

LABOR ACTION

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THE FAKE FIGHT AGAINST McCARTHYISM

Val Lorwin Case: Picture of the Witchhunt From Truman to Eisenhower to McCarthy

By HAL DRAPER

The case of Val Lorwin, which just blew up in court and all over the nation's newspapers, is the most dramatic and telling confirmation that has yet seen the light of day of the sinister nature of the witchhunt as it developed from Truman to Eisenhower to McCarthy.

In the case of this minor individual, who fought back and who was able to fight back, unlike the great majority of victims of the witchhunt, a good part of the untold story of the United States' police-state trends can be seen in microcosm. It will help give an idea of the countless unpublicized ordeals which have never been disclosed.

It helps to reveal (1) the role of stoolpigeons and informers in the government's operations; (2) the fact that socialist opinions (not Stalinist) are also unofficially considered a criterion for "loyalty"; (3) the illegal and court-flooting activities of the attorney general's office; (4) the relation between McCarthy's smears and the capitulation of the administration; (5) the relation between the witchhunt as it was launched under Truman and as it was continued under Eisenhower; and several other angles of lesser interest.

Val Lorwin—son of Lewis L. Lorwin, author of many books on the labor, radical and socialist movements—was a Socialist Party member from 1935 to 1938, always anti-CP. During this period he was also active in aiding the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (now the AFL farm workers' union), and just before the war he was active in the Keep America Out of War

Committee. He had never and has never had the slightest sympathy for or relations with the Stalinist movement.

But in September 1935 an inconsequential incident occurred which Lorwin naturally does not even remember, and which could not have become significant except in the Age of the Anonymous Informer.

THE ORIGINAL SIN

At this time Lorwin met a former classmate Harold Metz who was looking for lodgings. The Lorwins took him in as a boarder. They knew him as a very right-wing conservative with whom Lorwin had often had hot political discussions. Then, as an interview with Lorwin in the N. Y. Post tells it:

"One night in September 1935, Metz returned home to find a meeting breaking up of the struggling Southern Tenant Farmers Union, now the AFL National Agricultural Workers Union, which Lorwin was then aiding.

"After the group left Metz, who called them 'rather strange-looking,' asked Lorwin who they were.

"Lorwin jokingly said it was a meeting of the local Communist Party cell, that he was a Communist, and displayed a card which he said was his 'party card.'

"The incident passed unnoticed at the time by everyone except Metz who moved out a few days later, presumably because of his unwillingness to associate with what he thought were Communists.

"There the matter lay buried until 15 years later when Metz, possibly moved by McCarthy's Senate speech, went to the authorities with his story."

Considering the consequences that followed, one can understand the sad situation of humor in Russian liter-

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The farce called the McCarthy-army "fight" at the Washington hearings is only one aspect of the fake "struggle against McCarthyism" which is now absorbing the attention of the American people.

It is true that at least the Republican fellow travelers of McCarthyism, on the investigating committee, are trying to bury the issues in the interest of GOP unity with McCarthy, with the hope of still being able to utilize the Wisconsin witchhunter's invaluable services for the party; but they are not the only ones who are doing their best to bury the issues.

The main issue is not merely McCarthy's personal fate. His discreditment—a possible happy outcome of the hearings—could be basically valuable only if it also involved discreditment of the witchhunt climate in which civil liberties are being stifled to death.

We are not at all indifferent as to whether the individual McCarthy does or does not remain strong and influential. But labor and liberals ought to be equally concerned with whether the witchhunt climate as a whole is or is not strengthened and confirmed in the very process of chopping down McCarthy.

We have raised this issue time and again with reference to the "clever" tactic of so many liberals and Democrats in trying to undercut McCarthy by taking the play away from him—that is, by pledging allegiance to the objectives of the witchhunt while objecting to "irresponsible" methods, by stiffening the administrative purge system in order to prove that "we liberals" or "we Democrats" can be even more effective witchhunters than any irresponsible smear-artist.

EXECUTIVE-RIGHTS ISSUE

Now, in connection with the McCarthy-army show itself, the liberal-Democrats have developed a line which is as dangerous as any other aspect of McCarthyism. It is the line which emphasizes that the issue is really the rights of the executive (Eisenhower) against encroachment by the legislative (presumably McCarthy).

This line was given its big impetus by Truman in a speech urging the president to stand up for his executive "rights." It has been picked up by Stevenson, the Democratic members of the investigating committee, the liberal press and its pundits.

It is largely a fake issue in the first place, and it rests on a dangerously anti-democratic notion, in the second.

With regard to the first:

McCarthy's brazen call for spies within the government to report to him is not an invasion of the rights of the executive on behalf of the legislative powers. It is an invasion of the rights of both on behalf of the independent power named McCarthy.

McCarthy refuses to give his own congressional and senatorial colleagues any control over his operations; he refuses to reveal documents even to the members of his own witchhunt committee; insofar as some of his operations are controllable by the Senate, the remedy lies not in the assertion of some "rights of the executive as against the legislative department" but in the assertion of the powers of the legislative body itself over its members and agents.

Eisenhower's responsibility here is that, as leader of his party, he has done nothing concrete to assert control over McCarthy by Congress. To call upon him—as the Democrats are doing—to assert mooted presidential powers over Congress in order to curb McCarthy is to enter a dangerous terrain even at the best.

THE TRUMANITE METHOD

But the dangers of this liberal-Democratic line are not merely hypothetical. The dangers have already been demonstrated. The experience which demonstrated those dangers, as a matter of fact, is also the experience which lies behind and motivates the fact that it is the DEMOCRATS who are taking this line.

For it was characteristic of the witchhunt under the Truman administration that it counterposed administrative-executive methods of "fighting subversion"

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Four Cases of McCarthyism Minus McCarthy: Crouch, Bunche, Lie-Detectors and Douglas

By PHILIP COBEN

While the attention of all good American citizens is fixed fascinatedly on McCarthy, as if all evil to democracy flows from him alone, we would like to fix some attention on four other items of interest in the current news, all testifying to the deep inroads of McCarthyism into government and political practices.

We should explain right away that none of them has anything to do with the senator from Wisconsin, and all of them involve much more closely the administration of the man whom the liberal-Democrats are breathlessly hoping will give McCarthy a spanking.

(1) While there is some doubt among public-pulse analysts whether McCarthy is or is not being discredited by the show in Washington, there can be no doubt that the last couple of weeks saw two episodes that should have meant the complete discreditment of the most revered institution of the government in its "anti-subversive" work: the FBI stoolpigeon.

One was the ignominious collapse of the stoolpigeon system in the Val Lorwin case (for which see story above on this page). The other was the exposure of a star FBI stoolpigeon, Paul Crouch, as an inventive liar, manufacturing personal testimony to suit for any given Smith Act trial. (See story on Philadelphia CP trial on page 4.)

In each of these cases, the discreditment of the stoolpigeons was an inadvertent by-product of difficulties that the attorney general's office ran into unawares. One is justified in asking: What right has the government to expect any court, loyalty board or investigative agency to take the word of its stoolpigeons for good coin in the absence of the victim's

inability to question or cross-examine them or even to know what the damaging testimony is?

The whole system, whereby on a large scale men have been fired from government service or private jobs, or forced to resign, because of unchallengeable testimony by FBI informers, is thereby publicly thrown into the disrepute it deserves. Yet this is the weapon which is relied on not only by McCarthy—with his "bad methods"—but by the government with its "good methods," and that includes the Truman government before the present one.

BUNCHE ON THE GRILL

(2) The secret character of the government's witchhunting operations took on an especially sinister character as a result of the well-publicized developments in the case of Ralph Bunche, the prominent Negro U. S. diplomat in the UN.

The Bunche case stemmed from President Truman's order of January 1953 that all U. S. nationals in the UN should be screened for loyalty. "It is Ambassador [to the UN] Lodge's boast," reported the N. Y. Post, "that two days after he arrived to take over as head of the U. S. mission he deposited with Hammarskjöld 2000 forms 'each six pages in length' to be filled out by U. S. nationals and that same afternoon Americans were 'lined up' in the corridors for fingerprinting." (Lodge later admitted: "Of course there is no classified information in the UN anyway.")

