

Government Heads Stall on Florida Anti-Negro Terror By MEL HACKER

Corruption in Government

And the 'Rich Man's Welfare State'

Ukrainians and the Third Camp

The Pessimism of Prof. Toynbee

HUNGARY AND FLORIDA

The country has just been swept by a "wave of indignation." Every American feels "humiliated," the press informs us. The situation is disgraceful. Something should be done about it. Why doesn't Truman act? This can't go on very much longer . . . etc.,

The above indignation does NOT refer to the cold-blooded assassination of a Negro leader who died because he dared to defend his people's right to live like human beings even in the state of Florida. Harry T. Moore was killed by a dynamite explosion, as the climax to a series of terrorist blasts against Negroes, Jews and Catholics in the Miami area, because he was a champion in the fight against Jim Crow.

But the "wave of indignation" was not for him. We should have been humiliated last week, we were told instead, because Hungary had fined four U. S. flyers. [For comment on the Hungarian affair, see World Politics column, page 4-Ed.]

Highly indignant and deeply humiliated senators have called on the White House to break off diplomatic relations with Hungary, because that barbarous country dared to exact a \$120,000 "ransom." But the Department of Justice-whose bailiwick covers civilized Florida, if not Hungary-is still officially wondering whether there is any reason for it to step into the Moore inves-

President Truman-whose capacity for uncontrolled indignation is well known since his impetuous telegram to a Sioux City address in the case of Sergeant Rice, the Indian veteran whose color clashed with the decor of a "white" cemetery-has not yet made public any telegrams on the matter.

Wishing to believe the best of people, even in the face of difficulties, we have no doubt he is privately indignant to a suitable extent. But in his hands lies the power to see that punishment is brought to the race-hating assassins who are guilty of a crime greater than Hungary's \$120,000 slap at the U.S. But he does not move-because unity with the Dixiecrats is more important. Meanwhile the hue and cry over the \$120,000 "insult" is whipped up to

Americans have grimly laughed at the (by now) old joke about the Russian who parries references to Stalin's slave-labor camps with "What about lynchings in the South?" They see the pointwhen its edge is turned against the other fellow. While Harry T. Moore's body lies unavenged in Florida, in spirit beside the body of Samuel Shepherd, the American press has been yelling abroad: "What about your \$120,000 ransom?"

Terror is at work in Florida. Negro and Jewish communities have been terrorized by a series of dynamite blasts aimed at Negro homes and Jewish synagogues in central Florida. These are the probing fingers of a rotting Southern reaction. It is trying to maintain the state of peonage and the exploitation of the Negro-the patterns of segregation in housing, education, employment -if not by legalisms and traditional pressures, then by terrorism. Anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic feelings have also arisen from the crusade to preserve pure lilywhite Protestantism from the encroachments of aggressive civil rights groups.

. . . page 2

... page 6

... page 7

The most recent bombing claimed the life of Harry T. Moore, Negro educator and co-ordinator of NAACP affairs in Florida. Moore had been touring the state speaking at meetings, militantly attacking Florida terror against Negroes, raising defense funds for the surviving two of four Negroes accused of raping a white woman at Groveland, Florida, in

Two of the Negroes died violently. Ernest Thomas was shot to death by a posse near Greenville. Samuel Shepherd was shot to death by Lake County Sheriff Willis V. McCall while the sheriff was

Anti-War Left Wing Wins in YPSL

NEW YORK, Dec. 31-At its 1951 convention, which took place here on December 28-30, the Young People's Socialist League, youth group of the Socialist Party, broke sharply with its recent tradition and reoriented itself in the direction of an anti-war, revolutionary socialist policy. The dimension of this change is perhaps indicated by the fact that they felt so uncomfortable

with their old traditional Both as a cause and an effect name that they decided to of this decline, it occupied a trade it in for a bright and

pression and expulsion of its war. "Libertarian" left wing (many of whose members have since joined the Social- left wing, centering around ist Youth League) the YPSL its two relatively active sechad declined precipitately.

position on the extreme right shiny new name, "Young wing of the socialist move-. ment, echoing the SP in its For the past three years, support of American impesince the bureaucratic sup- rialism and of the Korean

> As the YPSL began to return to political life, a new tions, Los Angeles and New

York, gradually coalesced. At the convention just concluded, this left wing, for the first time, gained a majority.

The basic issue confronting all political tendencies today is the world power struggle between the U.S. and Stalinist Russia, the threatened third world war and its overture, the Korean bloodbath. It is especially the attitude toward this struggle that determines the character of a socialist organization; it can either capitulate to one or the other imperialist camp, or it can oppose both. On this decisive question the YS has chosen the

(Continued on page 5) (Youth & Student Corner) |

Page Two



RED HERRING

Anti-Negro and anti-Jewish violence have long occurred in Florida. The local "Klaverns" have used terror to keep Negroes inside the ghettos assigned to them. At a "klavalcade" at Live Oak, Florida, the Miami Klan distributed anti-Semitic leaflets printed by Gerald L. K. Smith, and kept shouting, "You folks are lucky; we're from Miami where we have both niggers Mand kikes to contend with." Leading up to the Moore killing

these events:

Other blasts followed with anon-



burning down Negro homes. .

plosion linked to Reds.'"

law fails, you call on us."

whites

staking him, manacled to another

a good approximation of the present role of government. **Bolles** writes:

BIRTHDAY PARTY." (Our emphasis.)

What we are witnessing is the increasing and perma-

But if the federal government more and more has the

If the government more and more assumes the power of economic life and death over business, and dispenses PUBLIC funds for that purpose and, moreover, assumes this role in the name of the public, what can prevent the public-at least that segement of it which depends for its living not on its ownership of business or its nearness to the government trough-from assuming a similar control of government and genuinely planning the economy, genuinely regulating industry in the public welfare? That would be conscious mastery of government and industry, conscious planning for the good of all, not an abortive, misnamed "military socialism," but genuine democratic, popular socialism.

This remains the only alternative to the planned anarchy of capitalism or the anarchic planning of Stalinism.

LINKS BETWEEN CAPITALISM, NEW-DEALISM AND THE PROBLEM OF CORRUPTION-**Corruption in the 'Rich Man's Welfare State'**

inescapable:

"change" it really was, and how much it merely reflected

the changing nature of the economy-the fact that the

New Deal flowered in a period of national poverty, the

Fair Deal in war-borne prosperity-are mentioned but not

emphasized in Bolles' appraisal. But his conclusion is

apparatus simplifies the task of the modern seekers of

privilege. Instead of having to milk the nation, they have

only to milk the nation's government. The billions gath-

ered in taxes and borrowings make Washington a magnet'

for favor-seekers. The New Deal apparatus provides the

"The centralization of national power in this federal

By MARY BELL

As the evidence of corruption, favoritism and scandals in government continue to pile up, the counter-plea for a return to ethics and morality is frequently heard from both pulpits and politicians. With the refusal of Judge Thomas F. Murphy to head a government cleanup committee, the clamor is still heard for an investigatory body of "men of decency and character" to get rid of the "doing-what-comes-naturally boys." It is suggested that someone of the stature of Senator Kefauver, of the late hearings, is a proper person to introduce a shot of morality into government dealings with business.

If the Puritan strain is still a part of our national heritage and accounts for some of the dismay and calls for reform with which the revelations of fraud have been received, it is assuredly a minor one in consideration of the economic and political facts of life which have produced the present situation in government and business.

In an article entitled "Corruption in Washington" in the current HARPER's magazine, which summarizes a forthcoming book, Blair Bolles, Washington political reporter and former director of the Foreign Policy Association's Washington bureau, refers to the present character of the American government as the "rich man's welfare state." He assembles a few interesting ideas and facts to justify the conclusion that the problem of corruption is fudamentally a political, not a moral, one.

While the present period does not have a thief of the first rank such as characterized Grant's or Harding's administration, it is characterized by what Bolles calls a "democratization of corruption."

"The political problem of the federal government," he says, "lies in the fact that it has taken over the role of J. P. Morgan & Co. and does not yet know how to play it." The theory that the U.S. government has taken over

the role formerly occupied by the big bankers is well established. Bolles produces some key figures to show the shift of money from private channels to the government. He cites 1944 as the decisive date when the new tax law channeled money which formerly was used for private investment into the federal treasury. In 1922, 2.8 per cent of the value of all goods produced in the country was collected by the Internal Revenue Bureau; in 1949, the percentage was 15.6 per cent. In the field of loans, the value in 1929 of federal securities outstanding was one-fifth of the total gross national product; in 1949, the value was equal to the gross national product.

New Deal's "Monument to Privilege"

The clumsy handling by government of its J. P. Morgan role is attributed by Bolles to the confusion of the financial banking values of the latter and the New Deal role of the administration, operating in theory at least as the Fair Deal, in the Truman administration. He believes that the "sense of social values" of the New Dealers under Roosevelt gave them a goal whereas under Truman "the collision between the government as dispense of capital (Morgan) and as social and economic equalizer (New Deal) creates the opportunity to get rich corruptly in Washington." This chance has been epitomized, he believes, in the change of the welfare state into a "rich man's welfare state, a monument to privilege instead of to equality." The reasons underlying this change, how much of a

The article outlines how the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Power Commission, the Maritime Commission and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, originally created under Roosevelt to regulate commercial interests n behalf of the public welfare, have degenerated into dispensers of privilege for private interests. The soaring of taxes have also added to the financial powers of the government. Bolles cites figures for three years to show their rapid growth and volume:

means for satisfying them."

1941		\$6,700,000,000
1943	*	21,040,000,000
1944		40,425,000,000

Morganatic Morals in Government

The manner in which the government has used its powers swelled by the taxpayers' money is sketched in lightly: the overpayments of military officers to private industrialists in settling World War II contracts; the bargain prices for government sale of surplus property; the RFC advances to borrowers who immediately went bankrupt,

Bolles fails to indict the principles and practices of . P. Morgan & Co. even if he considers their transference to government bad. This kind of approach has supplied the paradox in the recent hearings of some of the high government officials accused of corrupt practices: what is moral" for the private citizen as businessman is not "moral" for the public official. Bolles writes, "If a great banker favored his friends, as Morgan the Elder certainly did, this might occasion criticism but involved no taint of corruption; for the funds which he dispensed were private, not public."

The central error is here. The profits privately owned and controlled by big business are made at the expense of the public, in the first instance the working class. And it is the monopolies and giants of modern business and industry which have foisted their morality not only on government but on an entire society. And with the coming of big government to regulate and control big businessin its own interests, of course-the principles and practices of business become those of government.

Government, too, with its heavy role in the ecoonmy, shares in the exploitation of the working class, directly and indirectly. It fosters the growth of monopoly, and assists in the inevitable squeezing out of small business.

