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ANTI-FASCISTS APPEAL FOR AID ---The Irvin Trial:Franco Regime Starts NewLegal LynchingWave of Terror in Spain

By HAL DRAPER

A new wave of terror against the opposition appears to be under way in Franco Spain, as the fascist regime institutes a series of trials against prominent militants, with death penalties threatened as the outcome. While Americans have not been informed of this by the U.S. press, the retiring American ambassador to Franco, Stanton Griffis, has been gilding the Falangist dictator in public statements as if he were a convert to democracy.

The socialist resistance movement of the Spanish POUM, as well as other anti-Franco forces, has called for international actions of solidarity to save the men facing death at the hands of Franco's hangman and to stop the threatened judicial processes against others still facing trial.

Last December, in Seville, 75 members of the underground CNT (syndicalist National Confederation of Labor) were given savage sentences for anti-Franco activities. The new cases now also involve Barcelona and Valencia.

There can be little doubt that one of the reasons why Franco feels bold enough to take the offensive at this time is his financial and diplomatic backing from this side of the Atlantic,

Franco's Method

Last week LABOR ACTION carried the first part of a firsthand report on "The Face of Franco Spain" by 'a correspondent who stressed how great a blow it was to the cause of the Spanish people when the U.S.

swung toward a rapprochement with Madrid, especially for those who had entertained illusions about help from Washington. In his next part (to be published next week-crowded out of this issue) the same correspondent notes, as of the time of his trip, that there is no atmosphere of terror visible to the naked eye of the traveler, not since 1944. There is not, to be sure, a Stalinist-type terror which strikes fear into every home; but Franco is nevertheless starting new and fierce attacks against the opposi-

(Turn to last page)

Halley Slaps Liberal Party; Queens Election Shows Liberals Must Stress Own Organization

of both major political machines, Cranmore got 2,646 votes, Republican Robert T. Ross 17.300, and Democrat Hugh Quinn 11,442.

One feature of the Liberal Party vote in this election was that it poiled a much larger vote than the candidate of the American Labor Party, Theima Bearman, who got 1,221 votes, despite the fact that the ALP has been traditionally stronger than the Liberals in this district.

Cranmore's showing was without a doubt disappointing to both the leadership and the ranks of the party. He conducted a spirited campaign, and the party activists pitched in with a will. They were aided by several unions in addition to the Ladies' Garment Workers and Milliners, which form the backbone of Liberal The high hopes of the party people for at least a very strong showing, if not a victory, were based to no small degree on the fact that Halley had run a close second to the winner in that district last fall

CHIEF NEED

It would be quite useless to try te draw any definite conclusions from this election. The election was announced only a few weeks before the date of voting. (The election was to fill a vacancy left when the former incumbent resigned to run for district attorney of Queens County last fall.) The Liberal Party had a little more than a week in which to organize and carry out its whole campaign in a district which had never been one of its strongholds, and in which it had never had a solid local organization.

Further, the vote was extremely light. The total vote was only (Turn to last page)

Page Two



By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 24-Just before the curtain opens on the one-week stand of the congressional committee looking into "Communist activities," there is time to outline certain major features of the

Hero of the plot will be another FBI agent, whose contribution may equal the testimony of Mrs. Baldwin in Washington, who was able to reveal after 9 years in the Communist Party that Nat Ganley was a member!

Congressman Potter (Republican, Michigan) expects to ride into the Senate, replacing Blair Moody, as a result of the publicity he hopes to get this coming week. The Mc-Carthy of Michigan.

The tough cadre of pro-Stalinist union leaders who have been subpoenaed may give the congressional committee a much hotter time than the committee expects. There is even some expectation in Detroit that the sum-total result of the show will be the strengthening of Stalinism

WHO'LL GAIN?

Two Ford Local 600 officials, Pat Rice, vice president, and Bill Hood, recording secretary, are backed by the local, and Hood did a neat job of blasting the chairman of the congressional commitGeorgia, for his anti-labor and ment. anti-Negro record.

Since the Rev. Charles Hill, Coleman Young, former Wayne County CIO secretary-treasurer, LeBron Simmons, brilliant Negro attorney, are other subpoenaed witnesses, this hearing may produce a clash between a Dixiecrat congressman and prominent and qualified Negro leaders, who know how to give as well as take. There is little question who will gain influence among Detroit's large Negro population in that kind of a debate! It has some CIO leaders here worried.

Although the daily press may be able to slant the hearings enough to protect the congressmen, the use of TV will enable all of Detroit to see the show for it-

UAW SILENT

How stupid people can get in this part of the world was shown last week, when the official spokesman for the Detroit Chamber of Commerce blasted legislation to aid the unemployed by claiming the Detroit unemployment situation was simply "normal." It was about as popular as Marie Antoinette's classic, "Let 'em eat cake." And Congressman Potter may find himself a little hard-pressed to defend the record of the Republican Party and his own rec-

tee, Representative Wood of ord on the problem of unemploy-

Detroit's daily papers keep agitating every day with big stories and headlines in an effort to create a hysteria in this city over the "red" issue. Even after the City Council recognized that William Allan, Daily Worker correspondent here, was legally entitled to his apartment in the housing project, they sought to whip up a eighborhood feeling against him and get him run out.

The silence of the UAW-CIO officially on the hearings here hasn't helped keep the atmosphere calm. UAW officials hope that nothing too serious happens, and that their Democratic Party allies aren't hurt too much.

The evasive attitude of the UAW-CIO is more than matched by the shameful capitulation of the Wayne University faculty to the hysteria in collegiate circles. Surely any professor with an ounce of intellectual integrity must blush at the feature story in today's Detroit News which explains in detail how Wayne University, under the direction of Dr. David Henry, suppresses freedom of speech on the campus. works with the police in fingering students, and prides itself on the suppression of any pro-Stalinist movement.

Pittsb'g Dems Kick Their Labor Allies in the Teeth

By GERALD McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 24-The labor vement has just taken another kick in the teeth from the Democratic Party. The locale this time is Pennsylvania. The occasion was slate-making for the coming fall elections. As usual, the party professionals have doublecrossed tential candidates from the union movement in favor of machine regulars.

A particularly dramatic illustration is the 30th congressional district of Pennsylvania. This area - Pittsburgh's industrial south side and the adjoining steel towns along the Monongahela River-is the most heavily industrialized congressional district in the entire United States. Within this solidly Democratic district lives the staggering number of 80,000 steel workers.

LABOR MAN BY-PASSED

The congressman from this district recently died. He was temporarily replaced by his wife, Mrs. Vera Buchanan. To fill the seat permanently, the labor movement-and virtually everybody else-expected that the Lawrence-Kane Pittsburgh Democratic machine would give the nomination to State Senator Elmer Holland. a CIO staff man who is a former congressman and a popular and able steel workers' leader. Hol-

land was as enthusiastically supported by the AFL. United Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods as he was by the CIO. For several years, a committee representing all of these organizations except the UMW has been work-

ing together on political action. The local "Fair Deal" machine, however, had different ideas. In a carefully rigged meeting of party hacks, the unkown fillin, Mrs. Buchanan; was endorsed instead. Labor knew nothing of this until the prearranged vote was taken.

THEY FEAR LABOR

The same coup took place on the state level. It was generally believed that another CIO man, State Senator Sam Neff; would be named by the Democrats for auditor general. At the last minute, a party regular was named instead

It is reported that the machine feared that if the considerable ratronage of the auditor genera al's office fell to a labor man, labor might be in a position to name the Democratic candidate for governor in 1954. It is also reported that former Senator Francis Myers was not slated for the United States Senate this year in order that he might be available to run for governor two years hence, and thus preclude any candidate that labor might

Such calculated long-range maneuvering indicates how determined—and how successful—the machine men are in their determinotion that labor shall not "take over" the party.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

The calculated insult to labor by the Democrats in passing over Holland for Buchanan illustrates what is really at stake. Mrs. Buchanan, the machine candidate, has always voted for labor. After all, most congressmen from working-class districts usually do, even when their real sentiments lie with the other side. But Mrs. Buchanan's basic loyalty will be to the machine which "made" her; Holland's basic loyalty is to the labor movement. Holland would do more than vote "for the record"; he would speak, work and fight actively for the labor movement.

Labor's reaction to the brazer, doublecross was a blistering statement condemning both parties for ignoring labor in the selection of candidates. The informal joint labor committee has announced that it has "begun discussions toward the molding of permanent joint labor political action in Pittsburgh." It is certainly the least they can do.

