struggle to rid Spain of the vermin that rule it today.

We march before the Spanish government's Consulate in solidarity with these valiant anti-fascist fighters. Their coming victory over Franco will deal a powerful blow to world reaction. It will aid the working people of every land.

Organized labor must support the movement of the Spanish people to destroy fascism. American dollars and guns are helping to maintain the hated Franco regime in power. Labor must cry out:

HALT U. S. GOVERNMENT AID TO FRANCO!

NOT A CENT, NOT A GUN TO KEEP THE SPANISH PEOPLE ENSLAVED!

RELEASE THE IMPRISONED BARCELONA STRIKERS!

FREEDOM FOR THE SPANISH PEOPLE!

DOWN WITH TOTALITARIANISM—EVERYWHERE!

Independent Socialist League
Socialist Workers Party
Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista
Internationalist Socialist Youth
Inter Students Left Unity Group
Socialist Youth League
Students Union to Resist War (CCNY)
Spartacus Club (NYU)
The Libertarian Socialist League
N. Y. Student Federation Against War
The Catholic Worker

According to the daily papers the demand for a roll-call vote on the dues question mustered 495 votes at the UAW convention and was thus defeated, as a minimum of 700 votes is needed to force a roll call. The dues increase was then voted by an overwhelming majority. It appears that despite the heavy pressure put on by the Reuther machine, at least one fourth of the delegates stood their ground for union democracy, regardless of what their opinion may have been of the question of the dues increase itself.

Full details on this and on the rest of the UAW convention will appear in *LABOR ACTION* next week.

U. S. Puts Squeeze on Latins at Conference

By SAM FELIKS

The Washington Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the 21 American Republics now in progress has the familiar ring of a twice told tale. It is almost a step by step play back of the events that occurred ten years ago in Havana and Rio de Janeiro.

Then, as now, the United States was preparing to put on the economic straight jacket of the war economy. Of primary importance was the securing of raw material sources, the stockpiling of strategic materials and the political stability of its own backyard. Latin America is not yet a continent that is a main participant in world history, but it is drawn into the conflicts and struggles by the world powers.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION?

João de Fontoura concretely pointed to the state of the Latin American economy: the obsolescence of equipment, the backward technology, the low productivity and the lack of agricultural machinery. His main point, and the one that has been made by most of the foreign ministers, was that during the last war Latin America sent raw materials to Great Britain and the United States which was financed by domestic inflation. In return they accumulated large amounts of foreign currency and gold for which they could not buy industrial or consumer goods during the war. After the war, due to inflation and currency devaluations, this war-time currency and gold bought less. And this process whereby the Latin bourgeoisie found itself squeezed by its "Gold Neighbor" is beginning again.

DISTRIBUTE THE BURDEN

While there is no sympathy today among the Latins for the Stalinists as there was in 1940 for the fascists, the same problem of the burden of the war remains. The experience of the last war has stiffened the resistance of the Latins against a repetition of the policies that led to inflation and the exploitation of their economies by the colossal war machine of the North. The Latin American bourgeoisie are now struggling to effect a more equitable distribution of the war burden, from their point of view, particularly since they are in a weaker economic position than the U. S.

The U. S. called the conference to draw the Latin American nations into closer ties with its war economy and into greater political and military ties with the United Nations. President Truman in his opening speech placed the primary emphasis on the division of labor it wishes to establish in the Western Hemisphere: "In these troubled times defense production must have prior claim upon our economic resources. We shall have to increase the production of strategic materials" (the role for Latin America) and "we shall have to divert manufacturing capacity to defense purposes" (the role for the U. S.). Here Truman was spelling out in a specific situation the foreign economic policy stated in the Gray Report and the Rockefeller Report.

The Latins called for the "stimulating (of) industrial development through technical and financial assistance," but the U. S. has been emphasizing "increasing the production of strategic materials." This means the preservation

(Continued on page 8)

The Brazilian Foreign Minister

The Handy Way

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GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY Special Assistant -- Chairman of the Board of Continental Can Co.; Director, Newmont Mining Co.
FRED SEARLS, Jr. Special Advisor on Raw Materials -- President of Newmont Mining Co.; Director of Rhodesian Anglo-American, Ltd., London; Chairman of Board of Empire Star Mines, Ltd. and a number of other mining corporations. (Newmont Mining is an investment trust company with investments in mining companies.)

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION ADMINISTRATION

ERIC JOHNSTON Administrator -- On leave from presidency of Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.; President of Brown-Johnson Co., Spokane, Washington; Director of six Seattle and Spokane firms, United Air Lines, Chicago and Bank of America, San Francisco.

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RUFUS I. WORRELL Acting Chief, Pulp Paper and Paperboard -- on leave from Mead Sales Co., Inc., Dayton, Ohio

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The three industry members have an interlocking relationship with the business connections of Wilson and Meinberg. The three industry members are:
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H. B. ARTHUR Director and economist for Swift & Co. Swift's President, John Holmes, is a director of General Electric.

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O. B. JUDD Acting Chief, Petroleum Branch -- formerly with Investment Trust Corp., New York
GEORGE A. LAMB Acting Chief, Solid Fuels Branch -- since 1946 with Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co., Pittsburgh

No Right to Strike, So Don't Unionize

N.Y. Police Head Murphy Tells Cops

When the New York State Legislature passed the Condon-Wadlin Law in 1947 outlawing strikes by state and city employees, it was constantly argued by supporters of the measure it was absurd to think that the bill was aimed at crippling unions.

No, on the contrary, it was to protect the average man, the people, from strikes affecting the vital organizations of the State. To suggest that without the right to strike a union had lost its most important weapon was, it was said, ridiculous.

JUST FANCY TALK

That this was all fancy-talk, designed to cover up the real motives behind the legislation was quite frankly, if indirectly, revealed last Sunday by the new boss of the New York City police, Thomas F. Murphy.

In a speech to 1,700 policemen reported in the New York Times, he said that since the policemen, as city employees, have no right to strike, a union would be superfluous, unnecessary, and, in fact, might result in the loss of their jobs. Strikes are, he said, a union's

most effective weapon. Therefore, since you cannot strike, why unionize?

Murphy's fear of unionization is derived from the February 15th declaration of Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, that his union intended to organize the city's policemen. And his speech revealed an almost frantic fear of the TWU intentions. Murphy, who made the now-famous speech in Cincinnati on St. Patrick's Day in which he noted that only one Irishman ("and he was from Harvard") defended Alger Hiss in the perjury trial which Murphy prosecuted, evidently felt that the communist issue was still valuable in his efforts. Referring to the union which has its eyes on the New York City police, he said, "Consider the man who is sponsoring it. . . Did you know him when?" The reference was to Quill's earlier Stalinist days. Whether the 1,700 cops present were properly frightened or not was not recorded.

A NEW CONCEPT

But in case there was any doubt left in his employees' minds as to the advisability of organizing, Murphy added a new concept to the whole field of labor-management relations:

"I'm not against unionism . . . but you are sworn representatives of all the people in the city—employees, employers, and the unemployed. You can't have any favorites. If you're biased, you don't want to be cops."

To join a union, in a word, represents a bias in favor of a certain sector of the community. Then, one might assume that to be AGAINST one's employees joining a union might also represent a bias in favor of one sector of the community. And Murphy, even more than his cops, is a directly "sworn representative" of the people! Yet, apparently, he is showing a bias! Not toward the employed, not certainly for the unemployed, but, it seems quite clear, for the employers. However, unfortunately, the Condon-Wadlin Law, which made it illegal for government workers to behave like workers, did not make it illegal for government employers to behave like employers.

In any event, we just hope that next time the New York cops get picket line duty they will remember that they are supposed to represent all the people, and not just the employers and their scabs.