Bolles labels "military socialism" the practice of government in paying big business through subsidies and tax forgiveness to produce goods which have ostensible military value. This is a misleading and inept misnomer for what is nothing more or less than state-subsidized or state-

financed capitalism, part of a fairly widespread tendency to label any kind of government intervention in the economy as "socialism." Bolles' article itself emphasizes again and again that the government, presumably the servant of the public welfare, acts on behalf of the influential, the rich and the powerful. His epithet "rich man's welfare state" is a happier one and much more representative of the facts.

The Old Donkey Game

An excerpt from the final paragraph in the article gives

"The federal government has an enormous power in its authority to lend or not to lend money, to grant or to withhold tax favors, and to determine whose business it will finance in the name of military socialism. This is the power of economic life and death. It can choose the companies that are to survive. Those which cannot obtain private financing and need its help and to which it lends money or pays subsidies or whose taxes it reduces are the companies that will live on. Those whose requests it turns down limp along weakly or fade away. THE DESIGNA-TION OF THESE 'CHOSEN INSTRUMENTS' OFTEN TAKES PLACE AS HAPHAZARDLY AS BLINDFOLDED CHILDREN PIN THE TAIL ON THE DONKEY AT A

nent government intervention in the economy as part of the permanent war economy. But that economy still remains a private-enterprise economy, dedicated to private profits. And its government, the "rich man's welfare state" is a government dedicated to the welfare of private enterprise, under a system of monopoly capitalism. As such, it cannot but be subject to the "discrimination" which Bolles complains of as being the major fault in this scheme of things. The government representatives, elected by the parties of big business. Democratic and Republican, reward their friends.

"power of economic life and death" over private enterprise and if this power is exercised in the manner of pin-thetail-on-the-donkey, what becomes of the arguments used to justify free enterprise, individual initiative, free competition, and all the rest? Is this economic and political blind man's bluff the necessary "lesser evil" we must choose? And are not these the realities of American life rather than catchwords about "democracy" and "freedom"?

CIO Leader's Switch Illustrates Decline of Free Collective Bargaining-Murray's Backdown on Strike: Labor Statesmanship?

By BEN HALL

"There is no free collective bargaining in America today." Phil Murray declared at the CIO convention last November: and he warned the delegates that the government was "holding a bludgeon over the heads of labor."

Soon the Steel Workers' Union entered negotiations for a new contract. Its statisticians and economists prepared the facts and figures, charts and diagrams to prove that the workers deserved improved wages and working conditions, that the steel companies could easily dip into their profit bags and grant these modest increases without raising prices. Its

Marxism in the United States By LEON TROTSKY 35 Cents Order from Independent Socialist Press 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

representatives argued persuasively that all justice, morality, and ward the sessions of the Wage Stathe American Way of Life proved the validity of their claims.

Attorneys for the steel monopolies listened politely and said "No," a reply they had prepared long before hearing the long list of imressive arguments

ONE PHONE CALL

The union could get nowhere by mere discussion; it prepared to act. A strike was set to begin on January 1; a special convention was called for January 3; and the top officialdom was instructed by the 170-man wage-policy committee to refer all proposals for a "truce" to this convention which would assemble only after the strikers were already on the picket lines. This, it would appear, was "free collective bargaining." Having exhausted all possibilities in negotiations, the steel workers were ready to exercise their rights as free citizens of a democratic country and stop work.

But one simple phone call from Truman to Murray was enough to stall all these preparations and shelve all these plans for action. It was a living example of what Murray had decried at the CIO sessions six weeks earlier. The convention of the Steel Workers' Union meets on schedule but it is difficult to see what the delegates can decide new that the course of the negotiations has been taken

bilization Board.

Naturally, it is permissible and even necessary for labor leaders to stand ready to maneuver, to utilize every possible tactical device to win the demands of their union. It would be a very ineffectual and simpleminded union strategist whose only answer to all problems at all times was an immediate strike declaration. Strikes are the heavy artillery in labor's struggles; sometimes small-arms fire is sufficient. Workers never strike for the sheer joy of the experience; stoppages cause hardship and sacrifice of men whose only income is from their wages; they are the last resort when justice can be won by no other means.

BEGIN TO STAMMER

In deciding how, where and when to strike, union officials, especially one so highly placed as Phil Murray, should be able to explain one simple fact to their members: "Who is our friend? Who is our enemy? Whom are we fighting against and who is fighting against us?" That would seem to be most elementary. But the reason why we cannot get a straightforward reply from our labor leaders today is that it raises the question of government intervention into labor-employer disputes. We are face to face with what Murray calls the end of free collective bargaining.

out of their hands and directed to- Anyone can understand that the union must fight the employers to labor" and that's why he spoke so win higher living standards.

> But what happens when the government begins to dictate or try to dictate the course of negotiations? It is at this point that the ways directed against some anonyleaders of our labor movement be- mous, abstract government-in-thegin to stammer

Labor faces the government, not only the employer, every time it sets out to win an important demand. The government already reaches out to control wages and prices. And above all, it holds the club of police-state measures against the unions. In the last five years every significant political tendency in the two ruling parties -from old-line Republican to Dixiecrat to so-called Fair Deal Democrat-has expressed itself for the right of the government to outlaw strikes by injunction. And the Truman administration has been lavish in its use of these newly discovered powers. Phil Murray

this "bludgeon over the heads of vigorously at the CIO convention. "STATESMANSHIP"?

But his warnings are almost alclouds. He seldom names names he never points the finger at living men and real wielders of power, at least not at those responsible.

It is Truman, an actual president, who holds the club. He threatens to use it against the steel workers. He is responsible for the abuse of power against the interests of the unions. And when, in the service of the destruction of free collective bargaining, this man demands the revocation of the steel strike-call, Phil Murray nods in obedience as though it were the most natural thing in the world.

That is not shrewd "labor statesmanship" and clever union tactics. It reflects the basic disorientation

Friday at 8:30 p.m., January 11 The Drives Behind Stalinist Imperialism Speaker: HAL DRAPER Friday at 8:30 p.m., January 18 The Negro in American Literature At Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

New York SYL Friday Forum

has seen the administration waving of the labor movement.

Anti-Negro Terror in Florida —---

(Continued from page 1)

defendant, to Tavares where motions were to be made in a new trial ordered by the Supreme Court, Justice Robert Jackson had

pointed out that with the prejudice in the area heightened to a violent pitch by an inflammatory local press, a just and impartial trial was impossible. This case, which Moore was protesting, was used as the pretext for the Groveland riot of 1949 when bands of white hoodlums terrorized the Negro community, killing at least one Negro and

has been a succession of bomb blasts in Miami. Stetson Kennedy, in the Nation magazine, describes

"The campaign began on September 22 when two bundles of dynamite, weighing 100 pounds each. made a total loss of an unoccupied sixteen-unit building at the Carver Village housing project for Negroes. Walls were cracked and windows shattered for fifty blocks around. Instead of questioning Klansmen, Police Chief Walter Headley released a statement charging that investigation of the bombing 'pointed strongly to the conclusion that it was part of a Communist plot to incite racial hatred.' Pressed for further facts, Chief Headley explained, 'We cannot go further into details at this time.' The local press ran scare headlines, 'New Carver Village ex-

CARVER VILLAGE TERROR

Although Carver Village fronts on a Negro neighborhood it is part of the extensive Knight Manor project, previously occupied by whites only. Violent "white" opposition to the situation mounted. In a similar case years before, the Klan burned several dwellings, touched off fiery crosses on the project boundaries and proclaimed rough loudspeakers, "When the

In the case of Carver Village, the city commission voted four to one to "condemn the property for municipal use other than public housing." Not content with these slowworking legalisms, the Dade County Property Owners Association, chartered as a" benevolent, nonprofit organization," demanded that the city invoke "emergency police powers" to immediately evict all Negroese from Carver Village. After the first blast struck ct, the group renewed its demand that the Negroes be evicted, "for their protection, and ours too." Hardware stores in the vicinity were doing a rush business selling arms and ammunition to

ymous phone calls to the mayor, "Get the niggers out of Carver

Village or we'll blast them out." The Negroes armed; police disarmed two Negroes who protested that they were trying to protect their wives and children. Both men were taken into custody and placed in the back of a squad car, but about five hundred Negroes surrounded the car and released the prisoners while the police radioed frantically for assistance. Virtually every squad car in Greater Miami and Dade County responded with sirens screaming but there were no further attempts to arrest Negroes that night.

Two days later at four in the morning, another blast rocked Carver Village, followed at half hour intervals by blasts at the Hebrew School and Congregation and in a Jewish residential area. Jewish leaders demanded protection for their centers. Parents were afraid to send their children to school. In response Negro suspects were grilled and prowl cars were assigned to patrol these centers. Sheriff Henderson offered to deputize "anyone who wished to volunteer." Needless to say, no Negro deputies were sworn in, but the Jewish War Veterans installed floodlights and arranged for roundthe-clock sentries. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith set up a Coordinating Committee Against Bombing, inviting other religious groups to protest with it

"ANTEROOM TO HEAVEN"

Aiding the terrorism is the easy accessibility of dynamite -- "as readily obtainable in Miami as drinking water"-and the police alliance with the Klap. Police Chief Headley argues the Klan is "an American law-abiding organization chartered by the state of Florida," offers motor-cycle escorts for its parades, doesn't interfere with its fiery crosses although they are prohibited by law. In a bombing wave in Miami last spring, of five white youths who confessed all but one were released; that one was placed on probation. Meanwhile the city's claim to being the "anteroom to heaven" gains in ominous portent.

Meanwhile protests from the NAACP, the ACLU, Jewish and other organizations have been pouring into Florida. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, has requested Attorney General McGrath to receive "at the earliest possible date, a representative delegation of national and Florida civic, racial, labor, religious and other organizations to discuss steps which must be taken to end these outrages.'

The ACLU protests, "Coming in the wake of the bombings of synagogues, such violence [the Moore killing] can only be the result of individuals and groups seeking to terrorize minorities." These groups have demanded that Governor Warren of Florida, the FBI and the attorney general investigate the bombings.

PEONAGE

These protesting liberals have consistently ignored the fact that this violence does not come merely from some sick, hate-filled individuals but from the corruption of Southern capitalism itself, built on the poverty, ignorance and exploitation of both Negroes and

whites. In particular, the economy of central Florida is based upon the peonage of Negro and imported migrant labor. The chief industries are citrus-growing, packing and turpentine gathering. A cheap labor supply is maintained for the companies by local law-enforcement agencies. Negroes are pressed into service by arbitrary arrests and fines for vagrancy. They are compelled to work for wages often as low as \$1.20 a day.