It is not enough, however. The Democrats are not awed. The reported reaction of the Democratic machine is. "Where else can they go?" Militants in Pittsburgh can answer by calling on their union to run Elmer Holland on an independent labor ticket.



Southwood's 'Chinese Exclusion' Vote: **Brotherhood Week vs. Property Values**

By JACK WALKER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 25-On the eve of Governor Earl Warren's proclamation of Brotherhood Week in California a South San Francisco neighborhood voted 174 to 28 that Sing Sheng, his pregnant wife, and 21/2-yearold son should not occupy their newly acquired home in a "restricted" neighborhood. Although unenforceable legally, it is likely that this vote will be personally binding since it was a voting test put forward by the new tenant himself.

Sing, a 25-year-old ex-Chinese Nationalist officer, college graduate, and now an airline mechanic, had made a down payment of \$2950 on a \$12,300 home several weeks ago, when a storm of protests swamped him into reconsidering his action, according to the San Francisco Chronicle's report.

He said: "At first they did try to use a little bit of threat. It was suggested that little children might throw rocks and dumb garbage on the house if I bought it. I was not America and I did not understand [!]. I wondered how the children would know which house to throw rocks at unless their teachers told them."

When the threats failed, persuasion was attempted. At a February 1 neighborhood meeting of "calm discussion," Sing proposed the test vote after he had been assured by several home owners that their main objection to Sing was that property values might be lowered.

WORLD SCANDAL

The results of the vote (174 no, 28 yes, and 14 abstentions, as determined on February 16) can be understood better if the following incident is kept in mind. Just before the vote was to be counted, a University of California Bureau of Business and Economic Research report was read showing that race did not appear to change the values of homes in San Francisco and Berkeley. The economics was met with voices

The immediate and widespread publicity given the case (the New York Herald Tribune reported the story on page 1; the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune gave it special coverage), plus the excellent local coverage in the Chronicle, soon made a national and international scandal out of the simple disappointment of a minority family trying to move closer to the place of employment of the husband, trying to have a three-bedroom home for six people (including a baby due this week and the mother's sister and mother) and trying to find a back yard for the 2½-year-old son to play in-off the sidewalk.

Before the inevitable cold-war repercussions are explored, it is worthwhile to note a Chronicle editorial debunking the "exceptionalism" of this case: "Nor do we share the Chinese editor's thesis that the 174 Southwoodians are atypical. At some risk of being shouted down as lacking in conviction, we withhold the rock that might easily be thrown at Southare not living in a glass house. We wonder how our abstract hatred of race prejudice, and our veneration for the doctrine of men's equality, would have survived the Southwood test if we happened to own a house in Southwood." Such candor merits recognition.

Now, whether property devaluation would have taken place or not — it seems doubtful in this case-it is up to all socialists and democrats to support Sing's right to live wherever he wants to, like any human being of any race. For us it is a social problem primarily, nor should we get trapped into accepting in advance the results of an economic consequence should it in fact occur. We are for Sing's occupying his home no matter what the effect on "property values" in the minds of the prejudiced. Otherwise racism becomes a vieious circle.

In Washington U. S. Senator Knowland (Repub., Cal.) thought Standard, C. S. Kwei, editorialized the episode "a most unfortunate from the back of the garage incident. . . . It will be labeled as shouting: "Let's get on with it. representative of our country and when America is under propaganda

aganda is unjustified, of course. This isolated incident in a single small community is not representative at all." Although the Chronicle had stated just the contrary in an earlier editorial, it cannot (and did not) openly criticize Knowland, and remains the staunch Republican paper that it

Letters of sympathy poured into Sing's home, many with offers of homes elsewhere in the Bay Area and even in the Pacific Northwest. In fact, wherever public statements were made, with few exceptions they were praising Sing's stand and conlemning those home owners who had voted to exclude him. Governor Warren and the San Francisco Council issued pious resolutions. Even some of the "no's" regretted their vote, fearing the publicity and the even greater drop in "property values" it might presage. (It is not a happy lot to be a home owner!) So overwhelmingly for Sing was the response that it is interesting to note the limited public criticism

WHITEWASHES

State Senator Jack Tenney (Rep. L. A.), a former chairman of the ultra-reactionary America Plus Committee, which is currently sponsoring a "freedom of choice" amendment to the state constitution legalizing discrimination, described the episode as a true example of democracy in action. "If people don't have the right to vote on their neighbors, they don't have the right to vote on their president." And: "I concur with the America Plus Committee in asserting that every man has the right to determine his associates, employers, clients -and neighbors." On Sing's behavior: "The young man showed a considerable amount of intelligence in submitting the matter to a vote and abiding by the vote's results."

The editor of the Hong Kong that Sing had "chosen" a bad time to present his case, "just Let's not fool around any more." cur people as a whole. Such prop- fire from all the Communist coun-

tries." Sing was as much to blame as the Southwood home owners, he said, because: "One's faith in democracy, like one's faith in religion, has to be intuitive . . . not to be lightly put to the test." The Chronicle disagreed with this phantom democracy or mystical democracy that Kwei put forth. It is of the same order of "democthat is preached and pracracy" ticed by Stalinism wherever it holds sway.

One phone call to Mrs. Sheng said: "If you want a home, go back to China." Mrs. Sheng was born in America. An original "no opinion" voter: "My wife and I say the election should never have been held in the first place. . . But the election was held at Mr. Sheng's request and carried out in a democratic manner. From the time it was held, the situation stopped being a Christian matter [!] and became a political matter. Now that the world is criticizing Southwood for this election, I have come to feel that the world is trying to take away my vote and my rig to sav what think."

Thus the cold war continues, locally and internationally. We can only hope that Sing wins as his "neighbors" engage in reconsidering their actions before a critical public. In another meeting of the "neighbors," one of them threw a bombshell into the assembly when he revealed that he was a Hawaiian and that his wife was Polynesian. Though reported to be somewhat stunned, the rest still voted for the exclusion of the Sing family. Whether Southwood "property values" will survive the new revelation will, we trust, haunt the sleep of the die-hard nay-voters.

It is to be hoped that the shame that has been heaped on Southwood may at least be a deterrent for similar communities.

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Israel: Mapam Splits Over **Pro-Stalinist Policies**

A split has taken place in the Mapam, pro-Stalinist labor party

March 3, 1952

of Israel.

The party split following a statement by a Mapam deputy, David Lifshitz, in the Knesset, that the Arab Stalinists were imbued with Arab nationalism and were anti-Israel. For this "crime," he was brought up on charges, refused to attend the trial, and on February 21 sent in a letter announcing the formation of a new labor party. The other deputy publicly associated with him is Anna Lanman. News dispatches also speak of support to the new party by 5 deputies, and 35 per

So far, all of the dissidents have been from the Achduth Avodah section of the Mapam, and have denounced the Mapam for being almost indistinguishable from the Israeli Stalinists and for accepting the latter's leadership.

cent of the Mapam, especially"in

now have become tired of one-

sided collaboration. The Stalinists

have been making it difficult for

their Zionist followers.

OREN CASE

decai Oren.

"justice."

italists."

confirmation.

the large cities.

As reported in previous LABOR ACTION articles, the internal struggle within Mapam was expected to break out in an open split: the main question was when and where. At bottom the cause is the complete subservience of the Mapam leadership to the foreign policy of the Stalinists. As long as Russia_supported some Zionist demands, the Zionist Achduth Avodah was able to go along. After the shift of the Stalinists to an anti-Zionist position, they tended to develop resistance but hoped for a change in line. They

The latest blows suffered by the pro-Stalinist Zionists were: the anti-Israeli statements by the Egyptian Stalinists at the "youth festival" in Berlin, and the disappearance of the extreme pro Stalinist Hashomer leader Mor-

Mordecai Oren, a member of the Sneh-Riftin wing of Hashomer Hatzair, which advocated immediate organic unity with the Israeli CP and the Cominform, disappeared in Prague when he went there to inquire into the whereabouts of his brother Orenstein, a leading Stalinist official who had vanished in the purges following the downfall of Slansky. But he too -although an Israeli citizen-met the same fate; he vanished into thin air. Reports circulate that he was arrested for "encouraging im-

migration to Israel." . Of course, no one knows when the Czech government declared this to be a crime; or, if it did, when Oren had the time to commit it, since he disappeared immediately upon arrival. Such questions do not concern Stalinist

In all probability, the Czech Stalinists will try to make him "confess" that he was the go-between for Slansky in the latter's "subversive" dealings with Israel, "cosmopolitans," and "Jewish cap-

Oren's fate had a visible effect on Achduth Avodah and even on Hashomer elements. The Mapam official organ, El Hamishmar, printed not a single word about the affair; it merely reported that Mapam had sent an emissary to free Oren. Among the ranks the leadership has been spreading the report that Oren was arrested for one day and then released. They have not dared to offer public

STALINOID LINE It is not yet clear how much support the new party has among



likely that it will attract organized support from Hashomer elements. The organizational principle of the Hashomer collectives requires "ideological unity," and any member joining another party would be expelled and lose his livelihood. But the new party may get much sympathy and could be the beginning of a chain of events that may affect even the Stalinist line of the Hashomer.

