

IN SEARCH OF A FORMULA: **Civil Liberty and Stalinism**

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Point Four's Achilles-Heel

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Why U.S. Controls Europe's Economy ... page 3

The top leadership of the American Federation of Labor has driven a knife into the back of the American labor movement. The Executive Council of the AFL at its recent meeting in Montreal decided by an overwhelming majority to break up the United Labor Policy Committee which has united most of the labor movement in its relations to the

The ULPC was formed last December as a reaction to the wage freeze, to the complete domination of the mobilization agencies by big business, and to the contempt with which the labor leaders were treated by war mobilizer Charles Wilson and others when

The ULPC organized the dramatic walkout of the labor leaders from all mobilization agencies, a walkout which threw the wage-price stabilization machinery into crisis. At that time they organized a United Labor Conference in Washington, D. C., which brought together representatives of city and state AFL and CIO bodies, as well as those from the International Association of Machinists and some of the most powerful railroad

That meeting and the actions of the ULPC were widely hailed throughout the labor movement as first steps toward the unification of the labor movement in America. Every mention of labor unity drew cheers from the labor bureaucrats assembled in Washing-

All N. Y. Candidates on the Spot **As City Bans CIO Police Union**

A big union battle is shaping up in New York City over the attempt of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) to organize the city police force

The importance of the battle is twofold. On the one hand, it involves the right of policemen to organize themselves for the purposes of collective bargaining. In addition, it involves the political relations between the labor movement in New York City and the political machines which dominate city politics. This aspect takes on special importance in view of the election for president of the City Council which takes place this fall.

The TWU started its drive among the city cops some time ago. The then police commissioner, Thomas J. Murphy, who made his way to fame in the Hiss trial, made a public statement to the effect that he was against the organization of the cops into a union, and urged the policemen not to

National Labor Relations ed pledge cards. Board as a violation of the right to organize, but the

Quill announced that he is order to all cops to withdraw signed by the heads of the ready to charter a police- applications for membership AFL and CIO central labor man's local of the TWU. He in any union "forthwith" on bodies states: "While you claimed that some 4,500 cops pain of disciplinary action. pretend to take this action had already paid a month's When asked on what basis

Mike Quill, president of dues, and that over half of the TWU, attempted to bring the 19,000 employees of the Murphy's action before the police department had sign-

On the same day, Police Commissioner George P. NLRB turned down the com- Monaghan issued an order the fact that the TWU is in plain on the ground that it to the police department an active struggle with the nicipal employees. Murphy ber of the Police Department of State, County and Municiwas later promoted when of New York City shall be- pal Employees which has alunion." A few hours later in 62 American cities. On Tuesday, August 7, this was supplemented by an

this order was issued, Monaghan put out with essentially the same reasoning voiced by Murphy before him. "In my opinion," he said, "the Police Department is very much akin to the armed forces of this nation. No one should be in a position to have his loyalty divided"

Blast Monaghan

And later he stated "I am in sympathy with anything the policemen may wish to offer me and my door is always open for anything they want to talk to me about."

Both the AFL and CIO in New York City have reacted unitedly and vigorously to the edict prohibiting police organization. This unity is most gratifying in view of has no jurisdiction over mu- which states that "no mem- AFL's American Federation Truman nominated him to a come a member of any labor ready organized policemen

> A joint letter to Monadhan. (Turn to last page)



Page Two

August 20, 1951

themselves?

litical developments.

situction of all.

in dollars.

Madison Cap-Times Warns of AP and UP's Distortion of News

The Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, which recently made news of those news agencies." for other newspapers all over the country when its "petition" in favor of the Declaration of Independence and the refusal of people to sign it was commented on by Truman in his Detroit speech, last week published a virtually unprecedented editorial on its front page.

This one was not picked up by the nation's press.

The editorial in the Capital Times, which uses the wire services of the Associated Press and the United Press, blasted the AP and the UP. It accused them of analing. distorting and suppressing news in the interests of their big business owners.

Editor Eviue cited cases and examples. His editorial said in part:

"Today the Capital Times is doing something it has wanted to do through the many years we have been observing the handling of the news by the large wire services, such as the Associated Press and United Press. "We want to explain to our

readers why the Capital Times is always careful to put AP and UP labels at the top of stories from those sources.

"The Capital Times must depend on the AP and UP for reports on distant news developments. The responsibility for the manner in which the news is re-. ported rests with the AP and UP.

PRO-McCARTHY

"It is important that the readers of the Capital Times be on warning concerning much of this reporting. In many cases, news is angled, distorted and suppressed. "We have noted this particularly in the case of many news developments that have accompanied the career of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

"The Capital Times believes that its readers should know that the AP and UP have been handling the news about McCarthy to fit the bias of the powerful and wealthy

Academicians Must Eat

On June 20 the anniversary of Stalin's "epoch-making" work on "Marxist" linguistics was celebrated by Academician Nermevanov among others.

He revealed that the "work of genius" by the Coryphee in the Kremlin was not only a contribution to Marxism and linguistics but also to "philosophy, history, literature. theory of state law, even of all contemporary natural history." It also revealed existing defects in artistic literature. ethnography, archeology, physiomedicine, mathematics, geochemistry. geology, and astronomy.

Teratology was not mentioned.

publishers who control the policies

It goes on to "charge that the AP and UP have angled, distorted and suppressed news about McCarthy to support his political fortunes" and to undermine the Fair Deal.

The courageous editorial described how the giant wire services "dragged their feet" on news unfavorable to the mudslinging Wisconsin senator, such as the exposures of his income-tax scandals, but "pounced eagerly" on news unfavorable to the Truman administration.

TELLS WHY

As an example of angling, it cited AP reference to the "Kelly machine" in Chicago (Democratic) and the "Green organization" in the state of Illinois (Republican). TVA came in for AP falsehoods also.

"Why do these great news agencies angle, distort and suppress news' the Capital Times asks. "It is because they are dominated and controlled by wealthy and powerful men with economic interests to protect.

"The Associated Press is a powerful organization. Its membership is made up of the newspaper publishers receiving its services. Its board of directors is composed of the wealthiest and most reactionary publishers in the United States.

"The United Press is owned by

the Scripps-Howard syndicate. which is under the domination of Roy Howard, a reactionary Republican who stepped into control of a once liberal and progressive newspaper organization and turned it into an adjunct of the Republican Party."

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the Hearst-controlled wire service. International News Service, is even worse.

Rotten Apple Story

The Department of Agriculture has announced that it will "stimulate exports of apples and pears" by paying exporters subsidies equal to half the export price.

This means that a foreign buver will be able to buy American apples for \$1.25 a bushel for which the exporting company gets \$2.50, the other \$1.25 coming out of the taxpayers' pockets. At the same time, by reducing the supply of apples in this country, U. S. will be raised by the subprice

We don't in the least begrudge the foreign buyers their cheaper apples (if they're still cheap by the time the foreign import moguls get their slice down to the apple core), but that determined foe of inflation in the White House ought to explain why we have to pay money to raise our own prices to benefit the apple growers.

Nat'l Labor Daily ---(Continued from page 1)

ces to publish a daily paper for five weeks. [See LA for March 26.] Members of the unions went into the publishing business after all local dailies shut down during a dispute with the mailers.union. The National Reporter, name of the proposed labor daily, is sponsored by the Newspaper Unions Publishing Company, which operated the Pittsburgh paper. Several of the Pittsburgh locals have retained their stock in the company. Others have sold stock to international unions which endorse the idea of a labor daily. Leaflets distributed by interna-

tional unions indicate that the plan is for an 8-page, standardsize newspaper, printed each week Monday through Friday. Besides labor news, the paper would include texts of important wage, price, and NLRB decisions, information on government regulations and activities, political and foreign news of special interests to active unionists.

The proposed five-day-a-week daily is described by its sponsors as a "limited-purpose" paper. It will not attempt to compete in contents with dailies devoted to not intended to start publication general news, but will bring to- until substantially that number gether news, reports and feature of pledges are in. Then the paper articles dealing with the labor will be delivered to subscribers movement specifically, as well as on the day of publication in the special Washington coverage.

The idea of national news daily is an ultimate aim, but it is not. feasible now unless far more support is swung in the labor movement. The National Reporter will be an excellent first step. It would, of course, take millions of dollars to swing a national news daily.

There will be no editorials in the National Reporter, in order to avoid problems of "line" which would set sections of its union support at loggerheads. Controversial questions, it is planned, will be treated through by-lined articles or through articles for different sides. Controversial questions here means issues on which different parts of the labor leaderships take different positions. One of the problems faced will be to maintain an even keel between the CIO and AFL

The setup to control the paper will be through a board of trustees representing stockholders, with the announced aim of spreading the stock as widely and evenly as possible among the variour internationals and locals. In addition there will be an active advisory board, with one representative from each supporting international.

The sponsors figure that such an 8-page daily, "which does not count on any advertising revenue." could be financed on a regular basis if 30,000 subscriptions are obtained at \$20 a year. It is major union centers at least.

