

The Election Results in India

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Churchill's Bombshell

Spotlighting IUE-CIO's Problems

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"Typical of . . . a Police State"

"What happens under this [Feinberg] law is typical of what happens in a police state. Teachers are under constant surveillance: their pasts are combed for signs of disloyalty; their utterances, are watched for clues to dangerous thoughts. A pall is cast over the classrooms. There can be no real academic freedom in that environment. ... Fear stalks the classroom. . . . A system which directly or inevitably has that effect is alien to our system and should be struck down. Its survival is a real threat to our way of life. . . . "-Dissent by Justice Wm.

Detroit Becomes Salem: Probe Looses Hysteria

DETROIT, March 2-For any social historian anxious to get the "feel" of dark epochs like the Salem witchhunt or the Stalin purges in Russia, there is fertile soil in this tense, febrile city since the opening of the hearings by the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities last week.

Nor is there any consolation, except to blind men, in the fact that the treatment Stalinists received here is simply a taste of the brutality that Stalinism employs wherever it takes over.

The real victim in Detroit last week was civil liberties, the idea of a fair hearing and a trial by jury, the right of dissent, and the basic legal con-

It was a fantastic week. Guilt-by-accusation was the method employed. Friendly witnesses, hostile witnesses, Stalinists or ex-Stalinists: it didn't matter. They all felt the wave of hysteria that the committee, aided by the three daily papers, whipped up in Detroit.

Only one social force sought to stem the tide, and without much result. That was the UAW-CIO, which publicly proclaimed that its membership must not take matters into its own hands: that even Stalinists had the right to live and work; that vigilante methods were not the way

· Four suspected Stalinists had to leave auto shops, under threats of violence. When one of them complained to the congressional committee for protection, he was

• In one auto plant, the wife of a man named as a Stalinist was tormented and driven from the plant. The newspapermen were there with photographers, egging on the

• Employers issued public statements they couldn't fire suspected Stalinists because of the contracts with the

intendent of schools when she was named as a Stalinist. Everyone at her school, from children to fellow teachers. said she was an excellent teacher. Detroit newspapers demanded an investigation of all school teachers.

Supreme Court OKs **N.Y. Feinberg Law**

By HAL DRAPER

By a 6-3 vote, the Truman-appointed majority of the Supreme Court gave democratic rights another blow below the belt when it settled a test case of national significance for civil liberties by upholding New York State's Feinberg Law. In a dissent which is perhaps his strongest to date, Justice William O. Douglas branded this law as a police-state type of measure. (See quotation in box to the left.)

Joined in his minority opinion by Justice Hugo Black, while Justice Frankfurter voted against the majority but sidestepped the issues involved, Douglas' document once again confirms that he belongs among the top names in the roster of courageous American liberals in the country's history.

The Feinberg Law, passed by the state legislature in 1949, is directed against "subversive" teachers, using language about "advocacy of force and violence" and providing for the drawing up of a state "subversive list" of organizations by the Board of Regents, membership in which disqualifies a teacher from employment, regardless of any other considerations of fitness, competence or actual conduct in the school.

MINTON ECHOES STALINIST DOCTRINE

As Douglas stated, "A teacher is disqualified because of her membership in an organization found to be 'subversive.' The finding as to the 'subversive' character of the organization is made in a proceeding to which the teacher is not a party and in which it is not clear that she may even be heard."

This is guilt-by-association, he charged, "a principle repugnant to our society"-but not repugnant to those who are becoming the "public masters" instead of the "public servants," to use Black's striking words.

In a majority opinion as jejune as the document by which Chief Justice Vinson last year justified the Smith Act, Sherman Minton not only gave substance to Douglas' charge but virtually based a good part of the majority's case on guilt-by-association, a doctrine which only yesterday was associated in the minds of nearly all Americans only with the barbarities of the Russian Stalinist regime. Thus the legal brains of the highest court descended to

(Turn to last page)

Guilt-by-Association Upheld

"That the school authorities have the right and the duty to screen the officials, teachers and employees as to their fitness to maintain the integrity of the schools as a part of ordered society, cannot be doubted. One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty. From time immemorial, one's reputation has been determined in part by the company he keeps. . . . "-Majority opinion by Justice Sherman Minton.

IUE Problems Spotlighted By Attack on Pres. Carey

Page Two

PITTSBURGH, March 1 .- Dissension within the CIO Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO) leadership has come to light in a bitter blast against IUE President James Carey by Michael Fitzpatrick. former chairman of the Westinghouse Conference Board of the union. At the recent meeting of the board, which represents all IUE Westinghouse locals in the nation, Fitzpatrick called Carey a "labor czar" and refused to run for re-election as chairman of the conference board.

Fitzpatrick, in a statement widely played up in the daily papers, made the following charges against Carey:

(1) That Carey met with Westinghouse Corporation officials alone for bargaining purposes, with no members of the Westinghouse Conference Board present.

(2) That Carey's knowledge of Westinghouse conditions is "nil," yet union policy is made in his Washington office rather than by the conference board of Westinghouse locals.

(3) That Carey, through his staff, has been trying to purge the three men who headed the anti-CP ticket in the last election in the UE before the split took place and the IUE was formed. These were Fitzpatrick, John Dillon and Fred Kelley. (Dillon and Kelley still hold high positions in the IUE.) The purge, said Fitzpatrick, was "to eliminate any possible threat to Carey's position as dictator of the IUE.

(4) That Carey was in son way responsible for the IUE's defeat at the Bowling Green (Kentucky) plant of Westinghouse and for the long strike at the Buffalo Westinghouse plant. (At Bowling Green, the corporation closed the plant when the locaal there insisted on the same contract rights as Northern locals.

In declining to run for re-election to the chairmanship, Fitzpatrick said his purpose was to avoid creating disunity among Westinghouse workers in the face of big-business attacks. The implication is that there was a good deal of opposition to his re-elec-

After Fitzpatrick's blast, the conference board unanimously adopted a resolution backing Carey and denying the charges.

BACKGROUND

The incident itself is not of too great importance, although the Stalinist-dominated rival UE can be depended upon to echo Fitzpatrick's charges far and wide. But the affair does serve to illustrate one of the basic problems which is plaguing the IUE in its efforts to bargain sucessfully with the industry and to oust the rival UE from the field. The Carey himself helped to create.

Within the old UE, run as it was by a tight and ruthless Communist Party machine, the opposition which developed was often of poor quality from a tradeunion point of view. This was true first of all because the Stalinist machine saw to it that no one else got any leadership responsibility and experience. It was also true because of the kind of union the UN was; despite oceans of tough talk, the old UE was timid, compromising and backward. The CP never dared build a militant union for fear of losing control.

Thus, the opposition which developed was largely of two types: on the one hand were Stalinists and Stalinist stooges who broke with the machine; on the other, extreme right-wing elements, often ACTU followers, who entered the fight not because they were for good unionism, but because they were against the Communist Party. In practice, the ex-Stalinists and the conservatives were about the same, of course. (Not the entire

UE opposition by any means was Long a sick industry, the Northof this character. One notable ex- ern mills are obsolete. To escape ception was the District 4 region, generally.)

In forming the new IUE-CIO after the UE was expelled from the CIO, Carey (and Murray) faced two alternative policies. They could base themselves on the ex-Stalinists and conservatives and offer a super-patriotic line as an alternative to the UE. This is what they did. Or they could go to the rank and file of the old UE, offer a really militant and democratic program as an alternative to the UE bosses and thus develop a new leadership. Carey tried to do this, too, but his emphasis was on the first course.

As a result, the IUE offices and staff positions are loaded with incompetents inherited from the old UE opposition. They are men whose chief virtue was just being against the CP. Just being against the CP is not enough to build a union, however. Not a few of the lost elections, neardefeats and weaknesses of the IUE can be traced to such staff people, and the IUE is paying through the nose.

IUE IN LEAD

Fitzpatrick was such a man. For years he was a front man for the Communist Party in Local 601, East Pittsburgh, and in District 6 generally. That is how he became prominent. When he broke with the CP, he had little to offer in the way of leadership except anti-Communism. His services as head of the Westinghouse Conference Board were generally ineffective and bumbling. Within his own local (the largest IUE local in the Westinghouse chain) he has steadily lost influence.

It is quite probable that his denunciation of Carey and decision not to seek re-election came because he knew he would not be re-elected anyway.

This is not to suggest that the charges against Carey are all nonsense. He is not noted for democratic give-and-take. And he is certainly still far from the policy needed to eliminate the UE and make the IUE into the mighty union it can be. Only recently, he has again called on the government and the corporations to help drive out the UE. If they do, they will not stop at the UE; such "help" would be deadly.

The IUE is faced with a difficult situation. There are three major unions in the field-the IUE, the UE, and the hidebound and Jim Crow IBEW-AFL-as well as an independent union of Westinghouse salaried employees, IAM shops, UAW shops, District 50 UMW shops and what have you. Needless to say, the big corporations are.taking every advantage of this.

unions have melted away, have concentrated their experienced hatchetmen from these unions into the UE and are using every filthy trick in their extensive repertory to hang on. They are also fully exploiting the openings which the IUE gives them. They will certainly utilize the Fitzpatrick affair to the fullest. In spite of all this, the IUE is

now clearly the leader in the field and is making progress. It is doing the real fighting, as shown by the Buffalo Westinghouse and White Sewing Machine strikes. The IUE wins the raises and contract improvements and the UE tail-ends behind, just as it used to live off the victories of the UAW and Steelworkers.

The UE is currently engaged in a big campaign to draw attention from its own shortcomings by heaping abuse on the CIO Textile Workers. The textile union has recently had to forgo wage increases and accept a speedup in the New England mills because of a deep-going crisis in the Northern textile industry.

the union, the industry is moving into the South at an ever-increasing rate. It is aided in this by the federal government, which is giving the industry tax write-offs to build new mills in the South. In addition, inflation has greatly reduced the sale of clothing and therefore of textiles. Organization in small Southern mill towns under the Taft-Hartley Act has proved painful, expensive and slow. The union in the North has been forced to retreat to hang on.