There is some possibility that the new group may not carry along all of the former supporters of Achduth Avodah (38 per cent of Mapam) and the Left Poale Zion (12 per cent of Mapam). A few of the Left Poale Zion leaders had already joined the pro-Stalinist Hashomer at the last Mapam conference held in the fall of 1951.

While the leaders of Achduth Avodah are anti-Stalin (they do not want to see Stalinism in Israel in private they criticize Russia's lack of democracy and say that Tito is building socialism in Yugoslavia), nevertheless their opposition to the Stalinization of the Mapam is based on emotion and on what is to them the acid test: how it affects Zionism. On theoretical grounds they had given up not only advance positions but basic lines to the Stalinists. This may now have its unfortunate results. Thus, their draft program "rec-

ognizes that the world revolutionary movement that is growing in the process of gigantic struggle and encompasses the mighty camp of the Soviet Union . . . is the movement that fights to free the world from fears of war, exploitation and fascism." The party will be "true to its friendship with being built in the Soviet Union,

ISL FUND DRIVE

campaign of \$1805. However good

this is, the amount does not match

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haven't yet received enough

money to take care of the more.

important obligations recited to

you in the opening statement on

the drive.

time we make our next report.

50 per cent of its quota.

Cleveland goes to the top with

By ALBERT GATES

Fund Drive Director

the people's democracies and China." Achduth Avodah opposed "anschluss" with the Cominform, proposing instead greater cooperation. It favored continuation of the right of factions in the party but also opposed the entry of Arab workers into a single party.

TOWARD MAPAI?

Hashomer Hatzair proposed 'eventual" affiliation to the Cominform and "future" admission of Arabs into a single party and trade-union organization. While Hashomer condemned Tito, the Achduth Avodah draft program was loud in its silence.

Despite the abolition of factions, Hashomer did in fact continue as a faction because of its ideological control of its settlements. The Achduth Avodah people also created their de-facto faction by splitting the Kibbutz Hamenchad, transforming it into a homogeneous ideological unit, in preparation for a showdown with Hashomer inside of or outside of the Mapam.

The fate of the new party is speculative. It will probably continue independent existence for a while at least. There is. of course. the possibility that it may re-enter the Mapai or unite with a left wing of Mapai.

It is also to be hoped that its. people will rethink their sad experiences with Stalinism in a fundamental sense, as well as their views on the Arab question. For their own reasons the Hashomer pro-Stalinists adopted a position of friendliness with the Arabs, in line with Russian foreign policy, but there is no reason to confuse the Stalinists' motivations with the need for a real socialist policy the fortress where socialism is of rapproachement of the Jewish and Arab peoples.

Slow Pickup—Fill Up Those Zero Columns!

'Filthy, Lying, Deceiving,' Says **Murray of Steel Bosses' Case**

By GERALD McDERMOTT

PLTTSBURGH, Feb. 23-"Collective bargaining has become less and less a contest and more and more a collaboration." So de clared Philip Murray to the United Steelworkers conventionin 1948.

"They have made a force out of collective bargaining. . . . The selfroclaimed statesmen of the steel ndustry have offered just one little word: 'No.'" It is still Murray speaking, but the time is the present. The difference between the two statements illustrates the evolution taking place in the steel union and in steel labor relations.

"Collaboration" between the union and the steel industry at the present time can best be understood by a look at the presentations of the two sides to the Wage Stabilization Panel considering their current dispute. Not satisfied with repeating an insolent "No" to every one of the 22 demands of the union, the arrogant steel barons have gone on to say that steel is now a "pushoutton industry" and that the steel workers' "already high" pay makes them the "economic rovalists" of the labor movement. The union, declared industry spokesmen, was loaded with "loafers, chiselers and bargain-hunters.'

Arguing against a guaranteed annual wage to tide steel workers over periods of unemployment, a United States Steel economist suggested that instead the workers themselves set aside \$15 a week for a rainy day. Most steel workers feel lucky if they have 15 cents left at the close of the

WILL STEEL ACCEPT?

Murray's answer to this tirade was to brand it as "the most reprehensible, filthy, lying, deceiving presentation that has ever been

presented . . . in my lifetime." The judgment is restrained, if anything.

In the meantime, the union has postponed its strike deadline for a third time. The postponement was necessary because the companies had dragged their feet in resenting their case to the WSB: therefore, the WSB is behind schedule in reaching recommendations. The union insists, however, that the companies shall not profit from their refusal to bargain. Murray has declared that all benefits should be retroactive to January 1, the expiration date of the old contract.

Reports from Washington indicate that the WSB may recommend a 15-cent hike for the union and a \$3-a-ton price boost for the industry. Such a solution would represent a substantial victory. The industry would be permitted about a \$3 increase anyway, automatically, under the Capehart amendment. The industry has declared that it would need a \$10 boost if it met the union's demands.

The big question is whether the companies will accept the WSB findings. If not, the union will strike. Murray indicated week that he feels the union has already complied with the Taft-Hartley provision which could require an 80-day postponement. It doubtful if the government would agree with this interpretation, but Murray does not seem worried. The new strike deadline is Monday, March 24.

No one should be surprised if the dispute is finally "solved"that is, postponed—by "government seizure.

PERSECUTION IN LATIN AMERICA

(WDL Release)

Over thirty thousand labor leaders, workers and other persons are being held prisoners in various Latin American countries because of their labor activities cr political beliefs, according to a petition presented to the United Nations.

This petition, prepared by the Workers Defense League, in cooperation with the International League for the Rights of Man and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. called upon the United Nations to take action in exposing the full extent of the suppression of the free labor movement and civil rights by Argentina, Venezuela Peru, the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Paraguay. Charging that Venezuela is a major violator of human rights, detaining an estimated six thousand labor and political prisoners, most of them without trial, the WDL presented affidavits showing that many of these prisoners are being tortured.

"Sex, age or physical condition of those imprisoned has constituted no bar to their maltreatment or the fact that thousands of them, many aged and ill, are held without trial, incommunicado, without hope of redress, save by some action of the United Nations," the petition stated.

The Workers Defense League is preparing additional documentation of these charges for the use of the UN in support of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' resolution on this subject.

You're Invited

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

Fund Drive Box Score For this second report of the 1952 ISL Fund Drive, which is not quite two weeks old, we can Quota Paid Percent report the contribution of an additional \$824, or a total in the

Cleveland	200	100	50	
Buffalo	650	300	46	
Streator	25	10	40	
Socialist Youth League	1,500	579	38.6	
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Detroit 5; Northwest 5;	New Have	en 20.	1.11.11.11.1	1
Oakland		140	28	ć
Pittsburgh		25	16.6	
Chicago		225	12.5	
New York	4,000	432	10.8	
Newark	300	31	10.3	
Philadelphia		20	6.6	
Los Angeles		38	6.3	
General	1,000	5	0.3	
Akron		0	: 0 -	
Baltimore	25	0	0	
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This week saw New York and Buffalo join the list of contributors with \$432 and \$300 respectively That's fairly good. We say fairly, because New York-which is usuamount contributed-is lagging far behind its usual pace, and since it has the largest quota, this effects the total drive more than any other single branch. We are advised however, that after a late start things are beginning to move along more rapidly and the next two weeks should show a rapid climb. At this time of writing, Buffalo is in first place, followed closely by Streator and the Socialist

Independent Socialist League

New York 11, N.Y.

Page Four

The **ISL** Program in Brief

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

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

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!