Testifies one Negro himself beaten by the same Sheriff McCall who assaulted Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin:

"This High Sheriff McCall had made him a law and said it was put out by Uncle Sam in Washington. McCall said every Negro had to work every day or have a paper from his white boss telling why. They either locked you up or beat you up or both, and it cost you \$25 each time."

McCall's law applied to all Negroes from the lowliest migrant to relatively well-off Negro farm owners. The town in which Moore was killed is in the heart of the citrus industry: most of the population works in the groves throughout the year.

APATHY ON TOP

Businessmen in the South have perenially encouraged prejudice; hey have played the poor Negro against the poor white to depress the wages of both. The poor white is left to take what solace he can by telling himself that he is of a "superior race" and is privileged to go to (poor) white schools, to walk on the "white side of the street," travel in the front of buses and trains.

Terror has fed upon the sickness of a social system that glorifies the exploitation of workers for a profit. As long as segregated housing, working conditions, and living appear profitable, wealthy and powerful members of the Southern community will fight for white Protestant supremacy. They will oppose or quiet down all investigations of terror in the South, if left to their own devices.

Amidst all the demands for investigation of Florida terror, Attorney General McGrath and FBI Chief Hoover have shown marked apathy. They apparently are much more at home in the tightening of thought-control, a more "patriotic" and sophisticated terror of their own. They and Governor Warren of Florida are certainly averse to challenging the power of Southern discrimination. Walter White, of the NAACP, has charged that Governor Warren has consistently refused to uphold law and order in Florida for the protection of minority rights. Governor Warren has replied by calling White a "hired, Harlem hatemonger": "Walter White, a bigoted meddler for hire, has come to Florida to stir up strife.

TO "STIR UP TROUBLE"

Governor Warren still dreams of a South where he can handle Negroes in his own way, where the suppressed Negro "knows his place," is deferential and won't challenge discrimination patterns. Governor Warren and his ilk are bewildered and annoyed by the demands and actions of the NAACP and other groups in challenging housing and educational segregation.

Judge Futch of the Lake County Circuit Court has barred Thurgood Marshall from taking part in the Groveland case because he claims that the NAACP has stirred up "trouble" in the community. It is undoubtedly true that when people are kept poor and primitive, ignorant and illiterate, when they know only oppression and have no hopes to feed on, then they may be relatively "content" in a grim sense

In the face of this terror and the inactivity of public officials. what can militant groups do?

(1) They can demand an imme diate investigation by Atorney General McGrath and the FBI into the violent attacks upon civil liberties in Florida. Federal intervention must protect the lives and property of Negroes, Jews and Catholics in Florida: Florida authorities seem reluctant to do so.

(2) But this is not enough. For these groups can publicize their case to the nation to remove the very bases of this terrorism-exploitation and discrimination in the South.

TO REVEAL THE BASIS

For the social system in the South strangles not only the Negro but corrupts all groups. "Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness and integrity of our society," notes the Southern Regional Council. The South remains our most poverty-stricken area, where both Negroes and whites are denied adequate educational facilities, where the labor movement is still relatively weak. Morally too, whatever advantages some whites have in posing as the "superior race" in the South, they expend many times over in fear and hatred of the Negro, in devoting themselves to the suppression of minority rights.

(3) A Coordinating Committee Against Bombing has been organized in Miami. Local labor, religous and civil rights groups and individuals could develop this group into one fighting for minority rights in Florida. Housing segregation, discrimination in the hiring halls, and school segregation could be centers of their activity. Joint Negro-white picket lines in Birmingham and other Southern cities attest to the values of labor solidarity in the South.

Resistance to these efforts will reveal the real underlying bases and supporters of terrorism in Florida and the South.

LONDON LETTER British Living Standards, 1951

BV DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Dec. 24-The end of the year may be as good a time as any to summarize for American readers a few facts about life in Britain today, especially as the average person is affected.

Especially in contrast with the groaning-board tradition of Christmas, life in England would still appear to be very austere, viewed from the United States.

The national deficit in trade this year was running at the rate of about \$3,400 million. This is almost exactly equal to the total gold and dollar reserves of the country, and about \$350 million less than the rearmament schedule for the year. On the other side of the balance sheet we see that "invisible imports" and foreign investments reduce the total deficit to about \$1,200 million.

But the United Kingdom owes the European Payments Union \$550 million, against which it hopes for about \$900 to \$1200 million in aid. If, as a result of vigorous measures which have been taken to cut down imports from all countries and increase exports, the United Kingdom manages to break even, everyone will be very satisfied.

THE FOOD PICTURE

It must not be forgotten that for the last 20 years Britain has been insolvent one way or the other. The recent loss of Iranian oil and other considerable investments has seriously affected the position. Even under a Labor government, the comparatively high standard of living in England (as compared with other European countries) was to some extent de- a population of 50 million, 22,846,-

from colonies and other countries.

This is part of the background in the national economy for the facts about rationed foods and their quantities. I would like to list these, since I found on a recent visit to the U.S. there was some unclarity about the state of affairs in this regard:

Bacon: 3 oz. per week; meat (according to quality) 8-12 oz.; tea 2 oz.; margarine 4 oz.; butter 3 oz.; lard 2 oz.; cheese 11/2 oz.; sugar 10 oz.; confectionary 6 oz.; eggs 2.

rationed, but fish and poultry are expensive and vegetables and fruit appear only in season.

I give these figures not to show that we are starved—this is far from the case-but rather to show that despite enormous efforts, since the war there has been far from a glut of food. However, it is necessary to stress a couple of points:

(1) Anyone (especially with money, naturally) can eat meals outside the home without restric-

(2) Physiologists have shown that the rations are quite adequate nutritionally.

(3) Meals here are boring since they are limited in range. (4) With few exceptions, there

is little of a black market, and rations are honored fairly. (5) On important foods-e.g.,

bread, milk, eggs-the government subsidizes the farmers and producers to keep prices down.

The average hours worked were 46; the average wage \$20; a suit cost about \$40, a pair of man's shoes \$9, and a pack of 20 cigarettes about a half dollar. Out of pendent upon indirect revenue 000 people were working at the

end of December, compared with about 20 million in 1938.

What do these figures indicate? Simply this: that by very stringent measures the British people will probably soon be able to balance payments; that American aid will probably contribute to this recovery, insofar as the scramble for raw materials has adversely affected Britain's economy-she had a surplus of \$660 million last year -and also because Washington considers Britain's defenses as its own first line; that Britain cannot All other foods are no longer be financially solvent without exploiting 'the colonies under present system.

NOTHING ELSE WILL DO

Nevertheless, the total trade deficit was only \$1,200 million in a foreign-trade volume of about \$22 billion. This year was a particularly bad year, but even so it represents only about 6 per cent. Thus, as long as British capitalism. can produce this comparatively slight movement in trade balance, there is some future for the country. Even so, international tension and shortages continually inhibit the process

The abolition of the wastages of competition and the rationalization of industry, which only socialism could bring, could by itself serve toward putting the country on its own feet without colonial exploitaton or foreign assistance. In the long run, nothing else will do it.

It is with this perspective in view that, as a British socialist, I wish our American friends and well-wishers a very happy New Year. Press on with the work in America, as we intend to do in England.

"The UAW and Walter Reuther" by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick

A Random House book Order from: LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 West 14 Street, New York

A brilliant study of the labor movement-A vivid insight into a great union**Page Four**

The **ISL Program** in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitatalism and Stalinism.

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

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

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

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its 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!

INTERESTED?

Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League—

114 W. 14th Street

New York 11, N. Y.

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

 \Box I want to join the ISL.

Name	
Address	
City	
State	Tel.



SURVEY ON EFFECT OF ATOM-BOMBING By CARL DARTON

Capitalism, in its march to a full war economy, has harnessed not only the physical but also the social sciences. For tion which now divide the world: capi- example, the U.S. air force uses a team of social psychologists to evaluate the effect on morale of mass bombing of civilians. The material utilized comprises various eyewitness accounts of the immediate aftermath of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as similar studies of more conventional bombing on Japan, Germany and England. By such data the preferred pattern of strategic bombing to quickly break the morale of the enemy can be selected. Also determined are the proper precautionary measures to condition one's own people to stand up against similar attacks.

> I. L. Janis in his book Air War and Emotional Stress (McGraw-Hill, 1951) summarizes the results of these official studies.

One of the obvious questions to be considered is the relative effect of atomic bombing as compared with the conventional type. Though only two instances of atomic bombing against human beings are available, the following conclusions are drawn. For obvious reasons the effect upon the people at "ground zero" is no greater with the A-bomb than with TNT blockbusters but the greater coverage involves a far greater number of people, those actually killed and wounded as well as the surviving "near misses."

However, there was little evidence of panic at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and no "anti-social behavior" on a mass scale though the absence of warning and the unpreparedness of the people undoubtedly increased emotional effect of the A-bomb. All in all, the difference between the two types of bombing appears to be quantitative rather than quali-

Furthermore, since the Japanese rulers and people were about ready to surrender anyhow, there can be no final conclusion drawn as to the full effect of the A-bomb on a country's morale and ability to carry on the fighting as compared with conventional bombing. Also, since there was no exact understanding among the Japanese people as to the nature the new mysterious weapon no conclusion should be drawn as to what might be expected in the United States under similar conditions. On the basis of available evidence the best assumption is that the psychological effect of A-bombing-does not differ in any peculiar way from that accompanying more "conventional bombing." (Incidently, the repeated use of this latter term prompts the question: "How conventional can you get?")

Wartime Morale

Proceeding then to a study of the psychiatric disorders resulting from the widespread bombing of civilians in Europe and Japan by "conventional means" during World War II the social psychologists come to the following cold scientific conclusions

(1) Severe bombing results in only slight increase in psychoses, chronic neuroses and other sustained psychopathic disorders in adults and children.

(2) Saturation bombing does result in excessive anxiety symptoms, depression and apathy. Most cases recover, however, in a few days or weeks.

(3) Secondary psychosomatic disorders like peptic ulcers and coronary insufficiencies may result in reduced work-efficiency of large numbers of workers.

(4) Emotional shock disturbances are predominant among children. (5) Severe and prolonged fear reactions are most prevalent among those who undergo "near-miss" experiences.

While thousands are dying, or being horribly injured, by such air bombing it appears silly, if not revolting, to talk in scientific terms of relatively minor emotional reactions of those surviving. But since these, more than the dead, are crucial factors relative to the government's ability to carry on the war no scientific airs are overlooked. Furthermore some "scientists" do not appear to have any qualms about applying their methods, as it were, in an "ivory tower above the dung heap."