Achilles-Heel of the Point Four Panacea: Experience in Syria

By PHILIP COBEN

Not much information has come out of Syria with regard to political and social developments in that country, but among the few such reports have been a number of articles in the N.Y. Times by correspondent Albion Ross. [See LA for June 18 for one.] One of his dispatches this past week deserves close atten-

Our own interest in it is motivated by its reflection on the Point Four program as the vaunted solution for a liberal foreign policy especially in Asia, rather than by the significance of which we cannot comment for lack

June) they don't want U. S. overseers cramping their style in exploiting their own people. But without American-provided even Point Four capital, "American, methods of mechanized farming are streamlining Syria's feudalism."

This is indeed also the objective of Point Four aid. We have emphasized that without social reform and an agrarian revolution at least, Point Four-type modernization is no solution, and certainly not the key to foreign policy which so many liberals crack it up to be.

Ross's report on the effect of modern techniques makes that sound mild.

"The gap between the wealth and power of 60 to 100 families and the rest of the nation is increasing at an astounding rate as a result of the application of modern machinery and technicalassistance purchase by the wealthy in the open market," he says flatly.

sequence, the class struggle on the land has sharpened. In one important area a violent clash took place between landowners and "agents of the agrarian reform movement," and: "The reaction to the wealthy families' expansion of their operations through modern techniques has been the appearance of the only serious agrarian revolutionary movement in the Arab world."

He notes with dismay that the author of the land-reform bill now before the Chamber of Deputies, a leader of the movement, "though not a Communist, proposed a treaty with the Soviet Union." The rebels are certainly not pro-West and, he admits, not Stalinist.

Relatively large new areas of uncultivated land have been brought into cotton and wheat production growth are the result. This comes through the splurge of mechanization. "The wealthy have suddenly become awake, purchasing machinery wherever they could

get it and expanding their holdings and their wealth at a high perialism, but, as noted, decisive rate. . . . There have been angry sections of the ruling class see complaints in Parliament that no reason to be friendly with state domains are being encroached on and acquired by the their own national and class families in one way or another. . . There is a feeling in the country that the small farmer's heritage of free land is disappearing. Projects for large irrigation developments and the settlement of thousands of families in small holdings begin to sound stale and meaningless.'

IT DOESN'T WORK

He concludes: "The small holder and small tenant have continued in their old ways, while wealth concentrates increasingly in the hands of those who have always had it. . . . One problem that is evident is that widening the gap between rich and poor by technical development is no way combat communism

The naive Point Four enthusiasts-including those who are critical of the administration's program only because of its niggardliness, and this includes Walter Reuther and Aneurin Bevan as well as the liberal ADA -tend to think in the following simplistic terms: the trouble in Asia is the low standard of living; technical aid and capital for modernization will raise the level of production; the people will be better fed and more immune to the blandishments of Moscow.

But it doesn't work that simply, as long as land (and industry) is owned and exploited by the old ruiing classes solely for the lining of their own pockets, as every ruling class seeks to do.

The rich become richer and the people are not better fed. The class struggle is not done away with but heightened. Not social peace but the alternatives of revolutionary change or Stalinist not from a Marxist textbook but directly out of the Times correspondent's reports.

Not only are the discontented

masses repelled by Western im-U. S. power even on the basis of self-interest. And when "the only man in Syrian politics who has taken an outspoken stand for unflinching cooperation with the A U. S. and the West" does speak up, he makes no secret of his motivation.

"FRIEND" OF U. S.

Another article by Ross reported it on August 12. It is, in virtually so many words: I favor siding with the U.S. because otherwise we'll get batted over the head to bring us into line—so let's go "willingly." Besides, he implies, we can get arms to fight Israel only from Washington.

The views of the new premier, Hasan Hakim, are cited in a remarkably frank quotation-for the Times: "Since the question of arms is the main obstacle in withstanding danger, and since arms cannot be obtained except from the Western bloc . . . it is in our interest to side with this bloc out of our own free will . . . instead of being compelled to do SO.

"... I reiterate my belief that neutrality is impossible as long as we are weak and as long as the neutrality of weak countries is not respected if war exigencies require the penetration of their countries. .

"It is not for mere love that I advocate our siding with the Western bloc but for defense against the danger confronting us. At the present critical moment neutrality is considered by the Western bloc as animosity and if we gain the animosity of the Western bloc it may drive that bloc to continue to hurt us."

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NEW YORK

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Based upon "White Collar" by C. Wright Mills

by

GORDON HASKELL

LABOR ACTION HALL, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

the Syrian situation itself-about of information. Ross's dispatch of August 13 does not even mention Point Four

but that is clearly what he has in mind also. As a matter of fact, ders have refused to accept Point Four aid from the U. S., since (Ross explained in

REVOLT LOOMS

At the same time and in con-

Why the U.S. Dominates Europe's Economy

- By GORDON HASKELL

It is characteristic of the new world in which we live that the economic fate of Western Europe is being debated and will be in large measure decided by the United States Congress. Much of the debate revolves around the question: how much are the governments of Europe doing to help

The economic situation in the Western European nations should be a matter of concern not only to members of Congress, but to the average citizen as well. For although it is true that political trends reflect economic ones indirectly, and usually only after a considerable time lag, the fact remains that in the long run the economic trends tend to have decisive effect on pojuences for Britain's hold on the

on the Britsih economy by the

American war production drive

are the effects of Britain's own

armament effort. This involved a

shift in the kind of commodities

imported by Britain in the direc-

tion of materials needed for arm-

ament, thus increasing the short-

The Labor government had count

ed on an increase in production of

about 4 per cent a year and a

slight decrease in the volume of

consumption, created mainly

through price increases, to take

care of the expansion of the arma-

aspects of the budget most vigor-

ously opposed by the Bevan group,

as it involved "rationing by the

pocket-book" which would hit the

Production increased as expect-

ed, but consumption also increas-

ed some 5 per cent, and although

the government is now proposing

to introduce price controls it is

toward a solution of the dollar

gap problem (although it might

tend to lessen somewhat the in-

equality of the distribution of the

burden of rearmament.)

doubtful whether this will go far

poor hardest.

ment industry. This was one of the

ages in consumer goods:

sterling countries. According to a report by Added to the burdens imposed

Michael L. Hoffman in the New York Times for August 11, things in most of Western Europe are in better shape than was predicted by economists six months ago. But at the same time, they are worse than they seem to be on the surface.

All European economies have been adversely affected by the rapid rise in the prices of raw materials which started after the beginning of the war in Korea. The countries which are most dependent on raw materials from abroad have been affected most heavily. Britain is probably in the worst

The case of Britain offers an instructive example of the great instability of the economies of Europe, and their dependence on what is done by the government and the great monopolies in the United States. It presents striking proof of the proposition that the national economy of Britain (and of every other single country in Western Europe) is too narrow a base on which to attempt to plan and regulate economic developments; in fact, that in this stage of economic history it is such a narrow base as to put the people of Britain at the mercy, both economically and politically, of the ruling groups in the United

nemic boom without recent precerapid expansion in British exports, to a point at which the Edcilar gap was closed. American prices for finished goods shot up more rapidly than the prices of raw materials which Britain had to purchase from the dollar area.

DANGER FOR BRITAIN

However, this period was short, even if sweet. The prices of raw materials soon shot up under the stimulus of unbridled American buying in the world markets. The shortage of raw materials became so acute that certain British industries were faced with the prospect of shutting down for the lack of

Even though an agreement for allocation of vital raw materials was worked out between Britain, the United States and other countries, this did not stop the rise in the price of these goods, nor the widening of the dollar gap to really alarming proportions.

In June 1951 Britain imported 18 per cent more goods in volume than it had imported on a monthly average during 1950. But these goods cost 43 per cent more in dollars. And even though exports for the same period were 7 per cent over the monthly average of 1950, the income from these ex- MAD SCRAMBLE ports was only 20 per cent more

This by itself would have created a most dangerous situation for the British economy. The efwhole remains solvent as against the dollar. Thus, instead of building up huge debts to the United

omy is probably more sensitive to world market conditions than are the economies of countries which depend to a lesser degree on exports for their stability. But this means only that it reacts more quickly and sharply to world economic trends, not that it reacts

in a manner basically different. Sweden and the Netherlands have also been hit hard by the rapid shift in raw-materials prices and the softening of the American market with respect to manufactured goods. The other countries in Western Europe, it seems, have been slower to react. They have also been much slower to rearm, which is probably the chief single reason for their apparent health as compared to the economy of Britain.

AMERICA'S LEVER

Over all these economies looms the danger of inflation. Britain has aiready placed more than two and half billion doilars in armament orders. The other governments in Western Europe have hardly started their rearmament programs as far as actual expenditures and production are concerned. But they are committed to such programs on a large scale. And the effect on their already shaky economies is bound to be very serious.

All this has had and will have an increasingly concrete meaning for the warking classes as the months go by, and this meaning is bound to express itself in political form. It will mean higher prices and fewer of the necessities of life, for it must be born in mind that whereas many American workers measure the effects of inflation in terms of their ability to buy a new car or television set, or how often they can buy steaks for their families, for the European worker a slight shift tions to economic events can only nomic movements of the working for the worse in the standard of express themselves fruitfully

It is true that the British econ- living means depriving their families of shoes and bread.