All but a few hundred were cleared in short order, but not Bunche. As the result of a leak (a malicious leak, it is conjectured), it was revealed last week that Bunche has been under secret investigation for

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THE BECK-McDONALD-LEWIS AXIS

What's the Common Ground for These Big Three Conservatives?

By BEN HALL

When John L. Lewis, David McDonald and Dave Beck patched together their informal alliance in Washington on April 30, they announced that they were joining forces to seek favorable legislation, especially government action on unemployment. But nothing more and nothing different is demanded than what McDonald's steel workers' union has sought through the CIO, or Becks' International Brotherhood of Teamsters through the AFL, or Lewis' United Mine Workers by itself.

Moreover, Beck and McDonald and their representatives have sat through conferences and conventions of their respective federations, voting for every important resolution and decision, never hinting for a moment that they considered them inadequate in any decisive respect.

If now they form a working alliance outside the AFL and CIO, what binds them together is not some flash of concern with the problems of the working class but a common desire to cut down the power and prestige of the leaders of the CIO and AFL.

In a mutual pooling of their narrow official interests and a joint demonstration of their united nuisance-power, they intend to announce to the AFL-CIO: whatever you do, beware of overlooking our strength. And each of the three considers such a move imperative because of the growing collaboration between the two labor federations and the looming possibility of unity; Lewis, because he fears isolation and impotence in a unity achieved without him; Beck and McDonald because they fear that unity would force them into a permanent minority status inside a unified labor movement.

Beck makes no bones about his opposition to the CIO-AFL no-raiding pact. McDonald has sneaked and sidled into the same position; after voting at CIO conventions and councils for the pact, he withholds his signature in order to torpedo it. The interests of his private war with Walter Reuther wipes out his interest in the unity of the labor movement.

The alliance is a demand for public recognition by the right wing of the labor movement.

WHAT HAVE THEY TO OFFER?

In a television interview on May 9, Lewis told reporters that the meeting with Beck and McDonald "suggests a recognition of the fact that neither the present leadership of the CIO nor the AFL is meeting the requirements of organized labor in protecting the interests of that vast membership." Naturally, one can sympathize with this critical generality, while imagination revolts at the effort of conjuring up a vision of this alliance supplying an improved substitute leadership.

Nevertheless, outspoken criticism from the Big Three Conservatives can be a

One Happy Family

Under the headline "U. S.-British Rift at Geneva Widens," the N. Y. Times (June 1) reports:

"The latest dispute is over the consequences of the decisions Saturday to invite representatives of the high commands of the two sides in Indochina to meet here to start talking about a cease-fire."

"The less than harmonious relations between the two delegations may be judged by the fact that responsible members of the United States delegations are referring to this proposal, which was submitted by Anthony Eden, British foreign secretary, as the 'Molotov proposal.'"

YOU'RE INVITED

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

prod to the CIO and AFL. Leaders of the two federations will have to concern themselves with winning and maintaining the loyalty of their secondary leaders and members; they will have to be ready to answer criticism and be wary of letting the initiative pass to the organized right wing on important questions.

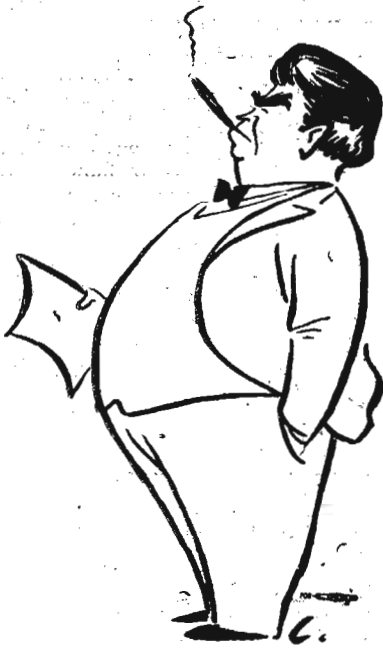
A by-product of the Beck-Lewis-McDonald move was the speedy decision of CIO and AFL leaders to put the stalled no-raiding pact into effect by June 9 without awaiting further signatures. This was their obvious reply to the effort to sabotage the pact.

This exhausts what can be said for the coalition move. If the Three are dissatisfied with the official AFL-CIO line, they scrupulously avoid presenting any alternative. There is not the slightest evidence that they have reached or can reach any agreement on what to oppose in the current policies.

BECK vs. MEANY

Dave Beck has one burning ambition: to increase his power inside the AFL and

Muscling In?



to extend the jurisdiction of his union at the expense of all possible rivals. Any effort to put the general interests of the labor movement ahead of the bureaucratic interests of any single section of its officialdom stands in his way. Therefore his uncompromising opposition to the AFL-CIO pact.

George Meany, AFL president, is one of the prime movers in the drive toward unity and Beck would like to cut down his power and reduce him to the status of a clerk. "I have supported George Meany consistently and I hope to do so indefinitely," he told the Central States Conference of the Teamsters Union, "but that doesn't mean that we will always agree on problems of concern to labor. . . . Mr. Meany, in my opinion, is doing a very fine job. He served for many years as president of the New York State Federation of Labor, the legislative wing of the New York labor movement. The AFL is similar, in that it represents the legislative wing of the American labor movement on a national level. He is more qualified, in my opinion, than I am in the sphere of legislative action."

It is easy to read between the lines. Beck would turn Meany into a glorified lobbyist while the real affairs of the labor movement are run by men like himself.

McDONALD vs. REUTHER

McDonald is motivated by his unsettled struggle against Reuther. He tried to

turn the CIO into an instrument for his kind of conservative unionism by supporting the late Allan Haywood for the presidency against Reuther. He opposed Reuther and the circle around the new CIO president because he distrusted their socialistic background and feared their "radical" tendencies in politics and unionism.

But when Reuther was victorious, McDonald decided to continue the struggle with whatever means came to hand. If Reuther and the CIO wanted an agreement with the AFL, McDonald would sabotage it. He was obviously not powerful enough in his own steel workers' union to pull it out of the CIO, but he could try to prepare for it.

When the CIO made the innocent announcement that its campaign for the guaranteed annual wage would begin in the steel industry, McDonald publicly repudiated this simple report as an attempt to dictate the policies of the steel union. The CIO, he made clear, could not presume to speak for his union.

Last week he told reporters in Pittsburgh that his union should be called "United Steelworkers of America" without "CIO" before or after its name, because "the CIO doesn't have a damn thing to do with the internal affairs of the union." It is obvious that his entry into the coalition is a continuation of his fight against Reutherism.

LEWIS vs. BECK

It might seem paradoxical to watch the curtain go up on the Beck-Lewis affair in Washington while in New York the same two labor officials backed opposite sides in the waterfront struggle. Lewis finances the ILA while Beck sits on the temporary directing board of the new AFL longshore union which seeks to overturn the ILA.

But it does not appear so strange when their aims become clear. They enter the picture not exactly as opponents but as different officials trying to cut in from different directions.

For Lewis, it is a simple matter. His goal in the longshore situation is the same as in Washington. If you leave me out, he tells the AFL, I will disrupt your plans wherever possible.

For Beck, things are a little more complicated. The decision to expel the ILA from the AFL and set up a new longshore union was a victory for Meany, who favors a strong policy to oust racketeers and gangsters from the labor movement. But this would mean a strengthening of the power of the AFL top leadership over that of the craft bureaucracies which make up the federation. And Beck, as we have seen, wants to restrict Meany's range of operations.

However, in the context of the actual waterfront situation, the AFL could count on only two organized groups to serve as the wedge to drive out the ILA: the seamen and Beck's Teamsters.

In the very nature of the situation a struggle, open or concealed, between Beck and Meany inside the AFL and within its longshore union is inevitable. Beck enters the fight against the ILA to ensure his own influence within the new union and at least to stake the Teamsters' claim to control public loading which, he announces, he will take away from any longshore union, ILA or AFL.

To the AFL, which demanded that it get rid of racketeers, the ILA replied: if any of our officials are guilty of violating the law, let the police and courts send them to jail; that is not our job. (This, by the way, is almost identical with the reply of Joe Curran, president of the NMU-CIO, to his critics in his own union.) But the labor movement has the task of rooting out dishonest, racketeering practices even when they are, strictly speaking, within the law. It may not be illegal for union officials to accept gifts from employers, to use their union connections for private business, but it is against the interests of the union movement.