'The Nation' Sues 'New Leader' for Libel; Attempts to Suppress Political Criticism

By SAM ADAMS

The *Nation* is suing the *New Leader!* My initial reaction to this news was to smile. We have no doubt that many will chuckle upon hearing the story. But in reality, this is a serious business despite the fact that it is the *Nation* and the *New Leader!* which are involved. As you will note, the issues touch on great political questions of our time and on the quintessential problem of democracy and censorship in an age where its borders are continually narrowed.

It all began with a dissenting letter from Clement Greenberg, noted art critic, formerly associated in an editorial capacity with *Commentary* and also formerly art critic for the *Nation*. On February 7, 1951, Greenberg wrote to the editors of the *Nation* severely criticizing the pro-Stalinist line of the articles of J. Alvarez del Vayo, foreign editor of the magazine. He cited numerous reasons for his point of view. The *Nation* refused to publish Greenberg's letter and to reply to it.

Mr. Greenberg thereupon sent his letter to the *New Leader* which, of course, did publish it in its issue of March 19th. The *New Leader*, however, advised the *Nation* of its intentions sending along the proofs of the letter as well as its own editorial comment. Harold C. Field, present executive editor of the *Nation* replied to the *New Leader* as follows:

"DEFAMATORY & SCURRILOUS"

"Our attitude and the action we expect to take with regard to any publication of Mr. Greenberg's letter was expressed in two communications from this magazine to Mr. Greenberg, copies of which are enclosed. You will note that in our letters to Mr. Greenberg we stated that his letter to the *Nation* was libelous in that it was false, defamatory and scurrilous, and that in the event of publication of Mr. Greenberg's letter we would take appropriate action."

Four days after the receipt of this letter, the *New Leader* was served with a summons to appear in the Supreme Court of the State of New York to answer a complaint of libel against it and Greenberg.

Apparently this was not unexpected, for when Greenberg had written his letters to the *Nation* (he wrote two), Editor Freda Kirshwey replied to him saying: "If either of your letters is published or circulated anywhere, we will immediately bring suit for libel against you and all others connected with its publication or distribution."

As every reader of *LABOR ACTION* knows, the politics of the *Nation* and the *New Leader* are not our politics, and we are fully aware that behind the conflict between them lies the *New Leader's* outspoken and unequivocal support of the United States in the "cold war" and the *Nation's* ambivalent and ambiguous attitude on this question: as on nearly all important political issues of the day. As independent revolutionary socialists, our views are decidedly different from, and opposed to those of the *Nation* and the *New Leader*. We regard them at best as quasi-democrats, and of course, anti-socialists.

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But none of that is quite involved at this particular moment, on this particular issue. We believe that Greenberg had a right to compose and send his letter to the *Nation* and that upon refusal of publication, to seek to get it published elsewhere.

The *Nation* was not, in one sense, obligated to publish it—particularly if it was too thin-skinned to take the kind of criticism Greenberg made—but it would have been the wiser thing to do. If the *Nation* did not like the content of the letter, it could very easily have used as many pages as it wished to reply to the criticism and to show exactly where it was false, unwarranted and libelous. But the *Nation* had no right, in our opinion, in rejecting Greenberg's request for publication of his letter, to threaten him with a libel suit in case he sought publication of the letter elsewhere.

ATTEMPTED CENSORSHIP

This was an obvious attempt to censor Greenberg's letter and to prevent its ever seeing the light of day!

What, exactly, is libelous about Greenberg's letter? We read it over several times and are at a loss to understand the *Nation's* anxiety and heat. If Greenberg's charge's are wrong, it shouldn't be much of a job to establish that fact. Obviously, it couldn't be that the issue is unimportant, otherwise there would be no sense to the suit filed by the *Nation*. It is easy to see that Greenberg's let-

ter struck home and that the *Nation* feels quite uncomfortable about debating the issue publicly.

But the *Nation* protests far too much. It is anything but the straight-forward, hard-hitting and courageous *Nation* of years ago. On the question of Stalinism in particular, its attitude has been questionable, ambivalent, and ambiguous. For years and years it published Louis Fischer's pro-Stalinist reports from Russia. When Fischer saw the light of day and quit Russia, declaring that he had been taken in by Stalin's regime, Alexander Werth replaced him, and nothing was changed, since Werth's reporting from Russia was completely Stalinist. Werth's present flirtation with Tito did not stop him from writing a scurrilous report on Andre Gide's death, and it did not stop the *Nation* from publishing this one-sided, Stalinoid comment on France's grand old man of literature—without any editorial comment by the editors either. The same lack of forthrightness and courage was exhibited during the bloodbath of the Moscow Trials.

The *Nation* has taken a foolish step and it ought to be taught a lesson for it. We should, however, add an aside to the *New Leader*, *sotto voce*: don't worry about where the *Nation* will stand during wartime. It will, as before, support the United States in the war, no matter how horrendous a war may be; no matter how futile it is and no matter how much it is against the best interests of mankind.

Clash Over Policy at India Anti-CP Meeting

First reports from the sessions of the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom which opened its session in Bombay on March 28 indicate that a considerable difference in emphasis, if not in position, was displayed at the conference.

This congress is an attempt to rally together anti-Stalinist intellectuals as an answer to the Stalinist "peace" movement. It started with a conference held in Berlin last year. The organizers of the Indian Congress invited such American intellectuals as Dr. Max Yergan, Norman Thomas, Sidney Hook and James Burnham, as well as anti-Stalinists from other countries.

All the delegates to the congress expressed their opposition to Stalinism. However, the differences developed when the questions of the role of the United States in the world and the way in which Stalinism can be fought and defeated were brought up.

Stephen Spender, British poet, summed up the attitude of some of the delegates with his remark that the intellectuals congregated at the meeting "should not study so much why we are opposed to

communism as the just reasons that make those people Communists who should be on our side."

Prakash Narian, leader of the Indian Socialist Party, who acted as chairman, said that to talk of cultural freedom among India's hungry villagers "seems comic."

Denis de Rougemont, a Swiss writer, directed an oblique attack on India's "neutral" foreign policy, and told a fable which by implication compared this Indian neutrality in the cold war with that of the lamb that is neutral between the shepherd and the wolf.

In answering this speech, Narian took up the same fable and pointed out that the shepherd, having saved the lamb from the wolf, then shears the lamb and possibly eats it.

The reports received to date on this meeting are quite sketchy. We hope to bring a fuller report to the readers of *LABOR ACTION* when more detailed information is available, as this gathering seems to offer a good example of the difference in approach between the socialistic supporters of the United States in the cold war and the socialists of India.

Give to the ISL Fund Drive -- Now!

By ALBERT GATES
Fund Drive Director

This past week saw the 1951 ISL Fund Drive pass the half-way mark still short of its goal of 50 per cent. To meet the required schedule so that the total goal of the drive may be reached, we will have to average over \$1400 weekly for the next five weeks.

We are going down the stretch now and this is the time when added efforts will have to be exerted by the ISL, its friends and sympathizers.

Things are not gloomy at all. We have been promised that after April 1st, considerable sums of money should be expected in the drive. We are taking this opportunity of reminding our readers and our comrades to send their contributions in without delay.

This week, our Streater friends continue to head the list. They have gone over the 100 per cent mark, and are on top of the heap with 112 per cent.

CONTRIBUTE TO THE ISL FUND DRIVE!

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street
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Enclosed is \$..... as my contribution to the ISL's 1951 Fund Drive.

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Baltimore	50	0	0
Connecticut	50	0	0
Minnesota	10	0	0

Books for Germany: Help Build Socialism!

From many parts of Western Germany we have received requests for Marxist literature IN ENGLISH. Books and pamphlets by Trotsky, Lenin, Marx, etc., are in urgent demand, but any Marxist works are needed. Almost none of this literature is available at present. All books and pamphlets contributed will be widely circulated.

Help rebuild Germany's socialist movement! Send us your unused or duplicate copies of any and all Marxist literature, or any you can spare. They will be forwarded immediately to those who will make good use of them.

Send them to: **LABOR ACTION (Attention: H. Judd), 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.**



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 county, 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—

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

I want to join the ISL.