It is this kind of situation which points up the manner in which the American government can and does control the countries inside the American war bloc. Except in the case of Western Germany and Austria, the American government does not and cannot give direct political orders to the governments in Western Europe. In this respect the governments in the American orbit have a radically different relationship to the dominant power than that which prevails between the Russian government and its satellites. But the American government has the power to grant or withhold economic aid to its allies, and this places them in a very real sense at its command.

Of course, even this power must be exercised with a certain degree caution. Its open and direct abuse could have such drastic political repercussions as to endanger the whole American world power system. That is why the more intelligent government officials are mortally afraid that a Congress which is much more concerned with making domestic political capital out of Europe's economic plight than with the maintenance of this power system may upset the apple cart.

WESTERN UNION NEEDED

One effect of the growing inflationary danger could be to strengthen the Stalinist parties, particularly in France and Italy. Another effect could be to strengthen the Social-Democrats in Germany, and the left-wing tendencies in the British Labor Party. In discussing all the possibilities one cannot avoid using conditional terms. For the hard fact remains that political reac- created by the political and eco-

through organized political move ments, and then only when such movements have an insight and a program which permits them to channel the political reactions in the direction of real solutions to problems.

The Stalinists have a program and, at least in Italy and France, the organization which makes this possible . . . even if their "solutions" are worse than the disease itself. The same cannot be said of the social-democracy, including the Labor Party.

These movements have the mass base, but they lack the insight and the program with which to cope with the political reaction to the economic developments. The real hope in the situation lies in the possibility that the developing crisis in the European economy will stimulate the rise of forces in the labor and social-democratic movements which will seek and find a program adequate to the problems which confront the common people.

Only one word need be said on the basic aspect of such a program. The coming crisis. like the ones which have wracked Europe's economies since the war, demonstrates the impossibility of solving the economic problems of the Western European nations inside the framework of their national economies. The prime example is the semi-managed and semi-planned economy of Britain. A wider base must be created if the peoples of Europe are to have any control over their own economic and hence political destinies.

This means a union of the countries of Western Europe. And to be anything but a reactionary union of the outlived ruling social classes of the old continent, such a union must be initiated and class.

of the ruling groups in the United States. In the early stages of the war in Korea; Britain enjoyed an econcmic boom without recent prece-dent. The tremendous rush to buy all kinds of commodities in the United States brought about a manie averagion in British ex-

By SAM FELIKS

When the Schuman Plan was coposed in May 1950, it was ailed by its supporters as the harbinger of a new era of harmonious relations between France and Germany. The claims for peace, cooperation and prosperity would indeed be the due of a plan that democratically integrated a major section or all of the Western European economy, but it is a claim that does not belong to the Schuman Plan.

In the little more than a year since its espousal by France's Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, the plan has been starkly revealed to be an instrument in the attempt of France to dominate German heavy industry. The disputes between France and Germany over the representation and function of the "High Authority' for the setup belie the fiction of harmonious, democratic cooperation inherent in the plan. The Schuman Plan's integration of Western Europe's coal and steel production is a proposed integration under French domination, supported by the United States.

Within the past week, the fight for dominance flared up again. The Schuman Plan was born under the pressure of U. S. insistence upon Western European rearmament, fects have been softened by the and it is meeting its severest test fact that the sterling area as a upon these same grounds.

Western European armament is causing a mad scramble for raw materials all over the world. It States, Britain is once more has not only had a strangulating building up debts to other sterl- effect on the living standards of ing countries. But in the long run the working class, due to rising this kind of development can have prices, but there has also entered the most drastic political conse- the problem of the availability of

raw materials. And today Western Europe is once again facing the prospects of a coal shortage, along with other shortages.

The present Allied body for the control of German coal and steel production is the Ruhr Authority. The Germans have only nominal representation on this body. When and if the Schuman Plan is placed in operation the Ruhr Authority will be replaced by the High Authority of the Schuman Plan Couril. One of the criticisms of this High Authority by the German Social-Democrats is that it will once again place Ger many in an unrepresentative position; for Germany with 40 percent of coal and steel production will only have two out of the nine seats on the Authority.

WHO'LL GET WHAT?

With the developing coal shortage, the German representatives to the Ruhr Authority have been demanding that there be a reduction in the fixed amount of coatthat Germany is forced to export* to-other Western European countries. This has led to the resignation of Acting Chancellor Franz Bluecher from the German delegation. The government of the German industrialists was preparing to go along with the Schuman Plan, and still may sign up when the U. S. really puts on the pressure. But this dispute over forced coal exports to the detriment of the German economy shows up the meaning of the equality and integration of the Schumon Plan.

There is a struggle going on within the framework of the proposed Schuman Plan organization between France and Germany: Since the end of the war the former has attempted to double its undisguised French attempt to pre-war output of steel and thus weaken their economy has encombecome the leading steel producer in continental Western Europe. But to do this it is necessary to use German coal. The struggle at this time boils down to the question of whether Germany will be allowed to increase its industrial production or whether France will be permitted to drain off German coal production for its own purposes.

ANOTHER "OCCUPATION"

The importance of the continuports to the entire Schuman Plan was highlighted by a recent New York Times dispatch:

"As the trend is moving the danger is that there be a race between the Germans and the French to capture the leadership in heavy industry at the time when the Schuman Plan will be applied. If France, which up to now has maintained her position close to that of the Germans, should be outdistanced it might prove a factor that would wholly upset the primary objects of the Schuman Plan for merging European coal and steel production."

The signing of the Schuman Plan will be the legalization of the occupation statute. The substitution of the Schuman Plan High Authorit' for the Ruhr Authority will be a change only in name. The same basic operation of the occupation will be in effect where France will dictate the operation of coal and steel. The Schuman Plan was heralded- as- a- step toward: German equality. But in effect it is only the imposition of the occupation control in a new form.

The German opposition to this

passed both the Adenaur industrialists and the Social-Democrats in defense of their national inder pendence. The sham of increasing German equality in Western Europe is torn away.

The German Social-Democrats have denounced the recent actions of the Ruhr Authority and the Schuman Plan proposals, on the grounds that they do not mean German equality, would weaken the German economy, and in practice' mean French domination. hown them to be correct.

The idea of an integrated Western European economy has wide support today. The opposition to the Schuman Plan is on the grounds that it does not permit the free expression of national independence, and that it is a means of militarizing Western Europe's economy under the North Atlantic war bloc, and that it is restricted by the operation of private property.

The BEST recent book on the labor movement-"The UAW and Walter Reuther' Irving Howe and B. J. Widick \$3.00 Random House Order from: Labor Action Book Service 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N.Y.

A BELLAND

LABOR ACTION

Fage Four

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.

Stalnism, 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 everpresent 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!



<u>Editorials</u> The "National Reporter"

- Our front page this week reports the present status of the campaign to bring a national labor daily newspaper into being in this country. The cartoon accompanying the article is an excellent editorial in itself, but that won't stop us from speaking a piece anyway.

In the first place, we're for it. Enthusiastically.

That's not because we expect to be enthusiastic about its treatment of political or trade-union questions, of course. With or without editorials (it will have none) that will doubtless tend to reflect a lowest common denominator in the labor movement, in order to maintain maximum support from the various union bureaucracies; and if the political level of the main internationals is abysmally low, the lowest common denominator will be nothing to cheer about.

But any change in that depends on what happens in the unions themselves. Meanwhile the creation of a national labor daily fulfills a need to so elementary that its lack up to now, and its uncertain status even now, is the cruelest commentary on what is wrong with the largest trade-union movement in the world.

In this country the press which speaks for the employers is organized along the most thoroughly monopolistic lines to be seen in any non-totalitarian country. By and large, it's a venal and kept press, and that is no soapbox exaggeration. The Madison Capital Times attack on the AP and UP (see story in this issue) is news not because it says anything new about these wire-service monopolies, but because a mild version of the truth is printed by a newspaper which itself enjoys the AP and UP franchises.

In the face of this, the largest labor movement in the world does not have an organ of its own in which it can even get its own information to its cadres all over the country. day by day and rapidly, as rapidly as the kept press disseminates its own lies, half-lies and distorted accounts.

That's a need on such a rock-bottom level that a glaring light is thrown on the primitiveness of the American labor eaderships.

But we're enthusiastic about it not only because the National Reporter would take its first step toward giving labor a daily tongue and voice. We think it ought to be greeted also as another step toward joint action by the sections of the labor movement in a field outside the narrow purviews of pure-and-simple trade-unionism.

It is a partial recognition of the fact that the fate of trade-unionism and the interests of labor depends not only on what happens in contract negotiations with a given employer but that the basic problems of labor lie-and the basic solutions are to be sought—in the broader domain of social issues and political struggle

It is another step along a road which will inexorably lead American labor to form its own political party too, just as it manifestly demands that they form their own newspaper.

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A Message to the ISL from **The POUM Underground in Spain**

TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES:

Dear Comrades:

Our comrades in France [headquarters of the POUM in emigration-Ed.] have sent us copies of LABOR ACTION reporting the anti-Franco demonstrations which, on your initiative and in response to our appeal in March, took place some weeks ago before the Spanish consulates in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

We read these reports with real emotion. In turning to you during the great general strike in Barcelona, we felt sure that the revolutionary socialists of the United States would mobilize to 'help their brothers in Spain. Your action-bigger and stronger than we could have foreseenproved that we were not mistaken.