ANTI-UNION

It is undoubtedly true that the leadership of the TWU has been inadequate in the crisis. The UE. cowever, is presenting the matter as a deliberate sellout. Their extensive publicity amounts in effect to a vicious anti-union campaign.

It is a campaign that will boomerang. The UE itself has not even made a pretense of trying to organize in the South. They would well to explain to their membership the true situation in the textile industry, because the electrical industry is preparing the ' same move South. Westinghouse is already shifting light-bulb produc-South, where it has established the wage scale at 60 cents hour for production workers. The UE hasn't—and won't—do a thing.

LABOR ACTION



Discussion: What Johnstone's Ouster Means To the Editor:

I would like to discuss the note written by Walter Jason on the removal of Art Johnstone by

UAW President Reuther. I believe the story was inadequately handled. Jason's main point is that Johnstone is just a fall guy for Reuther. While this may be a reason, can it be the main reason? Jason, in an excellent article just a few weeks back, had explained that Reuther was not losing political influence and strength in the UAW-CIO, and warned against the assumption that the critical unemployment situation would alter this fact.

I don't know the reason for Johnstone's removal. However, I welcome the fact for many reasons.

Johnstone, next to the Stalinists, during the last war, was the most efficient administrator against independent job actions. He would crack down on any job action immediately. He has continued this role after the war, and especially since the five-year contract was signed. The company felt free to call upon him and expect immediate action.

As the GM department head, he made many decisions independent of Reuther, a fact that Jason does not want to believe was possible. His conduct at Oshawa, Canada, after a wildcat strike was purely personal, and so enraged the local union that it was a wellknown fact that he could no longer get into a Canadian GM local. His agreement with the company on a special attitude toward unemployment, which was later re-

versed at a GM conference, was his own idea. There must be more that has not come out yet. In time the whole story will find daylight.

However, the most important fact has been overlooked, and that is: What happened to Reuther's idea on maintaining the status quo? Reuther has not tolerated the development of any force to overthrow any Executive Board member. Before every convention a pledge is made for mutual help. The idea is: we all stick together and help those that are in trouble. You don't allow a rank-and-file revolt to succeed because-who knows who will be next?

Johnstone is no board member. But his status has been equal to any board member, as head of the GM department. If Johnstone can be dumped, what about the deadweight in Detroit, New York, Illinois, and California? Maybe that is the significance behind the reluctance, up until the end, by Livingston to go along with the ouster.

I believe the removal of Johnstone was a good thing, whether he was a fall guy or what have you. It may be taken by the ranks as a signal for a return to militancy in GM and away from the legalistic umpire setup of today. It may be a lot of things and it might mean no change whatsoever. However, the elimination of a person like Johnstone, with his bureaucratic approach, might signify that a few more heads will fall. It's about time. I personally could nominate about one good dozer

Chicago Ken HILLYER

ISL FUND DRIVE

It's Over 20% but Big Cities Still Slow

By ALBERT GATES **Fund Drive Director**

The 1952 ISL Fund Drive has possed the 20 per cent mark with Oregon and Streator now leading the field, both having contributed the full amount of their quotas. They are the first to reach the 100 per cent goal. It remains to be seen how long they will occupy their present lead ,for their quotas are among the smaller ones. What is important, however, is that they proceeded to hit the mark quickly. They were followed by new entries like Youngstown, Seattle, Detroit, etc.

Although many branches made their first contribution in the drive, the leaders of last week remained stationary, so that the pace of the present campaign still lags behind last year. The larger branches are responsible for the lag and while we haven't the doubt whatever they will make their quotas, they are altogether too slow about it.

New York, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles are lagging badly and it is they who are really holdin things up. But we are promise that the next two weeks will see sharp change upwards in their con tributions. At present there ar only five areas not heard from which is a decided improvement from a week ago.

The SYL's percentage is up 44.4, with the following unit con tributions: Chicago \$358, Nev York \$132, Berkeley \$94, General \$28, Detroit \$5, Northwest \$30 New Haven 20.

The pace of the drive, however has to be stepped up considerably in order to catch up with and surpass last year's drive, so that the completion of the total quota is made within the ten weeks allotted to the campaign.

We are calling on all the branches to step up their local campaigns and to meet the requirements of the drive as outlined in our initial announcement.

| | Quota | Paid | Percen |
|------------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| TOTAL | \$12,500 | \$2643 | 21.1 |
| Oregon | 50 | 50 | 100 |
| Streator | 25 | 25 | 100 |
| Cleveland | 200 | 100 | 50 |
| Buffalo | 650 | 300 | 46 |
| Socialist Youth League | 1,500 | 667 | 44.4 |
| Boston | 50 | 15 | 30 |
| Oakland | 500 | 140 | 28 |
| foungstown | 100 | 25 | 25 |
| Pittsburgh | 150 | 35 | 23.3 |
| os Angeles | 600 | 116 | 19 |
| lew York | 4,000 | 744 | 18.6 |
| eattle | 300 | 55 | 18.3 |
| Detroit | 750 | 100 | 13 |
| Shicago | 1,800 | 225 | 12.5 |
| lewark | 300 | 31 | 10.3 |
| hiladelphia | 300 | 20 | 6.6 |
| General | 1,000 | - 10 | 1 |
| Akron | 75 | 0 | .0 |
| Baltimore | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Reading | 75 | 0 | |
| St. Louis | 50 | 0 | 8 |
| ndiana | 50 | 0 | 0 |

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March 10, 1952

By GORDON HASKELL

party

troduced a motion of person-Minister Churchill. It read: "This House . . . regrets the prime minister's failure to give adequate expression to [our Korean] policy in . . . his Herbert Morrison opened the debate with a speech in which he charged that Churchill had either given commitments which went

The Labor Party had in- sia, he also does not want such subservience to American opin-Stalinists entered the war is wideion that the Russians would be ly thought to have prevented or al censure against Prime convinced that there was no hope to have aided in the prevention for them except through another of some rash action by the Amer-"We want a strong bloodbath. ican government which might exchange of opinion, hoping that have extended the war to Manmankind would still have the wischuria or even the Chinese maindom to find a better way out of land. its difficulties than another insane recent visit to the United States." EYES ON FOREIGN POLICY holocaust." It is clear from all reports that Yet there was a certain mili-Churchill's statement in the detary logic to their agreement to bate brought consternation into enter the war which they could the ranks of the Labor Party not escape on the basis of their beyond the announced policy of leadership. Within a few days own policy. But in the face of the the government, or had misled Attlee had issued a statement general unpopularity of the war the U. S. Congress into believing confirming the facts alleged by in Britain and the even much that such commitments had been Churchill but seeking to soften greater unpopularity of any promade. their impact. He was speaking specifically of posal for military action which Why should this whole business might extend the war, they had Churchill's statement that in the

event of a violation by the Stalinists of an eventual truce in Korea, the British and American governments would take "prompt, resolute and effective" action. Churchill's reply was to state that he had pledged nothing more than what the Labor government had agreed to before he came into office. He disclosed that in reply to a question from the U.S. government. Morrison as foreign minister had given assurances that "the [British] government had decided that in the event of heavy air attacks from bases in China upon the United Nations forces in Korea they would associate themselves with action not confined to Korea." Further, that in the event of a breakdown in truce talks and a resumption of fighting on a large-scale basis, "certain action should be taken of a more limited character."

BEVAN ATTACKS

sistance.

He charged that the Americans and Churchill look upon the strug- of democratic rights for an esgles of the peoples of the Near East and Asia for national independence as a "Kremiln plot," and hence sought to combat military means. To be sure, the Russians seek to take advantage of each local disturbance, but the movements of the peoples are entirely indigenous. What is happening in the Near and Far East is a result of all-pervasive poverty . . . a revolution which will go on for the rest of this century and will not be contained by the military arms of the United States, Great Britgin or Western Europe.

Bevan said that he wants a war fought against the "despairing social conditions" in this area. In pouring out their treasure on a myth, on an assumption that this was merely Russian aggrandizement, Europe had been ruined. Nothing had happened in the last six months to give any con--fidence in American diplomatic leadership. He stated that although he did not want any difference of opinion with the United States to encourage hopes of a military adventure by Rus-

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Churchill Revelation on Attlee War Pledges Strengthens Bevan Forces in Labor Party

The debate on foreign policy in the British Parliament on February 26 has given a further boost to Aneurin Bevan's position in the Labor Party. It also pointed up the problem, as well as the opportunity, which faces British socialists in bringing clarity into the foreign policy of their

Bevan jumped into the breach immediately with a question on the propriety of Churchill's statement. While Attlee and Morrison confined themselves to the quesstion of parliamentary courtesy and a demand that if Churchill was quoting from an official dispatch he lay the whole dispatch before the House, Bevan launched into an attack on the implications of the American policy of defeating Stalinism through armed might and the danger of Britain's following this policy without re-

pression both in Britain and in logic with secret agreements the United States? After all, the Labor government had agreed to they were standing firm against the war in Korea, and had sent troops to fight there. They had, it is true, exerted every effort to keep the war limited in scope. Attlee's flight to the United States at the time the Chinese

have made such a powerful im- been compelled to follow up this while giving the impression that any proposal to widen the war area under any circumstances.

> Bevan's speech did not concern itself with these problems. The ideas he expressed approach the main issue in the struggle against Stalinism in Asia, but they do not yet present a concrete foreign policy for the Labor Party in that area. At the end they return to the vague notion that "a strong exchange of opinion" with the Kremlin may yet clear things up.

This debate has served the purpose of placing foreign policy at the center of the stage of British politics, both as between the two parties and inside the Labor Party itself. The discussion will continue, because the problems are not going to evaporate. In this situation the left-wingers of the party have a golden opportunity to influence the whole labor movement toward an internationalist position.

As we go to press news dis patches state that in a test of strength inside the Parliamentary Labor Party (the Labor MPs) Be van's position on rearmament got one fourth of the vote against the Attlee leadership. The majority of the Labor members of parliament passed a motion to approve the Churchill cabinet's program for rearmament but to express no confidence in the government's ability to carry it out. As against this motion Bevan introduced a long resolution which took substantially the same position as he had taken when he resigned from the Labor cabinet last year.