ON THE WATERFRONT

Officials of the Teamsters Union have been accused of illicit practices before congressional investigation committees. In his own union, Beck argues like an officer of the ILA.

At one Teamsters conference he discussed at some length charges from employers and government officials that agents of his union were racketeering:

"If there is any proof of labor racketeering, I recommend the district attorney or the prosecuting attorney go in and seek an indictment, but give the accused and every other man the right to have his counsel of defense, his opportunity to cross-examine and put under oath those that accuse him." There followed a lengthy digression into the rights of citizens before congressional committees.

But what does the union itself intend to do about these charges? Not a word.

McDonald's Butt



The New York waterfront fight conventionally shows two members of the new coalition in action.

What is imperatively needed is some sign from the labor movement that it is possible to build a longshore union free from racketeers and gangsters. Lewis devotes himself to small-time politics, cutting away the tugboat Marine Division of the old ILA into his District 50 and giving a new lease on life to the thugs who have run the dock sections of the ILA. Beck considers the moment opportune to tear away public loading from the longshore union and pick up a few hundred new jobs for his Teamsters Union. His action and the spirit of petty organizational greed which it symbolizes have undoubtedly played a big role in permitting the ILA to squeak through the recent NLRB elections.

The new AFL longshore union has apparently reached a stalemate in its drive to overcome the ILA. The results of the recent NLRB poll show that it continued to gain. In December it received 7,568 votes. Last week it got 8,791. The ILA drew 9,060 last year and 9,110 this time; its plurality over the AFL was cut from 1,400 to 300.

ILA HOLDS ON

But the AFL was unequal to the task of breaking the hold of the ILA over the loyalty of its supporters. The latter was able to maintain its plurality unshaken.

Longshoremen who persisted in voting ILA did so not because they wanted to protect gangsters and racketeers but because they feared a change; they were unwilling to take their union out of the hands of one group of officials and turn it over to other officials. The ILA played skillfully on their fears.

"If the test of union affiliation to the AFL is to be activity as a crime-buster, then there are few organizations in the AFL today that can pass that test," commented one leaflet. "The plain truth of the present situation among longshoremen," it continued, "is that Hall and Beck . . . are out to get rid of the ILA and replace it with a new union controlled by Hall and Beck and the means of cushy jobs for the Republican ward-healers who will run the state hiring halls."

Other leaflets pointed out to Negro members that Hall's SIU discriminates against their race: "No colored sailors are allowed to ship out on deck or in the engine room." Both Hall and Beck, warned the ILA, are out to carve up the longshore union and take over the jobs of its members.

And so the ILA was able to hold on. Toward this unhappy result Beck and Lewis each contributed his share.

LONDON LETTER

Bevan and the Right Wing

By ALLAN VAUGHAN

LONDON, May 26—Despite the gloomy predictions of the capitalist press, the Labor Party has not broken asunder into a right-wing and a left-wing party.

The capitalist press has taken more than a cursory interest in the split within the Labor Party for one very good reason: it is by now by no means certain that the Tories would win a general election.

The sweeping victories for the Labor Party in the municipal elections have effectively demolished the argument advanced by the Tory press that Bevan's resignation from the party's Front Bench would weaken Labor's hold on its electoral support. The *Daily Telegraph*, the organ of the sober and highly reactionary sections of the capitalist class, mournfully admitted that the split within the party had had no discernible effect on Labor's strength in the country.

Last week the Parliamentary Labor Party decided not to take any action concerning Herbert Morrison's attack on Bevan in *Socialist Commentary*. This decision, which was agreed on by both the right and the left wing of the party, put off the "evil day" predicted for so long by the enemies of the Labor Party.

The center wing of the Parliamentary Labor Party are clearly anxious to prevent a head-on collision between Bevan and Morrison. It now appears that Harold Wilson has decided to join this body of opinion in the Parliamentary Labor Party, rather than stay out on a limb with his former "leader," Aneurin Bevan. This new situation is disapproved of by both the extreme right and the Bevanite left.

The *Daily Herald*, official organ of the party, has clearly decided to dissociate itself from the violent anti-Bevanism that characterized it when Percy Cudlipp was editor. The former editor now writes a column in the *Liberal News Chronicle*, and has expressed some very sour comments on the new editor, Sidney Elliot. Clearly the right wing has been thwarted in any plans it may have had for throwing Bevan out of the party following his recent resignation.

OPEN DEBATE

Today the National Executive Committee of the party decided that the debate on German rearmament can be continued within the party by MPs and NEC members, despite the general disciplinary attitude it has on other controversial matters. The NEC recognizes that opposition to German rearmament is far, far stronger than the forces now supporting Bevan—and these forces are very considerable even by themselves.

The trouble, of course, is that the opposition to German rearmament in the party and trade union is by no means a completely socialist one. There is very much chauvinist and anti-German prejudice caught up within the movement. And it is this which is being combated for the wrong reasons, of course, by people like Herbert Morrison, who reminds his chauvinist critics of "Workers of all lands, unite." Coming from him, this is grotesque, but the truth often takes on a somewhat grotesque character.

Another NEC decision was to send a delegation of leading Labor Party people to China, at the request of the Chinese authorities. In the delegation will be Attlee, Bevan, Dr. Edith Summerskill, Sam Watson (of the Miners), Morgan Phillips (party secretary) and Wilfred Burke (present party chairman). The formidable-looking delegation will bring back an account of the situation in China, and no doubt it will be most interesting. It remains to be seen whether their accounts will tally with one another, and whether their impressions are based on accurate observation or otherwise.

BEVANITES AND STALINISM

This brings us to a question which seems to bother Americans very considerably. And this question is not restricted to Americans of the Republican, Democratic or even ADA-type. Many American socialists ask it. It is worth dealing with here because I fear there is considerable misunderstanding among American socialists on this point:

Is it a fact that Stalinist ideas take root in the Labor Party movement easily?

The Bevanite movement—to call it that for want of a better term—is certainly not controlled by the CP, but it is certainly influenced by what Americans would describe as Stalinist and semi-Stalinist ideology. Of the Bevanite

MPs themselves, only Michael Foot can be described as really anti-Stalinist—but even this has to be qualified. Bevan himself is very confused on Stalinism, his views being even more crass than the present leadership of the Fourth International.

And these are the best of an assorted mixture of pacifist fellow travelers and semi-fellow-travelers, who despite their hostility to the CP as such, put forward ideas reminiscent of Popular Front and National Front ideologies.

However, I think British socialists are far less worried about Stalinism than the Americans, because (1) there exists a Labor Party which has area for democratic discussion of views, and has a certain credit to its name as a result of the reform measures it carried out 1945-49, and (2) because the CP as such is so wholly discredited and Stalinist ideas accordingly have no organizational basis in the movement.

SHORT ON POLICY

But far, far more dangerous than their views about Stalinism are the views of the Bevanites with regard to the Tories and to the right-wing Labor leadership. The Bevanites have no worked-out perspective, which the right wing has (its perspective of defense of the status quo). All the Bevanites want is "more socialism," which to them seems to mean more nationalization (how does not concern them overmuch), plus East-West trade, and admission of China into the UN.

Such is the scanty and threadbare alternative Bevanism has to offer to Morrison "socialism." To the right wing the Bevanites are—irresponsible reformists. And there is an element of truth in this characterization.

While British socialists must give every support to the struggle against the right-wing leadership now conducted in a fashion by *Tribune* and the Bevanites, and while applauding and congratulating the opposition to right-wing policies of Bevan and his supporters, no greater mistake could possibly be made than to assume that any current, any ideology short of Marxism, revolutionary socialism, can give the Labor movement a truly socialist perspective.

EXPOSURE AT THE PHILADELPHIA CP TRIAL—

Stoolpigeon Paul Crouch Isn't Feeling Well

By CARL CRAIG

PHILADELPHIA, May 19—There is no doubt that the capable defense staff headed by the noted criminal lawyer, Thomas D. McBride, is giving the government a run for its money in the current trial in this city of local secondary Communist Party leaders. One of the important aspects which has been brought to light is the role of star FBI informer Paul Crouch.