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Youth and Corner

IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DRAFT MEASURE

By J. FALK

Last week the President amended the Selective Service Act by an executive order instructing draft administrators to defer all college and graduate school students who pass a qualifying examination, or who have high scholastic averages. Neither the nature of the examination and its passing grade, nor the scholastic average necessary for deferment were provided for in the order. These matters will be left up to the selective service authorities. However, the content of Truman's order and statements by draft administrators make it apparent that the requirements will be minimal. The passing grade for the general aptitude test, to be given in May and June, is likely to be no more than 70 per cent.

These regulations will probably mean the deferment of nearly one million male, non-veterans on campus. Prior to this decree the draft policy for students had been more or less local and discretionary, with students seldom receiving more than a few months deferment to finish their school year. The change in policy will undoubtedly have a powerful psychological effect on campus. Tension and demoralization is inevitable where the student is uncertain of his whereabouts in six months. That the Korean war and the prospect of an indeterminate "stretch" in the army had created extreme psychological problems for the student is an indication of how unpopular the Korean war actually is: the average student cannot work up sufficient enthusiasm for either the war or the army to compensate in any way for his loss of career and civilian status.

The new draft policy will, of course, relax the student body considerably. It is now obvious that they are to be a favored section of the population. The number of deferments that will be handed out to students will not affect the total number of young people to be drafted. It does mean that there is going to be a shifting of the load, heretofore divided between students and non-students, on to the backs of the non-student, working youth.

The working youth will be made to suffer by virtue of their (or their parent's) inability to provide them with a college education. Only a small percentage of young people of college age are on the campus. Average family income in the United States is approximately \$3,000 a year. The tuition and living expenses for a student for that period is approximately \$750. It is obvious from these figures that only if a working class family is willing to undergo extreme hardship can it afford to send one child (which is only one-third the number of children in the average low-income family) through college.

In the American "way of life" most children in their teens have to pay off. After a certain age they are expected to produce dividends, or at least, no longer continue as a strain on the family budget. This is no onerous reflection on the morality or sentiment of the family. It is a necessary and realistic calculation imposed on working parents by the inequities of capitalist society.

Thus, young workers deprived of a college education because of poverty, are to be penalized for it: for every student who will be deferred, a young worker—with at least the same degree of sensitivity and the same lack of enthusiasm—will be pushed into the armed services. It is in this sense that the new draft order can be described as "class legislation."

The liberal draft policy for students was not conceived out of any abstract interest for our educational institutions; nor was it the product of a kindly disposition toward students. It can only be understood in the context of a developing permanent war economy in a growing garrison state.

A permanent war economy, and a garrison state, must have an elite. The distinguishing feature of this elite is that it must provide a social base for the government and at the same time an intellectual reserve. The United States cannot match Russia in manpower. The only way it can win an economic and armed conflict is through superior technology. But technology depends, in the first place, on human knowledge. Where can this intellectual reserve be found if not in the college classroom?

In addition to the technical and scientific skills a permanent war economy and a modern garrison state will need men and women trained in non-technical skills: lawyers, linguists, Russian experts, economic specialists, etc. These students, upon graduation, will form a reserve from which the hundreds of thousands of jobs in a vast social and political (and military) bureaucracy will be filled. They will provide the legal experts, petty diplomats, foreign intelligence experts, petty diplomats, foreign intelligence experts, translators, experts, translators, economic advisors and propagandists for American imperialism.

The extent of the government reliance on the student body is a qualitatively new phenomenon in the United States. But this search for a mass intellectual elite does not augur well for student rights. The garrison state elite, by definition, must be compliant and docile. If the government cannot win the support of the student body through favors, and offers of careers and social position, then it will do it through coercion. Heterodoxy is an inherent weakness in an elite that is to provide the "brains" for a reactionary social system.



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Reading from Left to Right

ARTICLES IN THE NEW ISSUE OF "VPERED"

(The following description of the contents of VPERED is taken from the summary in English which appears on the last page of the magazine.—Ed.)

The latest issue of VPERED (Ukrainian Review for Workers) carries a number of interesting articles on the economic and political structure of Stalinist Russia, as well as on the ideas of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement.

An article by V. S. Felix, "The CPSU After the War," describes the changes which took place within the Stalinist party of Russia. When the Nazis invaded the country, the Stalinists started a propaganda campaign to recruit to the CP. In 1941 the probationary period for candidates to the party was shortened to three months, and their political knowledge was no longer checked. In 1942 the CP registered 1,340,000 new members. After the war new restrictions on joining the Party were imposed. The intelligentsia and village workers constitute a very small section of the party (out of 28,207 kolkhozes only 11,895 had party organizations in 1948). In spite of the impact of the war, the CP in the USSR remains isolated from the people

and the leadership remains nearly unchanged.

An article on the relations between the Orthodox Church and the government in Russia demonstrates that the church has become almost completely a tool of the Stalinist state. It is now being subsidized to the extent of three billion rubles.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

I. M.-ko polemises in an article "Falsifications Save Nobody" against the writer Olesko on the program of the Ukrainian liberation movement on the solution of the agrarian question in the USSR.

A certain organization of Ukrainian emigres, led by Stephan Bandera, has tried time and again, by falsification of quotations and inference, to prove that the program of the Ukrainian resistance and numerous articles published in the magazine VPERED concerning the agrarian question prove that they back the present system of Russian agriculture, that is, the kolkhozes.

I. M.-ko formulates VPERED's position as follows: "After the breakdown of the Bolshevik system in Ukrainian agriculture the modern, large-scale technique will

remain. It is incompatible with small-scale, individual agriculture. An entire system of planned economy will remain, in which one plant depends on another and everything is interlinked. When, after the destruction of the Stalinist system of exploitation, the Ukrainian people will become the owner of all means of production, it will be faced with the problem of either dividing large agricultural units into smaller ones or transforming them as a whole to the peasants as co-operatives...

We hold that the Ukrainian peasants will not present the kolkhozes to private capitalists, nor will they divide them into small farms. We believe the Ukrainian peasants will transform them into voluntary agricultural co-operatives."

Other articles deal with the execution of the Polish Bundists, Ehrlich and Alter by the Stalinists, on literary developments in the Ukraine, and news items from the life of the working people. A major article reviews the latest Yugoslav CP in which he describes Russia as state capitalist. Finally, there is a greeting from the Berkeley, Calif., unit of the Socialist Youth League to the UPA.

West German Labor on the March As New Socialist Party is Formed

The following article is translated from the February issue of the magazine PRO UND CONTRA. This periodical describes itself as a "discussion paper for democratic socialism" and on its masthead carries the slogan: "Neither East nor West—For An Undivided Socialist World!"

LABOR ACTION is not in a position to vouch for the accuracy of the facts contained in this article, nor do we necessarily agree with all the opinions expressed in it.

We believe, however, that the material on the formation of the new Independent Labor Party in Germany and on the situation in the German left will be of exceptional interest to our readers. We sincerely hope that readers of LABOR ACTION in Germany will send us their opinions on the matters covered in this article.—Ed.)

(The author of this critical article requested that we publish his essay, and drew our attention to the character of our periodical as a discussion organ. We have therefore acceded to his request.

The editors,
Pro and Contra.)

By S. BERNHARD

It is no accident that the first great economic strike since the currency reform took place in September of last year. This was the strike of the miners at Frankfurt am Main. For the past two and a half years, since the currency reform, a slow process of gathering together, a rebirth of class consciousness and a return of self-confidence has been taking place within the working class of Western Germany. Nevertheless, unemployment and economic uncertainty were a heavy encumbrance to any action.

The armament boom brought about by the Korean war on the one hand, and the increase in the cost of living on the other led to the "outbreak" of the wage movements. The trade union leadership urged "caution" and "moderation." But after the strike of the 18,000 men in Frankfurt in which the initiative came from below, the movement broadened out with extreme rapidity. The workers in steel, in chemicals and textiles, the white collar workers and the longshoremen all demanded wage increases... and got them. Here and there strikes took place in the mines. And finally the trade unions developed a magnificent movement for co-determination in their industries. The trade union leadership, however, with Mr. Backler taking the lead, sought to misuse the demand for co-determination by substituting it for the economic struggles.