Page Three

This trial of strength, assumed on Bevan's initiative, indicates a large growth of his influence among the Labor MPs. All observers concede that Bevan's strength among the rank and file is tremendous, though it tends to diminish the higher one reaches into the bureaucracy.



(Continued from page 1) denial of his passport, unless the grounds are other than those relating to the public addresses he would make during the European trip.

(4) The passport provisions of the McCarran Act, which deny passports solely on the basis of membership in organizations, should be repealed.

(5) Whether or not clear standards are established for the issuance or denial of passports, procedural safeguards against abuse are necessary. Formal hearings, notice of grounds for proposal to denv or revoke a passport and indicial review of abuse of discretion are all proposed.

ROBESON CASE

. While one could disagree with number of qualifications the ACLU might place on freedom of travel, the recommendations on the whole tend in a democratic direction, directly counter to the hysterical current of the times. The proposals and legal tests are to be welcomed and supported by those genuinely interested in freedom, particularly the decision though qualified, to enter the Robeson case, where the defense pouser of a hateful doctrine is involved.

Several strong arguments are Court of Appeals, in the view of the authors of the ACLU report. First, denial of the passport in this case is equivalent to confinement within the United States, because leaving the country would subject one in his position to risk of five years' imprisonment and \$5000 fine. Secondly, the theoretical point is made that for specialists in foreign trade or foreign affairs, inability to go abroad would be tantamount to depriving them of their livelihood. In addition, the obvious point is made that the denial of judicial review is inconceivable when the arbitrary denial of a passport is as-

sumed. Robeson's brief cites the Supreme Court's recent decision in Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, National Council of American - Soviet F'riendship, Inc. et al v same, International Workers Order Inc. et al v same, 341 U.S. 123 (April 30, 1951 to the effect that the mere listing by the attorney general of an organization as "Communist" or "subversive," without which may be subject to review. a citizen to enter or leave, or at- has been using "the McCarran The ACLU belief on the passport problem may be summed up in its statement that it "starts from the assumption that in the absence of compelling reasons to the contrary all American citizens should enjoy freedom to travel, abroad as well as within the United States." They cite that part of the UN General Assembly's Declaration of Human Rights to the effect that: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

The considerations the ACLU would enter as grounds for limitations on travel rights include: time of war, to parts of the world where armed hostilities are in progress; conquered territory under military occupation during the period between the cessation of armed hostilities and the signing of the peace; the cases of fugitives from justice, persons seeking to evade compliance with a court order or persons in poor physical or mental health who might become burdens to the government's foreign representatives.

HISTORY OF ISSUE

Most obviously in the consideration of political fugitives or those evading court orders, where the legal considerations involve political beliefs, would the con-The political dissident at the mercy of a totalitarian regime should be unqualifiedly granted the right to political asylum in another country. This is not only a generally good argument but especially pertinent in today's world context.

The historical background covered in the ACLU report points out that in the absence of war or a declared national emergency no law of the United States requires an American citizen to carry a passport in order to leave his country. Theoretically, the passport is a document of identity and nationality, indicating the bearer s to receive the protection of American representatives abroad. However, ever since the First World War, the tendency to require passports for travel has been reversed. Most European countries will not admit travelers who do not carry the document; steamship and air travel companies will not sell tickets to persons not bearing passports.

First World War legislation in the U.S. providing that the presa hearing, is an arbitrary act ident could make it unlawful for tempt to leave, the United States Act standard as at least one part without a valid passport, was applied during World War II and implemented. The secretary of state was permitted to restrict travel even to places where a passport was not required.

In 1950, McCarran's Internal Security Act was passed. This law additionally bars from applying for or using U. S. passports members of "Communistaction organizations." and members of "Communist-front organizations," which have registered or have been required to do so. These organizations are defined substantially as being agents of a foreign communist government.

ARBITRARY POWER

In 1866, the right to issue passports was vested in the secretary of state. However, such issuance is not mandatory and there is no law which gives a citizen the right to a passport. And Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations, the authors of the ACLU report add. provides discretion in the refusal o issue a passport on the part of the secretary of state. Furthermore, there is no legislation providing criteria for the denial of passports.

Stating merely that passports are denied when the contemplated travel is "contrary to the best terests of the T the Department of State has been able to interpret as it would, and according to prevailing mood, political belief, whim or prejudice, when or when not to withhold a passport.

ers of discretion, the State De- one involving a clear test of the

of the basis for exercising its discretion to grant or withhold passports." They cite the cases of Adam Lapin, associate editor of the People's World (Stalinist) in San Francisco and Joseph North, of the Daily Worker in New York, who, together with the managements of their newspapers, were sent telegrams to the effect that "the purpose of the trip was deemed to be contrary to the interests of the United States.'

The New York Times raised the question whether this denial was an abridgment of the First Amendment. "If freedom to get and send news or interpretations of news is refused to Communists on the ground, it could be refused to any member of any party not in power. Furthermore, it is inconsistent to permit the Daily Worker of New York and the Daily People's World of San Francisco to publish and at the same time prevent their reporters from circulating."

In addition to that of Miss Bauer, the ACLU also publishes separately excerpts from its recent cases relating to denial and revocation of passports by the State Department. Whether they involve Trotskyist, Independent Socialist League, Stalinist or nonpolitical representatives, all cases end with a variation on the trary-to-the-best-interests-of-the-U. S." theme in the usual letter from Mrs. Shipley of the Passport Division.

It is to be hoped that, aside from Miss Bauer's worthy case, In addition to its regular pow- the ACLU sees fit to prosecute partment, according to the report, rights of the anti-Stalinist left.

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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!





Discussion: Social Science in the U.S.

To the Editor: In the February 18 issue of

LABOR ACTION, Carl Darton has a report of a talk at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, given by R. L. Ackoff of the Case Institute Technology. The paragraph summarizing Ackoff's speech is essentially a valid report of the fact that in the American universities social sciences are being neglected in favor of the physical sciences, and that this is largely due to war preparations. But Darton's report-it is not clear whether he is repeating, without quotes, what Ackoff said or is expressing his own views-contains the sort of glib generalizations that ought to be avoided. "The method of the social sciences here," writes Darton, "is the wide collection of superficial data of little significance." Data, first of all, is neither superficial nor profound; only the use of it can be so characterized. Nor is what he says quite true: much of the data or repeat irresponsible collected by social scientists in ments.

the U.S. is of great significanceif only socialists troubled to find out about it and use it.

Still more unfortunate is Darton's sentence, "The foremost sociologists in the U.S. are Gallup, Hooper and Crosley." Either Darton is talking through his hat, or Ackoff is-and there is no reason to repeat Ackoff, if he said this. The most prominent sociologists in the United States are people like Talcott Parsons of Harvard University and Robert Merton of Columbia University. Parsons and Merton may not be everything one would desire of a socialist-but they are serious scholars, not poll-taking hucksters. And there are other serious scholars too. The sentence about Gallup, Hooper and Crosley is simply absurd.

It is good for socialists to look into unfamiliar fields with a critical eye. But before they criticize they should know what they are talking about, and not proclaim state-Irving HOWE.

Reply by Darton: Raw Data and Meaning

In the column to which Howe relates the most fundamental re-Society," I was attempting to present a summary of the discussions at a particular session of the recent convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. I worked from personal notes since complete texts of the discussions were not available.

All of the statements in the paragraph referred to by Howe. are to be credited to R. L. Ackoff. He said, essentially, that: "The method of social sciences here [in the United States] is the wide collection of superficial data of little significance" and that "The foremost [most widely recognized by the general public] sociologists in the U.S. are Gallup, Hooper, and Crosley." Howe's critical comments on the latter of these statements was evidently based upon a lack of clarity in my presentation. I certainly agree that there are much more competent and serious scholars of sociology such as Parsons, Robert 5. Lynd, and particularly Robert Merton in the field of sociology.

Ackoff claims, and I concur. that our social sciences can be accused of emphasizing the "wide collection of superficial data of little significance." Howe replies that "Data is neither superficial nor profound." This comment appears to me to represent an over simplification of the relationship between the data and the whole of scientific method and knowle No scientist should alsregard a single fact but he must be critical of data. He must ask: Is it all of the data, is there con-

refers, "Free Science in a Free lationships between the variables considered? Data can be compiled quite selectively and it can concern only the superficial aspects of a problem. A great amount of data is not necessarily more scientific; it may simply be used to mask poor sampling, lack of, a critical approach, a too limited hypothesis, or other unscientific attitudes and practices.

Is "much of the data collected by social scientists in the United States of great significance"? can agree with Howe but feel that Ackoff's claim comes closer to the mark. This viewpoint cannot be stated much more clearly than in the following words of Robert S. Lynd.

During the depression years of the late '30s Robert S. Lynd, coauthor of Middletown, wrote "Knowledge for What? - The Place of Social Science in American Culture." Since this question still applies today in the midst of a crisis, not of depression but of a war economy, the book was reprinted in 1948 by the Princeton University Press.

In the midst of the pressing social problems Lynd finds the social sciences inadequate to assume the responsibilities of obtaining satisfactory answers. Following is quoted from his book: "We social scientists have great arrays of data:

"Data on production and distribution, but not the data that will enable us to say with assur ance, as the experts dealing with such matters, how our economy flicting data, is this relevant can get into use all of the needed (Continued in next column)

goods we are physically capable of producing; "Data on past business cycles, but not data that enabled us to foresee the great depression of 1929 even six months before it occurred;

DARTON -

"Data on labor problems, but not the data to provide an effective program for solving the central problems of unemployment and of the widening class-cleavage between capital and labor;

"Legal data, but not the data to mplement us to curb admittedly increasing lawlessness;

"Data on public administration, non-voting, and politics, but not data for a well-coordinated program with which to attack such central problems of American democracy as the fading meaning of 'citizenship' to the urban dweller and what Secretary Wallace has called the 'private ownership of government' by business;

"Data on the irrationality of human behavior and of the wide inequalities in intelligence, but not data on how a culture can be made to operate democratically by and for such human components "Is the difficulty, as the social sciences maintain, that they do not have 'enough data'? Or do we have data on the wrong problems?"