In a syndicated article written by the Alsop brothers dated May 18, it was revealed that Attorney General Brownell has decided to investigate Crouch for possible perjury, especially in connection with his Philadelphia appearance. Crouch is a star performer for the government in Smith Act trials, deportation hearings, etc. Whether Brownell really does anything about Crouch is another matter.

Joseph S. Lord 3rd, a member of the defense staff, caught Crouch in a glaring discrepancy in his testimony concerning David Davis, one of the nine defendants. Evidently McBride and staff have made a thorough study of Crouch's appearances for the government, one of which was his testimony at the second trial of Harry Bridges in 1949.

At the Bridges trial Crouch testified un-

By GORDON HASKELL

The fact that negotiations on various levels have taken place at the Geneva conference does not mean that any settlement is in sight, or that the danger of American military intervention has decreased.

While both sides have agreed to discuss a truce, it does not appear that they have agreed even in outline on the political foundations on which a truce would be based. Both sides have been stalling while awaiting further developments.

The Stalinist Vietminh armies have been regrouping inside and around the Red River delta. Such regroupment can either lead to a major military attack or can be designed primarily to give the negotiators a "position of strength" from which to present their demands. In the meantime, the French government remains in crisis, and the Stalinists have every reason to await further developments there before they commit themselves to anything.

The United States government, on the other hand, is seeking to keep the Allied front as solid as possible at Geneva, while it prepares its real moves in negotiations with the French government on the one hand and the British on the other. As the Eisenhower administration has no more to offer in the way of a political settlement today than it did when the Geneva conference opened, it continues to thrash around between the alternatives of abandoning Indochina to the Stalinists or sending American troops to fight another hopeless war on the fringes of Stalinist power.

The Stalinist negotiators are not without their problems. They are in the position of a player who holds all the cards in his hand for a royal flush. But he knows that his opponent has reached such a point of desperation that he may pull a gun if the hand is played. If the Stalinists have decided that they have little to fear and much to gain from American military involvement in Indochina, they can play their hand to the hilt with the expectation that whatever their opponent does will be to their advantage. But if their own economic and political problems are such that they would prefer to avoid another Korea at this time (as well as the danger that the United States might actually carry out the often-repeated threat to extend this war to the mainland of China), they must calculate very delicately just how far they should push their hand to get the maximum without war.

The talks in Geneva are the window-dressing of formal diplomacy. They are necessary to both sides as a means of

fooling the peoples of the world into thinking that *their* interests are being taken into account, particularly their interest in peace. They are one of the platforms from which both sides hope to win propaganda victories. But the real decisions are being made behind the backs of the peoples of the world, and particularly the people of Indochina.

The American people are being kept in the dark too. This is the usual way in which major political decisions, which will affect the lives of all of us, are taken. But in this situation, there is a specific reason for the lack of any real public debate on Indochina. That is that neither major political party has any alternative to offer for the confusion which passes as an Eisenhower-Dulles policy.

At his latest press conference, President Eisenhower announced that his administration has not yet decided whether it will intervene militarily in Indochina. In other words, a handful of men at the top of the government are discussing this question of life or death for untold numbers of people, while the nation stands by waiting for its fate to be decided. No "Great Debate"—no public confrontation of policies before the people as a whole. One bright day we may all be informed that we must fight in another "small war"—that's all.

DEMOS SILENT

The Democrats have been silent, or their remarks have been devoid of any positive element. In this critical situation, all they have been able to do is to deride the Republicans for their own irresponsible criticisms and promises of the past.

In addition, it must be pointed out that neither the labor movement, nor Americans for Democratic Action, nor any other influential group in the labor-liberal field has found its voice to advocate a real alternative to the administration's line. They all speak vaguely of getting France to give independence to Indochina as a prerequisite to any successful policy in that part of the world, but none of them proposes that the United States should stop all military and economic aid to France until independence is given, or that the American government should cease to recognize French sovereignty in Indochina and deal directly with the native governments there without reference to French interests or desires.

The negotiations in Geneva may drag on for some time. But unless independent forces in Southeast Asia and in the rest of the world utilize this time to intervene between the two war camps, the fate of the Indochinese peoples and of the world will continue to hang on the calculations and miscalculations of a few dozen men at the real centers of power.

der oath that he had no knowledge of David Davis. Yet at the Philadelphia trial he repeatedly made statements about his association with Davis in CP activity, over a period extending from 1928 through the 30s. Evidently Crouch forgot his script or the prosecuting staff was not familiar with his testimony at the Bridges trial or the ability of the defense staff was underestimated.

One thing is clear if nothing else; his Philadelphia appearance was a snafu. The prosecution was unable to prop Crouch up after Lord finished him off on this point.

TEST COMING UP

The trial of the nine secondary leaders is unique in that the defense staff represents some of the very best legal talent in the Philadelphia area. None of the lawyers is in any way identified with the CP or any of its front organizations. Most if not all are members of the American Civil Liberties Union. McBride, in addition to being a top criminal lawyer, is vice-chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association and a member of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia branch of the ACLU.

The entire defense battery came into being when the Philadelphia Bar Association asked for volunteers (due to the fact

that the Stalinists were not able to obtain counsel for one or another reason.

At the present time a big test issue is shaping up on the motion of McBride that the defense be furnished with the documents and papers turned over to the local FBI by Herman Erwin Thomas, a government witness and former plant in the CP. U. S. attorney W. Wilson White bitterly opposed the defense motion. He contended that the Communists were out to study the methods of the FBI, that the defense has attempted to get such information at previous Smith Act trials, that the government expects many other Smith Act trials (??), and that the future prosecutions would be harmed by the disclosure of such evidence.

McBride countered that either a constitutional trial be held or no trial at all. Judge J. Cullen Ganey ruled in favor of the defense motion with the proviso that he and the attorneys (both defense and prosecution) should first look over the documents to see that national security would not be violated. He then directed White to bring in the papers.

White thereupon stated that Brownell would have to give his permission. It now remains to be seen what Brownell intends to do about the judge's ruling. In at least one local national security case, he refused to turn over FBI papers.

GUATEMALA

Between Stalinist Terror And American Imperialism

By H. W. BENSON

Stalinism in Guatemala, as everywhere in the capitalist world, plays upon the yearnings of the people for freedom and upon their hatred of exploitation. But its adherents never forget their real role. While acting out their public role—defenders of “democracy”—they remain the agents of dictatorship.

We are reminded of this fact by Ruben D. Villatoro, president of the National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala. In the May 21 issue of the *AFL News-Reporter*, he describes the treatment of anti-Stalinists in the labor movement at the hands of Stalinists with the cooperation of the Arbenz regime.

In 1953, a defense committee representing 4,000 unemployed workers was organized to demand relief measures from the government. The Stalinists were unable to control it and demanded that all complaints be submitted to Arbenz through their hands. When the defense committee refused, it found all doors to public offices closed to them. Later, the Stalinists accused the committee leaders of being “traitors” and all its leaders were arrested, its headquarters destroyed, and the organization forced out of existence. Still later, Catholic leaders tried to organize a Central Committee of Anti-Communist Workers. Its headquarters was raided and stripped of furniture and equipment and it was forced into illegality.

In the railway union, a popular trade-union leader, Arturo Morales Cubas, reported to have negotiated the first labor agreement in Guatemala, announced his candidacy for the office of general secretary. He had maintained “a great deal of independence and had never submitted to Communist dictation.” The offices of the Railway Consumers Cooperative which he headed were mysteriously destroyed by fire, and Stalinist gangs were sent to break up all his public meetings. Before the votes were counted, the police seized the ballot boxes for “safe-keeping.” “They were all tampered with, the result being that the Stalinist-supported ticket was declared the winner,” writes Villatoro.

ANTI-LABOR TERROR

Last year, two representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions came to Guatemala to invite observers to its Stockholm convention. Police agents spied on all visitors who were called to headquarters for long interrogation. A Guatemalan observer who did attend the Stockholm convention was arrested and freed only after signing a statement denouncing the ICFTU.

Villatoro reports that the National Union of Free Workers was organized last year; “based on the principle of free independent trade-unionism, it opposed government domination and interference from political parties. . . .” When its influence grew, the Stalinists demanded that it join the Stalinist-controlled CGTG and submit to it. The anti-Stalinists refused:

“On the morning of Jan. 25, 1954, a band of Communists armed with machine

guns, assaulted our headquarters, destroyed our furniture, burned the literature we had received from the ORIT and the AFL, stole what money they found in our safe, and arrested all the leaders who were present, including this writer.