BURMA: MORE DISCUSSION ON ITS **GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

Comrade Alexander's original had to forgo demands to nationdescribed the recent successes of the Burmese government in combating guerrilla attacks and referred to the government as "socialist." Letters from Comrades Magnus (Dec. 10) and Stanley (Jan. 21) took issue with the viewpoint which they saw in the article. We commented only that more information was needed on the situation in Burma. Comrade Alexander here continues the discussion, from his own standpoint.

By DAVID ALEXANDER

-Ed

I should like to take this opportunity to comment on the letters of Comrades Magnus and Stanley about the situation in Burma.

My original article dealt with the different forces which were then fighting the Burmese government. Since that time their numbers have decreased to about 10,000, although they still control 3 million people out of a population of 17 million. From these figures alone, it is abundantly clear that such small Stalinist forces could not control so large a part of the country were it not for a certain amount of popular

It is true, for instance, that in the parts under their control they have distributed a large amount of lond. But this measure was swiftly followed by the imposition of a tax equivalent to one third of the product of the land; it was rumored that the rice collected thereby was sold in governmentcontrolled areas at large profits; be that as it may, the discontent caused by the imposition of these harsh burdens and the peasants' disinclination to fight a guerrilla war led the Stalinists to carry out severe repressive measures. Their original "land committees" were dissolved, and they indulged in purges similar to those which have occurred in Indo-China, Malaya and China.

The Burmese government since 1948 has been trying to carry out me socialist measures by nationalizing timber as well as the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company. They have also instituted resettle ment areas for landless peasants. Schools have been established and a general amnesty was declared for "Communists" last year. (Among those who surrendered was Bo Naung Cho, a prominent guerrilla.)

VICIOUS CIRCLE

But before they could exercise any administrative control what- aspirations, than by forcing it to soever, the government had to the right in voin attempts to overclear out the "Communists" or be throw it. The Burmese government cleared out by them. They were of 1945 was at least as progressive already spending one third of as the then British Labor governneir budget on fighting the insurgents, and have obtained a critical left-wing support, lest it certain measure of success. In or- fall more completely into the der to restore peace to the coun- hands of the Burmese bourgeoisie, try they had to have British and which provides the very reason for

article on Burma (Nov. 26 last) alize foreign oil and mining interests.

> Thus we see the vicious circle. In order to carry out any form of progressive policy they had to have peace: to obtain this they had to have arms, and these were only forthcoming on their agreement to abandon their major socialist aims. It must be clearly kept in mind that Aung San's original government was a revolution ary one, mass-supported, which fought both British and Japanese. There was, as Comrade Stanley points out, only a very small Burmese bourgeoisie. Unlike India or Indonesia, independence WAS gained by the masses.

Since then, however, their political backwardness has allowed the Burmese to be ruled by ; largely inefficient government which had the following tasks: (1) stop the fighting; (2) industrialize the country; (3) educate the people; (4) start a socialist program.

CRITICAL SUPPORT

This brings us to an investigation of the role of the Burmese government vis-a-vis the Stalin-

There is no doubt whatsoever that the government of Aung San could have put many more socialist measures into effect if the Stalinists had not been wrecking the country. There is no doubt that the swing to the right was precipitated by the necessity to accept American aid to fight the Stalinists. On the other hand, from what information I have. am fully satisfied that the Stalinists are of the same perspective as Mao and his thugs or Ho Chi Minh or any other of their ilk. They represent a very small minority exploiting the discontent of the peasants, while at the same time being largely responsible for it. It is more than significant that the Stalinist outbreaks did not occur until they were refused jobs in the government; further, that they coincided with premature risings by Stalinist groups in Indonesia, Malaya and other Far Eastern countries.

I am not saying that there is not genuine and well-founded discontent against a corrupt government. But I state categorically that the Anti-Fascist People's League was a mass peasant movement; in my opinion, far more could be done by cooperating in such a government (as until 1948) which then had genuinely progressive aims and American aid; to obtain this they existence of the Stalinists.



READING from LEFT to RIGHT

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE NEGRO, by Eleonore Orland Sterling.—The Crisis, Jan.

Jefferson, whose name is associated with the principle that "all men are created equal" and who was an opponent of slavery, yet held views on Negro inferiority which today we would expect to hear only from a Talmadge. This is the paradox explored in a well-balanced article in the NAACP magazine, which does not go off the deep end to smear Jefferson but rather attempts to understand his dilemma in terms of his historical context

In Jefferson's ideas, "the roots of that which is greatest in the American liberal tradition" Miss Sterling also sees "the split existing within its very soul." The great democrat refuted theological, political and philosophic justifications for inequality, only to fall prey to the newborn "scientific" one, "the biological hierarchy of the human race."

Against the ideas of Buffon, who said that all men were of the same species; some of the men of the Enlightenment followed Hume and

Voltaire, who had suggested theories of the diverse origin of the human species; they put the Negro in the lowest rank, "closest" to the ape. "In the name of progress and enlightenment, they gave scientific sanction to prejudice, the same prejudice they happened to hold, and which mo dern science has long exploded. But it helped Jefferson escape from a dilemma that was shaking him: "despite many plans and infailed to free his own slaves during tentions. his lifetim because of the serious social and rdships it might have entailed," even economic though he opposed slavery. Perhaps the explanation is too personal; in any case, there was a similar split between the equalitarian views of mians and the property conditions of the Jeffers the times.

Miss Sterling's quotations from Jefferson's writings on Negro inferiority make no cheerful reading: but one can get a vivid feel of "how the most highminded humanitarian will contrive the greatest absurdities in order to cover up his own inconsistencies," as she says. Socialists know that thoroughly: good intentions are not enough.

dent!)

Halley Slaps Liberals ---

(Continued from page 1) about 30 per cent of the registered voters, and only about one sixth of the maximum vote the district casts in a presidential election. This district is a peculiar ene in that although the large majority of its voters are enrolled Democrats (66,000 to 34,000 Republicans in 1951), it generally votes Republican in elections for president, governor and U.S. Senate, and Democratic in elections to local office.

Under these circumstances, if the election result demonstrates anything, it shows that the Liberal Party's chief need is to build up its own local clubs, its own local machinery, on a year-round basis. The Republican machine was there, ready for use in this election; the Democrats gave Quinn (who openly repudiated the Truman administration) very little support; and the Liberals, despite their fine 'quickie" mobilization of people on a city-wide basis, were not able to overcome the lack of previous work in this field.

THE LESSON

It is possible that leaders in the Liberal Party who have little stomach for a really independent policy will point to the Cranmore election in support of their claim that the party cannot and should not try to win with its own candidates against the field. Halley's election, they all admit, was due

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primarily to the popularity and television appeal he had gained as ccunsel to the Kefauver Committee and to the general revulsion against the corruption of the city administration laid bare in those hearings. Their conclusion: Either the Liberals must support liberal Democrats (or even Republicans) as in the past, or at the very least, back a prominent personality like Halley. But that brings us back to Hal-

ley's open slap-in-the-face of the party, and to something else which is at least equally important. Halley's repudiation, which was preceded by the cold shoulder turned to the party by Franklin Roosevelt Jr., the other prominent "independent Democrat" elected by the Liberals, should shatter any illusions that by this means the party can hope to win strong political positions at the top. It should also teach the lesson that, in concentrating on such "victories," the Liberal Party has in the past forfeited its best opportunities to build its own organization.

"GET-RICH-QUICK"

The Halley campaign should have been particularly instructive on this score. The whole campaign was run down from the fop. It was primarily a newspaper and radio campaign, run from Halley headquarters by men on the Liberal payroll with Liberal money. Except in the very first phases of the campaign when the problem was to get enough signatures on petitions to get Halley on the ballot, the clubs

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From a brochure issued by the National Council Against Con- proposal for permanent legislation." scription.

UMT CAN STILL BE DEFEATED

tually is.

In spite of anything you may have heard or read, Universal Military Training is not yet the law of the land. It will not become the and one-half years of reserve status. law unless Congress acts on it favorably in the spring of 1952. As Chairman Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee said in Guard) ... reporting on the House and Senate conference on the bill: "The most significant is the agreement with respect to the require-

ment that Congress must take another look at universal military and instill "obedience." training before it can be put into operation." (June 7, 1951.) UMT has not yet been adopted.

The chances of defeating it are good.

It will probably come up for a vote before April 1952. Now is the time, therefore, to let your congressman and senators know of your opposition, and keep letting them know.