To quote Lynd further:

"No informed person questions newadays the indispensability of lata-oathering an the exhaustive statistical analysis of those data for all they are worth. The only question that is being raised here concerns the need to ask. 'What are they worth for what?' Objective empiricism can become as much a blind alley as can logical speculation. And if the social sciences are to be judged by their adequacy in helping man to resolve his difficulties, they will be only weakened by a policy of rationalizing one's way out of blind alleys by asserting that 'more knowledge about anything is a self-justifying pursuit and there is no sure basis for saying that any one datum is more important than another."

I appreciate Howe's interest and comments, which afforded me an opportunity to clarify and expand upon some critical attitudes toward our existing social sciences. May I assure him that it is not the intent of this writer to "proclaim and repeat irresponsible statements." That would be neither in the best socialist tradition nor in accordance with correct scientific attitudes. Carl DARTON

5. B. S. 4

the Tory government. The furious onslaughts of the Bevanites in the House of Commons on steel board, on the issues of China and Korea and on other matters reveal their intention of confining their struggle to a purely parliamentary plane.

Of course, the Bevan group may believe that an organized struggle against the right wing, and in perticular against the trade-union leadership, would end up in their expulsion. In any case, by their action they have left the field open for other left and pseudo-left forces to make hay.

Which brings me to the Socialist Outlook Conference, held at Holburn Hall on February 24. [The Socialist Outlook is sponsored by the group of official-Trotskyists working in collaboration with Stalinist and Stalinoid elements in the Labor Party, with a generally pro-Stalinist foreign policy .- Ed.] 31

342 delegates from Labor Party

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 21-The

prosecution of Communist Party

leaders in California by the fed-

eral government reveals two high-

ly significant aspects, one border-

ing on the farcical, the other

to testify against 15 of the nation's

The Stalinists on trial appear

to be more than mere secondary

leaders by virtue of the fact that

California, and especially Los

Angeles, is the second largest CP

stronghold in America. The de-

fendants inlude the former sec-

retary of the Los Angeles, County

CP and an editor of the People's

World, CP West Coast organ, a

man who was once a power in the

LA County CIO before the na-

tional CIO purge campaign a few

Federal Judge Mathes was re-

ported to have told the prospec

tive jurors: "You must treat the

Communist Party as if you never

heard of it; you'll learn all about

it here." The judge, no doubt sin-

cere in his admonition, was both

unrealistic and prophetic. The at-

mosphere of the trial and its

precedent back east, not to men-

tion the public hostility to "Com-

munists," real or alleged, makes

an objective decision highly im-

The jurors will certainly learn

a great deal, including much mis-

information about the real char-

acter of the CP. The government

is so obviously out for a crushing

victory that it overlooks not the

most minute detail in character-

izing the CP as a "revolutionary"

party. The writings of Marx and

Engels are introduced as evidence

as well as those of Stalin and

speeches by American CP spokes-

The Indicrous element in the trial

is highlighted by references to the

Communist Manifesto, a document

over a hundred years old and

available in quite respectable bookstores and libraries, which mil-

lions of non-Stalinists throughout

the world endorse in whole or part.

One of the chief government wit-

nesses, who joined the CP in 1945

as an undercover agent, testified

that he "felt that Communist dec-

trine was completely against any

top Communists."

years ago.

probable

PIOUS SPY

more tragic in its implications.

By DAVE BERN

Not one delegate opposed the resolution. A few abstained, however. The Statlinists were placed in a very awkward position, and the discerning noted the tussle between the organizers of the conference and the tightly disciplined Stalinist group of delegates. The holding of the conference underscored the need for developing a powerful left wing to counter the Statlinists. Had Bevan misked calling such a conference, I have no doubt he could have gathered not hundreds but thousands of delegates.

At this conference no less than branches, Co-op Guilds, trade

ary 21):

This widely publicized drama is being enacted on a background of confusion, ignorance, and suspiion. Before the trial opened on February 5, the Los Angeles Mirror stated that "more than 60 witnesses—at least 35 of them in the basic menace to society." top-secret category—are waiting

Hamlin's implication was that he, who joined as a spy, was so revolted by the passages he discovered that he could not agree with them and therefore felt compelled to aid in the destruction of a movement that professes adherence to such principles!

Then Hamlin produced a copy of Lenin's The Teachings of Karl Marx, which he "discovered" in a San Diego bookstore, and read the following passage: "It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence but, conversely, it is their social existence that determines ever the capitalist spokesmen wish their consciousness."

PHILOSOPHY ON TRIAL

their own inadequacies and adven-The only comment worth maktures ing on this "evidence" is that **CP SHAKEUP?** isolated passages out of their broader contexts are always easy We socialists know that where to produce where any sort of doc- Stalinism is strong (and who can trine is in question and to those say it is strong here?) it a ignorant of the doctrine, such as to crush all opposition, and above an average juror is apt to be, such all the workers and socialists, in readings or quotations are likely order to paye the way for a toto produce a catastrophic effect- talitarian form of collectivism as if a mysterious conspiracy was dominated by the Kremlin. Our suddenly laid bare. One might objection is to fighting this threat add that many other people, be- by totalitarian-type thought-consides Stalinists and Marxists, trol methods. Our objection is to subscribe substantially to the the persecution of Stalinists by view expounded by Lenin in the the capitalist government, which quoted passage. Any historian or seeks to advance its own power sociologist or philosopher who and to silence criticism of its war emphasizes the predominant role policies and its regimentation unof environment or cultural condider the war economy for impetioning or social forces in shaping rialist adventures. Mankind itself "consciousness" or basic attitudes, can legitimately charge Stalinism with crimes against humanityas counterposed to subjective and "free will" theories of historical overt deeds-but not the "conspir-

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Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

LABOR ACTION

LONDON LETTER

LONDON, Feb. 27-The perspec

tive that Aneurin Bevan and his

Tribune group have in mind is

becoming increasingly clear. Be-

van is banking on a peaceful

change of leadership within the

parliamentary group of the La-

of Parliament function collective-

ly under the name of the Parlia-

This explains Bevan's reticence

on many issues which certainly

need clarifying. The Tribune

group is at pains to dispel any

impression of being an organized

faction or group within the Labor

Party. Many party branches have

invited members of the Tribune

group to speak, but almost in-

It is therefore not surprising

that Bevan has followed Arthur

Council of the Trade Union Con-

gress and the most prominent

representative of the right wing,

in condemning any "direct indus-

trial action" aimed at weakening

(Continued from Science column)

Deakin, president of the General

varaibly they have said no.

mentary Labor Party.)

bor Party. (The Labor members

ALLAN VAUGHAN





unions. trades councils and Leagues of Youth attended. It was rather successful from the point of view of its sponsors even taking into account that up to half the delegates present were

Stalinists or semi-Stalinists. A resolution was passed calling on the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party to mobilize the full political and industrial might of the Labor movement to bring down the Tories.

Torte Socialist Touth League Socialist Touth ialist You cialist Yo ocialist Y Socialist Socialist e Socialist UCLA Bans Sale of Anvil, Anti-War Magazine

he therefore struck the publication from "the bookstore's list of literature eligible to be offered for student consumption." His ruling was allowed to stand when the Student Executive Council, by the tie-breaking vote of President Jim Davis, voted down a proposal to appeal.

That Regulation 17, or any rule which attempts to bar politics from the campus, is reactionary and wrong from an educational standpoint, many students will agree, and the arguments for this view have often been given in these columns. But the case of Anvil at UCLA highlights, once again, two additional and very mportant facts.

ONE-SIDED RULE

(1) In its actual administration, Regulation 17, which purports to bar politics from campus life, is nothing but a political instrument itself: and-

(2) It is in the hands of extremely conservative elements who act, not out of principle as they profess, but out of prejudice and hysteria, to outlaw and censor certain political groups.

These can be seen from the arbitrary and hypocritical way in which Dean Hahn applies the rule to Anvil. As is evident to anyone who has read the magazine, Anvil represents different political points of view among its editors and contributors, who agree, insofar as Anvil is concerned, to unite against war and against the subversion of democracy. Anvil has never endorsed any political candidate (not that it would be wrong if it did); nor has it ever supported a particular political party (not that that would be wrong either). One has only to ask, "To what political party has Anvil been partisan?" and Dean Hahn would be left without a verifiable answer.

The dean of students at UCLA needs no answer, however, since he is in the company of Stalin. Peron, France and the Pope in having the sole right to judge what "list of literature [shall be] eligible to be offered for student consumption.

And how does he exercise this right? By banning the Los Angeles Times, which openly states its support of the Republican Party? By refusing to allow the L. A. Daily News, which generally admits its agreement with the Democratic Party, to be sold at the bookstore? By barring Hearst's Los Angeles Examiner, which was partisan to General MacArthur in his conflict with President Truman? No. He censors Anvil.

ANVIL'S "CRIME"

The real "crime" of Anvil and the real reason for the ban are only too obvious. The editors of Anvil resist conformity to the pattern of regimentation of academic thinking which the administration at UCLA demands and by which it hopes to "do its part" n preparing the country for war. Anvil raises questions and ideas which influence others to resist, or at least to think about the problem. It does not sport the jingoism which would be its only guarantee against the censorship and interference practiced, almost universally, by college administrators today.

It is interesting to note, that whereas Dean Hahn was content to issue his decree in as curt and formal a way as possible, those students who supported the ban n the Student Executive Council found it necessary to resort to all sorts of diverse, irrelevant, and (as it turns out) incriminating arguments. Previously, a committee had investigated the matter issues on which Anvil differed and had recommended unani- from the Stalinists. Dave Mcmously that the council appeal Reynolds, leading pacifist at the decision. In voting on the rec- UCLA, although not a member ommendation, the council was tied of the council, urged it to "reat eight votes for and eight votes affirm the democratic tenet of against making the appeal, when freedom of speech" by voting for Davis cast the deciding vote in the appeal. To their discredit, the negative.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

□ I want more information about the Socialist Youth League. □ I want to join the Socialist Youth League.