“We were tortured in the most barbarous fashion to make us confess that we were plotting with the international free trade-union movement against the government of Guatemala. The reaction was so strong that the government decided to settle our case by ordering deportation. As a result, this writer was sent to Mexico while Ramiro Aquilar, Enrique Coronado and Miguel Angel Quiroa were deported to Honduras.”

PART OF THE DEAL

The free rein allowed the Stalinists by the Arbenz regime is part of the deal on which its coalition with the Stalinists is based. The real crimes of the Guatemalan Stalinists are not indicated by the claim that their existence signifies “intervention” by Russia, this being a formula devised strictly for the purpose of foreign intervention. The Guatemalan Stalinists, however much a native movement in composition, has the anti-working-class character of Stalinism everywhere.

Its defeat is an important objective of the free trade-union movement, but that defeat cannot be achieved in any progressive manner by the intervention of outside imperialism (in this case, American). The State Department has lived happily with Latin American regimes which crushed the free trade-union movement with even greater brutality than has yet been used in Guatemala, and its intervention is solely in the interests of reaction, not in defense of the anti-Stalinist workers.

BOLIVIA

Can the Nationalist Regime Resist Washington's Pressure?

By JUAN REY

SANTIAGO, May 16—The problem before Bolivia is whether the present Nationalist government can hold out against the kind of pressure which the U. S. is applying.

The basic economic prop of the regime is Bolivia's tin production, which represents more than 80 per cent of Bolivian exports. The U. S. government is the principal buyer of Bolivian tin and this fact is a very important factor in Bolivia's internal development. By stopping its purchases of tin, the U. S. can provoke economic collapse in the country and a stoppage of production in its mines.

Why is it that the U. S. government does not utilize this powerful weapon which it holds against the regime of Paz Estenssoro? The answer is that a collapse of Bolivian economy would also mean a collapse of the Nationalist regime and would raise the danger of a new revolution, a workers' revolution under the leadership of the mine workers; and such a development could create very serious trouble for the U. S. in the heart of Latin America.

Therefore Washington has been following the course of doling out to the Nationalist government little loans of \$10,000-15,000 every three months or so, thus avoiding the final collapse of both the economy and the regime.

Using its powerful levers of economic and political pressure, the State Department demands the dismissal of the “Communist” ministers Lechin, Chavez and San Jinez and repression against the left, particularly against the POR (Trotskyist party) and the PIR (the Stalinist party). But this demand cannot be satisfied now, because of strong opposition from the workers and the beginnings of their opposition to the regime itself.

So the Nationalist regime is still staying in power, thanks to the special international situation which forces the U. S. to move more cautiously than it would like, to the struggle of the working masses against imperialist pressure, and

Crouch, Bunche — —

(Continued from page 1)

16 months. A few days after this had caused a terrific international furor, it was announced that Bunche was as innocent of subversion as a lamb and his case was finally disposed of.

Now the point which emerges from the Bunche story—unnoticed by any of the indignant commentators we have read—is exactly the reverse of the common kick of all the infuriated liberals. The latter seem to have been especially hurt by the idea that a prominent man like Bunche should have been exposed to public obloquy. Hence, for example, the conjecture that the leak about his ordeal was the work of his enemies. It may well have been, of course.

But what is most worth noting is that as long as the witchhunting operation remained secret, Bunche remained on the hot seat; it was only publicity which secured his clearance, and in a jiffy at that.

As long as the witchhunt proceeds in administrative secrecy, the purge agencies have all sorts of leeway. It is uncontrolled and uncontrollable except by the bureaucracy. As soon as it hits the light of day, the witchhunters no longer have the same free hand to do as they please.

The Bunche case also reflects on the stoolpigeon angle of Point (1) above, though this side of it has to remain conjectural since no information was divulged about why Bunche was under suspicion so long. It is a safe guess to suppose that, as in the pattern of so many other cases, it was some informer's testimony that was holding up Bunche's clearance.

UN friends of Bunche, the press reported, hoped that the loyalty board that

To the cases discussed in this article, add the fantastic decision of the Atomic Energy loyalty board (announced as we go to press) rejecting clearance for Oppenheimer while conceding that he is “loyal” and “discreet.”

cleared Bunche would go further and consider perjury charges against whatever witnesses had impugned his “loyalty.” What stoolpigeons turned out to be liars in this case? As things stand, no one is likely ever to know, nor will we know whether these stoolpigeons had ever been used to persecute other (and less prominent) citizens. . . .

LIE-DETECTORS

(3) In the current issue of the *Reporter* magazine, Dwight Macdonald has the first part of a two-part article on “The Lie-Detector Era,” dealing most particularly with the use of the so-called lie-detector by government agencies in “anti-subversive” screening.

A good part of the article is devoted to exposing the myth that such instruments can be relied on, especially in cases where the questions involve not simple matters of fact but complex things like opinions and intentions. The article takes up the abuses of “the lie-detector in government service: to do mass security screening of new employees in certain ‘sensitive’ federal agencies, to check up on individual employees who have been accused of being bad security risks, and sometimes, according to reports, simply as a threat to get people to resign quietly and without fuss.”

Macdonald refers to “the scandalous abuse of the polygraph [lie-detector] at the National Security Agency (formerly the Armed Forces Security Agency).” Furthermore, “lie detectors have been used . . . in a flagrantly abusive manner—not only on thousands of employees in the National Security Agency but on at least two high officials of the State Department.”

McCarthy has been widely attacked for his insistent demands that the lie-detector be used on suspected “subversives.” But it is the government which is actually using them.

DOUGLAS IS “SMEARED”

(4) A revealing incident took place last week in connection with the hearings of the special House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations. Two Democratic congressmen actually walked out of the committee demonstratively in protest when, in their opinion, a witness before the committee “smeared” Senator Paul Douglas. What was the “smear” that precipitated this violent action?

The witness, a San Francisco lawyer named Sargeant, introduced a pamphlet published by the League for Industrial Democracy in 1941 about the socialist student movement. The pamphlet said: “Many present-day leaders of thought were among active members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society college chapters.” Among the names cited by the pamphlet was that of Paul Douglas.

So the “smear” against Douglas was that, in his youthful student days, he had been a member of a socialist student chapter—not a Stalinist organization, not a CP front, but the respectable Norman Thomas-type socialist group known as the LID.

This had the same effect as if Douglas had been accused of being in the same CP cell with Whittaker Chambers, or (say) a buddy of Alger Hiss. It had the same effect on that great liberal Paul Douglas himself, who hastened to issue a statement:

“This dusting off of old and discredited charges is but another example of Congress' need to pass a code of procedure for the guidance of its investigations.”

Douglas went on to admit that indeed, 40 years ago at Columbia, he had been a member of the ISS, which he said was “organized to study social problems.” This sounds uncomfortably like a cornered statesman explaining that he had sent greetings in 1943 to the American-Russian Friendship Society under the mere impression that it was patriotically helping our noble ally. Of course, the ISS—Douglas notwithstanding—was not organized to “study social problems.” It was the socialist propaganda movement among students.

But Douglas's statement carefully sought to suggest that this “dangerous” radical organization he once blundered into was not even socialist. The group, he said, was “in one sense a political action group . . . it had no connection with the Socialist Party, of which I have never been a member.”

Both the reactionaries and our “liberal” seem to regard the “socialist” tag as implying somewhere near as serious a “smear” as the CP tag. In this respect the case also ties in with that of I. F. Terwin.



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British Young Socialists on European Unity and Germany

In the May 24 issue of Challenge we printed a report by our British correspondent, Alex Newbold, on the 1954 national conference of the British Labor League of Youth. As the article indicated, the British young socialists oppose many of the right-wing policies of the British Labor Party. This opposition manifested itself at the conference despite the severe limitations which the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party places upon political life and discussion in its youth organization.

As an index to some of the thinking which is taking place among the members of the L.O.Y. we print below two articles which appeared in the April issue of Keep Left, the organ of the Wembley branches of the Labor League of Youth. While we may not necessarily agree with every statement or idea to be found in them, they assuredly present viewpoints which on the whole take correct socialist positions on the questions discussed. They will be of interest to readers of Challenge.