We address ourselves to you-with a feeling which we hope you will understand-to thank you for your solidarity. Likewise we ask that you transmit our most fraternal greetings to all the organizations which participated with the Independent Socialist League in the anti-Franco demonstrations of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco. They have all performed an invaluable service for the cause of the Spanish people in demonstrating that there are U. S. workers who firmly oppose the pro-Franco plans of Wall Street and the Pentagon. We write at a grave moment for our people.

After the magnificent strikes of Barcelona, Bilboa and Madrid, the Franco regime knows-as at no other time in its existence, perhaps-that its life is in danger and hangs by a thread. Either the government in Washington will come quickly to the aid of General Franco and then we will suffer a serious setback, or the Spanish people will continue to fight back and finish by burying the dictator.

The recent declarations of Generals Bradley and Marshall, Air Minister Gallarza's trip to Washington, and the visit here of the nine U.S. senators have caused great uneasiness here. Everyone feels clearly that a plot is shaping up -far from our own shores and in fact in your country-to deprive our people of the right to dispose freely of their own destinies and to prolong their enslavement.

We ask you, so much the more vigorously, to alert working-class and liberal opinion in the United States and to intensify the campaign against the Spanish fascist tyranny. Today perhaps more than ever, we need the fraternal and warm solidarity of the workers of the United States.

We send you, dear comrades, our sincerest socialist greetings.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor ...

FREE ASIA CAN INTERVENE TO BRING THE MANEUVERS AT KAESONG TO A CONCLUSION FOR PEACE

To the Editor:

Some time ago I wrote to LA-BOR ACTION to urge the necessity of demanding an immediate cessation of the fighting in Korea. The primary ground for this attitude was simple humanitarian necessity of stopping the senseless slaughter of Koreans and the destruction of the Korean nation. No further rationalization was or is needed to arrive at this conclusion.

No consideration, be it political or strategic, is worth much if its effect is to hinder immediate peace in Korea. The response of the peoples of the world, and of the Koreans above all, to the possibility of a truce is sufficient evidence of the universal longing for peace. The first consideration of any politics or strategy should be this popular desire.

In the present Korean ceasefire-negotiations, neither side has shown any sensibility to this overwhelming reality in today's politics. Nor have they shown any consideration for the Koreans or their nation. Each side has acted on the basis of alien and extraneous values.

The play-acting at Kaesong would only be shameful if its implications were not so tragic. As is, every meeting serves to heighten the already wide-spread fear of another world war, as each day's session moves from one deadlock to another, threatening at every turn to mark the end of the effort and the resumptionand possible extension-of hostilities.

Each side has betrayed the hopes with which the world endowed their peace-making efforts, and in so doing has had to renege on its original promise.

The Malik speech was hailed by the Stalinists everywhere as the original spur to the present talks. That was nonsense, of course. The UN for its part had in existence a commission which with the sanction of Washington had for this same pattern. In their propmonths been trying to open a aganda inside China and Korea line to Peiping. And practically they like to point out that ac-every leading personage in the tually each side holds about an American government had made clear the administration's desire other's side of the parallel. If this

Senate committee investigating surely the parallel as such does Japanese peace treaty and that it MacArthur's removal into a sounding board for overtures to Peiping, Moscow and Pyongyang. Nevertheless, in the response

to Malik's speech, Peiping seemed to give real assurance of a desire to end the war by divorcing the previously "inseparable" questions of Formosa, China's entry into the UN, etc. from the immediate issue in Korea.

It may be that the Stalinists still want some kind of peace in Korea, but are unable to extricate themselves from political commitments of a different order. Certainly the terrible defects of their armies and their obvious inability to break the stalemate and produce a military solution would indicate their need for a truce. However, it now appears that far more weighty than any such considerations is the need to squeeze every drop of political advantage out of the negotiations. Their every effort is now directed at tyin Kaesong with their "peac ing offensive" and their world political activities-even at the risk of jeopardizing a cease-fire. The Stalinists have been deliberately obstructionist, taking advanta of every lapse or imagined lapse in American vigilance.

The futile business of preventing American reporters from arriving, then the grandstand play on the withdrawal of "all foreign troops" were all efforts at making political capital. The foreigntroops issue was an obvious propaganda effort to win favor in Asia, for there could be no reality to such a demand. Who else could possibly appear at an armistice talk than the commanders of the present armies? Nor are the "native" armies any less foreign. Both North and South Koreans have made it quite clear that they act for foreign masters, and indeed are not capable of any action unless sanctioned by them.

The present Stalinist insistenc on the 38th parallel is part of for negotiations. In fact, the Tru-man regime turned the hostile seems to indicate that it is, then

not even have immediate significance. This is aside from the frequent declarations by both sides -at intervals when they were respectively crossing the line-that the parallel had lost all meaning anyway

The United States, for its part, seems likewise to have lost sight of its original intentions. Acheson and so many others in authority proclaimed that a halt at the 38th would constitute a victory. How many spokesmen for the administration castigated MacArthur for crossing the line? Everyone was led to believe that Washington was quite satisfied to stop at the old boundary. Indeed Truman himself made the point publicly that the .38th was acceptable if there were accompanying guarantees of no further trespasses by the Stalinists. What then is the meaning of

the new-found obduracy, now that the talks are actually underway? The tale we have been told is that it is a matter of military considerations, that the present positions of the Allied armies are superior to the 38th line and therefore all considerations of peace must be placed in the balance. Certainly if the reason given is the true one it is enough to make the Stalinists suspicious

of U.S. intentions. Surely if the U. S. changes its program in the middle in order to gain what it acknowledges is a military advantage, there is ground for the Stalinist fears. And of course they are not loathe to make this point in all Asia The Stalinists make another charge which has won receptive ears in Asia. They point out that

N. Y. Forum Socialist Youth League

Washington has closely linked

Korean developments with the

Friday at 8:30 p.m. August 24

August 20, 1951



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE POUM

Catalonia July 7, 1951

Icarue Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth

Who's 'Practical'? A Discussion for Liberal Students

By MAX MARTIN

Last week's Corner discussed war, Stalinism and civil liberties with respect to liberal students and the socialists' approach to them. But there are a host of other problems which socialists and anti-war students face in their work and discussion.

To many liberals some of these appear to be non-political or at best semi-political. Some of them regard these questions as almost "psychological" or "philosophical" barriers between the tendencies. But at the bottom is a vital political question.

"Practicality" is one of those most frequently met.

"Yes," says many a liberal student, "it is true that the Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea is one of extreme reaction and no decent person could wish to support it. Furthermore, I admit that your Third Camp viewpoint is fine-in the abstract. But we are faced with a concrete critical situation in which we must make a choice. Stalinism is on the verge of overrunning the world and we have to be practical."

Underneath this constant recourse to the argument from "practicality" is the fact that liberalism has no meaningful analysis or understanding of the political forces at work. It lives by a surface impressionism and reacts to events on the basis of these impressions only, plus good intentions.

For it, practicality-which is a fine thing — is a substitute for

politics. The liberal typically reels from catastrophe to catastrophe grasping at such "practical" solutions

for each. For him there is no historical continuity, or rather he can see historical continuity only in the abstract. Above all, he does not see and does not want to see that each catastrophe grew out of the so-very-practical solution at which liberals had grasped be-

SELF-DEFEATING

The current war crisis is a product of what went before, and the liberal's reaction to the previous crises is at least partially

responsible for this one; and so was right on back through World War II, the Spanish civil war, the rise of fascism, etc.

In the name of "practicality" he supports the Truman-Acheson foreign policy. This foreign policy and program has had little success. in countering the appeal of Stalinism in the world. If, tomorrow, the crisis grows worse, he will become even more frantic in grasping at "practical" solutions-more and more "practical" ones too, that is, more shortsighted ones.

Socialists on campus have to ntervene in this vicious circle of thought, which is moreover selfdefeating; they have to point out that this sort of practicality in meeting today's crisis contributes toward tomorrow's even more appalling crisis, because it solves no political problems.

The liberal frequently asks the socialist: "Whom did you propose to support in Korea when the Stalinist armies were on the march?

We have to tell him that unfortunately there is no organized political force in Korea today which can be supported by a fighter for socialism or democracy; of such there are only the Rhee government forces on the one hand and the Stalinists on the other: and that this is the situation that has been brought about in no small measure by the policies and program of the U. S. government which he helped to put into office and which he still supports today.

VICIOUS SPIRAL

The two imperialist powers cynically divided Korea between themselves, and whatever elements could have organized the struggle for Korean independence became candidates for the Stalinist concentration camps in the North or for Rhee's prisons in the South. "We have to make a choice between the present evils," he says, trying to be practical; but the character of his hard choice today was determined by himself, among others, in supporting Roosevelt and Stalin's "practical" deal yesterday, and by his support to a government which could follow no other line

He bears his own part of the responsibility. His "practical" choice today will lead to harder choices tomorrow. Thus he staggers on from myopic practicality to practicality.

There is no way out of the

vicious circle-the vicious descending spiral - within the framework of these ideas. The result can only be more failures to solve the basic problems that wrack the world, and bigger but not better catastrophes.