UMT WOULD BE PERMANENT LEGISLATION

Supporters of Universal Military Training try to give the impression that its adoption has something important to do with the present emergency, and that it will last only as long as the emergency does. The only relation is just this-that the emergency is being used to push UMT across.

The purpose behind Universal Military Training is to establish PER-MANENT conscription in a country that has always abhorred the very idea of such a system. It is to force every young man-and soon, perhaps, every girl—to submit to a long period of indoctrination with the military attitude toward life, which is the opposite of the democratic attitude.

Said Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg to a Senate

LABOR ACTION

March 3, 1952



were hardly mobilized at all. Many clubs did not even meet during the campaign, as their officers were too busy with top-level operations to bother with the rank and file. In those cases where new clubs were organized they tended to be more "Halley" clubs than "Liberal" clubs. (One organizer tells the story of a club thus brought into being most of whose members turn" out to be for MacArthur for presi-

It is ironical that the Liberal Party leaders argue that those in the ranks who want the party to run its own candidates against the field are "unrealistic" and want to follow a "get-rich-quick' policy. It is precisely the policies of these leaders, who seek easy electoral victories rather than solid electoral campaigns which would actually build the party, which turn out to be unrealistic. It they had concentrated during the Halley campaign on building their organization, on educating a maximum number of people to the principles which distinguish their party from the Democrats and Republicans, they would be in a much stronger position today than they actually are.

Such a policy might not have led to a Cranmore victory, and in all probability it would not have prevented Halley from repudiating the party in due course. But if it had been followed, there can be little question but that the Liberal Party would today be a stronger and more self-confident political organization than it acTot cialist Youth League Socialist Youth Leag

Textbook-Burning in New York City's Public School System

By MEL HACKER

The curtain of silence is falling over the New York public school system. The state Board of Regents and city Superintendent of Schools Jansen are leading a determined and very effective purge of teachers and textbooks. Behind them solemnly march powerful clerical forces seeking to infiltrate the secular public school system with school prayers, Bible-reading, religious censorship and public support for parochial school education.

The basic idea behind this movement is simple enough: the United States is preparing for war with Russia; questionings, liberalism, departure from the most provincial and reactionary aspects of the American Way of Life (Capitalism and God) threaten America's existence; war is war, industrial America is efficient; the luxuries of more than One Official and Sacred Opinion, of books and ideas, of a too-literal interpretation of democratic rights and privileges are excess baggage in this fighting war machine.

And the liberals lament: "Now once again the blanket of intolerance is spread, more swiftly than we are aware, for we have accepted without argument or reasoning the incantation of the voice of anxiety. Step by step we welcome the new tyranny to soothe the ache of our uncertainties as if safety lay in closing the book of our minds. Step by step in easy gradations we have broken down the old defenses and asked the authorities—our government, state, university—to help us close our mouth and shut our ears and dim our eyes." (Francis Biddle, in Fear of Freedom.)

From Pasadena and Englewood, all too quickly the attack on free, secular, public education has shifted to New York.

Led by the professional anti-Communist Rabbi Schultz and by Alan Zoll, the American Legion and the NAM, even "respectable" groups like the State Federation of Women's Clubs have pressed the Board of Regents to set up a commission to investigate school textbooks in New York for "subversive" contents. The Regents have announced that, in their attempt to combat Communism and disloyal elements in our educational institutions, the commission will-upon complaint, and they admit no specific complaints have yet been received—investigate textbooks alleged to contain "seditious matter or material promoting disloyalty to the United States or favorable to the cause of any foreign nation with whom the U. S. may be at war."

WARNING BY TEACHERS GUILD

The commission includes Judge Bruce Bromely, noted for his upholding of Metropolitan Life's Jim Crow rental policies at Stuyvesant Town, and Mrs. Harper Sibley, wife of a former president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, along with State Education Commissioner Wilson, a truly wide representative body of citizens.

A finding by the commission that a book is subversive would result in the immediate withdrawal of the book from the schools and would subject any non-complying teacher to criminal penalties. The standards to be followed by the commission in determining what kind of material is "subversive" are not stated.

In an editorial the Teachers Guild Bulletin observes

"Past history and current attitudes warn us of the probability that what are essentially controversial issues will once again become confused with subversive Ideas. What is meant exactly by 'material promoting disloyalty'? How is 'subversive' to be defined and by whom, by you, me, by a Regent or a group of Regents? Were the factual pamphlets 'subversive' which were issued during the war by the U. S. government axplaining its allies, including the USSR? Or are they now? Is any criticism of the free enterprise system 'disloyal'? What about quotations from the Declaration of Independence? Is there not a real danger that a textbook jury would consider offensive those honest differences of opinion which are at the very root of a democratic, as contrasted with a totalitarian, form of government?" Since the findings of the commission would presumably not be sub-

ject to judicial review, the commission would in fact have almost

unlimited power to ban any book which offended the political, economic or religious sensibilities of the members of the commission. In addition a great burden is here placed on the teacher; he is intimidated into professional paralysis. Imagine being accused by a bigot of using subversive textbooks or requesting as a text a book which is later deemed "subversive."

Page Five

The very fact that such a commission has been created will tend to discourage the writing of textbooks which try to present all the facts, unfavorable as well as favorable, in our own development or which try to present all sides of the debatable issues of the day. Imagine a book critical of American capitalism on foreign policy or which analyzes the role of the Catholic Church in America getting by that commission. . . .

Although the program is still in its investigatory stages the banning of the Nation magazine from the city schools for its criticism of reaction in the Catholic Church hierarchy, the recent self-purgation from a number of school libraries of such "poison" as Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, the withdrawal of a publication issued by the Board of Education itself because the Catholic Church objected to a sentence in the publication defining the term "scholasticism"-all these indicate the direction of the book purge.

REACTION RANTS AGAINST FREE EDUCATION

The application of any criteria for judging textbooks other than sound and democratic educational considerations-namely, to impart the truth, develop critical judgment by presenting different sides and analyses of a question-would result in frequent and serious upheavals in our school curricula. As often as new developments in world affairs reshaped U. S. foreign policy, so often would there be wholesale purges of textbooks to secure conformity. We know the horrors of thought-control and the re-writing of the past in the educational life of totalitarian countries-Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany

The ranting reaction of several instigators of the book purge also ndicate its implications. Rabbi Schultz, director of the Jewish League Against Communism, fears that a conspiracy is possessing the minds of children with "a basis for collectivism . . . against traditional American economics [capitalism] and liberties [sic].

Alan Zoll, director of a lucrative little business set-up called the lational Council of American Education, cohort of the well-known American fascists and anti-Semites Gerald L. K. Smith, Joseph McWilliams and Liz Dilling, notes that "Most teachers and textbooks are socialist and the teachers' colleges are implanted with socialism. These socialist plotters are deliberate saboteurs and we are in serious danger from themjust as much as from the Communists. There are plenty of bad people who haven't joined the Communist Party and we're out for them too. You're either for individualism or collectivism. The middle is a barbedwire fence. I tell that to my kids in my talks to them." Zoll couples this with attacks on progressive education, and moans that children are not being taught the three R's, which should be taught to the exclusion of virtually everything else.

That this hysterical arrogance has received widespread public support is perhaps amazing to a civilized or semi-civilized person, but. as the citizens of Pasadena and Englewood and students of Sarah Lawrence College and Yale University and growing numbers of other communities and schools well realize, the power of fear, apathy and reaction is today strong and pervasive.

There is not a great gap between the investigation and the burning of books. Only last week books in the Sapulpa (Oklahoma) High School library were barred by the school after being criticized by a woman's civic group for the way they dealt with socialism and sex. 'They just weren't good reading for teen-age children," Mr. Hartman, vice-president of the Sapulpa Board of Education, declared. Though Mr. Hartman "could not remember" the names of any of the burned books or elaborate on the criteria used, he declared that the investigation was so thorough that it even studied the backgrounds of some authors!

Now is the time to let people know about the book purge, to urge that the State Board of Regents call off its witchhunting expedition against books and ideas.

nst Universal Military Training: It Can Be Stopped!

Armed Services Committee: "This will not be an emergency bill but a UMT WOULD MEAN 8 YEARS OF MILITARISM FOR

EVERY BOY

Don't get the impression that no more than six months of training is involved in UMT. That's only the beginning. After that come seven

Seven and a half years of being subject to military indoctrination,

subject to all the pressures the military can exert to stifle criticism Seven and a half years of being subject to immediate call for

service anywhere in the world. A boy could finish his six months of training, go to college for four years and graduate school for three years and still be subject to call

when he finished

That is what UMT means to every young American.