Even though somewhat belatedly compared to their brothers in France and Italy, and still with great hesitation, the proletarians of Western Germany are once more finding the road to the class struggle. And in the future they may perhaps once more come to the forefront of the European labor movement due to one fact: their struggle is not developing under Stalinist leadership, but is free and independent. This fact also explains, in part at least, why the struggle of the German workers has been relatively slower and less decisive in its development. But at the same time it constitutes a wonderful example of the dialectical law that the deepest defeat can, under certain circumstances, transform itself into its opposite.

SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC & POLITICAL SITUATION

The objective circumstances, to the extent that they are evident at the moment, seem to be favorable for the further development and extension of the workers' struggle in Western Germany. Whether or not one wants to admit it, German industry can still produce more cheaply than that of France or Italy, it is still the most efficient in Europe, and the Ruhr territory has, in spite of everything, remained the economic heart of the continent. Production exceeds that of 1936 by a wide margin, and the average productivity of the workers is as high as it was then. Unemployment continues to exist, but from the point of view of capitalist production the decisive fact is that the number of the employed is growing steadily. The causes which led to the abnormal condition of subordination in which the German working class found itself in the first years after the war are disappearing.

At the same time, as a result of the play of international politics and due to the relatively important industrial trumps it holds in its hands, the German bourgeoisie is winning back some of its old independence, and above all the freedom to exploit its own proletariat. The result is that the German worker now faces a German employer, a German government and if he wants to fight, perhaps a German police force. This can only have the gratifying result of quashing the nationalism which naturally influenced everything in the first post-war years. Of course, the pre-condition for this whole development is the continuation of the tendencies mentioned above.

The Stalinist and Social Democratic Parties
How have the parties which appeal to the working class of Western Germany conducted themselves in the face of these developments and perspectives? The Stalinist party has followed a laughable tactic which was imposed on it by Moscow, and which has ended in compromising it completely. On the one hand it directed grandiose and adventurist calls to strikes and demonstrations to the workers. On the other hand it turned not only to the workers, but also to the industrialists, the exporters, the former officers and old Nazis with the demand that they all fight shoulder to shoulder in the framework of their anti-American "National Front." Today the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) is no longer a mass organization. Last fall it lost its last strongholds in the factory councils of the Ruhr. The KPD, the pride of the former Comintern, becomes more and more purely an espionage and sabotage organization. Political arguments are increasingly replaced by the threat: "You just wait till the Russians get here!" The KPD did not have the slightest influence on the movement for economic demands of the past months, and despite their vehement speeches and threats it is most probable that they will continue to stagnate beside this movement in the future.

THE INDEPENDENT MARXIST GROUPS

The independent groupings of the Marxist left have lived their own lives in accordance with their own traditions. Naturally, the development of the morale of the working class has influenced them. Two or three years ago, when the German working class was still dominated by the influence of the terrible defeat which it had experienced, these groups asked themselves the following questions: "How could this possibly have happened?" and "What should we do next?" Particularly during the past year contact has been re-established among the various groups; old, inactive elements have started to come around once more; a few young people have joined with the old comrades. At the moment the main question which the left Marxist groups are asking themselves is: "What is to be done?"

The first ones to understand that not everything can be decided by discussion were a group of comrades who had recently been expelled from the KPD because of their independence from the Kremlin. It is quite natural that precisely these comrades, who have been active in a relatively significant party up till yesterday, so to speak, are the ones to take the road to mass activity. Schappe, Fischer, Latzke, Gese and other comrades performed the service of organizing the conference at Ratingen last year, and of issuing the call for the building of an independent labor party. Soon afterwards others who had been expelled from the KPD joined this first group and—a significant fact—also the Trotskyist organization of Western Germany.

The Trotskyist comrades, who for years had lived more or less in a glass house with their otherwise very serious discussions, and for whom therefore sectarianism was a very real danger, understood in good time that at the moment when the working class becomes active once more mere discussion becomes a luxury. They understood also that the main questions, for example the question of the USSR, can be fruitfully clarified through discussion, but that the last word belongs to history. It is a crime for a Marxist organization to turn its back on action in the

ITALY

Socialist Unity Snags On Issues of Foreign Policy

By PAUL ROBERTS

The fate of the coalition between Premier De Gasperi's Christian Democrats and Giuseppe Saragat's right wing Socialists (the P.S.L.I.) hangs in the balance as this article is being written. The P.S.L.I. is now holding a national convention. Main problem before the convention is the question of ratification of the so-called "Saragat-Romita agreement" for unification of the P.S.L.I. and the somewhat more leftist PSU (Socialist Unitary Party).

The agreement between Saragat and PSU leader Romita calls for Saragat and his friends Lombardo and Simonini to resign from their seats in the coalition cabinet with the Church-controlled De Gasperi. This step is the strong current of opposition to the De Gasperi government among the Italian masses, which is reflected in the ranks of the PSU, was, however, accompanied by serious concessions by Romita.

Romita agreed that the PSU would be willing for the unified party (to be called the Socialist Democratic Party of Italy, or PSDI) to adopt a more favorable attitude toward the Atlantic Pact and Italian re-armament and he even indicated that he might be intransigent on the question of electoral agreements with the Christian Democrats in the coming elections.

In a previous article (LABOR ACTION, March 26) we indicated that the "unity at all costs" course followed by Romita might soon lead to the withdrawal of the P.S.L.I. leaders from the government and also that it might well lead to a split in the PSU.

The left wing of the PSU, led by Ignazio Silone, Matteo Matteotti and Mario Zagari, has not yet given up the fight against Romita and his right wing.

At the PSU national convention two months ago, Romita's slate nosed out the left wing by a vote of 34,304 to 34,051. That vote meant that a small majority of the party was more anxious to unite with the P.S.L.I. than to worry about foreign policy questions.

Now Saragat, pushed on by P.S.L.I. die-hard Simonini, has made it clear that the united par-

ty must take a pro-American orientation. Romita is busy trying to make the differences between the two groups look small, but the left wing of the PSU has prepared a statement, to be issued in a few days, strongly attacking the Saragat position and Romita's tight-rope walking.

SILONE'S LETTER

In the meanwhile, on March 27th Silone sent a letter to the PSU executive committee attacking the shifty and contradictory nature of the Saragat-Romita agreement. Although many of those who voted for Romita are reported to have awakened to the consequences of his attitude and are signing the coming left wing statement, the PSU executive committee, Romita-controlled now, of course supported his move. Silone therefore announced that, although he is not resigning from the party, nor refusing to go into the new united party, he is going to abstain from all activity on the executive committee, of which he is one of the eight left wing members.

All this confusion and fighting between the different segments of the Socialist movement has not made it easier for the rebels from Stalinism, led by Deputies Magnani and Cucci, to join with left wing PSU elements to build a healthy, revolutionary socialist organization. That may yet come about not, as might have happened if Silone had won out at the PSU convention, by the Magnani-Cucci forces joining the PSU, but by the PSU left wing breaking away and joining them.

In the meanwhile the Stalinists have been busy trying to make capital out of the situation and at the same time regain some of the prestige they lost when Magnani and Cucci and their friends broke with the CP Stalinist leader Palmiro Togliatti, freshly returned from Moscow, has publicly announced, by a speech in Milan and an article in "Unita" of April 1st, that he is ready to support any "patriotic" Italian government that will renounce the American alliance.

The CP hopes thus to kill many birds with one stone. They would like, but have little hope, to see Italy leave the American camp. In any case the more they can weaken Italian participation in that camp the better they feel. At the same time, by posing as patriots they weaken the strongest point on which Magnani and Cucci appealed to the CP rank and file: that of devotion to the interests of the Italian workers as opposed to Togliatti's, and the CP's slavish devotion to Russian interests.