Page Five

The socialist proposes to break out of this merry-go-round which is riding the world to atomic war. That is why he calls for the building of Third Camp movements by the world working class and the colonial peoples to struggle against both sets of imperialists and for a world of peace, freedom and plenty.

"PRACTICAL" POLITICS

Related to this is the liberal student's perplexed questions about what socialists do and what he can do. Not infrequently this means: "What congressman or official can I write to?" This approach flows from the limited horizon that he sees for political activity.

Since he thinks in terms of errant public officials rather than in terms of classes and social systems; since political solutions for him lie in electing another "good man" or, just as often, trying to keep the last "good man" elected from straying from virtue, such an attitude seems reasonable.

The socialist must patiently explain to his fellow student why this sort of thing is not the "practical" politics he conceives it to be. It is a good occasion to explain educationally why the labor movement needs its own political party and cannot rely on "friends" and "good men" in the capitalist parties.

At other times the campus liberal has in mind mass campaigns and struggles for immediate reforms or changes. This is quite another thing. This we are enthusiastically for, and one of the defects of liberal organizations (most particularly the adult organizations) is their lack of attention in this direction. We need only make clear that we see the role of such struggles in a different manner from them, and not as the sum total or final end of political activity. For them reforms themselves are the answer to all social ills and problems and the better world they desire will be the summation of these reforms. For us, the struggle for such reforms is especially a step in the organization and education of the people for more basic solutions.



The Standard Biographical Work-"KARL MARX" by Franz Mehring British edition, cloth-bound-\$3.00-while they last LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

114 West 14 Street

Capitalist Crisis

LABOR ACTION HALL 114 West 14 Street, NYC has rushed this treaty so that the signing can take place in September, while the Korean war is in progress. For if not for the extreme threats and tensions Washington would have a difficult time ndeed to put over its treaty. As it is it has been tough sledding. The Stalinists argue that Washington deliberately protracting the talks in order to maintain the atmosphere of emergency to more effectively get what it wants at San Francisco next month. If this is so, then the State Department has borrowed a leaf from the Stalinist book.

Regardless of the truth in these charges, it is certain that Truman and his regime are prisoners of the war-changed atmosphere they have in part helped create. They cannot dare oven to seem to be yielding ground where Stalinism is concerned.

Nevertheless these are all matters that are extraneous to the issue of peace in Korea.

It is apparent that, left to themselves, these protagonists can hardly bring to fruition that peace for which the world hungers so much. If an agreement is reached it will be only after indefinite protraction during which international tensions will have been exacerbated. For each side Kaesong is part of the larger tug of war. That is why they find it so difficult to arrive at a local solution.

What is necessary then is that Washington and the Stalinists not be left to themselves in a matter so vital to all peoples.

While no one can arrange a truce other than the leaders of the armies actually involved, these generals and their regimes

The Marxist Theory of **Speaker: Abe Kimbay**

can be made to listen to the voice of Asia, for surely Asia is directly concerned with the outcome of the immediate negotiations-as well as with Korea's future. Neither party could afford blatantly to ignore proposals and proddings arising from the free nations of Asia. These nations have a right and a duty to intervene in order to represent both the peoples of Asia and the people of Korea proper, who today have only puppet voices speaking for them at Kaesong.

The free nations of Asia could not be charged with any other interest in the situation than an objective desire for peace and justice.

From what source shall this voice come and who has the power to raise it? There is ample precedent for a congress of Asian representatives. Twice before such assemblies met in Delhi, under India's sponsorship. The last time was during another great crisis in Asian affairs, when the Dutch were threatening the Indonesian Republic with destruction.

This is a moment of tremendous Nehru. At the same time it may be one of the occasions when the Third Camp peoples can exercise a determining power in international affairs.

Even the convening of a congress of representatives of Asian nations, with the announced intention of declaring its position on Korea would, by that very act, probably hasten the present ceasefire talks into more palpable developments.

Such a congress would enjoy enormous authority before world opinion. It could, if it wished, not only make heard the voice of Asia on the issue of truce, but also on the kind of Korea that shall emerge afterwards, for surely these nations must view with horror and apprehension the rebuilding of Korea in the image of its conquerors-a development which has already led to one war.

If Asia is to be relieved of permanent tension in Korea it must make its wishes knownand soon. The time is opportune. Tomorrow may be too late.

New York 11, N. Y.



IN SEARCH OF A FORMULA

No Ingenious Legal Gimmick Will Safeguard Democracy from the Witchhunt

By HAL DRAPER

We took up correspondent Cutler's first set of questions in detail, and now do the same with his accompanying letter; because they provide excellent take-off points for grappling with problems of civil liberties which today beset the mind of many a radical, liberal and socialist, not to speak of the man-in-the-street. I think his questions and tentative arguments-even where in our own opinion they are cloudy and confused, in fact for that very reason in many casesreflect very well the soul-searching on the issue which goes on in the thinking of numbers of anti-Stalinists.

That isn't said, of course, to spurn his thanks for our "courtesy" in so doing. It is to make clear that we consider this exchange of views of political importance for all socialists and all our readers.

And fundamental principles are involved. This could, of course, be an excuse for discussing Cutler's views (by which we merely mean the views he puts forward in his letter as a basis for argument) only from the viewpoint of their fundamental social and political meaning and consequences. We shall not do so, even if we risk following him into what some may consider "legalistic quibbling." We shall, however, be concerned with linking up the legal aspect of the question with its broader meaning.

So, at least to begin with, let us comment on his points • on the same ground on which they are posed. We do so all the more willingly since this is the ground to which so many retreat as they face the dilemma behind their thinking. The dilemma which they see, or think they see, is one between fighting Stalinism and fighting for democratic rights. Cutler is perfectly frank in recognizing the possibly deadly consequences of such a dichotomy. Like others, he wonders whether it is not perhaps possible to reconcile the two claims by working out some more or less ingenious JURI-DICAL FORMULA.

Now there is certainly nothing wrong with juridical formulas in general; we do not scorn them; and it would be breaking in an open door to argue that they are indeed necessary to solve many a specific problem which arises from the functioning of democracy in any society. In turn, it may be breaking in an open door on our part if we add that their utility is obviously limited. A social system which faces an inherent conflict between its own interests and the interests of democracy is not going to find a way through a new juridical formula, nor will anyone else do so for it.

Well now, which is the case here? We have elsewhere, and at length, explained why the problem is inherent and in the long run insoluble for capitalism. While that is true, it points to ad"hard" way out.

Simple Test

^{dE} Perhaps for no other reason, the desire to find the ingénious juridical formula is not dampened. The thinking behind the search is: Very well, I'm all for your "fundamental" solution, but isn't there something we can get behind right NOW which will permit us to support the blows which are being struck against the Stalinists by the government-while not impairing our defense of democratic rights generally?

Now we don't think such a formula will or can be found. I discussed Arthur Schlesinger's proposed formula from that point of view. Its impact on democratic rights is clear. Cutler puts up a few others for discussion purposes. They are not worked out, to be sure, merely suggestions.

Even if we said nothing about them, Cutler can test them for himself in one simple preliminary way. Try to work any one of them out so that if provides a guide, even juridically, for the regulation of democratic rights, so that e could support it if it were enforced thoroughly and systematically and in all of its direct implications!

er It is not enough to appease one's own conscience by mental reservations which are no part of the juridical formula, which cannot be written into it meaningfully, and which above all are merely pious and groundless hopes that the state will enforce the formula tendentiously so as to direct the edge only against the Stalinists and no one else. These are in effect proposals for a kind of "grandfather's clause," if I may make the analogy only with the fact that it is not even the formula itself which is expected to operate toward the desired end, but that rather it is the state's (beneficently) tendentious enforcement of it which is looked upon as the real solution.

But if the state is considered to be sufficiently beneficent to be trusted with this "double-edged sword," the problem would not have arisen in the first place and no desperate search for a formula would be necessary in the second place. That is even apart from the fact that such an approach abandons the field of democratic rights altogether in order to rely essentially on something else: trust in the government's democratic good will The fact that such good will does not exist in fact is only an added argument against it.

Such a formula which will reconcile the government's witchhunt against Stalinists with the demands of democratic rights will not be found. Cutler's suggestions illustrate that.

A SECOND ROUND ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND STALINISM

The following letter and the accompanying reply by Comrade Hal Draper are follow-ups on the exchange of views published in LABOR ACTION for July 30 under the heading "A Reader Asks Some Questions on Civil Liberties and Stalinism."—Ed.

To the Editor:

Many thanks for your courteous and detailed answer to our group's query. . . . But to the main points:

(1) You maintain that Barrett's unequivocal thesis is the advisability of suppressing totalitarian "opinion," whereas mine attempts to be concerned with "acts" but is actually no different from his. You are not accurate here. He draws a distinction which I agree with and which you ignored in your reply both to him and me. i. e., the difference between individual, private opinion and organized, persistent group or personal propaganda supporting totalitarian practices, especially directed against races and nationalities. A type of activity, in other words, which should be made just as illegal as our present law which prohibits advocating murder. Incidentally, as I re-read it. Barrett's thesis is not confined to propaganda but deals with acts as well. Your ignored distinction vitiates much of your argument against us.