UMT WOULD REQUIRE A LARGER STANDING ARMY

You know the argument that UMT would mean a smaller standing army? If you've been inclined to believe it, look at these figures: Regular Army, Navy and Air Force now 3.600.000

UMT boys training at one time . 400,000 Additional men needed as trainers* 200.000

(*Estimated as needed by the Commission on UMT.)									
Right to	start	with,	in other	words,	it would	be	necessary	to	cut

600,000 men out of the Army, Navy and Air Force just to keep the military establishment at its present level. Almost a million men would need to be dropped to make a real dent

the size of the military establishment.

No one in the Pentagon has even hinted at such a possibility Can you seriously believe that anyone in Washington is thinking in those terms?

UMT WOULD EXTEND MILITARY CONTROL OF THE U.S. Already there is an ominous pattern of military control of the nation. UMT would extend this control enormously because it would mean the indoctrination of practically every young person in the country with the military point of view.

Said Senator Ralph E. Flanders (Rep., Vt.):

"It is not only that we are sacrificing to defense our standard of living and the free independence of our economic life. We are sacrificing our freedom itself. We are being forced to shift the American way of life into the pattern of the garrison state. . . . Our wealth our standard of living, the lives of our young people, and our institutions are under the control of the military. We are no longer a free people,"

-Speech in U. S. Senate, Feb. 12, 1951. The kind of freedom we have known cannot live when militarism gets control of the nation. That day is ominously close.

UMT COULD NOT OPERATE NOW, ANYWAY

The report of the Commission on UMT dated October 29, 1951, recognized that even if it were passed it could not be put into effect while the present draft schedule is operating. It proposed, therefore, to start UMT on a "token" basis, training only 60,000 youths for the time being.

Such a limping proposal demonstrates how urgently UMT's supporters feel the need of getting this thing approved in a "war" period, and how clearly they see that the American people would not approve it in times of peace. . . .

Seven and a half years of drill one night a week (if in National

Page Six

How Not to 'Foment Revolution' in Russia **Rightist Emigre Coalition Splits on Nationalities Issue**

By N. N.

• A new and significant chapter can now be added to the history of American efforts to "foment revolution in Russia." [For other articles on this subject, see issues last year for Jan. 29, June 11 and 25, July 16-Ed.]

The press has already reported that the continual and stubborn attempts by the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, Inc. (up to recently headed by Eugene Lyons) to organize and unite émigré Russian political groups have ended up in a blind alley. Alexander Kerensky, from the Russian émigré side, and Isaac Don Levine, from the American side, have recently published in the Russian-American press Novoye Russkoye Slovo, New York) a couple of open letters containing sharp accusations against each other. That lovely combination has apparently been broken up for good. The story is as follows.

Half a year ago the Swiss radio announced that Kerensky, former premier of Russia, was making a tour through Western Europe "to unite all the Russian organizations in emigration and in the USSR [literally!] for the overthrow of Stalin's regime." At this, many a philistine in America and Europe may have thought that something was really happening or had happened.

All that was really happening was that the American Committee, firmly believing everything that the Russian émigrés told them about. the instability of the Stalinist regime, decided to invest some idle money in the business of "fomenting a revolution in Russia." Politicians who had been unemployed for 30 years, members of the "Constituent Assembly," leaders of parties which had been withering away like political Mohicans, generals-without-an-army who had been promoted in exile, and more of their ilk among the Russian émigrés, in turn decided (again, literally from Vozrozhdeniye) that it is "the only hope and the best chance to do something." Thus the business was started.

Tempest in Emigration

The American Committee subsidized the travels of Kerensky and some others from New York to Germany. Several conferences of political groups were called in Fuessen, Wiesbaden and Stuttgart (Germany). A permanent headquarters was established in Munich, and another in Paris. Special representative of the American Committee Isaac Don Levine traveled between Munich and Paris, directing and organizing the Russians.

Suddenly, several weeks ago, the oppositionist monarchist Russian press announced the news about a guarrel between Kerensky and Don Levine. The latter (the report said) had laid off all the Russian employees, had thrown all the politicians out of the Munich headquarters, and had locked the door, declaring the building property of the U. S. army.

The news of this conflict was recently reported abroad, and it has been confirmed by both parties in Novoue Russkoue Slovo.

The Russian press is now engaged in a sharp discussion of the matter.

It is probably not worth while to spend much time analyzing this pitiable event, except for one consideration: it shows how effective these émigrés are in political activity.

Some serious people among the Russian émigrés-for .instance, Mrs. E. Kusskova in Switzerland-have raised their voices in criticism of the whole affair. First of all, the question arises: Why the "best chance" to do something? Has something happened in Stalinist Russia to provide this "best chance," recently or even some years ago? Has anything significant happened to inspire the hopes of these Russian émigrés and their foreign friends?

In reality, nothing has happened. From the very beginning the activities of the American Committee and the Russian emigration were started in a vacuum, without any foundation. The business was foredoomed to failure for this consideration alone.

Secondly: If something had really happened

in Stalinland, some occurrence which evidenced the instability of the regime, who would be ready to believe seriously (outside of the American Committee) that the forces operating within Russia have anything in common with these political émigré groups? The peoples of Russia have forever forgotten these historically doomed remnants of social classes which disappeared more than 30 years ago but which still continue their pitiable life in exile. Their political settingup exercises abroad can serve only as subjects for humor magazines.

U. S. Money Talks

Indeed, what has happened with the work of the American Committee? The immediate purpose of its activity was to unite all the political "democratic" groups of all the nationalities of the Russian emigration in a body which was to wage a propaganda campaign against the Kremlin and which was supposed to be declared the, "democratic parliament of Russia in exile."

The American Committee first set out to organize the groups among the émigrés of the Great-Russian nationality. Five such groupsincluding some Mensheviks, liberals, democrats and fascists (NTS)-organized a federated body called SONR, which was supposed to be the basis of the "parliament." The next step of the American Committee was to agitate the political groups of the other nationalities, especially the numerous Ukrainians, to join the SONR.

Here the first conflict arose. The non-Russian national groups of the emigration stand on the position of national independence and the separation of their peoples from Russia. The Russian groups of SONR agreed, after a long fight among themselves, only on a provision that the future Russia should be a federated multi-national state. Any attempt to separate the non-Russian peoples from Russia was viewed as a major sin. The NTS fascists' opposed even a "federated" Russia but were forced to yield to it only after the American Committee declared that it would not give them any money unless they fell in line.

But the national groups stood uncompromisingly on their position of separation and rejected any sort of federation with Russia. A dilemma faced them: on the one hand, there was the temptation of American money and thus a subsistence for unemployed politicians; on the other hand, there was their traditional nationalism and hatred of the Russians.

National Groups' Challenge

This dilemma really caused a lot of trouble. The Ukrainians showed themselves to be the firmest; none of the existing political groups went in for collaboration with SONR and the American Committee. Their press waged a bitter offensive against the Russians and even sometimes attacked the Americans as "new imperialists." But winning the Ukrainians for SONR was the most important task of the American Committee's policies.

Hence, the Russians organized a group of about 20 people, headed by a former tsarist officer, Colonel Gulay, a Ukrainian by origin, and declared it to be the "Ukrainian Federalist Movement." Terrorists from the Ukrainian Banderanationalists immediately tried to assassinate Gulay and severely wounded him. An American military court in Munich is now proceeding with the trial of the three terrorists arrested.

At the same time, some groups of Georgians, Armenians, Turkomans and Byelorussians came to a conference with SONR and, with the assistance of the American Committee, issued a joint declaration of agreement with SONR. The nationalist groups of the same nationalities immediately declared that these deviators were "traitors to the nation."

But they were not traitors. It was in fact they who disintegrated the SONR and caused the quarrel between Kerensky and the American Committee. This story is as follows.

When these national groups came to the conference with SONR, the American Committee was triumphant: at last some of the "nationals" were ready to talk with the Great-Russians

around a table in democratic fashion. But just at this point new problems intervened. The "nationals" came with the following de-

mands: (1) The SONR-which is the Russian abbreviation for Alliance for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia-should be renamed "Alliance for the Liberation of the Peoples of the USSR"; the non-Russian groups do not consider their peoples to be Russians or the "peoples of Russia."

(2) The "parliament" in emigration should be composed of at least 50 per cent of non-Russians-that is, the Great-Russians should not dominate it.