The CP's new tactics also include a call for the different Socialist groups to unite with the CP in the elections. Although this is not likely to have a general success, it is apparently working in the local elections in Faenza, where the various Socialist groups, including even the P.S.L.I. surprisingly enough, all got together with the CP on a joint ticket.

It Silone and the rest of the PSU left wing do not carry on a very active and organized fight against the reformists of the P.S.L.I. and their friends (Romita), the Stalinists will be the gainers. It should not be forgotten that all this argument about the Atlantic Pact and the arm budget goes on while Italy prepares to run up a deficit of some 396 billion lire (at 625 lire to the dollar that means over 600 million dollars) for this year, a lot of money for a poor country.

At the same time the workers are getting more and more impatient with the low wages and constantly rising prices. This impatience is reflected even in the Catholic unions, whose representatives and supporters in the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party, Gronchi and Dossetti, have been threatening to kick over the traces. There is even talk of De Gasperi falling and being replaced by a new coalition, this time between Gronchi and Dossetti on one hand, and Saragat and Romita on the other.

At present, however, De Gasperi appears strongly enough, should Saragat "Arvedderci" ("Addio" or rather "Arrivederci") ("until we meet again"), to re-constitute a new Christian Democratic cabinet with the aid of the smaller center and conservative groups.

The objective circumstances, to the extent that they are evident at the moment, seem to be favorable for the further development and extension of the workers' struggle in Western Germany. Whether or not one wants to admit it, German industry can still produce more cheaply than that of France or Italy, it is still the most efficient in Europe, and the Ruhr territory has, in spite of everything, remained the economic heart of the continent. Production exceeds that of 1936 by a wide margin, and the average productivity of the workers is as high as it was then. Unemployment continues to exist, but from the point of view of capitalist production the decisive fact is that the number of the employed is growing steadily. The causes which led to the abnormal condition of subordination in which the German working class found itself in the first years after the war are disappearing.

At the same time, as a result of the play of international politics and due to the relatively important industrial trumps it holds in its hands, the German bourgeoisie is winning back some of its old independence, and above all the freedom to exploit its own proletariat. The result is that the German worker now faces a German employer, a German government and if he wants to fight, perhaps a German police force. This can only have the gratifying result of quashing the nationalism which naturally influenced everything in the first post-war years. Of course, the pre-condition for this whole development is the continuation of the tendencies mentioned above.

The independent groupings of the Marxist left have lived their own lives in accordance with their own traditions. Naturally, the development of the morale of the working class has influenced them. Two or three years ago, when the German working class was still dominated by the influence of the terrible defeat which it had experienced, these groups asked themselves the following questions: "How could this possibly have happened?" and "What should we do next?" Particularly during the past year contact has been re-established among the various groups; old, inactive elements have started to come around once more; a few young people have joined with the old comrades. At the moment the main question which the left Marxist groups are asking themselves is: "What is to be done?"

name of discussion and not to seek to participate in making history.

The participation of comrades from the group "Workers-Politics" in the preparatory commission for the creation of an Independent Labor Party which was founded at Ratingen was also noteworthy.

FOR A NEW INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

There is no question but that the preparatory commission which was thus created can record its first successes. Its organ DIE FREIE TRIBUNE is written in the language of the people, and one can sense its close relationship to the workers. Its publication in over ten thousand copies is also a relative success. About a hundred local preparatory committees have been set up which group themselves around "The Friends of the Freie Tribune." These groups exert a powerful pressure on the local organizations of the KPD, and many of them have already developed a genuine political life of their own. There are places where The Friends of the Freie Tribune have already created mass organizations as, for example, in Worms and in the Jülich district. Further, in the Ruhr numerous members of the factory committees and in the mines have left the KPD and have joined the preparatory committees.

The participation of several groups of young people who had previously been in the FDJ or the Falcons (both Stalinist youth organizations—Ed.) or who had not been in any political organization is of exceptional significance. The German labor movement cannot really come back to life without a wide participation of the youth. The dialectic of the rebirth of a defeated labor movement "has always developed thus: after years of demoralization and collapse the new generation, which knew of the defeat only by hearsay, took up the struggle once more. Its clan caught up and revitalized the old generation without whose experience a real rebirth would no longer have been possible.

Unfortunately, the majority of the militants of the former left groups are still standing aside. This they do mostly not because they are hostile, but because of the spirit of "let's wait and see." We would very much like to remind these comrades that their caution is the opposite of wisdom at a time when young and generally politically inexperienced worker elements are seeking a road, and when the neo-fascist groupings are beginning to exert themselves significantly.

(Next week: a critique of the ideology and organization of the new Independent Labor Party.)
Translated by Gordon Haskell

The first ones to understand that not everything can be decided by discussion were a group of comrades who had recently been expelled from the KPD because of their independence from the Kremlin. It is quite natural that precisely these comrades, who have been active in a relatively significant party up till yesterday, so to speak, are the ones to take the road to mass activity. Schappe, Fischer, Latzke, Gese and other comrades performed the service of organizing the conference at Ratingen last year, and of issuing the call for the building of an independent labor party. Soon afterwards others who had been expelled from the KPD joined this first group and—a significant fact—also the Trotskyist organization of Western Germany.

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German independent Communists and left Socialists have just held the founding congress of the new Independent Workers Party in Worms. The 300 delegates, press reports indicate, voted their support of the stand of independence from both Russia and the capitalist West. Stalinist hoodlums attempted—but failed—to wreck the congress as it opened. Joseph Schappe, former Stalinist leader, who a short time ago called for a new International grouping of independent Communists, Trotskyists and Left Socialists, made the key speech at the congress. He praised the Yugoslav rebellion against Moscow and denounced both the Stalinist and the Western imperialists.

New German Party

Behind the Drive Against Crime

Why is the Business World Giving Kefauver Full Support?

By RICHARD TROY

1951 may well pass into American history as the year of the great scandals. Particularly in the present lull in fighting in Korea, the center of national attention has been focused on the multitude of investigations into questionable activities in the underworld and government. There was the RFC scandal, suggesting favoritism in the loaning operations of that agency which involved, first, Truman's official family and the Democratic Party, and, eventually, many unnamed congressmen. Then the basketball "fix" scandal broke into the headlines, involving a multi-million dollar sport. Recently, two prominent national figures—the late Secretary of State Edward Stettinius and the much-decorated Admiral Halsey—were seriously implicated in a buying operation (strictly speaking, within the law) which, nonetheless involved millions of dollars of profit taken at the public expense.

The best-publicized, and perhaps the most important, were the famous Kefauver hearings which absorbed almost as much national attention as a presidential election. Television, no doubt, had much to do with giving the hearings the impact they had. But, even without television, the Kefauver hearings would have become a huge national event, a rallying point for indignant Americans. This was the way the dye had been cast; the publicity genius of American journalism had seldom cooperated so fully with a public crusade.

Vast, Interlocking Underworld

The findings of the Kefauver hearings were, to those with any basic understanding of political organizations such as Tammany, not very sensational. For seasoned observers the conclusion that mass illegal activities cannot be carried on without collusion with local government officials was commonplace. Local observers also were well aware of the mounting extent of graft in the New York City police department; and the cynicism of men like O'Dwyer ("these are the things you have to do in politics to get cooperation") was not really unexpected. In fact, the existence of a vast, interlocking underworld of gambling houses, run by a series of gambling czars, each of whom also had his fingers in punch-boards, number rackets, bookmaking, etc., was also understood by many.