(2) As to the problem of "legal proof": I remember once reading a reference to Lenin's note, advising some Soviet jurist that "a formula must be found" by means of which the Bolsheviks (with as much "moral certainty," as you call it, as we posses today in re the Stalinists) could prosecute the S. R.'s or the Mensheviks (I-don't recall which) for belonging to an organization that supported interventionists. Perhaps now too a "formula" has to be found. That is what I tried to suggest in my example of "obvious present intent," of "probable consequences," of a notorious character brandishing a gun and announcing his intention of killing someone sooner or later. I was not only employing a rough analogy between that character and the Stalinists' practices, past, present, and future but I was attempting to indicate

Let's take his first distinction: "the difference between individual, private opinion and organized, persistent group or personal propaganda supporting totalitarian practices, especially directed against races and nationalities."

Presumambly the idea is that the former should be immune from penalty whereas the latter may properly be suppressed.

To make the question as concrete as possible, let's skip the loose term "totalitarian practices" for the moment, and concentrate on racist practices-Jim Crow, for example (or anti-Semitism).

Let's make it still more concrete, since there is unfortunately no law today against all racist-discriminatory practices. We, however, have indeed advocated and do advocate that acts or practices of racial discrimination in the economic, social and political field be made a criminal offense. That means acts by landlords in refusing to rent to Negroes, by employers in refusing to hire Negroes, by enterprises (railroads, restaurants, etc.) which cater to the public in refusing to cater to Negroes on equal terms, and all such practices. Let's agree that these are to be considered in the criminal pale.

Hollow "Right"

But this would mean that a landlord, for example, is punishable not because he has Jim Crow opinions but because of Jim Crow discrimination in renting or dealing with tenants. It means a real-estate-association is liable not because it supports pro-Jim Crow laws in Washington but because it engages in illegalized Jim Crow practices. This is the only practicable democratic distinction.

Cutler's suggestion would add two twists: (1) legal suppression of organized persistent personal propaganda, and (2) legal suppression of organized persistent group propaganda.

Both of these, and each one by itself, makes a mockery and a farce of the right to "individual, private opinion" which he grants.

Yes, we mean also the right to hold detestable and socially and politically abhorrent opinions. We propose to take care of them in the same way as other social views which we consider dangerous and abhorrent, and that goes well beyond racist and Stalinist ones. We fight these in the struggle for the people's minds and allegiance. by every political means available, but not by state suppression: This could well stand further discussion, but we do not understand that Cutler is disputing this much.

What does the right to "individual, private opinion" amount to if it is not accompanied by freedom to advocate such opinion by "organized, persistent group or personal propaganda"?"

POLITICALLY speaking, nothing.

For freedom of opinion has political meaning-that is, it is relevant to the processes of democracy-only if it bears on the possibility which a minority enjoys of changing the decision of a majority by convincing it.

that perhaps legal proof can be redefined in terms of past criminalities, present indubitable connections, and highly probable, if not inevitable, consequences. A redefinition for public safety, designed to protect any democratic society against criminal totalitarians whose very liberty is utilized for destroying the liberty of all. That the danger is "clear," I am certain of; that it is "present," I am not so sure of. The State Department must have information about public safety and military danger beyond my knowing. I am in no position to advise them. What I know beyond a shadow of doubt is that the CP at best is unnecessary social waste. Even at its mere level of propaganda, we require constantly a huge public sanitation job to counteract lies and verbal filth which still ensnares the ignorant, confuses the half educated, and exhausts the militant sophisticated. On any account their very existence is a continuous "clear and present danger."

ABOR ACTION

I am fully aware of the "double-edged sword" you refer to, calling on the State for suppression, etc. That is really the "rub": will CP illegalization now mean a similar fate for democratic forces in the future? Perhaps your prophecy will be confirmed. What makes me slightly more sanguine than you are the following facts: the last war did not bring all those repressions we had anticipated; a capitalist nation like Switzerland illegalized all totalitarian groups and suffered no impairment of democratic processes; thousands of Americans during the last few years have read and heard cogent arguments for utilizing legal weapons in addition to other democratic methods in combatting racist and other hate propaganda; and millions of them have been informed by popular publications and radio that a distinction must be drawn between Stalinists, mere tools of foreign despotism, and native; progressive unionists and leftist parties.

I should state in closing that our group here are not agreed on this complex problem as ; et. . Thanks in advance for the rebuttal, and I do hope others will accept your invitation to "take the floor." Fred CUTLER

Washington, D. C.

Otherwise, what's the meaning of the so-magnanimous grant of right to an individual, private opinion? Even under totalitarianism, even under the Stalinism which so appals Cutler that he searches for a formula. the state cannot take away the right to private, individ-

ual opinion in Cutler's peculiar definition. Oh, yes, in Stalinland a man will be jugged even if he is heard to whisper an "abhorrent" opinion to a friend. Under Cutler's suggestion, he will be jugged only f he does so "persistently" or in "organized" fashion. Isn't it clear that there can be only one reason for drawing the distinction?-the fear that his communication of his opinion may influence others; in other words, the fear that that will happen which is the only thing that makes democratic rights meaningful in the first place!

The Stalinist extension of the formula has the merit of being in accord with its real meaning-and of being enforceable in practice without quibbling. That is indeed why the extension took place, since the Stalinist state started with Cutler's "looser" suggestion: not with its present practice.

"Freedom of opinion" without freedom to organize for the persistent advocacy of that opinion is as transparent a fake as any in the "popular democracies." In any case, it has nothing whatsoever to do with democracy.

Not Thought Out

The loose, wide-open thinking behind the search for the famous juridical formula is further pointed up by Cutler's next sentence: "A type of activity, in other words," he adds explanatorily, "which should be made just as illegal as our present law which prohibits advocating murder."

What on earth has this to do with the "distinction" which is supposed to save the argument from vitiation? Whatever law it is that prohibits advocating murder is equally directed against such an instigation to a crime by an individual or by a group, and equally against doing so in one particular instance or "persistently," and equally against doing so in "unorganized" fashion as in the fashion of Murder, Inc.!

Cutler insistently comes back to trying to equate advocacy of Stalinism with murder (that man brandishing the gun is back later on in this letter as in his first) and he even insists on getting it in under the head of a proposed distinction between individual rights and group rights! We fear that he has not thought out very carefully the connection between the various ideas that came" up in the search for his juridical formula.

In discussing group advocacy of Jim-Crowism above, we were assuming of course a group which really did merely "advocate" opinions. It may be argued that such a group could not or would not, in reality, be merely a propaganda group, but (like the Ku Klux Klan) would inevitably also go in for action. That is very likely, especially if mere propaganda is quite fruitless as it would (Continued on page 7)

Until the war Britain main-

in their welfare.

to English literature. They form, incidentally, a more

much rarer bird.

The first point I would like to make is that at the colleges colonials are treated exactly the same as anybody else by both staff and their fellows. I have never heard any substantiated report of discrimination from any student. In fect, many are very popular because they come from places help colonial students. The British like Trinidad and India, whose Council is doing what it can, but names strike a romantic chord in it cannot force recalcitrant land-

repeci!

good," though it is.

The struggle for democracy is a weapon. It is properly a weapon in the hands of the mass of people, and not of their exploiters, because the masses need democracy in order to achieve their interests and because the rule of exploiters and oppressors cannot live in a consistently democratic society.

It would be worse than unprincipled-it would be stupid-to hand this weapon over to the racists and totalitarians for their demagogic use. It is not the advocacy of or propaganda for Jim Crowism which makes the latter a danger: it is the social interests behind the practice of Jim-Crowism which are the enemy. If they are successfully fought, by methods including working-class solidarity as well as suppression of Jim Crow practices, laws against group advocacy of opinion are unnecessary; and if they are not successfully fought, such laws against freedom of opinion are merely double-edged swords which are wielded by our enemies.

It is possible to discuss actions against groups, or sections of the SRs and Mensheviks, who had not supported and were not in favor of supporting the invaders. But the others?

Colonial Students in Britain: A Problem for Labor

By DAVID ALEXANDER

tained a huge empire by force. Times have changed and she now attempts to influence her erstwhile colonies culturally and educationally, instead of militarily. It is for this reason that the British Council and Colonial Office is becoming more munificent to colonials and more interested

Today there are many students from these countries in British universities. There are, for instance, 3500 West Africans, about 2000 Indians, 120 Ceylonese, etc. They go to London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Manchester, Belfast, Bristol, Sheffield, St. Andrews, and other universities; their studies range from law to biochemistry, from architecture

noticeable group than such numbers would in the United States, because whereas here there are about 2.000,000 students in a population of 150,000,000, in Britain there are only 120,000 among 50,-000,000 people; the student is a

vouthful phantasmagoria associated with names like Captain Morgan and Hakluvt.

This state of affairs is not unfortunately extended outside the precincts of the colleges. Most of the colonial students are colored. Officially no discrimination exists: but it is very difficult for them to find comfortable lodgings at reasonable prices.

So also is it hard for them to abandon their initial shyness sufficiently to mix socially with the people around them. Many girls, particularly college girls, are frightened by ignorant parents into the belief of the undesirability of social intercourse with colonials, or any "foreigners." Even were this not so, the fact is that in English universities less than 10 per cent of the student body is female; the proportion of colored women to men is far less than even this percentage.