The first, "European Unity," is signed by the Wembley South L.O.Y. and appears to be the official position of that branch. It deals with a question which the national conference of the L.O.Y. discussed. Readers who refer back to the May 24 article will note that the conference referred back to the L.O.Y.'s NCC its document on "European Unity," with the great majority of delegates calling for a united socialist Europe.

The second article, by Cyril Smith, discusses the question of German rearmament and some of the arguments put forward by its opponents—arguments which are far from being democratic or socialist.

EUROPEAN UNITY

In the middle ages, Europe was not divided into countries as we know them today. With the breakdown of feudalism and growth of private industry, strong states were needed for economic reasons, and this led to the development of the modern nation state. Within each country, unity was achieved in order to facilitate competition with outside capitalist groups. Owing to the need of modern capitalism to exploit colonial territories, still greater conflicts arose between the European countries resulting in two world wars, not to mention many minor struggles.

At the same time as it developed national barriers, capitalism has created a world market and turned the whole globe into one economic unit. This has meant that these same boundaries have become obsolete and a hindrance to economic development. The advocates of world government, federalism and European unity

The YSL's Aim

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

—From the Constitution of the YSL

are attempting to cure the ailment without capitalism.

With the development of the cold war, and the ever-increasing tension between the U. S. and USSR, European unity has had a new significance. Europe has been split between East and West and each side uses its respective satellites as pawns in the cold war. The movement for the unity of Western Europe is thus part of the American plan to form the NATO countries into an American military base.

In our opinion European unity under capitalism cannot be realized. No capitalist group will forfeit any part of its profit. This has been illustrated by the difficulties encountered by the European Coal and Steel Community on the question of a possible cut in coal production in certain countries, for it is then a matter of sharing the losses. Certain groups, Britain in particular, will not relish the idea of pooling the loot obtained from the colonial territories. From the working-class point of view such an amalgamation will mean that wages and conditions will drop to the lowest level in each industry, for this is the way in which capitalism works.

We think that Socialists should not be in favor of maintaining the present out-moded international barriers, but they cannot be abolished so long as capitalism exists. Socialists should work for a United Socialist States of Europe, which would oppose the interests of both the bureaucratic rule of the Kremlin and the domination of American capitalism. Therefore, we are against the present-day movement for the setting-up of a united capitalist Europe.

GERMAN REARMAMENT

The decision of the National Executive and of the Parliamentary Labor Party to support the rearmament of Western Germany has met with considerable opposition throughout the Labor Party and in the trade unions. While this reaction is obviously gratifying to all socialists, we must look very carefully at the arguments on which this opposition is based.

As a socialist, I am against the rearmament of Western Germany because it is not designed to defend the interests of the ordinary people of Germany or Britain. It has been forced through against the wishes of the German labor movement. It can only increase the danger of world war, and it strengthens the most reactionary elements of East and West Germany.

But there are many people who oppose the NEC decision for quite different reasons. From 1939 to 1945, we in Britain were subjected to a stream of propaganda which attacked, not just Nazism, but also the German people. With the support of many Labor leaders and of the Communist Party the lie was spread around that the German workers were responsible for the rise of Hitler and for the Second World War. In this way the real culprits—the capitalist statesmen and the leaders of both Stalinism and Social Democracy—tried to shift the blame for their crimes.

The resulting anti-German prejudice lies at the bottom of quite a lot of the opposition to German rearmament. The idea is put forward that the Germans have a tendency, presumably inherited, toward militarism; and we even hear some speakers, including "Communists," playing on the fears of German trade competition.

These arguments are the very opposite of socialist internationalism. Surely, it is the task of socialists today to oppose this tendency and to emphasize the fact that the interests of the German and British workers coincide. Only in this way can we unite the forces both inside and outside Germany which fight against the revival of German militarism and struggle for an independent, united socialist Germany.

How an Ex-Radical Explains Repudiation of His Past

By MAX MARTIN

Dwight Macdonald's "I Choose the West" in the current issue of Anvil is one of the most curious and interesting apologies for supporting American imperialism that can be found. It is interesting not because of its level of argumentation—that is pitifully low—but because it reveals something of the state of mind of many former radicals.

After all, at one time Macdonald was a revolutionary socialist, then a pacifist; and he did edit the fairly sophisticated journal Politics. That he holds these views today can only be noted with sadness; the views themselves can only be regarded as symptoms and clues. This is what undoubtedly motivated the editors of the anti-war student magazine Anvil in publishing the article.

His declaration of allegiance to Washington is couched in revealing terms: "but in general I do choose, I support Western policies." [Emphasis in original.] Now this, of course, is sleight-of-hand trickery, designed to give the impression that to oppose Washington is "not to choose," to abstain from political life.

But Third Camp socialists do choose and do not abstain: they choose to struggle against both imperialist camps and for the Third Camp of the workers and colonial peoples, for a road which can provide democratic and progressive solutions to the impasse confronting humanity.

TWO CHOICES

But in addition to being trickery it provides insight into what ails Macdonald and his cothinkers; it reveals the moods which dominate them. These moods are based upon the magnetic attraction exercised by the power and apparent solidity of American capitalism. After all, the Third Camp struggles and aspirations of the people do not today have the might of nations and armies to back them up, and for Macdonald this decides the question: to choose the Third Camp is "not to choose." He says that the revolutionary socialist position assumes that there is a "reasonable chance" for a Third Camp development and he presumably doesn't think there is one. But a moment's reflection will show that he asks not for a "reasonable chance" but for an absolute guarantee.

We have witnessed many manifestations of the Third Camp aspirations of the people in the last few years. The East Berlin workers' uprising, colonial

struggles, "neutralism," Bevanism, and the general resistance of the peoples of Asia and Europe to being hitched to the American or Russian wagons—each in its own way is an indication of the "reasonableness" of the Third Camp program. Indeed, mainly these phenomena—and not, as Macdonald would have it, the war preparations of the "West"—account for the postponement of the outbreak of the war. The task of socialists is to educate for the meaningful organization of these forces and struggles; Macdonald chooses as his task to educate against them.

HIS LESSER EVIL

At the end of his piece, Macdonald presents the idea that all of the progressive alternatives to the current mess in the world were exhausted prior to the Second World War by the "crimes, mistakes and failures" committed in that period. To be sure, the exact alternative developments which existed at each crucial point in the period between the first and second world wars do not exist now, for the exact political situations of those years do not exist now. But progressive alternatives to the present reactionary situation do exist. Macdonald, however, with the same arguments used by those who were responsible for the earlier "crimes, mistakes and failures," (It's too late now to do anything; we must be practical; we must choose the lesser evil) adds his voice to those which today argue for a continuation of the same "crimes, mistakes and failures" that led to disaster before.

For a social and political analysis of the cold war he substitutes a theory that the imperialist struggle is not imperialist, that it is a clash of cultures. Are "Western" policies defeating Stalinism? Macdonald knows too much to try to claim this; indeed he admits that Truman's intervention in Korea was "disastrous," that the limited number of "real alternatives" which he can see "seem hopeless."

How then can he support such politics? Only by combining this support with an air of "skepticism and indecision," only through pessimism and by adopting the tone that there is nothing which can be done, that all roads lead to suicide. So Macdonald, wishing to make a significant choice, chooses the gentler self-obliteration. And finally he ends by being, as he says at the close of his article, "less interested in politics than I used to be."

Lively New Issue of Student Anti-War Magazine 'Anvil' Is Out

The latest issue of the student magazine Anvil and Student Partisan has just come off the press. Dated Summer and Fall 1954, this issue of the magazine has many interesting articles on political and cultural subjects and appears with a new attractive cover format. The Young Socialist League, one of Anvil's supporters, urges its members and friends to help distribute the magazine.

The lead article, "Sidney Hook: The Professor Flunks," is a contribution by Michael Harrington which trenchantly analyzes and criticizes Sidney Hook's book Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No. Harrington points out that Hook is led to favor the setting up of a dangerously anti-civil-libertarian procedure for ferreting Stalinists out in which the faculty is constituted as a combined snooper, prosecuting attorney, judge and jury. He concludes by discussing the roots of the anti-democratic tendencies in the cold war and by calling for democratic rights for all.