All of the above leads up to the important question of wartime morale. This is expressed as "fear reactions giving way to intense irritation and anger" which if directed against civic leaders or fellow citi-Its in a lowering of group morale. If directed toward the enemy, however, there may be an improvement in morale. In World War II, in Germany, Japan and England, following intense air raids, there were reactions against home leaders as well as the enemy with no predominant tendency in either direction. The direction of the antagonism often depended on the frequency and predictability of the



14 .3-

READING from LEFT to RIGHT

MURDER, UNITED, by Murray Kempton.-New York POST, Dec. 27.

"No man can say that the 119 coal miners" buried in West Frankfort, Ill., last week did not die in vain. Dying in darkness and in vain is a coal miner's habit.

"The only proper verdict of any inquest over West Frankfort is murder; murder by multiple hands-by the authorities of the State of Illinois. by the owners of coal mines, by the Congress of the U.S. and by our presidents, past and present.

"Every year, one coal miner out of six is either killed or injured. This is a statistic unaltered for 50 years. In all that time, Congress has written just one law designed to cut down that mayhem.

"On May 7, 1941, Congress passed the Federal Mine Safety Act. John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers, had been laboring to get a national law for decades; the coal operators had opposed them manfully; we might never have had even the present law if it hadn't been for the inconvenient detonation of four mines and the decease of more than 100 diggers during that particular session of Congress.

"We might, in fact, have had no legislation then, if a mine hadn't blown up right under the house of a West Virginia Congressman who had previously been sitting on the safety bill in committee. The operators reeled beneath that particular freak of fate, but they still had the strength to geld the final bill.

"As a result, Federal inspectors may check any mine for safety standards but they have no power to enforce their recommendations and the Bureau of Mines has a budget providing for less than 200 inspectors to police some 3,500 mines.

"Ever since then, the miners have been struggling to put teeth in the law and give the federal inspectors the power to close any mine unsafe enough to "constitute an imminent danger."

"In 1946 the miners got 217 congressmen to

the floor. Every time Robert Howe, their lobbyist, wangled some congressman to put down the 218th name, Charles Farrington, representative of the National Coal Association, would rush downstairs and persuade some craven legislator to take his off.

"In March of 1947, 111 miners were killed in an "In January, 1950, the miners' returned to Con-

explosion at Centralia, Ill. The 80th Congress, after certain delicate imputations that Lewis did the whole thing for publicity, ran a series of investigations and promised action. In July the House buried a bill to pay \$700,000 to the Centralia widows; its Labor Committee refused to report a bill to strengthen federal mine inspection. gress. The then Senate Majority Leader Lucas (D-Ill.) told them that no mine safety legislation was possible without a "green light" from President Truman. Last April, Sen. Neeley (D-W. Va.) re-introduced the safety bill. It has been deader than a herring since.

"For want of a federal law, the miners are left to the tender mercies of state mine safety legislation. We need no better sample of that than the case of Illinois, that prime slaughterhouse. "After Centralia, there was quite a scandal in

Illinois; the governor's answer was to fire Driscell O. Scanton, the state inspector who had three times reported the mine unsafe. Scanlon later recalled that the director of the Illinois Bureau of Mines had told him repeatedly that he lacked balance and was all for the miners. An inspector like that isn't overburdened with approbation in Illinois: in 1946, the operators of the Old Ben Coal Co. forced the transfer of Inspector James Wilson because he wanted to clean up their mines.

"Here in Washington, the sophisticates cracked jokes about John Lewis going down the West Frankfort mine in work clothes.'

THE CASE OF THE FOUR U.S. FLYERS AND HUNGARY

prescribes virtuous resentment-

do not feel the need to proclaim

What the historians will not have

to ferret out is the way in which

the affair is being used by both

has been made an affair of honor.

the commentators and statement-issuers nobly repressing their in-

pulse to call for an atom bomb

with the broadminded reflection

that even four innocent flyers (or

\$120,000) are not enough to justify

war with Russia. (The implication

on the part of some, incidentally,

On this side of the Atlantic it

that we have been insulted.

By BERNARD CRAMER

will be many a year before Tt historians find out from the archives whether those four American flyers really got lost over Hungary or not. Here is one case where no one, other than the naive patriot or the ax-grinder, has a right to take either side's story at face value. The Stalinist regimes' big lies are too well known; but on the other hand there is many a European who has been encouraged to believe that the U.S. is secretly dropping cloaks and daggers behind the Iron Curtain and cheering at the thought. C'est la guerre. Governments, to be sure, are

supposed to get indignant at the charge that they are doing any-

air raids, the degree of physical and psychological preparation as well as retaliation measures against the enemy.

sides.

Loss of morale was not always directly proportional to the size of the bomb load. Whether the apathy produced by excessive bombing accounted for this is uncertain. Disruption of public facilities as transportation, utilities and food services were important factors in lowering norale. The relative weight of psychological reactions and transportation breakdowns in increasing absenteeism and decreased work-efficiency is not apparent.

How Calm Can You Get?

The question of the lack of revolt of the European people following World War II compared with the First World War, and the possible influence of wholesale destruction and apathy on this, is not discussed by the social psychologists.

The most important part of the study is that dealing with the psychological preparation of the American people for civilian defense. It is considered that "maladjustments and disruptive behavior" can be reduced by preparatory conditioning and adequate organization immediately following the atomic explosion. The difficulty is how much concrete preparation can be made now without disrupting current civic life and producing adverse political or social action. In other words, how can the people be stirred out of their present apathy without producing trouble, especially as the crisis deepens? If too few defense measures in U.S.A." label DOES smear an are introduced, feelings of anxiety may cause a sudden exodus from anti-regime opposition in the eyes the cities. Real or imagined more apparent danger may cause pessimism and fatalism or even antagonism against government authority.

The social psychologists recommend, as the best means of obtaining their ends, a conditioning of the American people by successive doses increasing alarms, followed by assurances that the real danger may not be immediate. Evidence of this treatment are the timed announcements of Russian atomic explosions, the notorious COLLIER's issue previewing World War III, as well as exploitation of the unpreparedness lesson of Pearl Harbor. Interspersed with these are the soothing admonishments of civil-defense authorities to be calm.

With millions of lives, and civilization itself at stake, one is also inclined to ask, "How calm can you get?" Perhaps what we do need is the "emotional response" of cold, calm anger in the right direction.

thing that the malicious might in- is that there would already have terpret as espionage-the rule book been a marine landing in the Danube if Moscow were not behind but as a mere private citizen we Budapest.) In short, the affair has been the occasion for a real whipping-up of patriotic hauteur.

On the part of the Stalinists (quite apart from the truth behind the case, which doesn't cut any ice) the main propagandistic utilization of the issue seems to be for internal consumption also. It may be, as some think, "to portray Americans as impotent before the forces of communism," but we tend to doubt this as the main motiva-

We think, rather: the main aim of the Stalinists, in raising their hullabaloo about American-sponsored sabotage behind the Iron Curtain, is to convince the people, or at least lend color to their claims, that this well-publicized "sabotage" campaign by Washington is to be suspected as the real ource of ANY opposition to the regime. Too few Americans understand that one of the biggest propaganda aims of the Stalinist regimes as a regular thing is to smear any opposition to the tyranny with the "Made in U.S.A." label. This was Moscow's main propaganda battle-cry against Tito as it is a feature of recent confession trials in the satellites. The Hungarian "insult" comes on the heels of Moscow's recent blast against the U.S. congressional appropriations for "subversive" oper-

In plain words, they are afraid ations in Stalinland. that when the government levels It may be hard for some Amerioff its arms production, a "shakecans to understand why a "Made down" will take place, which is a polite way of saying that unemployment will become widespread. of the people. A little contempla-In looking over the "strong" and tion of this fact could be the be-"weak" aspects of the economy, ginning of much wisdom. these experts agreed that the strongest aspect is the tremendous productivity of American labor.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C. specializes in books and pamhlets on the Labor and Socialist movement, Marxism, etc., and can supply books of all publishers. Send for our free book list.

January 7, 1952



(Continued from page 1)

road toward our camp-the

Third Camp-of peace and

The resolution adopted on

"Imperialist war and prep-

arations for war are essen-

tial devices for the mainte-

nance of the present oppres-

sive social order and no imperial-

ist war can be in the interest of

democratic socialism. . . . Social-

ists renew their dedication to the

struggle against imperialist war.

. . . The struggle against war can-

not be separated from the struggle

against the system which breeds

war. . . . Socialists endeavor to

weaken the war machine by op-

posing conscription and all mili-

Almost in passing, this resolu-

tion repudiates completely the pro-

war position of the SP and old

YPSL on the second imperialist

world war: ". . . no imperialist

war can be in the interest of demo-

cratic socialism. The net result of

the Second World War was to ex-

pand American and Russian impe-

rialism and to substitute Stalinist

for Nazi totalitarianism in Europe."

tary appropriations"

ENDORSE "ANVIL"

socialism.

war states:

sign a petition to bring their safety bill to a vote. They needed just one more signature to get it on

In 1949, Old Ben No. 8 went up and killed 38 men.

D POLITICS

PROPAGANDA AIM

Opposition to the Korean war was expressed in a resolution of the newly elected National Executive Committee: "Young Socialists consider the Korean war in the context of the power struggle between Russia and the U.S.A., and since they oppose both war camps cannot support the Korean war. and therefore call for the disengagement of troops, an immediate truce, and withdrawal of all foreign troops as soon as possible." Again, a direct repudiation of the previous position of the SP and VPSL.

Left Wing Wins YPSL for Anti-War Line

A key question for the YS, consequent on its adoption of an essentially "Third Camp" position, was its attitude toward the student anti-war publication, ANVIL. On previous occasions the attitude of the YPSL toward ANVIL had been one of political hostility, and disciplined members of YPSL were not allowed to circulate the magazine. This policy has undergone a complete reversal. The YS convention resolved to endorse ANVIL, to participate in it, and to encourage

Its position on war is the strongest point in YS policy. Two other major resolutions were also adopted. One, "On the Garrison State," expresses quite correctly the internal necessity of capitalism for a "drift toward the new barbarism

of the totalitarian absolute state." The other, "The Road to Power," attempts to differentiate the YS position from the traditional reformism of the Social Democracy. Both of these, especially the latter, contain many theoretical errors, which can better be discussed at a later date.