But suddenly, in March 1951, these well-known facts reach the television screen, and the nation is astounded, shocked, indignant. Action is demanded. "How can the U. S. fight the corruption of Communism, if we tolerate this corruption here in our midst," ask thousands of shocked editorialists in thousands of newspapers. Senator Tobey is wildly applauded when he pleads with his vast audience to renounce the "unclean" and return to religion and moral cleanliness. All over the country commissions are appointed to investigate this evil in the land. The feeling of self-righteous indignation is tremendous, nation-wide, and often sweeps all other headlines off the front pages. The country is thunderstruck, and demands vengeance. An attempt must be made to wipe out a huge, sprawling industry which in size, initiative and profit, rivals many of our more respectable business enterprises.

The impression has consequently been created that once the nation is cleansed of this evil—this dirty, ugly cancerous blotch on our map—the country will again return to its pristine righteousness. Crime—portrayed as a self-perpetuating activity, rising, as it were, from the sewers, or imported from Italy (by the Democratic Party)—has become the evil of American life. The energies of an aroused people must be

Read
The NEW INTERNATIONAL

centered upon rubbing out the blemish, before it stains the national character. The fact that, to be successful, criminal activities, such as book-making must, like any mass industry, have roots deep in the economy, politics and culture of the nation, is overlooked, and the blame is all loaded on the Costellos, Ericksons, and a handful of blatantly corrupted public officials.

Corruption to the Very Top

No one, of course, can dispute the seriousness of the issue in question; the billions of dollars annually drained off into the channels of illegal gambling constitute a serious problem. The corruption of the political parties must be fought. But to assume that this corruption is confined to a few politicians and a few local machines, and to fight to reform the major parties on this level, can be a fruitless struggle. Tom Dewey's refusal to testify in New York and Harry Truman's refusal to fire O'Dwyer (to say nothing of his attitude on the RFC investigation) certainly suggest that the corruption is not only wide-spread, but interlocking, all up and down the line.

After all, the two major parties—financed largely by big business and organized within its sphere—are themselves a huge business operation. Not resting upon any real program or set of issues, not directly responsible to the people at large, they naturally tend to view the political ladder simply as a road to personal success, and end, naturally, by exploiting their position for personal gain, charging or getting "what the traffic will bear." The psychology of business becomes the psychology of government, and government will only change when a political party is formed, independent of the business structure, which is based upon the labor movement and the pressing needs of the vast majority of the population.

In addition, the gambler is himself; at bottom, a businessman man. After all, what is it that businessmen say when scientists accuse them of selling an article or drink that is unhealthy or unnecessary? ". . . if the public wants it, it is my job to sell it to them . . . it is not my task to decree public tastes. . . ." And could not these gangsters, feeding on an evidently gambling-hungry public, put forth the very same argument?

However, to conclude from this that crime, *per se*, is the evil of American life is to draw attention, perhaps intentionally, away from the far more serious and central issues and struggles of national policy. It is interesting to recall, in this connection, that most of the impetus for the recent crime hearings came, originally, from various of the conservative American newspapers, notably the Scripps-Howard chain. The culmination of a long series of articles and features which these newspapers ran on criminal activities was a huge, colorful and dramatic series of picture-stories published in *Life* magazine. And it was *Time* magazine that sponsored the famous television broadcasts in New York.

Moreover, it is important to note that many of the various commissions created in recent months to fight crime are made up almost exclusively of well-situated businessmen (for example, Spruille Braden's committee, the vice-presidents of which are ALL chairmen of the boards or presidents of large-scale businesses, insurance companies, banks, etc.) The existence of illegal gambling seems to hold great interest for these gentlemen, most of whom were not noted in the past for crusading instincts. But this is the one crusade against crime and injustice in the United States which has the whole-hearted support of the business community. This is one crusade the legislation of which will not be bottled up in congressional committees.

Big Business Is Concerned

There are many explanations for this abnormal interest among business leaders in the "post-war crime wave." The establishment of a con-

nection between this vast underground and the Democratic Party will, of course, serve to increase the strength of the Republican Party, which is the most reliable political instrument of the business community. In addition, this underground is an unstable element in the national structure, it drains off vast wealth from business channels and is beyond the direct control of the governing classes. Therefore it is to be crushed if possible.

But these are only partial explanations for the intense interest in crime. To some extent, the Costellos and O'Dwyers have been made the scapegoats for a frustrated citizenry. The public has given vent to considerable resentment; and yet none of it was directed toward the business community. Evil has been found to reside in the underworld; this is where the public must direct its reforming tendencies. Except in the Detroit exposures of the relations between Ford, Briggs and Michigan Stove with the underworld. Little was said in the famous hearings of any possible association, direct or otherwise, between organized crime and respectable finance; an association which seems almost inevitable when one considers the vast capital necessary to operate the machinery of the underworld.

Big business, making larger profits than at any other period in its history, struggling for unopposed control of the vast mobilization machinery now being constructed in Washington, financing huge lobbies which insure the passage of favorable tax programs and lush war plans through an obedient congress . . . cannot afford to let the public take too close a look at its present machinations. An intense crusade against the underworld absorbs much of the energies which might otherwise be directed against the greatly increased and increasing control by big business of the United States. Instead of massing politically to eliminate business control of congress and the administration, the cry rises: deport Costello, set up powerful commissions to investigate gambling, clean up the New York police department, expose the Guzik and Shenkens! These are safe harmless occupations and outlets for outrage.

Naturally, these maneuvers are not consciously planned or conspired with this diversion of public interest in mind. Undoubtedly, much of the motivation for the inquiries was a sincere concern over the growing power of the underworld. But it is a case in which sincere conviction, only when intensified by class interest, could set in motion a national crusade. The attempt to portray crime as the prime source and center of moral corruption can lead, and perhaps has led, to a false picture of the state of the union, an unbalanced picture which serves only to hide the real injustices of American Life, today, in the year of the great scandals.

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Heroic Irish Workers' Uprising of Easter Week 1916 Commemorated

(We reprint this article from the *Socialist Leader* of March 24, 1951. The life, and death, of James Connolly can serve as an example to the socialists of our day. Ed.)

By DICK BEECH

On Easter Monday thirty-five years ago, James Connolly and his comrades of the Citizen Army marched into the streets of Dublin and declared for an Irish Republic. This action was the climax to a series of events and promises that covered many generations of struggle by the people of Ireland.

British capitalism and landlordism thought they could exploit, rob, and starve the Irish workers with impunity and for all time. It was a matter of take everything and give nothing. Easter week of 1916, however, added a new chapter to Irish history.

Those who took part in the Easter Week rising were under no illusion as to the forces they were up against. They knew the chances of success were small and that failure meant death. Nevertheless they believed their cause to be a just one and there are times when action counts for far more than words.

All the forces of British Imperialism and Irish Capitalism were thrown against the Irish Republic and the rising went down in a sea of blood. All those who took an active part were either executed or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Connolly was badly wounded—part of his leg was shot away—and it was doubtful, in fact, whether he would have lived in any case. But the "powers that be" were bitter and against Connolly more than any of the others.

The reason was, of course, that Connolly was a Socialist and he has made it clear in his many writings that the Republic he wanted was an Irish Workers' Republic.

So they couldn't wait until he was well enough to stand for trial; instead, they court-martialed him at the hospital and he was sentenced to be shot.

CARRIED TO EXECUTION

On the morning of the execution he couldn't walk, in fact he was unable to stand, so he was carried to the castle courtyard on a stretcher and sat in a chair. The firing party lined up, the signal given, the shots rang out and British "justice" had been done.

Connolly founded the Irish Socialist Party and was editor of the *Workers Republic* and the *Irish Worker*. In all his writings he urged workers to organize and build up their unions on an industrial basis. He spent a few years in America and for a time was an organizer of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World).

Connolly continually advocated the need for working-class education by the means of lectures, discussions and debates on history, economics and other aspects of the workers' struggle.

HIS WRITINGS

After his death, the "James Connolly Labour College" was founded in Dublin to carry on this work. Unfortunately, during the latter struggles in Ireland, the Black and Tans raided the college and completely destroyed the building, which contained a valuable workers' library and other records of the international working-class movement.

Connolly wrote many pamphlets such as *Socialism Made Easy* and *As to the Root* and his book *Labour and Irish History*, which deals with the struggles of the

Irish workers and peasants is a classic.