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The CP Trial in California

Hamlin, in his attempts to prove

that "Communism" is a menace to

society because it is irreligious

and "deterministic," said that the

lines he read in court "proves it to

me." One in saner, quieter times

might wonder if materialistic phil-

osophy itself is on trial when the

criterion for the legitimacy of a

set of ideas is religious, necessi-

tating a belief in a God, perhaps

an anthropomorphic one, and re-

quiring a belief in man's capacity

to stand above, beyond, and out-

side his environment at all times.

phy is on trial in effect, as well

as the Stalinist leaders officially,

vitiates the comical side of the

courtroom drama. If Marxist

teachings can be used as evidence

in the trial of the Stalinist lead-

ers, as such evidence was used in

the wartime Minneapolis trials of

the Trotskyists with the approval

of the CP, this means that few

critics of capitalism are safe from

attack at future periods, when-

to tighten their hold on the nation

or divert public attention from

The fact that Marxist philoso-

cal loyalties or affiliations.

By JUSTIN GRAHAM

book store.

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 27-Anvil

and Student Partisan, national

student anti-war magazine, has

been banned by the University of

California at Los Angeles. In a

ruling issued at the end of the

fall semester, Dean of Students

Milten E. Hahn barred the pub-

lication from sale in the campus

By this act, the "perfect record"

of California's state and city col-

leges in suppressing elementary

democratic rights at every oppor-

tunity has been kept intact. As in

previous cases, the legal ground

for the action was readily at hand

the notorious "Regulation 17."

Dean Hahn's pretext was that

he considered Anvil to be defi-

nitely a partisan political publi-

cation tending to involve the uni-

versity (thus contrary to the pro-

vision of Regulation 17) and that

form of religion and God." A very pious statement, indeed, for one who volunteered as a spy! The witness, Llovd N. Hamlin, a former Navy yeoman, went on to say (according to the L. A. Times, Febru-

"The indication I had gotten from the reading of the texts was that Communist doctrine taught that man could not rise above his environment and was bound by it. I could not agree with these basic concepts. I felt Communism could not live in the world and was a

An Encyclopedia of Current Politics ... That describes the

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The Los Angeles Daily News, lin's testimony came from a "plant" who had worked his way up in the CP and had won the confidence of CP leadership, reported.

said late yesterday the knowledge that even its most active members may be secret agents for the government has thrown the party into panic and it is systematically purging members who fail a 'new loyalty test.'" This statement may be exaggerated for the purpose of proving the "conspiratorial" ture of the CP, but certainly the government spokesman must be in a position to have valid information since FBI agents and stoolpigeons apparently honeycomb the Stalinist party.

The News continues: "William Schneiderman, one of the defendants and said to be the acting chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, took strong issue to Hines' statement: "The 'shakeup' in the Communist Party is a fabrication of the United States attorney. It is a plain admission of his desperation, brought on by the complete collapse of his first two witnesses. The frameup character of the whole case against our party is now apparent for all to see."" Schneiderman's rejoinder may be designed partly to quiet the alleged panic in the CP about the existence of spies as leading activists. Undoubtedly, suspicion and fear is more widespread in the CP through the sensational revelations in the trial.

Of greater significance is the knowledge that the FBI and its hired informers play a much more powerful role than formerly. The precedent is being set for conformity through fear and pseudopatriotism, hysterical flag-waving and mutual suspicions among people as a whole, the kind of atmosphere in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

The validity of informers' tes- 114 W. 14th St. timony is now usually taken for New York 11, N. Y. granted by the public. Government arguments in the courtroom and the statements of FBI heads are taken as authoritative documentation. The portent of the CP trials for the future of democracy in America is not an encouraging one. Not only the CP is desperate. The government of the world's last great capitalist stronghold, gearing for battle with the Stalinist bloc, also exemplifies the "politics of desperation."

He said that he was opposed to letting an outside group come into the university and capitalize on the actions of the SEC. Furthermore, he said that the Executive Council should be responsible to the student body, the university and the community. One would think that their first responsibility, in that respect, would be to protect the right of the students to read what they wish. Moreover. Anvil IS represented at UCLA not by an "outside group." but rather by the many students who buy and read it. That is how and why the question came up in the first place. Lastly, if Anvil is not represented at UCLA by a recognized organization of the students. as it is, say, at the University of Chicago or CCNY, it is only because of Regulation 17, which prohibits the organization of such a club!

Davis prefaced his vote with

some very unoriginal demagogy.

Page Plvg

GOLIATH OBJECTS

Here again, the political intent of Regulation 17 is evident. By barring all student political organizations, conformist as well as radical, it insures the predominance of conservative propaganda. There is no need, for example, for a special student organization dedicated to the pro-war point of view. This viewpoint is put forward daily in the classroom by almost every instructor, to say nothing of the support it gets from Time, Collier's, the Reader's Digest, etc., which are sold—it should be noted, without benefit of official student sponsorship—in the campus bookstore. But special organizations are needed by students who hold unorthodox views. They have no other means of propagating their ideas. But Goliath, it would seem, begrudges David his sling.

At the Executive Council meeting, Chairman of Men's Athletic Board John Chandler also put himself on record as opposed to Anvil. It is, he said, "affiliated with groups that are on the FBI's subversive list." Since the only official subversive list published to date is the attorney general's and since none of the organizations affiliated to Anvil is on it, we can only philosophize that ignorance amplifies hysteria while hysteria encourages ignorance. That is quite apart from the enormity of importing the attorneygeneral's arbitrary and uncontrolled "subversive list" as a law for academic freedom in UCLA.

Student Executive Council members who defended Anvil took pains to distinguish it from the "party line" type of publication. They also pointed out the many they voted it down.

development, could easily accept acy" to "advocate" revolution much of this thought by Lenin on Marxism regardless of his politi-February 22, noting that Ham-

"U. S. Attorney Walter S. Hines

The Three Pillars of Franco's Dictatorship

By B. Sa.

Page Six

If you go to Spain with the idea of finding a regime of terror, with controls at every step by a regime which tenaciously insists on imposing its own norms, you will soon recognize your error. There are indeed controls on train travel; but they are so debonnaire, so superficial, that those who were acquainted with the Gestapo can only smile.

When you return to Spain, the frontier police give you a folder: three pages to be filled out with personal data. Formally you have to present it to the bureaus through the hotel-keeper every time you change cities. In point of fact, half the hotel-keepers do not even inform the police about you; they thus avoid paying the tax. But what is most surprising is the liberty with which people express themselves: in the cafes, in the street cars, on the train, you can easily hear remarks that the "people on top" are robbers and that Franco is a bandit.

"How does that happen?" I asked in Barcelona and Madrid, speaking to socialists, anarchists, republicans and POUMists (members of the Workers Party of Marxist Unity, the POUM), whose addresses I had.

"That has not always been so," I was told. "At the beginning, every day here in Madrid we saw passing by a fruck full of republicans and oppositionists being taken away to b eshot, going toward the Ventas cemetery. Until 1944 there were executions. And in spite of everything the regime did not stabilize itself. The organized opposition is feeble, but the people, in their own way, have never bowed the head."

"I recall," said one of them, "how it was in Madrid the very day after our defeat. Franco's soldiers, the Falangists and the Moroccans [part of Franco's troops] dominated the streets. A girl dressed in red went by my house. The soldiers questioned her: 'You're a red, aren't you?'-'I am red both inside and outside,' she answered.

"No. even though they hesitate to organize right now. cur people remained unconquerable. And finally it was the regime which yielded. It is isolated. Its measures remain unworkable in actual practice. It cannot even rely on the bureaucratic apparatus which it possesses. During the streetcar strike last spring [which immediately preceded the great Barcelona general strike demonstration], the top functionaries and even the police and army officers went afoot like everybody else, and they too had their little food parcels in their hands, for on that day they could not go home at noon."

THE CHURCH AND JESUITS

"But what elements make up the regime nowadays?" "That is very simple: In every locality and for no matter what step, you need four signatures for your request: those of the Falange, the mayor's office, the police and the priest. One of these four may be lacking, but on no account must that one be the church's, for that is the most important."

"Does the whole church support the regime?" "It has long been identified with it. In the beginning the church was guilty of abuses which have not been forgotten. After our defeat the bloodiest suppression

took place in the villages. Almost always it was the

priest who drew up the list of people to be shot. Thousands and thousands of teachers were killed because, as everywhere, there had been rivalry between the priests and the teachers. To be sure, there were also exceptions, like the Basque clergy.

"Today Catholic Action, the para-clerical organization, constitutes a semi-official opposition and, perhaps, possibility for a transition toward a different regime. In all likelihood it had something to do with the outbreak of the movement last spring. Of course, its own aims were exceeded.

"The most important influence remains that of the Jesuits. They are immensely wealthy. They have interests in the mines in the North, in the metal industry, and also, for example, the biggest stores in Barcelona belong to them. Above all, they hold or influence the key positions in the administration. The law gives them the right to have a private police. Indeed, the sanctuary of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order, is guarded by police who are

paid and armed by them and who wear a special uniform." "When I was in prison." one of the Resistance militants told me, "they urged us to work: for each day of labor our sentence was reduced by a day. But the administration which was granting these reductions in sentence, as well as the enterprise for which we had to work, was Jesuit. We got paid a few pennies a day, and the enterprise made 15 or 20 pesetas from our labor."

A left-wing militant told me: "After the republican defeat, what was especially striking in the city streets was the reappearance of the priest's cassock and the Civil Guard's black helmet. In the eyes of the people they are the same thing. So it is not surprising that in Spain, as soon as fifty workers hit the pavement, a convent is put to the torch.'

THE ARMY AND THE CAPITALISTS

"What about the officers' corp sand the capitalists?"