But unofficial discrimination does exist. I recently went with a Ceylonese friend of mine to look for a room in London. Wherever we went we were told, rather monotonously, either that the room had just been taken, or more honestly: "I am sorry we do not board colored people."

However, it would be wrong to say that no attempts were being made to remedy their housing problems. There are university 'lodging bureaus'' but these are insufficient and often unable to

also hampered by lack of funds. In 1950 Chelsea Polytechnic, part of the University of London, passed a resolution against advertising through its Welfare Committee any rooms where any stipulations about the racial or religious character of the occupants were made. Other colleges followed suit.

The problems of colonial students are further complicated by the activities of the Stalinists. As few landladies will lodge them, they are often aided to find rooms by the latter. Naturally, their supporters do this with the sole intention of influencing them politically. Most colonial students are contacted by them soon after arrival in England. Having had little reception before then, they readily listen to their overtures, and soon find themselves mixing in a Stalinist milieu. After a time their frequent use of Stalinist verbigerations betrays such an influence; a proportion actually join the party.

They arrive in the "mother country" in ignorance of the meaning and implications of imperialism, communism, etc.; they see a much higher standard of living than that to which they have been used, and ascribe the difference to imperialism. Apparently the Stalinists are the only ones who are fighting it in England. Many have not had any previous political education and do not see that all that is being done to them is that their anti-Britishimperialist energies are being diverted in the interests of Stalinist discovery that they have been used is often to make them dis- elements. illusioned and cynical about politics

Unfortunately there is in England today no sufficiently resourceful and socialist organization to espouse their cause out of honest notives. The only one with sufficient resources is the Labor Party. Only two years ago it was inveigled into appointing a Commonwealth Officer; he has the responsibility for every colonial person in England and Scotland; he shares a secretary, has half an office, and practically no money. The Labor Party is not interested in colonial affairs; despite his valiant singlehanded efforts, little has so far been done because of the general lethargy.

I went along to see the Commonwealth Officer about the problems of colonial students. He was in complete agreement with me on all points but said that neither the party executive nor the rank and file were concerned, conscious, or even interested. He himself had contacted local chapters of the party to set up local Commonwealth Committees specifically to deal with these questions; this policy had been attended by a limited amount of success, where it had been followed; but most local groups asserted that it was a national responsibility, and that they had neither the resources, nor the support to initiate such activities. The unfortunate factor was that membership in the Labor Party did not the minds of boys who recall the ladies to rent their property; it is imperialism. The effect of the impart to its followers immunity but not a Communist."

from prejudice against "alien

The Stalinists cater not only politically but socially as well; they deliberately send their girls out with many of these lonely people to buy their allegiance. Some of the students are very naive, and do not see that they are just being used. When, after a time, they discover that their feelings are being prostituted, they sometimes become disillusioned and bitter against all whites.

However, the problems of colonial peoples cannot be ignored unless they are to fall prey to the Stalinists. Thus it is only through the education to political consciousness that we can hope to emancipate the colonial peoples. Their anti-imperialist movements are, in the final analysis, the only weapons they have.

Nevertheless, we can gain a certain amount of encouragement from achievements of the awakening peoples of West Africa. Socialists watching the struggle felt a new surge of enthusiasm at the recent elections in the Gold Coast. Kwame N'Kruma, leader of the anti-imperialist Convention People's Party of the Gold Coast, gained 35 out of the 38 seats in the first free election, and was taken out of prison to be made prime minister.

He was first involved in the struggle as a student here and in England. I had the great pleasure of hearing him say at a public meeting of the West African Students Union, "I am a Marxist,

In Search of a Formula: None Will Safeguard Democracy

(Continued from page 6)

be in a rational society. There you have the basis on which such a REAL group would have to be fought by legal suppression-on the basis of its criminal acts, and

not on the basis of its "innocent" propaganda front! Otherwise, Cutler's "democratic" government would be announcing: We have just passed a law making discriminatory practices a criminal offense. But now that this law is passed, it is a criminal offense also to lobby for its

We are not in favor of this typically totalitarian practice-in the name of fighting "totalitarian practices." This is not just a matter of noble sentiment, even though genuinely democratic sentiments are truly involved. Nor is it only because democracy is a "moral

Wielded by Our Enemies

What we have said using the example of Jim Crow also, of course, applies to anti-Semitism or any other specific set of abhorrent opinions which may be behind the term "totalitarian practices"-and it also applies to Stalinism as a political movement.

We're afraid that our correspondent's reference to Lenin is as thoughtless as his reference to the laws on murder. There are many aspects of the Bolshevik regime we have discussed with regard to democracy, and there are many that deserve discussion, but this isn't one of

Lenin wanted to find a "formula" to "prosecute the SRs or the Mensheviks . . . for belonging to an organization that supported interventionists.'

One might think from the way in which he introduces the reference that "the interventionists" were perhaps merely people with objectionable opinions, no doubt advocating them in organized, persistent fashion. . . .

The people (including SRs and Mensheviks) and organizations that "supported interventionists" were giving military and political support to armed troops invading the country and organizing the armed overthrow of the government in the midst of civil war!

It is as absurd as discussing the "democratic rights" of Stalinists or anyone else who may become political or military agents of a Russian army invading the U.S .or who are foreign agents today in the literal sense.

How can Cutler and his friends write about this in the same paragraph with formulations like "obvious present intent" and "probable consequences"? There wasn't even a "clear and present danger": that stage is also passed upon when a political group is acting as the internal supporting movement for an interventionist army!

Democratic rights in the midst of a civil war is, at any rate, not the problem which would be useful to discuss in this context. The abandonment of democraticrights in the U.S. today cannot be covered with references to it.

With the same casualness-that is, without thinking the matter out-our correspondent also mentions that he is "attempting to indicate that perhaps legal proof can be redefined in terms of past criminalities, present indubitable connections, and highly probable, if not inevitable, consequences."

Now, this is really too lightminded. Of course, legal proof can be "redefined" in this way. In fact, it has been. N THE STALINIST STATES.

If we are given a reason for supporting such laws in the U.S. while condemning them behind the Iron Curtain, it would become worth while to discuss this modest suggestion further.

Slipping into the Rut

and whipping oneself up about the evil role of the CP is no substitute for thinking out the problems of democratic rights. But if one must get whipped up about the role of the CP, let it be on political grounds, as it should; as it is, I cannot easily imagine a more antidemocratic basis for objecting to the CP's existence than Cutler's argument that it leads to "unnecessary social waste.

From the point of view of a "public sanitation job," what political movement or movements spread the most lies and reactionary confusionism? Is it the CP? Glory be, they are not that strong. It is still the Dixiecrats and Republicans, the Jim-Crowers, the NAM and its ilk -and throw in the Fair Deal witchhunters for good measure.

No, we are not counterposing the fight against capitalist reaction at home to the fight against Stalinism, like the Stalinists themselves. We are pointing out that Cutler's argument from "unnecessary social waste" is filled to the brim with the methodology of totalitarianism. Everybody knows the overhead cost ("unnecessary social waste") of democracy. . . .

With the very best of intentions, such attempts to find the juridical formula to do two quite incompatible things cannot help but fall into the rut of the totalitarian approach. As we pointed out, that is how the Stalinist juridical formulas were worked out, empirically-even, to begin with, with "good" intentions-in the face of what was deemed "necessity." Their necessity came into being once they had turned away from Lenin's road and internationalist socialism and sought to ensure the regime's existence without it. Capitalism's necessity arises

from its social inability to counter Stalinism's appeal by any other means than police force.

It is a fine "lesser evil" that capitalism presents to Cutler: either WE break down democratic rights in the U. S. NOW, or you face the danger of the Stalinists going further and faster later . . . which do you choose?

But in the case of this lesser-evil choice, far more directly than the lesser evil in war, that doesn't tell the whole story. For firstly, every capitalist repudiation of its own vaunted democracy adds fuel to the Stalinist flames everywhere in the world; and secondly, in Cutler's words:

"That's the rub: will CP illegalization now mean a similar fate for democratic forces in the future? Perhaps your prophecy will be confirmed."

In the future? Hasn't Cutler paid any attention to what is happening to civil liberties for liberals as well as socialists, militant trade-unionists as well as government employees, etc.? The government's subversive list has not been directed only against Stalinists and nonexistent fascist groups. . . .

What future is Cutler waiting for, before coming to the conclusion that the government's legal weapons against the Stalinists are double-edged swords?

Optimism Is Not the Question

We are not prophesying that in any given number of years the government (perhaps another than this one) will arrest the leaders of the ADA, NAACP or trade unions under the Smith Act, or put them on an expanded subversive list. We are merely urging a fight against the road which leads in that direction, and against the prace tices which right now and today have already intimidated and terrorized large sections of the people into political quiescence.

In the face of this daily fact Cutler calls himself more "sanguine," for four reasons, just as if we were still living in 1945. Certainly, the last war did not bring the antick pated repressions, because the strongest force among the radical workers, the CP, was supporting the war and there was no anti-war force strong enough to give the governation ment what it calls "trouble." The fact must be a comfort. even though Cutler cannot think of what forces the governed ment might have itched to repress but refrained from, It did not even refrain from arresting the Minneapolis Trot skyist defendants in spite of the fact that they represented no considerable immediate danger of "revolution."...