The following is an extract from an article written by James Connolly in the *Irish Workers* on August 15th, 1914, and the words could easily refer to present-day events:

"We see millions of men armed with destruction massed in opposing lines and, at a given moment, they will be hurled at each other with the view of destroying as many as possible in a given time, and for what? In the interest of mankind? The improvement of Society? No, my comrades, but to preserve a nebulous thing called 'The Balance of Power'—the power to tyrannize and debase; power to humiliate and destroy . . ."

Another extract from the *Work-*

Books and Ideas

Damning Indictment of Stalinist Slave Camps at Rousset Trial

The Fight by Rousset, Bernard and Rosenthal for the Truth About the Concentration Camps—published by Le Pavois, Paris.

By P. R.

This book, in French, contains 244 pages of the trial record of the court struggle between David Rousset (with his friends Théodore Bernard and Gérard Rosenthal as his attorneys) and the French Stalinist magazine "Les Lettres Françaises."

Although much of the book is given over to recording the long and confusing legal squabbles between the opposing lawyers, the trial has provided, and this book confirms, a damning indictment of the Concentrationary Universe which is as much a feature of the present Russian society as it was of the late unlamented German Nazi state.

The trial was the outgrowth of the campaign begun by Rousset for a commission to investigate slave labor camps in Russia, and, later enlarged to include other totalitarian countries such as Spain, Greece, etc. Rousset spent years as a prisoner in Nazi camps after being arrested by the Gestapo for his part in a Trotskyist plot to undermine the German army. Part of the German garrison of Brest, which had been won over to the plot, was executed; Marcel Hic and other French revolutionists were deported. Hic, who was the war-time leader of the French Trotskyist movement, died in the Nazi camps. Rousset returned alive and wrote two books about the camps which won him a great deal of fame, both in France and abroad: "The Concentrationary Universe" and "The Days of Our Death."

Books and Ideas

Damning Indictment of Stalinist Slave Camps at Rousset Trial

Politically, Rousset has changed a great deal. Immediately after the war, still affected by the enormous strength of the Stalinist machine even within the camps (and perhaps also by the traditional pro-Russian theories of official Trotskyism) Rousset followed an extremely pro-Stalinist line. Other ex-Trotskyists and their sympathizers who joined Rousset in this self-immolation at the foot of the Stalinist juggernaut, such as Pierre Naville and Charles Bettelheim, continued along that path even after Rousset broke away and some of them will yet provide the human material for big spy trials, with confessions and all, if and when the Russians ever occupy France with their help.

Rousset, when he became disgusted with the Stalinists, soon swung around pretty thoroughly. After a period of independence from both imperialist camps, during which he played a leading role in the short-lived third camp group, the R.D.R., Rousset gave up all hope of independence, became pro-American and helped bring the R.D.R. to an early end. In fact, though he pounded away at the Stalinists very thoroughly whenever the Russian camps were in question at the trial, he was very weak and obviously on slippery ground when the Stalinists taxed him with his friend Burnham's call for a "holy" war of the western world against Russia.

Our disagreement, to put it mildly, with Rousset's political line, does not blind us to the accuracy of his exposure of the concentration camps in Russia, particularly through the mouths of some very qualified witnesses, such as the famous Spanish Stalinist general "el Campesino," at

Not in the Headlines

Stalinist Culture

Marshal Kliment Y. Voroshilov has apparently largely replaced the late Andrei Zhdanov as the Politburo member directly in charge of all fields of Soviet cultural activity, an article in the Soviet magazine *Ogonyok* indicates.

The article, written by S. V. Kaftanov before his recent removal as Minister of Higher Education, lists the following areas of Soviet life as falling within Marshal Voroshilov's sphere of activity: education, literature, the arts and sciences, and all physical culture and sports. In all this work, Mr. Kaftanov writes, Marshal Voroshilov, as Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., has been carrying out Premier Stalin's directives.

—N. Y. Times

To Marshal Voroshilov LABOR ACTION hereby awards one of its most exclusive decorations: The Order of the Culture Vulture.

Longer Contracts

According to the National Industrial Conference Board, longer union contracts are now becoming much more frequent than they have been in the past. Before the Korean war started, only about 3 per cent of contracts checked by NICE ran three years or more. Since mid-1950 ten per cent run for three years, and 6.6 per cent for five years.

Startling Discovery

A leading labor paper has scored a scoop with a story which says that in labor-management problems, newspaper editors in general have the viewpoint of management.

This is unquestionably one of the most profound deductions of the age, and the man who made it should not remain in anonymous obscurity.

From *Industrial Worker*

Sport, Or Politics?

The Paris Stalinist newspaper "L'Humanité" sponsored the 14th annual cross-country races at Vincennes yesterday afternoon, with the following results:

In the six mile race for men, the first eight places were taken by Russian runners, the ninth by a Hungarian. A Frenchman ran 17th.

In the two-mile race for women, Russians took the first eight places, Hungarians the next four, and a French woman placed 13th.

News item.

And we thought the basketball fix was something to holler about!

Doubling Up

The Census Bureau has discovered that doubling up on jobs is a common practice for three per cent of those employed. A survey showed that of some 61 million employed, 1.8 million held two or more jobs. The figure includes those self-employed in secondary jobs, but no domestics.

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Jewish Labor Committee Charge: Genocide of Jews in Russia

From time to time LABOR ACTION has discussed the question of the Stalinist attitude and actions with regard to the Jews behind the iron curtain. The most publicized aspects of the problem have been the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans" in Russian cultural and artistic life, who have turned out almost invariably to be people of Jewish extraction.

The whole question of the fate of the Jews as a group inside Russia was made an international issue when a number of top leaders in the American labor

movement and Jewish labor organizations presented a memorandum to the United Nations which requested this body to make a full investigation into the fate of Russian Jewry.

GENOCIDE CHARGED

The delegation from the Jewish Labor Committee which presented this memorandum to the Human Rights Commission of the UN consisted of David Dubinsky, Jacob Potofsky, Joseph Baskin, general secretary of the Workers' Circle and Adolph Held,

(Continued on page 8)

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UAW Convention Meets — —

(Continued from page 1)

wages, domination of government by big business." Furthermore, he added, I am not prepared to say that we want to patch up our conflict with Truman; we will have to see. In any case, we have to intensify political action and take a more independent stand. "We are not wedded to the Democratic party; we will not be the tail to its kite." He indicated, that although the UAW would probably continue its old policy of supporting liberals in both parties, it might begin to support independent labor candidates running without party designation. Asked where he stood on the formation of an independent labor party, he replied that he, himself was definitely for it and hoped for the formation of such a party in the foreseeable future.

WILL AFFIRM ULPC POLICY

The first sessions of the convention give a fairly accurate picture of the general course it will probably take throughout the week on all the questions of political and social policy. It will reaffirm and endorse the course of

thing that is required by the labor movement in the present crisis. Such will be one weakness of the convention. But, on the other hand, its decisions will be more militant, more demanding than that of any other section of the union movement and in this respect will show the way. Even with its shortcomings, the decisions of the convention, if carried out fully, without retreat, militantly and aggressively, will inevitably push the UAW and the labor movement in the right direction. From this standpoint, the faith of militants in the fighting character of the UAW will be justified.

But the convention faces at least one other task: to express itself in favor of the defense of democratic rights. A resolution on the "loyalty" program of the Truman administration awaits action by the convention. Just as important, is the maintenance and extension of democracy inside the union, the protection of the rights of minorities, the continuation of the UAW as a model of democratic procedure and the preservation of the spirit and mood of rank and file democracy.

DEMOCRACY IN BALANCE

Despite the militancy of the speeches and the fighting temper of the delegates, the issue of democracy is more sharply and delicately posed than ever before. The collective apparatus of the officialdom comes to this convention solidly organized, cohesive, whipped together to push through the organizational proposals of the top officials: dues increase, conventions and local elections every two years. This officialdom, and the elective and appointive apparatus, is being superimposed above rank and file democracy; it begins to feel its own power and is confident and aggressive. This is the new fact in the UAW.