I asked. "A commandant on active duty gets 1500 to 2000 pesetas, with family allotments. It is impossible to live and keep up appearances with that amount; so they steal from the soldiers' rations, and the soldiers themselves wangle what they can. Some upper officers are in the industrial administration bureaus, and they get theirs pretty well. In the beginning, a uniform was useful if you wanted to put an application through. Now the best thing is to have a well-filled briefcase. The majority of the officers are monarchists.

"As for the capitalists, there are two feelings among them with regard to the regime. They are grateful to it for keeping the workers quiet, for maintaining 'order.' But outside of that, things are going very badly, and they charge that the regime is incompetent. And above all there are the innumerable bureaucratic controls, which exasperate them. They too await a change.

"If in spite of all there is solidarity among the elements of the regime, it is solely because of the terror with which the people's reactions fill them."

To sum it up, right now the charge leveled by the consensus of Spanish opinion against the regime is based not on its terrorist character but on its negligence, its incompetence, its corruption, its lack of concern for the

elementary needs of the people.

For a long time Argentina was the only country which helped Spain: it delivered wheat on long-term credits; a part of it was re-exported; soon there was famine in the country. To take a train in Spain is a calamity; you will easily spend eight hours to make 150 kilometers! The train from Grenada to Baeze (an eight hours' night trip) is made up with one Pullman, one first-class coach, two second-class and a single thirdclass. The rest of the story is in keeping with that. Fortunately, luck and also Spanish disregard for order partially remedy the situation: in the trains, the second and even first-class coaches are invaded by passengers from the third, and no one says a thing.

LABOR ACTION

A Madrid industrialist told me something about his relations with the administration:

"I need export licenses. At first I couldn't get anywhere. Then I was advised to hand out tips. Now, I have the whole ministry in my pocket: I give a coin to the doorman, another to the elevator boy, likewise for the floor usher, same for the anteroom employee. I shell out real tribute money to the ministry director, to whom I get a high-priority introduction.

"They have no ideals, they are demoralized," he concludes. "The other day, I had in this very office two high 🛝 functionaries of the finance ministry, members of the Falange. Do you know why they came? To have me relate the anecdotes which make the rounds about the regime, which my own employees tell me with the greatest pleasure.

A personal mishap gave me an opportunity to get a quick look from the top to the bottom of the Madrid police and governmental machinery: like thousands of other unlucky foreigners, my briefcase was stolen! The result: long wanderings through the bureaus, the prefecture, the mayor's office of Madrid. What an extraordinary plethora of policemen and employees in the offices who do nothing but twiddle their thumbs! What disorder, what negligence, what perfect stewheads I saw! Quite different is the atmosphere at the summits of the city administration: exquisite politeness; everyone speaks a broken French; but still what indifference behind that facade! and how little there is in common between these members of Madrid society who run the city and the people you see in the street.

Everything in Spain is filled with the most completely anti-democratic spirit. Only in two Spanish cathedralsthe one in Grenada and the one in . . . [name illegible-Trans.], and only since 1928-is the central nave accessible to the faithful. In all the others, a chapter-house reserved for dignitaries is built which is connected with the altar by an enclosed latticed passageway. The body of the worshipers have rights only at the lower sides.

It is typical that in Franco Spain there have been no renegades among the old workers' and republican parties: there's no percentage in it. There are no real political heads in the regime; and the regime is not concerned about being effective. It is solely animated by unintelligent hate and rancor against everything or everyone that has ever been connected with republicanism, liberalism or socialism.

(Continued next week)



By REX HILL

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 21-Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. addressed a rally of nearly 7000 people tonight in the Shrine Auditorium here. White told the audience, assembled to protest the recent acts of terror and bombings in Florida, Georgia, Texas, and elsewhere, that "there is a dangerously spreading pattern of violence in America. It is aimed not only at Negroes, Jews and Catholics but at white Protestant gentiles as well. It is creating a bitterness among people that we can't afford. It plays right into the hands of the Communists here and in Asia, Latin America and elsewhere."

Shorter speeches were given by local representatives of the AFL, CIO, Jewish and civic groups. Several hundred dollars were contributed for the court battle in defense of accused Negroes in one case and to punish the murderers of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida. Moore was killed while working for the NAACP against local terrorism committed by hoodlums and Klansmen who bombed Negro homes and Jewish synagogues while attention was still focused on the slaying and wounding of Negro prisoners by a Florida sheriff.

Earlier today White told Los

Angeles newsmen, according to the Daily News, "that the Dixiecrat feeling of hate toward Negroes is largely economic in its origin and that it is behind the opposition to national organizations in Washington, D. C., where a nation-wide program of advancing democracy was outlined."

White also told the newsmen. "I have been a war correspondent in many foreign countries and traveled extensively in South America. Everywhere I go the No. 1 question is: 'How can we trust the United States?' People of all colors, black, brown, red, and yellow, say they can't trust us because they say: 'How can you call yourself a democracy when you have the Ku Klux Klan and filibusters against civil rights?' I tell these people that democracy is not perfect, but that it is perfectible."

White's last statement illustrates how liberals, while outraged and sincerely grieved over anti-minority terror and by the whole nation-wide pattern of discrimination, feel obliged to apologize to foreign critics of America by posing the abstract formula of "perfecting" democracy. To be sure, American democracy is "perfectible," though not under this system of capitalist profit and war; but the question in the minds of the foreign crit-

ics is: How democratic-minded is But the one-sided emphasis on the tion on one of a government which, while bran- anti-Stalinist motive for opposing dishing the atom bomb and atombomb diplomacy in the name of into the hands of reactionaries protection of minorities against defending democracy yet toler- connected with the government. statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. ates and stays its arm against The liberals, by relying on this role of the government is signifi-... He said he just left a meeting the world scandal of Jim Crow popular and politically "safe" ar- cant when we note that local auof 850 persons representing 52 and anti-Negro terror at home? gument to the exclusion of other thorities often fail to provide pro-White and other liberals are considerations, fail to distinguish tection for minorities and in some claiming that discrimination and terror at home play into the hands of the Stalinists abroad, and it is an important fact. What is dangerous about this argument is that it has tended to become a ritualized and one-sided slogan presented by all shades of the political spectrum which are anti-Stalinist: Government officials and apologists for American foreign policy use this same argument to advance the military strength of America, its control of other nations, and the domestic measures of the permanent war economy. The liberals repeat the same argument in such a way that to foreign peoples the entire American opposition to racial discrimination seems to be cynically motivated, apposition designed not to fight discrimination because of its evil effects on its victims and society as a whole but because such injustices permit the Stalinists to weaken America's prestige abroad

> Naturally, liberals are opposed to discrimination for better reasons than to advance America's prestige and foreign diplomacy.

Jim Crow patterns actually plays themselves from the conservatives who are solely motivated by militaristic and diplomatic strategical problems in the cold war.

In the eyes of foreigners American opposition to race violence and discrimination is weak and relatively ineffective simply because such opposition is posed in terms of global strategy, is part of "official" policy that most political camps can endorse, and is divorced from humane reasons for ensuring human rights.

This "official" policy is being accepted by more and more liberals, including Norman Thomas, who told a Los Angeles audience recently that he considers anti-American feeling abroad based, to a great extent, on greatly exaggerated reports of discrimination here. He told a questioner that, while recent terrorism is deplorable, authorities (citing the Cicero case) in some places are doing much to counteract discrimination, proving to him that our democracy is basically healthy and dynamic.

One thing the NAACP rally failed to do was to focus attenpects of the terrorist problem: how to ensure local and federal hooliganism and Klan attacks. The cases actually are responsible for such violence. Furthermore, the FBI has been "investigating" the Florida bombings for some time, as well as other cases, and a Florida agent was reported to have considered seriously a local police announcement that "evidence points to the Communists as the real culprits" behind the bombings. Such cynical statements reveal the bankruptcy of the lawenforcement agencies in dealing

with racist terror. It is to be hoped that the NAACP and other liberal groups will be instrumental in arousing popular resentment against racist violence. All of their efforts need full support. But the liberals need to keep in mind the fact that outbursts of terror against minorities follow in the wake of "antisubversive" hysteria and the whole cold-war atmosphere which bears down so heavily on civil rights. The Ruth Reynolds case, the loyalty measures, and racist violence are not unrelated phenomena. The racists are encouraged by the over-all pattern, and every attack on civil liberties has further repercussions.

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To the Editor Of the N. Y. Times:

the popular vote.

cent of the vote?

That Nehru's 44 per cent plurknowledged, is a resultant of voted against further Congress rule

SOCIALIST VOTE

more than the Communists. Although the Communists won a vote.)

On the Election Results in India Two Letters to the Press by a Student of Indian Affairs

LABOR ACTION is glad to present the accompanying letters which were written by Harris Wofford Jr. to the New York Times and the Washington Post, copies of which were forwarded to us by the writer. Mr. Wofford is the author of a book on India and accompanied Dr. Rammanohar Lohia of the Indian Socialist Party on his tour of the U.S. last year.

The N. Y. Times has not published the letter sent to it. (We have not been able to check the Washington Post.).

Our readers must have noted that in spite of our deep interest in the event, we have not carried any article on the Indian election up to now. This has been true because, even before receiving Mr. Wofford's letters, we were warned some weeks ago by another well-informed friend that the N.Y. Times dispatches on the election were clearly misleading and unreliable, for substantially the same reasons now expressed on this page. We have as yet received no information from India.

Therefore, while Mr. Wofford's letters, especially where he may indicate his political evaluations of Indian "Gandhian socialism," express his own point of view, we are sure that our readers will be interested in the information which they contain. LABOR ACTION will comment on the election results as soon as sufficient material is available .- Ed.