"Behind the Mau Mau Terror," an article by an English student, Olaf Fischer, discusses the Kenya situation. Fischer deals with the culture of the Kikuyu people and the breakdown of that culture by

British imperialism. He points to the seizure of the best land by the European settlers and the consequent land hunger of the Kikuyu as one of the major crimes of imperialism in that land. Dwight Macdonald's "I Choose The West" presents a point of view in opposition to the anti-war policy of Anvil; it is discussed elsewhere on this page.

Other articles include "Liberal Heads in the Sand" by Sam Bottone, which analyzes the theory of American liberalism, and William Shirley's "Protestantism Minus the Left," a discussion of recent trends toward orthodoxy in both theology and politics among Protestant thinkers. The issue is rounded out with Student Notes, an editorial by Charles Walker, an article on Berlioz by Shane Mage, and a review of Saul Bellow's novel The Adventures of Augie March by Anvil editor Margaret Levi.

The issue should prove to be a popular one and will undoubtedly sell well. Bundles may be ordered from the Anvil business office at 36 East 10 Street, New York City. Business manager Al Davidson has requested that all distributors remit payment immediately after sales.

Arab Socialism and Its Parties:

I—The Socialists Of the Arab World

By CLOVIS MAKSOU

Progressive and socialist groups in Arab countries have many times been dismissed by some of our Western comrades as negligible or "groups of fanatics masquerading under socialist slogans." The reason for such dismissal of Arab regenerating forces is due primarily to the fact that many powerful groups had a vested interest in identifying Arabs as backward, illiterate, serene and emotionally immature people. Western military strategists classify us as "unreliable."

Let me say at the outset that our backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and all other aspects of the tragedy we live and experience in our everyday life cannot and should not be causes of disillusionment. They are not for us causes for despair. The social and economic conditions are a challenge to all thinking Arabs. To deny the fact that there is definite and scientific response is to deny the Arab people from having their case objectively presented.

The Arab human situation with all its pathetic symptoms and all its frustrations is in fact—what may appear to many conservatives a paradox—the dynamism of the Arab situation. Arabs are not lethargic, as many think they are. The will to change the rotten conditions under which they live is evident. This will for radical changes is what constitutes the dynamics of the revolutionary situation in the Arab world.

But dynamics cannot have an operational value, and therefore no effect, unless they are dialectically integrated with a directive. And it is in the battle for the direction of the Arab social revolution that the socialists play a very prominent, if not a dominant role.

I shall not, however, deny that the competition is keen and follows the same pattern with different emphasis that it does in all countries. The Communists on the one hand, trying to subvert the revolutionary will to Soviet designs, and neo-fascists and military dictatorship attempting to pervert the revolution with popular slogans and apparent reforms which conceal the truth of the situation, are constantly hammering on democratic socialists hoping that they will crumble before totalitarian logic.

But this repudiation of nostalgic and sensational nationalism which, in the given Arab circumstances, constitutes an attractive force for the politically immature, and the general repudiation of communist doctrine, which also is a theoretical magnet for the politically impatient and the intellectual frustrates desperately seeking recognition and the acquisition of a sophisticated air—the repudiation of these two forms of totalitarianism does not mean at all that socialism is easily acceptable. It is preferable to state that the intellectual climate as well as the socio-economic conditions are more readily disposed to accept socialism than any of the other movements. Socialism in the Arab world has the status of the "most favored ideology."

Growth of the Movement

Why did socialism attract such a great number of adherents that today every Arab socialist party in the Fertile Crescent area—namely, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan—constitutes the largest and most effective opposition to the present regimes? and though still in the embryonic stages, socialist organizers have infiltrated in the oil fields of the closed society of the Arab peninsula? . . .

By probing into the causes of the rejection of totalitarianism, a group of dedicated democrats and liberals came to certain concrete results. The probe went further into the causes of the failure of European socialism. The answer they found was not only a vision of a new Arab society based on equality and justice for all, but a messianic zeal to be fulfilled in the Arab contribution toward restoring hope in a world socialist movement. This contribution, brought to its maximum effectiveness, was the mood and the hope which instilled Asiatic socialism with the vitality and genuineness it now has.

It is by this new spirit of Asia—and the Arab world is an integral part of Asia—unfolding itself through a synthesis of serene contemplation and revolutionary action, that the restoration of the liberal spirit of Europe—and America is part of Europe—free from the fetters of irrational involvement that Europe finds itself in—is possible. There will be no advanced, economically rehabilitated Asia without Europe, and there will be no true Europe without the spirit of Asia.

This universality of purpose is the real challenge to socialism today. This universal outlook would have to transcend political opportunism and realization of short-term objectives at the cost of long term ideals.

Amidst such psychological and political atmosphere, men like Kamel Jadurji, Kasen Hasan in Iraq, Michael Aflak, Akram Hourani, Saleb el-Bitaur in Syria, Kamal Jumblatt, Fouad Rizk in Lebanon, Abdulla Rumiour, Abdulla Maivas, Husno Khoffash, Ameen Shoucair in Jordan and hundreds of other young men and women started the organization of socialist parties in their respective countries. The parties are relatively new. Ever since they were organized they have undergone and experienced all kinds of persecution, imprisonment, banishment.

In Lebanon one year after the formation of the socialist party, three of its members had to die by the bullets of the police in the now well-known Barook where the party was holding an election rally. Our deputies were harangued out of Parliament; simple members were deprived of their jobs in factories or mills if they did not abandon the party. Money was spent without account to defeat socialist candidates and

On these two facing pages, we introduce our readers to what is perhaps the least known socialist movement in the world, at least as far as American socialists are concerned: the socialist parties of the Arab world.

Among the leading people of the Arab socialists, there are undoubtedly few who are as qualified as Clovis Maksoud to act as spokesman for his comrades in the pages of an English-language socialist organ.

Comrade Maksoud is a member of the Executive of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, led by Kamal Jumblatt. And as far as we know, it is the Lebanese party which is the best developed of the Arab socialist movements, both ideologically and organizationally.

Among Lebanese socialists, Comrade Maksoud is especially well-placed to do this job for LABOR ACTION readers. He is at present residing in Britain, where he is engaged in social and theoretical studies and in improving acquaintance with the Western labor and socialist movements. As a reader of LABOR ACTION, Comrade Maksoud is also no stranger to our point of view and interests.

Of the three articles by Clovis Maksoud published here, the second and third are contributions to LABOR ACTION. The first is the main portion of a speech delivered by Comrade Maksoud at a recent conference of the British-Asian Socialist Fellowship in London.

We present this material by Comrade Maksoud for the information and interest of our readers, without any evaluation of our own on its content or its point of view on most of the problems of Arab socialism which it treats. However, on one point particularly we are interested in carrying discussion with Comrade Maksoud further; it is one which we have many times analyzed in our own press. This is the problem of relations between Israel and the Arab world and their respective policies. A brief note on this question is appended on the next page. We hope to hear further from Comrade Maksoud on this and other questions.—Ed.

all kinds of pressure were put on the party to disrupt it.

Despite all this, the membership has increased since 1949 threefold, the circulation of the Lebanese socialist paper has more than doubled since 1951. We have elected three members of parliament and helped elect five others in a parliament of 44. We have organized the Electrical Union, the Transport Workers and the Carpenters Union and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union. In six of our village branches, consumers' cooperatives are functioning very well. One marketing cooperative in another village branch has proven a successful experiment. A health insurance for party members and their families has been operating successfully for more than a year.

There is a great deal to be done yet. Mistakes have been committed, and the financing of the party is inadequate. An educational program is necessary if the branches in the villages are to be brought up to standards set by the Doctrinal Commission of the party.

In Syria, where today the military dictatorship of Shishakly, has imprisoned the socialist leaders, the party is very active underground. The party thanks to the popularity of Michel Aflak, has an almost 90 per cent majority of the students and professors of Syrian colleges, and university members. The major contribution of the party in Syria to Arab socialism has been

II—The Rise of Lebanon's Socialist Party

The date May 4 marks one of the great events in the political and intellectual developments of Lebanon. On that date in 1949, the Progressive Socialist Party was formed. The significance of the party can be judged only by the impact it has made on the political scene in Lebanon and in the Arab world.