The other three reasons for being sanguine we will leave to our readers' mercies.

In sum, while Cutler keeps referring to the need for formula to reconcile the witchhunt with democracy, it is evident to him that he has none such; and we think it should be clear that an undigested series of almost random analogies will hardly lead to good reasons for throwing up the socialist fight for democratic liberties. They can only serve to convince oneself emotively in a hazy whirl of ill-assorted rationalizations. For the latter purpose they will do as well as any we have seen.

There is no easy way out of the kind of fight that must be made, any more than there is some formula" which will provide an easy way out of the cold war. The socialists's fight is not an easy one and was never advertised as such. But it is a hundred times easier than knotw ting the noose for the hangman, sticking your neck in its and then objecting vociferously after he has tightened it fast.



A DERENTIAN AND A CONTRACT

Leaders Knife Unity

put it, "The CIO has utilized its its leaders in government offices and in certain government organ- ties and hence the government. izations. We persist in our desire organizations and we reject functional unity." This leader further described the ULPC as a "fake united front."

These statements, it should be noted, do not charge that the CIO taken some "unfair" advantage of the ULPC for jurisdictional purposes. It may seem that what is involved most immediately-is. some kind of jealousy by the AFL bureaucrats over government posts or influence acquired by CIO leaders. Stark mentions specifically that the AFL top hierarchy "is also rather irked at what it considers the prominent activity of CIO representatives in the Economic Cooperation Administration."

SQUABBLERS

From the information available. it is clear that the AFL leadership is motivated only by the narrowest considerations. What difference can it possibly make to the workers in either AFL or CIO whether the bureaucrats from the one or other organization hold down the most influential government posts?

A squabble over such matters portant gains by placing some of tion.

advanatge in recent months be- under the over-all control of the cause of our cooperation to businessmen and capitalist polistrengthen itself in various ways ticians who run the two big par- be held in San Francisco starting

The AFL Executive Council for real organic unity of the two voted eleven to two for the proposal to break up the ULPC. The two against were Daniel J. Tracy of the Electrical Workers, and George M. Harrison of the Railroad Clerks. Voting for were Meany, Tobin, Green, Woll, Winhas benefited in organizational or ter, Harry C. Bates, Birthright, jurisdictional struggles at the ex- Doherty, Petrillo, McFétridge, pense of the AFL, or that it has and . David Dubinsky (of the Ladies Garment Workers Union).

> The action of the AFL Executive Council is quite typical of the "thinking" of this "neck which just grew and haired over." They showed once more that they are incapable, except under the extreme and direct pressure of political and economic events, of acting in the broad interests of the working people as a whole.

LIBERAL PARTY HURT

Among them, perhaps only David Dubinsky is worth special mention. Dubinsky is the real leader of the Liberal Party in New York. The greatest single organizational weakness of this party has been its inability to unite the whole labor movement in New York behind it. By voting with the rest of the AFL bureaucrats on this question, but not only aided in knifing labor unity as a whole, but at the same time stabbed his own political organization in the back. The only emphasizes once more the chance of getting real CIO support futility of the whole idea that the for the Liberal Party has certainly labor movement can achieve im- been greatly set back by this ac-

The AFL council's action is in the form of a recommendation to the AFL's national convention to September 17. With the top leadership overwhelmingly in favor of breaking up the ULPC, there is little likelihood that the officials who represent the AFL unions at this convention will overturn the decision. Yet such has been the strength of the unitedaction sentiment throughout the ranks and the leadership of the labor movement, that it is quite possible that a strong sentiment of dissatisfaction if not open revolt will make itself felt at the convention.

It is of the utmost importance that this feeling be expressed as strongly as possible. Central Labor Councils and even local unions could shower the convention with resolutions opposing this action. A strong expression of such sentiment would go a far way to expressing the solidarity of the ranks of the labor movement, and of their desire to continue and expand the areas of joint action, even if it fails to reverse the reactionary decision of the top AFL bureaucracy.

And It Will

The CIO-PAC has endorsed a labor party.

It was the CIO-PAC of Ontario, Canada, and it endorsed the Commonwealth Cooperative Federation (CCF), the Canadian sister of the British Labor Party.

We're working so that it can happen here.

S-x Shall Not Rear Its Etc.

On May 7 the Ceylon Daily News published a letter about the Stalinist attitude to love:

"Love has passed through three historical stages. In feudalism, the relation between the sexes is the master-slave relation, with the woman always listening to the man and sticking to him like a piece of property. In capitalist love, affection is bought and sold. The woman sells her beauty, youth and flesh for luxury and comfort offered by the man. Finalcomes the new Democratic ly, Love. Man and woman have no mercenary relations, and therefore the highest form of love is reached. . . . This love is sombre, intellectual and definitely revolutionary. . . . Under the trees on moonlit nights, small groups of schoolmates argue serious problems. You will never see a boy and a girl pair off to look at the moon or whisper to each other in typical bourgeois manner. If enemy agents try to engage us in amatory affairs, they are quickly rebuffed. . . . When we look up at the sky, we can only think how happy the moon must be to shine on Stalin. . . ."

You're Invited

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

Bans Police Union

(Continued from page 1)

icy ... you actually are no ties Union, which has filed a able influence. Unless Mon- any idea of what views he different than any other anti- brief as "friend of the aghan's bosses, who run the holds on any social issues. union employer who says: court," urging that the right political machines, back But it is quite clear that the 'Unions are fine, but not in my industry.""

state that the reaction of the cops to Monaghan's order range "from amazement to bitterness." According to the TWU, no withdrawals of ap- struggle may well turn out plications for membership to be even more important have been received since the union-busting order went out, and numerous new applications have come in. Un- tion of the Democratic maion officials refer to Mon- chine in New York, is backaghan as "Quill's secret weapon.'

Turn to Court

"line organization" which has traditionally lobbied for policemen's benefits, but it is a well known fact that this outfit has always been under the thumb of the high brass in the department.

The TWU is going ahead full blast with its union drive. Policemen's working conditions and pay are notoriously poor and, perhaps even more important to many men on the force, without union protection they have been and continue to be subject to linary action by the higherups.

As we go to press, the

In this it is being supported It is not guaranteed, but it side of it he may come down. in the interests of public pol- by the American Civil Liber- will certainly have consider- simply because no one has to organize should not be denied to municipal employees for labor leaders to try to date has a golden opportu-The papers in the city any more than to any other convince their followers to nity to accumulate a vast poworkers.

Where's Halley?

The political aspect of this than the strictly trade-union question. Mayor Impellitteri, who represents a strong secing Monaghan to the hilt. The Republican candidate for president of the City Council has also issued a The only "labor" opposi- statement backing Montion to the TWU's drive aghan, and it is hardly to be comes from the Patrolmen's expected that the Demo-Benevolent Association. the cratic candidate will take a different stand.

> That leaves the Liberal Party as the only other maior contender for the office. To date, neither the party nor its candidate, Rudolph Halley, has taken a stand on the issue. Yet the outcome of the campaign may very well be vitally affected by this issue.

In the past the New York City labor movement has support of different parties fire killed two children a year ago. and factions in city politics. completely arbitrary discip- And even though organized TWU has asked the courts leaders will permit this quesagainst Monaghan's action. in the election. general dirt. President Thayer cess in Bridgehampton.

an open anti-union stand.

There is no telling on which way they see fit.

down, it will be very difficult Liberal Party and its candivote for men who have taken litical capital with the workers of the city if they take a The Liberal Party's candi- forthright and unambiguous date has not as yet commit- stand for the rights of the ted himself on this issue. policemen to organize in any



The State Department last year made one of those 15-minute documentaries on the little village of Bridgehamton, L. I., purporting to show democracy in action in a 'typical American village," for foreign consumption.

It showed the people fund-raising for a new flagpole, arranging to maintain a lifeguard at the beach, and similar very democratic activities.

film was shown at the Bridgehamton town meeting.

At the same meeting, a special committee of the village council made a report. It had been appointed to investigate the housing conditions of the migratory farm been notoriously split in its workers in the area, after a shack

The committee, headed by the Presbyterian minister, found that the several hundred farm worklabor is unitedly against ers who come in annually to pick Monaghan's action, it is not the potato crop were forced to guaranteed that the union live in sub-standard accommodations, characterized by lack of sanitary facilities, ramshackle migrants among others." for a restraining order tion to determine their stand construction, fire hazards and The film was not a howling suc-

read it and it was filed.

Nothing is going to be done about it by either state or county. But the State Department's

film about democracy in action in the typical American village didn't have any room for the migratory workers and their problems, since first things (lifeguards, flagpoles) must come first.

Council President Thayer, like Last Friday, August 10, the a good American, opined that maybe the government knew best what it was doing: "The picture left out many things of importance but I don't feel qualified to pass judgment. The film was made to be shown abroad and there may be propaganda aspects I don't understand."

Obviously not. "Others," adds the N. Y. Times, "reluctant to be quoted by name in this village of 1500 persons," [democracy in action] "asserted flatly that the film failed to give a true picture but glossed over the main problems-that of the