At the same time all the public practices, the procedures, the public speeches remain within the framework of a formal democracy. Opponents get time to speak; Roberts rules of order are adhered to. But what has been developing beneath the surface for two years now bursts out into the open on the pending demand of the leadership for an increase in dues from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per month. This occurs, not because of the intrinsic importance of the question itself, but because of its connotations. Reuther is rigidly determined to get the dues increase. Even Phil Murray who addressed the convention today put in his few words, urging the delegates to raise the dues. Reuther insists that "this question transcends every other." In one very unfortunate sense this has become true for this convention. The methods employed to push through the increase are



WALTER REUTHER

striking hard at the democratic moods of the union and arouse every cynical instinct.

APPARATUS HAMMERS AWAY

Wide opposition to the dues increase exists in the ranks, especially in key locals like Flint and Detroit. Scores of delegates, most of them Reuther supporters, were elected on platforms opposed to the dues rise, and come to the convention pledged to vote against it. Now the machine faces its first real test and goes into action.

At a pre-convention rally, called as a "caucus" meeting, Reuther made a convincing case for the dues increase, on its own merits, calling for "tools and weapons" to carry out the UAW program. It seems certain that he will win it and that, by and large, the money will be used for the proper purposes. But the methods introduced behind the scenes and sometimes publicly bring something new into the life of the UAW.

A well-knit machine of appointed International representatives, functioning in a hardened, disciplined manner hammers away. They have their own special reasons as apparatus men for swinging into action. They function as an organized group working upon the membership. Above all, they want to avoid a roll call on the floor of the convention. They press the reluctant delegates to yield and vote for a dues increase and promise that they can go back to their ranks and insist that they voted as pledged. This alone creates that mood of cynicism and contempt for the membership which undermines union democracy.

A new tone creeps into Reuther's speeches on this question. In 1949 Paul Silver, president of local 351, who led a tiny anti-administration opposition group, as he does this year, was granted a position as minority spokesman on the resolutions committee. Reuther then em-

phasized that Silver was a "loyal opposition."

This year, things have changed. Silver and his group oppose the dues increase. Regardless of the merits of his position, right or wrong, this simple trade union question obviously deserves discussion as a legitimate point of view within the framework of union democracy. But Reuther is determined to push his plan, so close to heart, through to victory, and faces a possibility, however slim, of defeat. This is a real test of his stature as a democratic union leader.

This year Silver is excluded from convention committees. He loses his standing as a "loyal opposition." At the caucus meeting Reuther virtually accused him of sabotaging the union and playing the bosses' game and almost succeeded in whipping up a lynch spirit against him. The same treatment was given to Carl Stelato, president of the powerful Ford local 600, who came to the caucus meeting as a Reuther supporter, but who announced the mandate of his local which that he would have to carry out voted in a referendum 23,000 to 9,000 against the increase.

To what extent has the apparatus, in this outstanding union, succeeded in centralizing its control over the ranks from above? The convention will partially answer this question when Reuther's three point organization platform is up for decision.



EMIL MAZEY

the United Labor Policy Committee; it will take its stand in vigorous terms. The decisions will probably leave many gaps in program and leave unanswered many crucial questions. It is clear, for example, that its political action policy will be ambiguous and shy away from an outright declaration for a labor party. It will not, in all likelihood, plug up all loopholes and bar the way for a possible future retreat toward the Democratic party or at least toward rejoining reconstituted War Boards.

In these respects, the convention will fall short of doing every-

Latin Confab — —

(Continued from page 2)

of the low level of industrial development in Latin America and their dependence on the U. S. President Truman may point to the small steel mills in Brazil and Chile, but the fact remains that the industrial development is virtually at the level of the thirties.

This difference is the main dispute at the conference. The Latins want to establish a "concrete basis" in the economic policy and to provide a basis for the increase in their power to offset the inflationary pressures at home which would lead to "the dangers of a serious social crisis."

The Latin American ruling classes are justifiably aware of the possible consequences of an upward spiraling cost of living which they pass off onto the workers and peons. The recent revolutions in Bolivia went hand in hand with the largest increase in the cost of living in South America. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Committee, in La Paz, Bolivia, in 1948 it was 702 per cent of the 1937 base year, while in the other large cities, the cost of living had increased from 200 to 500 per cent.

This struggle was pointed out by Milton Bracker: "In general the economic debate, which was closed to the press, brought out the widespread idea, held primarily by Brazil, that the United States alone was faced with direct military and political aggression; and that the other nations of the hemisphere face only economic problems, which could lead to subversion through discontent." (N. Y. Times, April 3)

What the Latins are asking the U. S. to do on an international scale, the Truman administration has not done domestically. At home there is no effective halt to rising prices, nor can the government assure domestic civilian consumption, and above all it can not state that there will not be an inflation somewhere along in the permanent war economy. The Latins want a guarantee of industrial imports in return for their raw material exports, or an assurance that the dollars they hold will not depreciate in value at a later date.

Therefore when Charles Wilson,

Defense Mobilization Director, went before the Economic Committee of the conference to deliver what he thought would be a mere "briefing" he was subjected to an undiplomatic grilling by the Latins. They wanted to know why, in view of the fact that Wilson issued a report saying that in 1952 or 1953 it would be possible to increase certain civilian production, they could not be assured exports from the U. S. All that Wilson could say is that he has "an appreciation of the difficulties." This is more than he says about the labor boycott of the Wage Stabilization Board where he can't understand what the dispute is about.

The delegates to the conference

must well remember the same promises and vague formulations that they were given ten years ago and throughout the war. They remember that at the 1942 Rio de Janeiro conference an Inter-American Technical Economic Conference was set up to deal with the post-war problems, and that this conference never convened.

The Washington Conference, no matter what arrangement will be worked out, presents a picture of what will happen during the twenty-year period of the war economy we are promised. It indicates the same kind of problems that faces the U. S. in its attempt to solidify its North Atlantic Pact alliance.

Stalinist Genocide — —

(Continued on page 7)

chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee.

The memorandum charged that the Jewish people in Russia and its satellite states had suffered "spiritual and cultural genocide." Its charges are based on extensive documents collected by representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee behind the iron curtain. In addition to its charges, it asks specific questions and proposes that an international commission of inquiry be set up to conduct an impartial investigation and answer these questions.

Among the questions asked are: what has become of Russian Jewry? According to official government reports there were 3,000,000 Jews in Russia in 1939 and some 2,000,000 more were added since World War II. What has become of all these Jews physically and culturally?

Not a word has filtered through the iron curtain about them for nearly two years, the memorandum charges. What has become of the network of 1500 Yiddish schools of which the Russian press boasted until recently? Where are the Yiddish Art Theaters whose fame resounded throughout the world? Where are the newspapers, books, clubs, and social institutions which make up a cultural life? Above all, where

are the people who for years had conducted these activities? Where is the group of fine Yiddish novelists, poets, dramatists and writers whose names have become classics in Yiddish literature and who used to figure so prominently in all Russian propaganda?

WHERE IS BIRO-BIDJAN?

And what has become of the famous Crimean colonies? Of the so-called Jewish Republic of Biro-Bidjan, and of the other specific Jewish social, political and cultural efforts of more than a generation of Jewish life in Russia?

Of course, there is little hope that if the UN undertakes such an investigation, similar to the one on slave labor, the Stalinist government would permit any group of people, however qualified and impartial, to take a look behind the iron curtain to establish the facts. The same would hold true for an investigation conducted by anyone but dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists. Yet it is of the utmost importance in the interest of a thorough understanding of the development of Russian Stalinism that the questions asked by the Jewish Labor Committee be given fullest publicity and be investigated by whatever means are available. Let the Stalinists prove that there is no basis to the charges!

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