The adoption of a Third-Camp anti-war position by the youth section of the Socialist Party is of course an event of significance in itself and represents a remarkable political evolution for this group. Yet the YS is at present faced with many obstacles, both internal and external, to its further development. The most obvious of these is its relationship to the Socialist Party. It is very difficult to believe that the SP, which controls the purse strings of YS, will allow it much room to develop and express

Another drawback is the inadequate theoretical caliber of the present leadership. Many examples of this can be found in the convention resolutions, the most striking being probably this: "The world of 1984 will be built, not by the NAM and the DAR, but by the reformist and corrupt elements in the labor movement (!!) allied with the state bureaucracy." (Resolution on the Garrison State)

Perhaps more fundamental is the centrist, at times pacifist, approach shown by YS. An example: "We must be prepared for the use by the ruling class of the coercive powers of the state against the people's efforts for emancipation. In the face of such an assault upon the working people by the forces of the ruling class we must be prepared to resist, by a general strike of the industrial workers and a campaign of civil disobedience by those supporting us." (Resolution on The Road To Power.)

These external and internal obstacles can only be overcome by the comrades of the YS themselves, on the basis of their own political experiences and education. Toward these comrades the SYL has a completely fraternal and cooperative attitude. Their adoption of an anti-war attitude makes possible a whole host of joint activities in spite of remaining differences between the Socialist Youth League and Young Socialists. It is possible to look forward to close and fruitful cooperation which will remove all remnants of the sectarian attitudes and squabbles of the past that hindered the unity in action of Third Camp forces.

revolutionary ideas. WEAKNESSES members to sell and circulate it.



By LARRY O'CONNOR

Except for the workers in the automobile and textile industries. where there is a lot of unemployment, there is not too much worrying going on in the country about another depression. Everyone knows that the 120,000 unemployed in Detroit are a result of usinessmen and brass hats planning the rearmament program with a callous disregard for its effect on the auto workers, and that in general the immediate things to worry about are a constant rise in the cost of living, and the danger of war.

That is why a headline on the back page of the New York Times for December 30 seemed specially interesting. "Economists Seek to Bar Depression," reads the headline. And under it the story reports on the closing sessions of the annual meetings of the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, and a number of allied professional organizations.

"American economists," the article begins, "anticipating a drastic shakedown in industry and agriculture late in 1953 or in 1954 when the arms boom has passed its peak, are making a fresh start in their forty-year effort to build a depression-proof economy."

DANGER OF PRODUCTIVITY

This was a truly amazing conclusion. Productivity is a great strength in an economy which is straining itself to the utmost to produce both military and consumer goods on a vast scale, financed by the public treasury. But once this financing slackens, the high

productivity of American labor is precisely its most dangerous feature. For this productivity is reached through tremendous investments of fixed capital (plant and machinery) which become a deadening drag on profits once production falls below the "break-even" point. At that point high productivity simply means that a small number of workers are able to produce all the goods which can be absorbed by the avalable purchasing power, and capital investment over and beyond the levels needed for that purpose is simply a cost.

The economists and statisticians claim that during the past few years there has been a marked reduction in the inequality of income distribution in the country. Unfortunately, the figures to prove this will be "released in a few months," so we cannot comment on them

The "weak" points in the economic picture are the public debt which has increased nearly \$300,-000,000,000 in the last decade, and which now stands at the staggering figure of about \$500,000,000,000. This has been accompanied by an almost continual inflationary tendency, and the economists cannot see how the country will ever get back to a "healthy" level without "some deflation," another polite word for some degree of depression

It appears that this conference, at least, was dominated by anti-

Keynesian economists. They found that the attempt to apply the ideas of the British economist John Maynard Keynes to practical economic policy has resulted in almost constant inflation and increase in government debt. It was Keynes' notion that if the government would spend heavily on the downward turn of the economic cycle, and cut taxes and interest rates so as to encourage private investment, the effects of depression could be counteracted. Then, when the boom phase appeared, the government was to raise taxes steeply, discourage private investment, and thus dampen both extremes of the cycle.

KEYNES' DIFFICULTY

The difficulty has been that even though governments have worked the scheme on the down-phase, they never could muster the political courage to increase taxes and level off the boom-phase When the economy is on the skids most businessmen get scared stiff and are quite willing to have the government spend them out of their troubles. But when things are booming these same businessmen feel strong, develop an arrogant confidence in the capitalist system, and put up determined resistance to any government taxes or other programs which might limit their boom profits.

What do the American economists propose? The article is very vague about this. And we are willing to bet that this vagueness is a reflection of the vagueness of the economists. They know all too well that the only thing which has been a sure-fire "bar to depression" under capitalism has been a largescale war or armament program. And to tell the truth, they really have nothing better to offer.

Democracy

"I read last week a letter from a private who had just landed in Europe. 'The ship,' he wrote, 'was a marvelous example of American democracy. The officers (130 of them) had exactly half of it for their quarters; and the privates (3000) had the other half. Perfect equality!"-Lewis Gannett, in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 4.

Subscribers — Attention! Check your NAME-ADDRESS - CITY - ZONE - STATE ap-Dearing on the upper left-hand corner of page one. If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out of the ad-dress, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.

16-1 If this number appears at the bottom of your address, your subscription expires with this ssue **RENEW NOW!**



January 27

WHERE TO BEGIN At LABOR ACTION HALL, 114 West 14 Street, New York City

Hal Draper Jack Maxwell

Page Ave

Page Six



By A. BABENKO

What is the "third force"?

This term is sometimes used in a very conjunctural sense, as in France where the democratic parties of the center plus the right-wing socialists combine against fascism (De Gaulle) and against the Communist Party on the left and call their bloc the "third force." Some time ago. this idea was extended to the whole of Europe and understood as a third force between the United States and the USSR.

But when the U.S. saw the urgent need to set up the Atlantic Pact, the bloc of democrats and socialists was ordered to stop playing with the "third force" and support the pact, even if this pact would also include Franco's fascist regime. Thus, the idea of the "third force" in its bourgeois European meaning is not at all a third force in reality; it is only a conjunctural formation inside one of the forces, inside of the capitalist world.

By the term "third force" we mean the oppressed peoples and working classes of the whole world. In the resolution of the July 1950 conference of the URDP, we set down our understanding of the "third force" idea as follows:

"The composition, the program and the aims of the third force are clear: In the countries under Stalinism it is the whole people minus the class of Stalinist magnates; in the other countries it is the people minus the top capitalist layer. In the USSR the third force struggles for the freedom of nations and the classless democracy; in the other world [of capitalism], for the freedom of the colonial peoples and for the socialization of the means of production.

As a matter of fact, the Ukrainian OUN [the nationalist wing of the anti-Stalinist underground] also takes its stand on the basis of the third force, though it does not yet use this term. For instance, P. Poltava [a leading theoretician of the OUN] has written in a letter to A. Babenko: "It is clear that we add to this the progressive social and political program which our movement stands for (the classless society and democracy). We are convinced that in this form our ideology is the most correct one for an oppressed people which fights for its real national and social liberation, in our epoch of the emancipation of the oppressed people from the yoke of world imperialism, and in our epoch of the liberation of the workers from capitalist slavery."

"Third Force" in World War I

"From this, it is clear that the "third force" has a meaning quite different from-or rather, quite opposite to-the programs and aims of the two forces which are organized in state form, namely, world capitalism and Russian Stalinism. While each of the latter two forces struggles for its own world hegemony, the third force struggles for the abolition of any imperialist hegemony in the world-for the "system of free national states for all the peoples of the world," as P. Poltava's letter puts it.

But, we may be told nowhere in the world does there exist any more or less significant organization which could represent the third force. The division takes the line of the above-mentioned two forces, and any attempt to take an independent attitude objectively leads to the support of one force or the other. If one follows this argument to its "logical" end, one must conclude that any struggle for the abolition of the capitalist system is grist to the mill of Stalinism, and any struggle against Stalinism is grist to the mill of capitalism.

- If there had been no historical experience on this point, then the case for the third force might really be a difficult one. But there has been such historical experience, even though it is from World War I. And in the light of it, the aforesaid "logic" does not hold water.

During the First World War years there did exist an organization of the third force. It was the so-called "Zimmerwaldians," the organization of the left-wing socialists who held their first conference in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, on September 5, 1915. These revolutionists were also accused of being "traitors to the fatherland" and "agents of the enemy"; the Russian Zimmerwaldians were accused of helping the kaiser's Germany in struggling against the war, and the German Zimmerwaldians were accused of helping the Asiatic despotism of the tsar. But Zimmerwald represented a movement which fought not only against the war but also for the defeat of its own government. The Russian Bolsheviks were in it, and the Russian government simply called them "German agents."

Lenin Paid No Fare

One has to remember this fact, for today it looks especially ridiculous; no one else has secured the national interests and even the national grandeur of Russia but these "German agents"-the Bolsheviks. How light the Bolsheviks made of these accusations can be seen from the fact that Lenin willingly utilized the proposal by the kaiser's Germany to bring him from Switzerland to Russia in a sealed carriage, in 1917. Both sides believed they were pursuing their own ends: Kaiser Wilhelm II thought he was bringing on the collapse of Russia, but Lenin believed that he was going to overthrow not only Tsar Nicholas II but Wilhelm too.

It is important to note in this connection that the Bolsheviks did not pay any political fare for Germany's service. It is important to note this because, in the case of contemporary Ukrainian émigrés it is the opposite that is

The accompanying article is translated from Vpered (No. 17-18, 1951), organ of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP), the Marxist wing of the Ukrainian anti-Stalinist resistance movement, published in emigration in Germany. A. Babenko is a leading political writer for Vpered.

The term "Third Camp," as used in our title on this page, is the one customarily employed by LABOR AC-TION, in the same sense which Comrade Babenko assigns to "third force." While not all of his formulations would be ours, we welcome his article as the expression of a genuinely socialist position on the war, doubly valuable because it comes from a movement which is struggling militantly against the Kremlin's tyranny behind the Iron Curtain without any political concessions to the Kremlin's imperialist rival.-Ed.

sometimes true: they declare their devotion in exchange for no service at all. . . .

It is also worthwhile to mention the number of representatives of the third force-the Zimmerwaldians-during the First World War. In her memoirs about the Zimmerwald Conference, Rosa Luxemburg writes that all the participants in the conference were taken from the railroad station by two cabmen. This should be kept in mind because after two years, these people-who needed only two cabs to hold them (or more correctly, only a section of them)-were ruling one sixth of our planet, the former tsarist empire.

In the emigration today, some people like to emphasize their numerical strength as a token of their success in the Ukraine of the future. This argument is ridiculous for two reasons; for one thing, it makes pretensions for the mass of émigrés which do not correspond to the real character of the mass of people in the Ukraine itself, especially considering that the two exist under quite different circumstances and under quite different influences (not to speak of the other differences about the people who went into exile . . .).

The Lesser-Evil Question

Secondly, this argument is ridiculous because even they who today may have the support of the masses in the Ukraine cannot be sure that the same will be true tomorrow. From now till then it is possible for them to compromise themselves ten times over. In order to see who will lead the Ukrainian masses tomorrow one has to have a good understanding of the world transformations and changes which lie between today and tomorrow. The handful of Zimmerwaldians who found room for themselves in two cabs, and who were ridiculed by the "mass" politicians, won the battle because best of all they grasped the tendencies of world development.