LETTER TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

Few moments in democracy's story have been of such suspense -and inspiration-as the spectacle of 100 million Indians, mostly illiterate, going to the polls in the world's largest free election. Yet following that event in the columns of the N. Y. Times has been somewhat frustrating. Among the gaps in Mr. Trumbull's reports is a careful analysis of the popular vote. By emphasizing the majority of seats won by Nehru's Congress Party in most of India, and the Communist victories in the South, Mr. Trumbull has presented a different picture than shown by

On February 17, Mr. Trumbull at last noted that the Congress Party won about 44 per cent of the vote, "a surprising repudiation . . . by a majority of the electorate," and the Communists and allies "only about 5 per cent." Why have we received no accounting for the remaining 51 per

ality spelled victory in most constituencies was to be expected. More significant, one would think, is the tenuous nature of this figure which, it is generally ac-

Nehru's vast but ebbing popularity pulling against the growing distrust of his corrupt and bumbling Congress Party. In view of Nehru's waning control, it would seem vital to know the popular strength of the forces emerging among the 56 per cent of the Indian people who even this time

tance of the rise of Indian Communism, especially in the southern areas where Mao Tse-Tung's formula has been applied, there is another side to keep in mind, shown by the fact that the Indian Socialists-Gandhian in approach and firmly anti-Communist—polled the second highest number of votes. The Socialists won about ten million votes-nearly four million

larger number of seats, because of their strategic sectional base, the Socialists secured ten per cent of the popular vote, emerging as the largest force in the unaccount ed 51 per cent. (A large number of "Independents" and local parties with local significance make up most of the remainder of the

Now that Mr. Nehru's myth of the giant enemy-Hindu Communalism (which he alone could stop)-has been punctured by the insignificant showing of the religious right-wing parties, he may well claim to stand as the saviour from Communism. Clearly the Congress and Communist Parties each have a vested interest in asserting themselves to be the only

two choices. Ambassador Bowles and our government have no choice but to work with the present Indian government, and none of us should have any choice but to do what we can for the Indian people. But if the Indian neonle can only choose between the inaction of Nehru's Congress and the active promises of the Communists we can guess where India will go five years hence.

If India is going the China way, then American journalists must see to it that we are not taken by surprise. But if India has a democratic alternative to the status-quo, which China never had, then our journalists might well let us know about that hope, while there is time. This is not to suggest that the Indian Socialists are sure to come out on top in the ensuing struggle. Nor is it to suggest that they have yet caught the mass imagination. But there are certain facts. to date unreported here, which indicate that they have a fighting chance.

FOUR FACTS

(1) in Bombay City, the Congress candidate, fortuitously named Gandhi, "handily outpolled both S. A. Dange, founder of the Indian Communist Party . . . and Asoka Mehta, general secretary of the Socialist Party" according to Mr. Trumbull's January 13 dispatch. However, the votes were: Gandhi (Congress) 149,138 Mehta (Socialists) 139.741 Dange (Communist) 96.765 ndependents

.... OVEF 50,000 That the Socialists lost to Congress by a bare 9000 votes hardly seems as important as the 40.000 votes by which they "handily out-



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polled" the Communists' colorful leader in this crucial center of India's industrial workers.

"Dange Must Win" was the headline blared out by the Communist press in its feverish cam-"There was a pall of paign. gloom," "The horror of the toiling people of Bombay knew no bounds," the Communist paper Crossroads angrily howled when the results came in - results which seem as worth reporting in detail as Communist successes elsewhere.

Also unreported was the fact that a Socialist did defeat the leader of the Bombay Congress, Morarji Desai, scheduled to be prime minister of that major province.

(2) Even in Travancore-Cochin, scene of the Communists' first and most surprising victory, the Socialists polled over 500,000 votes to the Communists' 650,000. The battle has just begun in that state, and in a land on the verge of social revolution that battle is not primarily waged in legislative chambers; votes in the villages count more than seats in Parlia-

(3) At the 82 million count, on February 13, according to the Hindustan Times the Socialists had 8 million votes to the Com munists' 5 million; the K.M.P.P., Kripalani's party, previously so widely reported in the 'American press, trailed with four and a half million. Kripalani himself was defeated by about 40,000 votes

STRUGGLE FOR INDIA

(4) Even in terms of seats, although the Communists won 194 state legislative posts and the Socialists came third with 122, most of the Communist strength is concentrated—rather decisively—in three southern provinces, while the Socialists have emerged as the main parliamentary opposition in a wider number of key states such as U. P., Bihar, Vindhva Pradesh and Assan. (U. P. and Bikar themselves comprise 100 million people.) Furthermore, in many districts the Socialists lost seats by narrow margins, whereas the Communists frequently lacked the strength to run candidates at all.

Without some of these items one wonders how much encouragement can be drawn from the "special" to the N. Y. Times on January 24, which reported that in the south "all the opposition parties, with the exception of the Socialists, are negotiating with the Reds to form a ministry " (Italics mine.)

the Communists know their main enemy. If their press is any indication, their campaign centered on attacking the Socialists who refused to have any truck with the United Front. Even the Cominform journal, on October 19, 1951, noted that "the biggest obstacle in the path" of Communism (alias "anti-imperialism") "is represented by the right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party of India."

As Socialist leader Jaiprakash Narayan stated in Patna on February 15, at his first post-election rally, the struggle for the mind of India has started. Predicting the continued disintegration of Congress, the Wisconsin-educated spokesman for "Gandhian-Socialism" called upon all who choose democracy to join his ranks, and all who choose party dictatorship to join the Communists. As for Nehru, he concludes: "When the whole of Asia is hankering for change and deliverance from the tyranny and injustice of the old order, Pandit Nehru has stood up as a pitiful champion of that same old rotten order and become a roadblock to all change."

Sincerely, Harris WOFFORD, Jr. February 22.

LETTER TO THE WASHINGON POST

To the Editor Of the Washington Post:

Certainly India's election has been "a thrilling experiment in democracy" (editorial, February 24). It may also be true, as you say, that "the unsuspected strength of the Communists" will "prove to be a blessing in disguise"-at least if it produces greater concern in this country for India's welfare. A threatening Communist movement seems to be the sine qua non for substantial U. S. aid. And Communism may be, as you and Toynbee indicate, the proverbial catfish, which in this case will challenge the Nehru government into bold actions of reform.

But a doubt about the Post's present approach grows from three questions.

(1) Why was the Communist strength so "unsuspected"? In a free and open country like India, American journalists could easily have gone into the southern areas where, since 1947, in warious degree, the Reds have been applying Mao Tse-Tung's formula to this great subcontinent. New Delhi "informed sources" always discounted the stories from Telengana and Andhra, but anyone who went down there to the villages to see for himself would start discounting New Delhi. Everyone knew where the Communists were focussing in the election. Months ago, Ambassador Bowles went south to take a look. Why did our newsmen not give us a preview, too, while the contest was on, instead of waiting until the post-mortem?

NEHRU'S STRENGTH

(2) Under what reading of the facts can you speak of "the astonishing strength" of Nehru's Congress Party? It is true that the Congress Party, as everyone expected, won a majority of seats at the center and in all but four or five states. But legislative seats are not the key to a country on the verge of social revolution; votes in the villages are a better measure of strength. In terms of the popular vote, so vital yet so unreported, Nehru's Congress won only 44 per cent. That 56 per cent - and much more in advanced states - should vote against further Nehru -rule, in spite of Nehru's own vast, but ebbing, personal popularity, is an indication of how fast Congress has slipped from its former unrivalled position. Mr. Robert It is cold comfort to see that Trumbull of the N.Y. Times, in his dispatch of February 16, February 24

points out that in India the vote "is taken as a surprising repudiation of Congress party leadership by a majority of the electorate.

The Post may have confidence that Nehru's government is attacking India's problems "with persistence and intelligence," and we may all wish this were so, but it does no good and potentially can cause harm if we talk ourselves into taking too rosy a view of things. Such a kind-hearted approach to Chiang Kai-shek's shortcomings led to a disheartening "morning after," and we Americans seem to be angered by such surprises.

(3) Why are the Communists alone picked as the opposition? Again in seats, because of their strategic sectional base, the Communists have more than the Socialists, but in terms of the vote the Communists are not "India's second largest party." The Socialists-Gandhian in approach, and firmly anti-Communist in a way few Congress Party people arepolled 10 per cent of the total vote to the Communists' 5 or 6 per cent. The Socialist vote of about ten million was almost four million more than the Communists,

SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

The Congress and Communist Parties, of course, have a vested interest in presenting themselves as the only two choices. Nor has Mr. Bowles any choice but to work with the present Indian government. And all of us should do what we can for the Indian people whatever the government. But if India must choose between the inaction and corruption of the Congress Party and the active promises of the Communists, one can guess where India will go five years hence.

Fortunately, there seems to be at least a fighting chance that India will have the kind of democratic alternative to the statusquo which China never had. Whether the Gandhian Socialists will succeed in capturing the imagination of the masses, no one can yet say. One can predict that the ensuing struggle for the mind of India will be waged, not by the declining Congress, but by the Socialists and the Communists. One can only hope that our journalists will let us in on that contest, through careful analyses, so that we may know our true friends, while there is time.

Sincerely, Harris WOFFORD, Jr.

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Page Seven



(Continued from page 1) the level of the crudest and most pernicious anti-democratic prejudices of the run-of-the-mill Americaneer.

a basis for decision.

box on page 1.)

This is truly the nearest, we may reasonably expect, that the Su- than "Aesopian language" in preme Court in all its juridical majesty will come to citing as its precedents the Salem witchhunts, the Spanish Inquisition, the English Star Chamber, the Moscow Trials, and the Biblical injunctions about guilt unto various generations -all of which are equally competent, relevant and material with regard to court decisions based on 'time immemorial."

VERY SUBTLE

what they do outside the classroom?

Minton writes: "This propaganda, the [New York] legislature declared, is sufficiently subtle to escape detection in the classroom; thus the menace of such infiltration into the classroom is difficult to measure." 'The Feinberg Law is necessary,

bench next to Tom Clark.

Negro Labor Committee Conference Sets Up New National Union Body

Theresa Hotel.