(3) The national organizations joining this "parliament" do not refuse to stand on the position of separation of their nations from Russia after Stalinism is destroyed; that is, the proviso for a "federated Russia" should not be necessarily acceptable to all of the members of the "parliament."

Upset in American Committee

There are some indications that the American Committee agreed to these demands. But the five Great-Russian parties of the SONR rejected them unhesitatingly. As a result came the conflict between the SONR and the American Committee, and the whole business broke down.

A chain-reaction of disintegration followed. The parties of the SONR began to accuse each other of losing the Americans' money. SONR apparently ceased to exist. Inside the American Committee, some quarrels arose too. In consequence Eugene Lyons resigned from the chairmanship and Don Levine resigned from his post as European representative.

Admiral Kirk, former U. S. ambassador to Moscow, now became the chairman of the committee: and the news got around in the emigration that work on the organization of non-Russians will be more favored by the committee.

Obviously the whole action of the American Committee has been unsuccessful. "Fomenting revolution" in their way, not in Russia but even among the Russian émigrés, is clearly not a landslide business.

Austrian Business

By B. Sa

MARSEILLES, Feb. 2-The liquor manufacturers and sellers of Austria have lately been begging the Vienna government to abolish the special tax levied on their products. They are, in fact, threatened with ruin: in the Russian zone of Austria and the Russian sector of Vienna, the 200 Russian stores which exist there are selling alcoholic products and liqueurs at 50 per cent less than elsewhere. Moreover, liquor is not the only article sold by these stores: textiles are on sale at 30 per cent below, and food at about 20 per cent below elsewhere.

It is not at all surprising that this is possible. The stores belong to the Russian industrial-commercial Austria (Upravlenie Sovietskich Industrii i Austria), the USIA. They pay no taxes and virtually no rent: they are almost always ensconced in buildings which had formerly been German property and which had been confiscated by the Russian command. The products which they sell, besides, come in great part from the enterprises of the USIA (about 250 factories); these too pay no taxes.

Another source of supply for the Russian stores of Austria are the neighboring "Popular Democracies." The Russian command controls several commercial importexport companies, like ABEL, AMADICI and ROL. These buy goods in Hungary, in the Russian zone of Germany, sometimes in Czechoslovakia. Preferably these companies deal with Russo-Hungarian mixed companies and Russian joint-stock companies of Eastern Germany. The goods imported pay no customs taxes: it suffices if they are declared to be military goods. And for the same reason the Austrian railroads are obliged to transport them free.

With the Austrian schillings which are thus acquired. the Russian authorities buy on the Austrian market goods which are rare in the Eastern area. As is known, Austria enjoys the benefits of the Marshall Plan.

During the last fiscal year, the USIA caused a loss of 300 million schillings for the Austrian treasury. It is feared that this year the losses-in taxes not returnedwill mount to a billion schillings: nearly 20 per cent of the whole budget of the country.

It is noted in Vienna economic circles that Russian gold dealings in Austria are certainly not the least reason why the international commission on the Austrian treaty has held 258 sessions and gotten nowhere.

By V. F. MADEIRA

March 3, 1952

literacy.

universities. icas. the Americas:

"What does Eisenhower stand for? Whatever it is, it's apparently something the people will not be allowed to know. For he has said that he will not campaign. He is willing to be drafted. If that should happen, he would probably give out with a platform. But not before! . . .

will vote for him!

"However, suppose for a minute (unlikely as it may be) that Eisenhower hasn't even told his backers what he stands for. How would you account for his support? "The answer is easy. These people are assuming he is a war candidate, because he is a general.

"There are some who want war because it means big profits. There are others who fear Communism, but refuse to advocate the policies at home and abroad that will block Communism without war. They prefer a military man on the job because militarists are symbolic of force and understand nothing but force.

development. . . .

THE PAN-AMERICAN STUDENT CONGRESS U.S. - Brazil Right Wing Fails in Attempt to Dominate Rio Assembly; Third-Camp Forces Strong, Led by Uruguayan-Argentine Delegates

RIO DE JANEIRO, Feb. 11-The first Inter-American Student Congress was held here, in the capital of Brazil, from January 25 to February 4. The congress was called by the UNE (National Union of Students), central organization of the Brazilian students, and attended by representatives from nearly all the American countries, including the U.S. and Canada. Only Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, Haitiand Bolivia did not send an official delegation (though there was a representative, in the capacity of observer, from an exiled group of MNR Bolivian students.) As officially established, the congress agenda consisted

basis of a vague and suspicious

From 1945 to 1948 it had been

the Stalinists and Stalinist-con-

trolled elements who held the lead-

ing positions in the organization.

Owing to the general conditions

in the country, there was no pro-

gressive rallying center indepen-

dent both of the Stalinists and the

reactionary Right; and the reaction

against the Stalinists redounded to

the credit of an incredibly con-

fused mélange of Catholics, liber-

als, and reactionaries of various

types. They ranged from sincere

liberals who wanted to get the

Stalinists out of the leadership, to

cists who resort to physical vio-

lence and denunciations to the po-

All of these people have some

common features, as well as a

ommon background: (1) the be-

lief that the basic struggle be-

tween the U.S. and Russia is one

between "democracy" and "totali-

tarianism" and that Brazilian

students must support the for-

mer; (2) the confused ideas, lack

of political culture and experi-

ence of the Brazilian petty bour-

geoisie; (3) the absence in Brazil

of a real university life, such as

is known in the Spanish-Ameri-

can countries and even in the

U. S.; (4) an organic incapacity

to distinguish between the Stalin-

ists on the one hand, and on the

other, independent socialists and

The congress reflected most of

the political trends in, and prob-

lems of, the Americas today. Be-

cause Latin American regimes

have always laid their hands on

the universities, they have al-

ways forced Latin American stu-

dents very early to try to cope

with political problems and to

give some political character to

their movements and organiza-

tions, although in most cases

these are kept independent of po-

On the very day that the con-

gress opened, it was clearly shown

that it would not be the Pan-

zilian organizers were aiming at.

They had intended to open the

congress with a public meeting

to which would be invited all the

ambassadors in Rio from Ameri-

can countries as well as ministers

and officials of the Brazilian gov-

ernment, including Vargas him-

The courageous Argentinian and

Uruguayan delegations, with the

support of some others, refused to

participate in it. So consistently

did they defend their standpoints

that the Brazilians found it better

to cancel the ceremonious opening

No Stalinists came to the con-

gress to proclaim allegiance to

the Russian camp, the Interna-

tional Union of Students, the

them. The left wing of the con-

gress was represented by the

egations, consisting of indepen-

dent socialists, anarchists and

Uuruguayan and Argentinian del-

American "fiesta" which its Bra-

all other variety of "reds."

FIRST VICTORY

litical parties.

self.

session.

litical police.

various adventurers and semi-fas-

"anti-Communism.

of the following points: (1) Foundation of a Pan-American Union of Students. (2) The fight against il-

(3) Student participation in the controlling bodies of

(4) Dictatorship in the Amer-

(5) Communist infiltration in

BRAZILIAN RIGHT WING

The decision to call this congress had been made at the last national congress of the Brazilian UNE. The Brazilian student organization is now dominated by the right wing, which, after having defeated the Stalinists, intended to turn the congress into a celebration for a reactionary kind of Pan-Americanism on the

On Eisenhower

"But Eisenhower must have given assurances to someone, because campaign support from hard-boiled politicians and their millionaire backers can't be pried loose without commitments on policy. And this secret is to be kept from the people they hope

"If that kind of thinking should boom Eisenhower into the GOP candidacy and possibly the White House, it will be a disastrous

"We are not saying that Eisenhower would take us into war, or would refuse to consider the world-wide changes needed to weaken Communist agitation. We don't know, for he isn't saying.

"But we do know that part of this sentiment for Eisenhower is because he is a war symbol, and that kind of sentiment is dangerous. Even if he were the best man available, the kind of backers he's picking up are a threat to democracy. People who want what they call a "strong man" to solve their problems are always dangerous. Remember Germany!

> -Midwest Labor World (St. Louis, Feb. 13.)

Argentinians had just lived through interesting experiences in safeguarding their organizations from Peron's totalitarian drive Both Uruguayans and Argentinians were chiefly concerned with the Pan²American Union issue: they were for founding such a union of students only when a clear and sound agreement on fundamental questions would exist among the national organizations

U. S. STAND

The right wing of the congress was headed by the U.S. delegation (of the National Student Association) and the Brazilian UNE. The rest of the right wing was chiefly composed of Catholics of the Pax Romana international movement.