In the coming battle of the two worlds, the political emigration from the Ukraine is already attempting to define its positions. But these positions are not dictated by cold rational calculation but by emotions, by a feeling of hatred for the oppressive Russian Stalinist regime. Therefore, from a humanitarian view, it is not surprising that in 1941 the people under Stalinism even looked to Hitler. But it is precisely the experience of World War II which clearly shows how wrong is the emotional approach in choosing a political line.

What would have really happened if the Allies had not won out against Hitler and the latter had become the master of the Ukraine? It would have been worse than Stalinism, because under Stalinism the forces of the future liberation grow up at least physically, while Hitler wanted to establish compulsory abortion for women in the Ukraine, . . .

Today Stalinism is opposed not by Hitler but by capitalist "democracy," and some people even in the ranks of the anti-capitalists are again influenced by emotional arguments in choosing sides for the "lesser evil" of the two. If one looks at the question in the abstract and statically, without considering the tendencies of development of each of the two systems, then there is no comparison between them: capitalism means liberty (if only relatively) while Stalinism means an all-Union Solovky [a notorious concentration camp in the White Seal; capitalism means the right to think ond speak, while Stalinism means Arakcheyev-type barracks [this refers to the compulsory resettlement of peasants into the so-called "agro-cities" or super-Kolkhozes]; capitalism means a relatively higher material standard of living, while Stalinism means starvation. Can there be a comparison?

World Imperialist Trust?

But let us take both systems not statically but in the perspective of their development. First of all, capitalism does not everywhere mean liberty. We know what kind of liberty existed in South Korea before the war, in Bao Dai's Indo-China, etc. We know what liberty exists in Greece today, not to mention Spain. And not everywhere does capitalism mean a higher living standard. In the United States, yes (as long as there is as yet no crisis and unemployment). But a billion people in Asia live in conditions worse than under Stalinism

There is still another argument which is brought up by a few people: What would happen to the world if a single capitalist state established its monopoly in the whole world?

The positive sides of capitalism appear only where it is competitively weak. Through competition there have grown up the workers' trade unions and the eight-hour day, freedom of speech and a free press. But the goal of capitalism is monopoly, the sole power to "sell and rule." The realization of this goal means the end of trade unions and a free press.

Let us imagine for a moment that the whole world is ruled by a couple of trusts of one state which controls the press, everywhere organizes its "democratic" elections. etc. What would prevent such a power from looking on every liberation movement, every effort to free oneself from its guardianship, as a "Communist conspiracy" and a "war crime"?

What would prevent such a power from unleashing thousands of "police" planes against the rebels? What would prevent it from allocating the world's industry in such a way that the ruling power would control its commanding sectors, so that it could carry out its will even without the planes? Even today England has been deprived of most important raw materials, as America has bought up commodities in short supply. What could prevent such an imperial trust from pressing the button to bring about a 20-per-cent speedup of the belt-line all over the world? Etc.

The imaginary picture of such a monopolized world was brilliantly presented by Jack London in his novel The Iron Heel. In fact, it is Stalinism, only privately

The Child of Capitalism

With regard to Ukrainian independencec, which to a large extent depends on the international situation; it becomes impossible in any case, under conditions of the existence of a world monopoly by one state. For no independent nation could exist in such a world; and not a single capitalist trust has ever even recognized the term "Ukraine." Capitalism does not need the freedom of peoples but the freedom of trade and business in an integrated area which is as large as possible. The well-known "friend" of the Ukrainians, the American politician George Kennan, made it clear when he said: "The Ukraine is economically as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is a part of the United States."

It may be said that this is impossible, that capitalism is inconceivable without competition. Why inconceivable? Competition is a function of relative equality among capitalists; when equality disappears and the stronger wins out, then competition disappears, and the power of monopoly comes into existence. And monopoly leaves as much room for competition as Stalin leaves for free trade in the kolkhoz bazaars.

Now let us look at the other possibility, world monopoly by Moscow or by systems similar to Moscow's. The imaginary picture of such a world was brilliantly pre-

sented by George Orwell in his novel 1984. It is a horror. Is it an historic possibility, in the light of historical continuity? I have developed my point of view about the Asiatic type of development toward which Russia has long tended (in my article in Vpered entitled "Is An Underground Possible in Russia?"). But the European world is not inclined toward such a path of development. The expansion of Russian power into that world will therefore only cause the collapse of Russia. We should not forget that Stalinism has not shown any sign of historical stabilization. (Police stabilization, yes-but not historical stabilization.) But clearly it will exist as long as capitalism exists, because it is the child of capitalism, and, as is wellknown, children live longer than their parents. This is worth remembering in order not to wander with bare hands under the wheels of history. . . .

No Responsibility for the War

Therefore, from the point of view of the movement for liberation, it is well that there is not more than a 50-percent chance for the total, and terrifying, victory of either of the two systems. From the point of view of the struggle for inperation of the oppressed peoples and the working classes, it is to be desired that all the pretenders to world conquest languish and strangle in their own contradictions until the inner forces of sanitation make an end to their fever for dominion.We believe in these inner forces of sanitation because we, who are behind the Iron Curtain, are also included in its ranks.

But it is the good fortune of humanity and of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation that a total victory for either of the pretenders to world domination is not as yet in sight. The American journalist Walter Lippman was right when he wrote a couple of years ago that in the next war victory will most probably go to neither side but that "anarchy" will win. By what he calls "anarchy" we understand a court-martial of all the war criminals.

It would be better for the Ukrainian emigration to play the role of one of the judges rather than one of the accused. It will be well for us that Moscow will also sit on the dock. Stalin wants to rid himself of any responsibility for war crimes but (even if he is not the first to begin the war) he will be forced by circumstances to drop his A-bombs-that is, to help destroy the world and be responsible for it too. How surprising it is, then, that someof the Ukrainian political forces in exile, which in fact have no direct relation to the means of world destruction, are doing their best to assume the responsibility (first of all; before the Ukrainian people) for the crimes of war destruction! Stalin would give much to change places with the emigration in this respect.

We are that part of the Ukrainian emigration which does not want to assume responsibility for the crimes of war destruction, and we believe that the Ukrainian people will judge this position of ours with the best of good will. * To the Editor:

>

tive participation by the masses in the process of their totalitarianization.

A CASE IN POINT FOR PAUL BLANSHARD

Mr. Coben:

ence," and bore your by-line.

A

Dear Mr. Policano:

I was interested by your letter argue against it. Such controversy of Dec. 19. It struck me as an exhas raged around Blanshard's cellent example of the way in books, as you undoubtedly know,

January 7, 1952

Page Seven

Readers Take the floor ... COLLECTIVIZATION AND THE PEASANTS

In the Dec. 3 issue, Hal Draper, discussing collectivization in Stalinist Europe, dwelt on the inherent opposition of a land-holding peasantry to totalitarian control. This immediately brings to mind the seemingly opposed analysis of Marx in his work The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. To Marx the individualistic, isolated, atom-

ized French peasant, having received his plot of ground as a result of the Great Revolution of 1789, without organization of his own and with no other intermediary between himself and the government, submitted; almost enthusiastically, to the rule of the Bonapartist bureaucracy in the 1850s. According to LABOR ACTION. the same type of independent peasant, because of almost the identi-- cal features of his life as enumerated by Marx, becomes a prominent opposition force to the contemporary Stalinist bureaucracy. I would say that the apparent conflict is actually an index to the difference between the former "conventional" types of bureaucratic rule and rule by a totalitarian bureaucracy. Traditional bureaucratic setups, as best described in manuals on public administration, demand precise performance in specified tasks by the bureaucrats, and mere acceptance of their functioning along these lines by those who are ruled. Totalitarian systems, on the other hand, insist on full performances in all areas of life by the bureaucrats and ac-

Outside of the detailed appointed tasks to keep the machinery running, the classic bureaucracy asks for divorcement between individuals and their government. The private sphere of life is supposedly protected; in fact, too much "privatization" has been the fear of those who have been concerned by its growth. Totalitarian systems attempt to destroy private life; the independent peasant's economic life is the most private of all. The life story of the peasantry is thus a fitting background to the qualitative transformation from limited bureaucratic rule to total. W. B.

Comrade B.'s answer to his own question is, I think, perfectly correct, but a very important second point should be added. This is the social difference between capitalist bonapartism and the Stalinist bureaucratic-collectivist system. (As a matter of fact, this social difference is also at the bottom of the political difference between the

I indicated this in my article as follows; directly after the passage on the difficulty of totalitarianizing the peasantry:

"Most important, a regime which by its nature is based on totalitarianized collective property is necessarily in unstable equilibrium as long as 80 per cent of its people do in fact base themselves on private property.

"A capitalist-landowners' regime, like the pre-war Yugoslav government, not only can live with a small peasantry but base its political power on their backwardness. no matter how reactionary, dictatorial or fascistic that regime might be. There is a basic social compatibility. Not so with the bureaucratic collectivism of Stalinism."

difference with the situation which Marx discussed.

As a matter of fact, it is not entirely right to make the contrast solely between totalitarian bureaucracy and pre-totalitarian bureaucracy. Even under capitalist totalitarianism, the capitalist property relations tend to slow up the development which Orwell summarized in his slogan "Love Big Brother!"

disservice to the cause of toler-

ance. For that, my dear Mr. Poli-

cano, is what you do when you

identify a criticism of the Pope's

views with "bigotry," etc. I doubt

whether any but very short-sight-

ed Catholics could write a letter

doing exactly what is done by

Catholic-baiters - except that, so

to speak, you put a plus-sign where

they put a minus-sign? Catholic-

baiters would like to stir up hatred

of Catholics as a group through

deeds of some sections of the

church hierarchy, often including

the Vatican (on the political field:

support to fascist regimes, for ex-

ample: on the intellectual field.

support to a variety of obscuran-

tist ideas, etc.). In other words,

they also (like you) try to identify

opposition to the misdeeds of the

church hierarchy with opposition

Now, you must realize, or try to.

realize, that the Pope is not con-

sidered infallible by non-Catholics,

and that if I find his views on mod-

ern science absurd, you are only

feeding the spirit of intolerance

when you yell "Bigotry." In a

democratic society a criticism of

a man's views is not a "bold af-

front" or "an open insult" but a

tional men confront conflicting

part of the process whereby ra-

ideas. It is only in totalitarian

communities that criticism is thus

excommunicated. Your letter, I'm

afraid, could serve as an appendix

to Paul Blanshard's thesis about

the kindred spirit of the Vatican

Now, you may, of course, dis-

agree with me on my evaluation

of the Pope's speech on science

(or on any other charge against the

Vatican hierarchy) and wish to

and the Kremlin.

to Catholics as such, bigotry, etc.

pointing out the very real mis-

Don't you realize that you are

as naive as yours in that respect.