Court Okays Feinberg Law

Minton merely rephrased the guilt-by-association principle as "the company he keeps." Enlightening with regard to the intellectual, juridical and social level of the Truman majority is the sole basis which it advances for highlighting this doctrine as

There are no precedents or point. Incredible as it may seem, the justification is given that this principle has been recognized 'from time immemorial"! (See

In another important section the majority decision seems to be based on the aim of avoiding "propaganda" for "subversive" doctrines "among the children by those who teach them and to whom they look for guidance." It admits, however, that there is a sufficiency of legislation against this now; why then a law to judge teachers on the basis of

therefore, for those cases where there is no evidence detected of "any "subversion" of the children. Propaganda "subtle" enough to escape all detection by trained adult supervisors, we are supposed to believe, is still dangerous enough to have a deleterious effect on the tender, unformed minds of children. . . . It can be conjectured what kinds of ideas are thus subtly proscribed by the sworn upholders of the Constitution who are sitting on the high

AESOPIAN LANGUAGE

Above all, in this section on "propaganda," not even a formal nod is vouchsafed to the concept that the function of the teacher is not to indoctrinate the child (even with orthodox ideas) but to develop his power to think and judge himself on the basis of a ly as lawyer's language permits, the majority of six indicate that in their view the function of teach-

orthodox opinions of the status quo.

The statements on this point are distinguished precisely by their ambiguity, for they are written not to put the above concept forward forthrightly but to leave room for it:

"A teacher works in a sensitive area in a schoolroom. There he shapes the attitude of young minds toward the society in which they live. In this, the state has a vital concern. It must preserve juridical concepts cited at this the integrity of the schools."

In the very next paragraph the vague phrase about "integrity" is filled out even more vageuly as "the integrity of the schools as a part of ordered society." What we have here is nothing more or less which the not-very-meaningful "ordered society" is used as a synonym for the present order of society.

Further down, the majority appeals to the state's right of "police power to protect the schools from pollution and thereby to defend its own existence." There can be no doubt that the "pollution"

obscurantist and reactionary jus- ent." tification for a police-state type of law; Douglas could have limited himself to a dispassionate, colorless and polite dissent. His minority opinion, on the contrary, in addition to all its intellectual cogency, is as strongly worded, vigorous and accusatory in its tone as his opponents deserve.

He denounces the "recent doctrine" that a government employee "can be forced to sacrifice his civil rights" or that they should be put "in the category of second-class citizens by denying them freedom of thought and expression." None needs such freedom more than the teacher, he stresses.

Referring to the excuse that the victimized teacher can "show her innocence' 'at a hearing, though not a party to the hearing on the main issue, he says: "But innocence in this case turns on knowledge; and when the witchhunt is on, one who must rely on ignorance leans on a feeble reed."

cedure is certain to raise havoc

in the child belief in the estab- against which the policeman's club with academic freedom." Past in-lished social institutions and the is invoked is "pollution" by ideas. discretions or mistakes "become

"Any organization committed to a liberal cause, any group or- the reference of the art teacher ganized to revolt against an hys- to socialism? Why was the history terical trend, any committee launched, to sponsor an unpopular program becomes_ suspect. These are the organizations into which Communists often infiltrate. Their presence infects the whole, even though the project was not conceived in sin," he continues sarcastically.

"Fearing condemnation, she [the teacher] will tend to shrink from any association that stirs controversy. In that manner freedom of expression will be stified.

PARTY LINES

school system into a spying project. . . . The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. Ears are cocked for telltale signs of disloyalty.

"The prejudices of the community come into play in search-"The very threat of such a pro- ing out the disloyal. This is not the usual type of supervision

which checks a teacher's compe-tency; it is a system which In the face of this shameful, the ghosts of a harrowing pres- searches for hidden meanings in a teacher's utterances.

> "What was the significance of teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain? Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of The Grapes of Wrath? What was behind the praise of Soviet progress in metallurgy in the chemistry class? Was it not 'subversive' for the teacher to cast doubt on the wisdom of the venture in Korea?"

There follows his reference to the police state. And: "A 'party line'-as dangerous as the 'party line' of the Communists-lays hold. It is the 'party line' of the orthodox view, of the convention-"The law inevitably turns the al though, of the accepted approach.

"This system of spying and surveillance with its accompanying reports and trials cannot go hand in hand with academic freedom. . . . A school system producing students trained as robots threatens to rob a generation of the versatility that has been perhaps our greatest distinction

Detroit Witchhunt

(Continued from page 1) • A violin player in the Detroit orchestra was suspended by the union. "We don't have any Com- cept to say that it was a damned munist rats in our union," the musicians' union business agent said. The violinist had been named as a Stalinist.

• A prominent radio commentator issued a public statement. He was NOT the man with a similar name who had been named by an FBI agent as a Stalinist. Ditto a prominent businessman who said he had received threats over the phone.

• A sheriff's deputy, once upon time a Stalinist, was a friendly witness. No one would talk to him the next day. He was forced to resign his job! A hotel porter was named, cleared, but still fired. "We hope they rehire him," a congressional committee spokesman said.

Sensational stories, filling four and five full pages of the daily press, kept pounding away at Detroit readers about the "menace of Communism."

NEGROES HIT BACK

In another section of the daily press was a story headlined, Moody Puppet of the CIO." W. H. Hall, secretary of the Board of Commerce, who had said that 105,000 unemployed in Detroit was "normal," denounced Senator Blair Moody as "the socialistic CIO junior senator from rounded presentation of the facts Michigan," and his bill to increase and ideas. On the contrary! In unemployment payments as "anmore than one place, and as clear- other step toward the socialistic state with Walter Reuther, his sponsor and director."

The congressional committee ers is to use their "guidance, au- didn't do so well with the promithority and leadership" to instill nent pro-Stalinist Negro leaders

It is generally thought that the

particular reason for expanding

this organization at the present

time is to combat the Negro La-

refused to answer questions exlie that he was a Communist Party member. He got in a few digs at Congressman Wood from Georgia. The Rev. Charles Hill stood on his rights and dignity, and proclaimed himself a fighter for complete equality for the Negroes no matter what any committee said or did.

Coleman Young, former Wayne County CIO Council secretarytreasurer, kept chiding the committee spokesmen for their Southern pronunciation of the word Negro. He stood up boldly, spoke against Jim Crow, and otherwise had a good propaganda field day at the expense of the committee. Interestingly enough, the Negro press here gave the Negro leaders good press. Stalinism didn't lose that battle. This was evident from the remarks here and there of Negro workers.

Pat Rice, vice-president of Ford Local 600, was charged with making a misstatement in-a passport application. Criminal action against him is pending.

The biggest sensation came or Friday. Mrs. Baldwin returned from Washington and testified. She named, club by club, name for name, every Stalinist on the party books in 1947. That some persons broke from the CP after that are fighting them within the labor movement, was of no importance. This coming week dozens of auto workers face the crisis of their lives. Can the UAW-CIO keep them from being run out of the plants, suspected Stalinists and ex-Stalinists?

On Sunday, Congressman Potter announced that Ford Local 600 would be the target when the committee returns in the middle of March. He also charged that Governor Williams and Senator Moody might try to prevent the committee from returning to Detroit. (On an inside page another A new national labor organiza- G. Hines, representative of Wil- newspaper story said that Potter tion was formed in New York liam Green, and A. Philip Ran- was testing his voting strength City on March 1 for the purpose dolph, president of the Brother- and popularity by the hearings

> Governor Williams replied that "Potter's statement is an example of guttersnipe politics based on falsehood and innuendo. It's Mc-Carthyism at its worst." Then Governor Williams endorsed the work of the congressional committee!

The Detroit News began a camwaith which has existed for some tution which bars from member- paign to assure that future heartime. Among the labor leaders ship "Communist or Communist- ings are on TV. Speaker Rayaddressing the conference were dominated trade unions and all burn's order to keep it off TV has James Carey of the CIO, Lewis other anti-democratic groups." caused Potter and other Republi-

in Detroit. William Hood, record- cans to charge that the Demo-"the reds."

Note: One ex-Stalinist testified that he was a member of the state central committee of the agine what McCarthyism will do with that!

ACUTE DANGERS

It doesn't take a political geof the congressional committee hearings here is directed at the UAW-CIO-Williams-Moody alliance in the Democratic Party. And the more the Democrats retreat, the greater will be the fury ber. of the attack, the mudslinging, and the hysteria.

Within the UAW, where factional opponents already are trying to embarrass each other by red-baiting, the approach of local union elections hastens the process and makes more difficult the task of the leadership to maintain the democratic tradtiions of the union.

The purely factional character of the congressional hearings here is illustrated by the methods employed. The mere calling of an individual before the committee is considered guilt. It is considered by the committee a crime for a man to refuse to incriminate himself. Like the Moscow trials: If a man doesn't confess, he's quilty of hiding his crime; if he confesses, he's guilty. Detroit's papers keep suggesting that guilt-by-accusa-

Names of suspected "reds" are being bandied around and called into the committee. A chance for grudges to be paid off, a chance

to embarrass political opponents: ing secretary of Ford Local 600, cratic Party is covering up for in the case of embittered and uprooted workers, a chance to get their pictures in the papers, driving out the "reds."

Given the social tensions of Democratic Party in 1946. Im- Detroit, its mixed and restless population, the kind of hearings conducted, the newspapers' lurid coverage, and the ignoble silence of the city's liberal and labor elements-except the one UAWnius to see that the main attempt CIO policy statement-all this feeds the passions and inflames the professional witchhunters.

Nor is this the end-merely the beginning. For the national elections are not until next Novem-

In an epoch where General Marshall is called the top fellow traveler of Stalinism, where General Eisenhower is branded by a wing of the Republican Party as "pro-Russian," it was perhaps inevitable that the crudest forms of McCarthyism would find its most vehement and dangerous expression in this industrial melting pot.

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of fighting for full rights for Ne- hood of Sleeping Car Porters and would run against Moody.) gro workers. The Negro Labor (AFL). Committee, U. S. A. was formed when representatives of some 75 labor organizations met at the

Both the AFL and CIO are ap- bor Council, which was set up by parently backing the new organ- a number of Stalinist trade unization, which is an extension on ions and other CP front organia national scale of a local com- zations last fall in Cincinnati. mittee headed by Frank R. Cross- The NLC-USA adopted a consti-