Their chief concern was the immediate establishment of a Pan-American Union of Students on the basis of the usual Pan-American phrases. Their opponents on the left were for forming only a bureau for information and contact. The U. S. and Brazilian organizations, being the strongest and wealthiest, would easily control the permanent staff and activities of a Pan-American Union, all the more easily since the rightists intended to make Rio the headquarters of the organization.

In the committee set up to consider this question, the U.S. delegates voted for the immediate formation of the union, but in the plenary session they voted with the rest of the delegates (Brazil excepted) for the bureau, but they nsisted that it should be seated in Rio. Against the votes of the U.S., Brazil, Canada and two Central American delegations, the majority chose Cuba as the headquarters seat

URUGUAY ON LEFT

In a long report dealing with the international situation, the Uruguayan delegation raised the banner of independence from both U. S. and Russian imperialism. Its discussion started with an analysis of the Russian Revolution and the rise of Stalinism along lines closely related to the Marxist views on these questions.

It defined the Russian bureaucracy as an exploitive and imperialist class whose instrument isthe CP. It also pointed out the trends toward statification of economy and totalitarianization of political life in the West, as well as the common features of U.S. and Russian imperialism. Finally, it put forward for the students of the world a program based on up the idea to do so. Olavo had forces of every kind. what it called t -the struggle to keep their organizations free from the policies and approaches of both imperialist camps, from involvement with national states or diplomatic organs of any kind. (In the first place, that means the UN; which, says the Uruguayan report, "is nothing but the Cominform of the U. S.") It proposed to fight Stalinist and American imperialism for a "humanistic classless society based on economic 'equality, social justice and political liberty." These were the "fundamental problems" for the Uruguayan delegates.

Although not so consistent as the Uruguayans, most of the other delegates belonging to the University Reform movements stated their aim of keeping their 'popular democracies" or the organizations clear from both 'peace campaigns" sponsored by camps. Even delegates from backward countries under dictatorships, like the Paraguayan Febment of his country would never

liant tradition in the fight for re-form of the universities. The volved in the inter-imperialist rivalry.

STOCK ARGUMENTS

The U. S. delegates from the American National Student Association, were very skillful in their advocacy of the democratic supporters of the State Department. They condemned the activities of U. S. companies operating in Latin America, but backed the propositions that the purpose of rearmament is to "prevent war," that the UN is the instrument for solving international problems, that the U.S. military action in Korea is a UN struggle against aggression, etc. They condemned totalitarianism everywhere but only the "oddest features" of capitalism and imperialism.

A very interesting debate developed between the U.S. and Uruguayan delegations, in which the former used the stock arguments in favor of the "Western democratic bloc": the example of Switzerland as proof that capitalism and democracy can always coexist without difficulty; the question, "You say we must fight oth U. S. and USSR imperialsm . . . but they are not identical. . . We can meet in Rio while any meeting like ours would be quite impossible in an Eastern European town," etc.

The Brazilian delegation tried to prevent the discussion of general political problems by asking the delegates not to raise questions "which might harm the national feelings of some delegations," as was the case when many delegates put pressure on the Colombian delegate in order to find out his position on the ultra-reactionary regime of Laureano left the draft behind somewhere Gomez.

An incident took place which postponed the end of the congress for a couple of days. One of the Peruvian delegates, Abarca, showed the congress the draft of a telegram, which had been given to him by a student, in which Olavo Jordim Campos, the president of the Brazilian UNE, asked the Peruvian organization not to send as delegates communists or leftists of whatever nature.

CONDEMN FRANCO

A committee of inquiry was set up which investigated whether the telegram had really been sent. The Brazilian delegation stated that the draft was a forgery. After three days of the inquiry, the UNE president wrote a letter to the Brazilian delegates in which

In Brazil

In a note acompanying his article on the Pan-American Student Congress (in this issue), Comrade Madeira comments as follows on the situation in Brazil. -Ed.

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... As for the Brazilian situation, there are ever-growing signs of unrest among the working class, most of which voted for Vargas. Last year ended with the first wave of strikes that came up since Vargas was elected. The gap between prices and wages is greater than ever. Vargas' popularity among the people is beginning to vanish. What is not yet clear is the path that these masses will follow as their disillusionment with Vargas increases. Since 1937 there has been no organized labor movement in Brazil. The CP is in great decline, and too much interested in the "peace campaign" to fight for workers' demands. In the last two weeks the bourgeois press has reported. insistently but too vaguely, that a split is supposed to have taken place in the Stalinist party, led oy former deputy José Maria Crispini. Up to now there has been no mention of this in the Stalinist press, and no public activity or document from Crispini is known. The bourgeois press says he broke with Prestes [Stalinist leader] "for resisting the Cominform's instructions" and that he is organizing a dissident wing. . . .

in the UNE offices; a Stalinist had found it and given it to Abarca.

Typical of the miserable situation in the Brazilian student movement is the fact that up to now no measure of reprisal has been taken against such scandalous behavior by the president of the UNE.

The congress also condemned the Franco regime in Spain; de-manded that Haya de la Torre be allowed to leave Peru; and asked the U. S. government not to execute the Puerto Rican Collazo,

Bad organization, as well as the differences and heterogeneity of the delegations, prevented the congress from getting more results. Yet it was clearly revealed that large sections of the Latin American students intend to be he confessed that the draft was thoroughly independent from authentic but that the telegram Stalinism, from U. S. democratic had not been sent because he gave demagogy, and native reactionary

Malice in Stalinland

The Prague radio has said (Jan. 14 broadcast) that special attention must be paid to the "ideological education" of the Czechoslovak ice hockey team, which is now in training for the Olympic winter games.

The Czech Stalinists remember that in 1950 leading members of The Czechoslovak team refused to return from abroad, and five of those who did return were arrested.

Rolling-Pin

On Jan. 19 the Bulgarian State Control Commission published a verista delegate, stated that the statement on conditions in bakerillegal University Reform move- ies. After an investigation it was is absent from work for half a found that over 90 per cent of the working day without justification. very progressive left-democrats. join either the UIS [Stalinist stu- samples inspected were below The student movement in these dent international] nor the or- standard, "Of 124 samples of late by over half an hour without. two countries has a long and bril- ganization of the Edinburgh con- bread, only six in Sofia and three justification."

4 1

Hockey in the Cage in Plovdiv were up to standard, the remainder was of bad quality, containing much water, was badly baked and short in weight. Even the most elementary steps to improve its quality had not been taken."

A series of officials were then given the rolling-pin treatment, and it was hoped that the people would be happier with their ersatz-bread until it was necessary to throw some more bureaucrats to the wolves.

Paradise*

On January 19, Sofia radio stated that a worker's contract could be ended (that is, he would be fired, in plain English) "if he or if twice during one month he is



pointed him, is Franco's laurels cuted opponents, only a tiny hand-

But obviously Griffis is not thinking of Franco's services against any mythical Communist Party danger in Spain today. He is thinking precisely of Franco's "anti-Communism" in overthrowing the republican government of Spain at the head of a fascist uprising, with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini! He said, on returning to New York about a month ago:

"There is a rising tide of friendly feeling toward Spain in the United States based on the realization that Spain began to fight 🥙 Communism twenty years ago. In its understanding of the dangers of Communism, Spain is fifteen years

mented: "What a pity Hitler and Mussolini can't be resurrected. Their gallant record is even more

Griffis is not speaking for the American people. The Spanish resistance is asking American la-

tet. He liked to do work-plowin', any of it. He always wanted to be doing something. We were

The story of the "Little Scottsboro" case has made the headlines in French, German and Italian and. of course, all the Iron Curtain tongues. But more important, the "Little Scottsboro Case" is related in the tongues of people who are colored. They are the majority of the world's population. Their allegiance is sought after by the U.S. which purports to lead the concert or democracy against totalitarian-

What are the supposed reasons for the frenzied militarization of the West, NATO, the European opment? A crusade of democracy imprisons without trial or on

The Stalinists are trained to react with Pavlovian reflexes when their concentration camps in Russia are mentioned: "Yes but what about the Negro in the U. S.?" Nearly everyone knows question is asked by millions of Asians and Africans, and for that matter millions of white people of other continents: "What about

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has especially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the