Hal DRAPER

[The following letter was re- which some Catholics do a great ceived addressed to our contributor Philip Coben-Ed.]

I read with great disgust and amazement your column in LA-BOR ACTION, of December 17, 1951. The article was titled "Sprinkling Holy Water on Sci-

I can't understand how an alleged liberal like you can write such a bold affront to the Pope. In my opinion, your column was an open insult to the Pope and all Catholics. If your original purpose was to cast doubt on the Pope's remarks. I think I am right in saying that you made a buffoon of him; and you made him appear to st who is interest ed in his place in history; you made him and the Catholic Church look as if they were silly children thinking of a childish prank instead of the true doctrine of the Church, so instead of just casting doubt on his remarks, you tried to

reductio ad absurdum [sic]. The bigotry you wrote was not only appalling to Catholics but to all true lovers of democracy. How can a paper preach a true understanding of all Americans when one of their columnists write such putrid anti-Catholic material? I don't know what your ulterior motive was. But I do rebel against

this type of journalism. I should like to hear from you if you have any defense in this case. However, I do not read your paper (LABOR ACTION), so I would prefer a letter from you. I do not want this letter published unless it is published in its entirety.

Joseph POLICANO

The point clearly applies to the

THE PESSIMISM OF **PROFESSOR TOYNBEE**

By HAL DRAPER

I do not know whether today Professor Arnold J. Toynbee's stock is still as high in academic circles as it was in 1947 when the abridged version of his book A Study of History was published here: at that time, it may be remembered, the awe which Toynbee's work inspired, due to its display of a monumental erudition, was redoubled by the knowledge that it was merely a condensation of a larger work in which the eivilizations of earth's history were laid end to end and reached from volume I to volume VI.

Toynbee quickly became, and has remained, an Authority, and he is therefore eligible to be published in the New York Times magazine section. There we found him on December 2, discussing world perspectives in the present cold-war crisis, with all the advantages of seeing the modern world in the context of the panorama of universal history, as elucidated by Schism-and-Palingenesia, Rout-and-Rally, Challenge-and-Response, Withdrawal-and-Return, Apparentation-and-Affiliation and the rest of his apparatus.

(The December 31 issue of the New Republic, furthermore, we see, prints in full the same BBC broadcast which was the basis of the Times article.)

Even in 1947 there were a number of excellent reviews which, refusing to be impressed by sheer avoirdupois, demonstrated the emptiness of A Study of History as a guide to understanding history. But, in addition, the most important test for Toynbee's Study is certainly its relevance to the history of today. From that point of view, it is hard to see how any part of his reputation can long survive excursions into current events, especially when he isforced to limit himself to a few hundred words in which to say something (as in the Times magazine), instead of multiple volumes with appendices.

In the Times article, Toynbee makes three points, reaching into the formidable stores of his aforesaid monumental erudition to bolster the first two, and resorting to one of his hyphenated prefabricated patterns to prop up the third. Others have pointed out that Toynbee's method of studying history boils down, more often than not, to pinning a mechanical analogy on to a strained metaphor, and the article reads like a caricature of this method.

His first point is that a third world war is not inevitable. That is a very fine thesis. His method of giving it color is strictly Toynbean. It seems there was once before a situation of hostile relations beween two countries and this did not lead to war. He is thinking, he says, of Anglo-Russian enmity from 1856 to 1885; the two powers were on the verge of war-"And then, after all, it did not happen."

What then did happen to this enmity? Was it perhaps dissolved in a sudden access of mutual toleration and love-which is one of Toynbee's key recommendations for the solution of international difficulties? Eventually (so Toynbee's monumental erudition informs us, indeed) "the two powers had entered into an entente with each other in face of a new menace from Germany."

It turned out that the first world war, which had been inevitably building up through the clash of the various rival imperialisms, took place around the "response" to the "challenge" of the new menace, not the old one. The Anglo-Russian analogy which Toynbee has fished up for our day would scarcely be comforting even if it were relevant. But of the

and it is all to the good. What is rather appalling to me about your letter is that you plainly do not even realize that this is your duty (if you disagreed with my discussion); you do not think it necessary to devote a single word to relevant .argumentation; rather, you seem to wish to interdict criticism of the Pope.

LABOR ACTION, incidentally, rather disrespectful to obscurantist and reactionary ideas from any quarter-including Protestant, Jewish, Moslem and Catholic, We invite democratic discussion, but democratic discussion cannot live with the bell, book and candle any more than with fascist or Stalinist totalitarianism. I do not think the majority of Catholics in this country think like you. I think it would be a black day for religious tolerance if they ever did. I sincerely hope that you rethink this matter of your attitude toward criticism of church personalities.

Philip COBEN



inevitability of imperialist clashes Toynbee knows nothing; Imperialism-and-War is not one of his twins.

He secondly raises the question whether Western democracy and Russian totalitarianism can "live and let live" even though the planet "has now become physically 'one world' as a result of mechanical transport." He answers an unequivocal yes.

Naturally, what comes next has to be an historic analogy showing that this was done before. It may appear incredible but he finds his analogy-in "the one world, stretching from Britain to India, which was . . . partitioned between the Roman Empire in the West and a rival oriental empire in Persia"! (Neither could conquer and annex the other, and had to co-exist.)

No doubt, if Toynbee had had an appendix at his disposal to footnote this analogy, his monumental erudition would have led him to mention (somewhere around page 586) that this was possible in the ancient world precisely because the level of "physical transport" was nowhere near being sufficiently developed to permit the feat for Rome. It might have been difficult even in the year when Jules Verne wrote. Around the World in 89 Days. . . .

Toynbee's third point is made as a contemporary application of the principle of Challenge-and-Response: "In order to keep morally fit, human nature needs to be kept in training by some devil or other." This "indispensable though very disagreeable service" is being performed for the West by Russia; and vice versa, the Western bogy is what "Communist Russia needs to keep her up to the mark." (What mark? No matter.)

Omitting all over-obvious comments on this version of the division of labor in history, what strikes one about it most is, perhaps, its deep-dyed pessimism. Indeed, Toynbee ends his latest display of monumental erudition by quoting Eliphaz: "Man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward." Man cannot elude trouble; "he merely brings trouble on himself" by so doing, "because trouble, after all, is the necessary salt of life." There is No Exit. At the end of all the other hyphenations is Destruction-and-Doom-at least, for our world. The conclusion was already implicit-though only lightly touched onin Toynbee's last section in volume VI of A Study of History.

Toynbee's vision of the role of the Russian tyranny will naturally be of only slight comfort to the millions under the Stalinist totalitarianism, who will not relish their own fate (unimportant as it is in the over-all play of Schism-and-Palingenesia) just in order that the Kremlin may play their devil role for the moral training of the West; and for that matter, it will no more please the West's cannon-fodder. As a matter fact, Eliphaz did not satisfy Job either, Job answered:

"Then thou searest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions:

"So that my soul chooseth strangling, and death rather than my life." "I loathe it. . . ."

If we note that Toynbee offers death rather than life, he is not thereby refuted, to be sure; but it is interesting to see the inscription on the monument which is raised by the monumental erudition of the bourgeois world's most praised historiographer. No doubt, Toynbee would have quoted it in the original Italian, just as Dante saw it over the gates of hell.

Eubanks Reports Progress on Project for Daily Labor Paper

The project for the establishis going ahead, and it is now expected that by next June at the latest there will be a definite decision on whether the paper will be born.

As LABOR ACTION has reported, the effort is being spearheaded by the CIO's Newspaper Guild plus a number of AFL unions, particularly the Typographers. The encouraging report was made by Sam Eubanks of the Guild, who has been devoting full-time to the work. The paper will be called the



National Reporter, and two sample ment of a daily labor newspaper issues have already been published. Eubanks told a meeting of CIO editors that the project has the support of a substantial segment of the labor movement, and that the campaign for subscriptions is

picking up speed. At the last CIO convention in November a special committee was appointed by President Philip Murray to look into the National Reporter and report back to the General Executive Board, The composition of the committee is likely to mean at least a favorable committee report. It is headed by Walter Reuther, and includes Emil Rieve (Textile Workers), Carey of the IUE, and Harry Martin, the president of the Newspaper Guild.

Don't miss a single week of LABOR ACTION A sub is only \$2 a year!



Who's Halley and Where's His Program? Liberal Party Puts Up a 'Crime Buster' been this: It has been a year of preparation. Few trends have found (June 25) their culmination during this year-which is another way of saying R The headline tells the story, almost in full. After a rather dull camthat there have been few major breaks, few sharp or decisive turns. paign. Halley won the election for president of New York's City Council. The American economy has been building up to an inflationary This was the first time the Liberal Party, based on the hat and garment crisis; the rearmament program has had much more serious repercusworkers of New York City, actually nominated and ran a major candisions abroad than here, but even overseas the big impact still lies I date on their own ticket against both the Democratic and Republican ahead; the American labor movement has taken steps toward political machines. But they ran him on a straight "clean government" platform, independence, but steps away from it too; the tendency toward supdevoid of any specifically "Liberal" content. pression of civil liberties has continued, but it has neither taken a The great significance which LABOR ACTION saw in this developdecisive turn to the police state, nor have really powerful forces been ment lay in the fact that the Liberal Party was bucking the old-party mobilized against it; neither in Korea nor elsewhere has the momentum toward the Third World War become so great as to place that catasmachines with its own candidate; and it was for this reason, in spite of the nature of its candidate, that Independent Socialists called for a trophe in the immediate future. vote to the Liberal Party in this election.

At year's end, Liberal Party leaders and members were keeping their fingers crossed: How long would Halley play ball with the Liberals?

enterprises."

movements.

sunk home.

hoped fervently that they would bring a speedy end to the senseless slaughter in that unhappy country. Six months later the negotiations are still going on, and the killing continues, though at a much lower rate. The world looks hopefully to the truce negotiations, not only because people want the war to end there but even more because they feel that a truce in Korea would be a symptom of the true intentions of the major powers in the cold war. A truce may mean a lull in that world-wide struggle. No truce may

Looking Back over 1951's Headlines

(Continued from page 1)

Eventually, a deal was reached and labor returned to the mobilizathan before; and although wage controls have been loosened somewhat, they remain essentially what they were in the face of the almost

But neither the government, nor the labor movement have forgotten the panic, on the one hand, nor the excitement and feeling of strength and solidarity, on the other, which accompanied this action.

(Mar. 19)

Mass Strike In Barcelona **D**efies Franco

This event was followen by mast strikes or demonstrations in Madrid. the Basque country and elsewhere. The movement was not led by any organized political party nor did it have any concrete political goal. It was an elemental expression of the growing dissatisfaction and unrest in Spain, and its relative success-indeed, the very possibility of its happening-was an index to the weakness of the Franco regime. The movement gradually died down, and on the surface tranquillity seems to prevail. But while Washington has been openly propping up the Franco government during this whole year, the workers and the people of Spain generally have not yet had their final say on the fate

MacArthur Replacement **Highlights Crisis in**

American Foreign Policy (Apr. 16) MacArthur was dumped, and embarked on his "triumphal" tour of the United States. Another "Great Debate" raged in its full sound and fury, signifying not too much. But the crisis in American foreign policy is no closer to solution than it was last April.

For its source lies neither in irresolution nor in the conflicting policies advocated by powerful economic and political factions. It lies in the basic inability of the United States to win a real political victory over

British Labor Left Wing Breaks

With Attlee on Arms, Foreign Policy (Apr. 30) At the end of 1951 Winston Churchill, now in power, was forced to admit that Aneurin Bevan was right on the inability of Britain to maintain the pace of rearmament proposed by the Labor cabinet last spring. In the meantime, the Bevanite program-which might be summarized as: Less for Arms, More for Socialism-has put more vigor in the Labor Party than it has shown since 1950.

IRAN:

Four Hands Grab for Oil (June 4) Part of this article reads: "Whether or not it is still possible to prevent the ultimate catastrophe of Stalinist conquest of Iran is uncertain. It may be too late regardless of what is done."

And in referring to what a correct British Labor policy should be, the article continues: "The beginning of a democraitc attitude must be the admission of the right of the Iranians to repudiate imperialist and unequal treaties-treaties, incidentally, which give a smaller share to Iran than the U.S. grants to other Near Eastern nations in comparable

The drama in Iran has not yet reached its climax. But one thing is clear: the failure of the British (or Americans) to adopt a democratic policy on Iranian oil has (a) strengthened the position of Stalinism in those areas; (b) stimulated the national aspirations of all the peoples of the Middle East; and (c) for the moment, at least, strengthened the control of the reactionary feudal cliques which rule most of these countries and which have placed themselves at the head of the nationalist

High Court OKs Smith Act. Using Stalinist Reasoning

(June 11) Thus the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, which makes it a crime to advocate revolutionary ideas in America, was given final court approval. despite the vigorous dissent of Justices Black and Douglas. The specific case was the conviction of 11 leaders of the Communist Party under the act. The country took another stride along the road which leads to the police state.

Since then, the arrest of a number of other Stalinist leaders has taken place. All are charged with violating the Smith Act. But despite the general contempt and hatred with which the Stalinists are regarded .by the labor movement and the vast majority of liberals and progressives in America, the dangerous implications of the Smith Act have

In November the national CIO convention passed a strong resolution against the Smith Act. On December 13 the national headquarters of the ADA announced that it was launching a campaign against the

IN KOREA: IS IT PEACE?

The People Look Forward to an End of the Killing

(July 2) The truce talks in Korea had started. The "little people" of the world

mean that its speed will be stepped up. No one looks to a truce as the end of the war threat, and certainly no one thinks that it will bring tion setup. Since then it has had no more real say in the economic plans unity and peace to Korea, the chief victim of the great imperialist struggle. (July 23)

The police force of Cicero, a Chicago suburb, aided eventually by an inflamed mob of some 8000 men and women, prevented a Negro bus driver from moving into an apartment in the town with his family. The This was one of the most dramatic incidents of the year in the struggle of the Negro people for full equality in America.

The shame of Cicero was made even more shameful when a local grand jury indicted, not the cops and the rioters, but the Negro's lawyer and the people who had rented the apartment to him. Later, to be sure, the indictments were quashed, and a federal grand jury brought indictments against the police, or at least their chief, and other town officials.

Many other incidents of discrimination, ranging from the murder of Negro prisoners by a police officer to the open refusal of one of New York's swankiest night clubs to admit a famous Negro artist broke into the headlines during the year. The struggle against Jim Crow is making progress, but Jim Crow still stands dominant in the lives of the Negro people of America.

War Budget Plus **Decontrol Bill Equals Inflation**

Throughout the year, the mobilization of industry for war production continued. But the pace was slower than had been anticipated. While factories were being built and others tooled up for armaments, the civilian economy spurted ahead to new highs. Though purchasing power was strong, people were fearful of spending their money, and many lines of commodities failed to move at volumes which had been expected. Prices kept up a fairly steady increase in some lines, but in others fell below the ceilings set by earlier legislation.

By mid-year the clamor from the businessmen for an end to controls resulted in legislative action. The control bill was emasculated of almost everything but wage controls (and even these were considerably weakened).

Yet everyone knows that the big inflationary push lies ahead. By the late spring of next year, military production is planned to be at flood-tide. This will absorb more and more of the raw materials and manpower now going into civilian production. And when the real squeeze comes on, the government will not have the legal machinery to keep inflation in check.

IUE Still Faces Task of Beating CP With Militancy

(Sept. 10) This headline applies specially to the IUE, the CIO electrical union, but also to the rest of the American labor movement. Despite all the advantages of the anti-"red" hysteria in the country, help from all sections of the government and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the American labor movement has failed to completely eliminate the Stalinists from influence in the labor movement. The Stalinist-led UE, the West Coast longshoremen, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and a few others are far from dead.

There is only one explanation for this: the labor movement generally has been far too prone to use organizationally bureaucratic and politically reactionary means against the Stalinists. And although the power of the latter has been reduced, many militants still rally to the Stalinist leaders in sheer revulsion against the tactics and ideology of their opponents

Socialists of India and Japan Declare Unity In Fight for Third Camp vs. Both War Blocs

(Oct. 8)

The statement signed by leaders of these two important mass socialist parties in Asia is fraught with significance for the future. In contrast to this expression of an ardent desire to stay aloof from the capitalist and Stalinist camps in the world-wide struggle, and to build a new camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples, the social-democratic parties of most other countries have lined up unequivocally in the camp of American capitalism. Foremost, as could be expected, is the dominant leadership of the American Socialist Party, despite opposition from the ranks and from the YPSL. But the Indian and Japanese joint statement gives further hope and determination to all those who are seriously seeking a way out of the impending world catastrophe.

•

Space does not permit us to trace all the other important political developments and trends of the year. We have had to leave out the political scandals which revealed corruption in all branches of the American government. We have not mentioned all the extremely important developments surrounding the growth and gradual consolidation of American power in Western Europe via NATO, and the accompanying growing hatred and suspicion of America displayed by most Europeans. We have not traced the struggle over academic freedom which has been going on throughout American educational and academic life. In looking back, we can say that the dominant feature of 1951 has

It has been a year of gestation. It would be foolhardy to attempt to predict just when any of these trends will reach their apex. It would be even more foolish for socialists to believe that they can safely sit back, observe the trends, and merely speculate on the velocity and direction of their future development. That velocity and direction depends on them as much, if not more, than on others. But it will depend on them only if their study of the political and economic world serves as a guide to action.



LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 W. 14 St., N.Y.C.

Socialism

	1000
he Fight for Socialism—	
Max Shachtman\$	1.00
ocialism, Utopian & Scientific	
-Engels	.75
ocialism, the Hope of	
Humanity-Shachtman	.10
larxism in the U.STrotsky	.35
lenty for All-Erber	.25
rinciples & Program of Inde-	
pendent Socialism (LA spe-	The second
cial issue)	.10
ndependent Socialism & War	
(LA special issue)	.10
larx as Economist-Dobb	.15
eform or Revolution-Rosa	
Luxemburg	.50
I. I. N	1
Labor Movement	

Next: A Labor Party!-Ranger .25 The UAW & Walter Reuther-Howe & Widick 3.00 History of the Amer. Working Class Movement-Bimba ____ 1.75 The Role of the Trade Unions

- (mimeo)-Erber The Labor Spy Ratket-Huberman
- New Men of Power-Mills____ 3.50 Trade Unions in the Epoch of
- Imperialist Decay Trotsky .25

Marxism

- The Accumulation of Capital -Rosa Luxemburg\$5.00 Studies in the Development of
- Capitalism-Dobb 3.50 From Hegel to Marx-Hook.__ 4.50
- Theory of Capitalist Development-Sweezy ____ New Data for Lenin's 'Impe-
- rialism'-Varga & Mendelsohn Social Revolution-Kautsky_ .95 The Evolution of Property-
- Lafargue **Materialist Conception of His-**
- tory-Plekhanov, Role of Individual in History
- -Plekhanov Karl Marx-Otto Rühle _____ 1.00
- Lenin on Agrarian Question -Rochester 1.75
- Anti-Dühring-Engels _ ____ 3.00 Materialism & Empirio-Criti-
- cism-Lenin 2.75
- Living Thoughts of Karl Marx -Trotsky 2.00 And all other in-print works
- of Marx. Engels. Lenin, Trotsky, Kautsky, Plekhanov, etc.

History

mistory	
Religion & the Rise of Capital-	i.
ism—Tawney	\$.35
Bolsheviks & the World War	
-Gankin & Fisher	6.00
Intervention, Civil War & Com-	
munism in Russia 1918_	
Bunyan	4.50
Ancient Society-Morgan	3.50
The Bending Cross (EV.	e
Debs)-Ginger	2.00
History of Supreme Court—	
Myers	3.00
American Empire-Nearing	.35
Ten Days That Shook the	
World-Reed	1.25
<i>.</i>	
Stalinism, Russia	
Rise & Fall of the Comintern	
-Tilak	\$1.00
Assassination of Leon Trotsky	
—Goldman	.25
is Russia a Socialist Commu- nity?—Browder-Shachtman debate	
Behind the Moscow Trials-	
Shachtman The First Two Moscow Trials	1.00
The First Two Moscow Trials	
—Heisler	.25
Murder in Mexico—Salazar &	
Gorkin	2.50
Case of Comrade Tulayev—	1.00
Serge	3.00
Serge 1984—George Orwell The New Course Trotsky:	.35
The new Course - HOUSNY,	
incl. The Struggle for the New Course—Shachtman	
New Course-Shachtman	1:50
The Revolution Betrayed—	
Trotsky	1.50
Stalinism & Bolshevism—	
Trotsky	.15_
Stalin's Frameup System &	1000
Moscow Trials-Trotsky	1.00
Stalin (biog.)—Trotský Suppressed Testament of	5.00
Suppressed Testament of	-
Lenin-Trotsky	.25
	1

(Aug. 13)

THE SHAME OF CICERO