The date, however, does not mean that socialist thought had no strong adherents among various sections of the population before 1949. There were socialist elements (wings) in many of the various Lebanese parties. It was a natural result of the confined structure of the traditional parties that these various socialist tendencies should have difficulty in achieving unity.

Lebanon, being half Christian and half Moslem, was bound to have political parties along religious lines. The French Mandate, operating on the conventional policy of "divide and rule," encouraged such parties, and the political life in Lebanon revolved along confessional patterns.

In this framework, nationalist parties were emerging. Their professed aim was to diminish religious confessionalism and integrate the population to a sense of national belonging. This was undoubtedly a progressive step. But then the issue arose as to what was the nationality of the Lebanese? Some nationalist parties maintained that Lebanon is an integral part of an Arab nation. Others maintained that it was a part of a Syrian nation and still others insisted that Lebanon is a nation with a specific "mission" and with certain characteristics that distinguishes the Lebanese from an Arab or a "Syrian."

A debate along these lines followed and the nationality issue dominated the intellectual scene for a long period of time.

In the meantime, the economic issues and the need for

the wealth of publications it has put out. The illegal years since its formation in 1944 outnumber those when it functioned legally. But despite this, it has elected 7 members of parliament in the last legislative body Syria had and Michel Aflak and Akram Hourani became twice ministers in coalition cabinets. The peasants in Homs, Hama and Jebel Druze regions constitute, besides the students of Aleppo and Damascus, the bulk of the party. Many young army officers are secret members, and this is what keeps the Shishakly regime worried and uneasy.

In Jordan, where the party is not recognized, it has elected two members of parliament despite the efforts of Glubb Pasha and the Jordanian government. The leaders are very popular so that it is difficult to restrain any of their activities. The party controls the trade unions, and has effectively blocked Communist infiltration into refugee camps. As in Syria the student body and the government clerks are amongst its most fervent members.

In Iraq, the party concentrates mostly on political education and trade-union organization. The organs of the party, Sout el-Ahali, etc., are banned. Recently the prime minister of Iraq wrote to "Mr. Kamel Jadurji, president of the dissolved Social Democratic Party" to inform him that the paper is suspended. In the last election the party had 16 members of parliament.

For a "Third Force"

This is a brief sketch of the various Arab socialist parties. What are the policies of these parties and what is the driving force that makes them capable of a successful mission to regenerate their people?

Arab and Asiatic socialists do not conceive of their doctrine as a compromise between two opposing systems, namely capitalism and Communism. They do not parenthetically think on Communism as an "extreme form of socialism," a notion that saps many socialists of their sense of integrity and which imbues them with a feeling of inferiority complex. Arab socialists reject the dissectionist school that characterizes some social democratic parties. In other words idealism and realism are not two separate identities. Theory and practice are not different things. Domestic affairs and foreign policy are not two distinct departments. Politics and principles are not anathema to one another.

We have conceived of socialism as an integral ideology, an all embracing philosophy of life. This integral totality is no substitute for a religion. One of the basic tenets of socialism, one of the constituent elements of this philosophy of life, is the concept of freedom—freedom not in the abstract or limited sense, but freedom as the climate that would allow the creative potentialities of man to be channelled in a progressive and co-operative path. This is in contradistinction to the present trend of dehumanization that we witness today as a result of the total dominance of the machine as a regulating force in human relationships. . . .

In this world that is divided into two antagonistic blocs, passionately involved in the pursuance of war policies that will endanger our very existence, it is hoped that this Fellowship, broadened in the future to bring about more organizations and wider geographical representation would prove to be the vehicle of detachment and objectivity much needed for a sane approach to world problems. I see nothing more fitting to inspire a Third Force Movement than British socialism and Asiatic dynamism. Our only hope is that we can contribute our share to such a worthy cause.

It is the paradox of our time that a Third Force, a further disintegration of the world, is the only way to world unity. Let us hope that socialists would not fail this generation and the future one. Socialists will succeed. They must succeed.

social and political readjustment became pressing in the war and post-war years. They were making the thinking elements in these various groups realize that such preoccupation with the issue of nationality was keeping the intellectuals of Lebanon from assuming effective leadership. In the complex world such issues had no relevance to the masses' desires and aspirations.

The dissidents from these various traditional parties met for months in order to discuss a program that would not only be a rallying point for them, but which would have sufficient revolutionary zeal to broaden the political consciousness of large segments of the population who were still apathetic and whose apathy was instrumental in perpetuating religious bigotry and reactionary dominance.

In its embryonic stages, the party had undergone several doctrinal difficulties. Though it was agreed that the issue of nationalism can no longer occupy all our political energies, it was still no easy task to determine the framework of socialist action. Was the scope of our party to be confined to Lebanon? or (as many maintained) was the effectiveness of socialism in Lebanon contingent on its realization throughout a politically integrated Arab world?

Another issue that was bound to come up was whether the Progressive Socialist Party would conceive of socialism simply as a political and economic solution to political and economic problems, or whether our socialism was to be a philosophy of life and an all-embracing doctrine? Disputes on these issues were very bitter. Many who worked for a socialist party left the party before it was launched formally. The others realized the importance of these doctrinal questions and the need for their clarification.

The presence of a corrupt government and nepotism

A Spokesman Explains Its Ideas

and persecution against elementary rights, however, made the postponement of the discussion of such doctrinal matters imperative. The immediate danger to elementary economic and political rights necessitated the direct mobilization of the masses behind a socialist vanguard. Time and experience were the guarantees that doctrinal and theoretical issues would be resolved on a more mature level.

On May 4, 1949, the Progressive Socialist Party was formed. Its activities were centered on agitation and building up an organized machinery in the cities and the villages. In the elections of 1951, the party had reached such a degree of influence that three of its members were elected to Parliament.

Then the party led the mobilization of public opinion against the Bechara el-Khoury regime. Despite the fact that later on many leaders and political parties were instrumental in bringing the September 1952 revolt to a successful end, no objective observer can deny that was if not for the initiative of the PSP the revolt would not have materialized so soon.

The *Anba*, organ of the PSP, was the mouthpiece of popular discontent. Credit for ridding the people of Lebanon from the fear-complex they suffered must be given to the article "The Foreigners Brought Them [the Government] In, Let the People Kick Them Out," by Kamal Jumblatt, chairman of the PSP, who comes from a noble family and is also a Druze leader; to the articles of Elie Moukarzel, editor of *Anba*; and to many leading editorials written by the *Anba* staff.

In the meantime, articles on the Third Force and articles by Fouad Rizk, PSP vice-chairman, on "The State We Want" were setting the pattern for future theoretical formulation. A doctrinal commission was conducting several discussion groups.

Teams of young organizers and propagandists were touring the villages explaining to the peasants the principles of the cooperative system. In Btiknay and Aytat, producers cooperatives were formed. The Ashrafieh branch of the party is in the process of establishing a marketing cooperative.

The party attracted a large segment of the intellectuals, doctors and lawyers. Young socialists like Jibril Majdalany, Antoine Khalouf, Kassem Emad and Iskandar Gibril and Antoine Batlouin have initiated several constructive projects for the party. Libraries in the branches were installed and lectures were conducted. A health insurance program was started by Dr. Robert Karam and the Women's Branch of the party.

Activity among trade unions increased. Much credit is due to the energy of Fared Jibril and other socialists with a trade-union background. In the various districts many socialists achieved prominence on the municipal and other administrative levels. Khalil Kairalla, Anwar Rasoul, Said Abou el Hosn are among the many.

Thus it can be seen that although our major efforts

went into the struggle against the corruption and nepotism of the el-Khoury regime and into the political struggle that remained under the Chamoun regime, the party kept its pace along all fields of socialist endeavors.

After the victory over Bechara el-Khoury and the installation of Camille Chamoun as president, the prestige of the party rose with traditionalists in Lebanon. In the meantime, the leadership of the party refused to join the Cabinet unless certain reforms were to be initiated. *The Anba* stated that "the purpose of the revolt was not to substitute one president for another, but was to remove all obstacles to economic and political reforms that will insure full employment, fundamental rights, progressive system of taxation and the punishment of those who have used their influence for personal enrichment."

Experience with Opportunism

The prestige with the traditionalists led to an overflow of opportunists to the ranks of the PSP. They succeeded in inculcating the party with certain ideas of "practicalism" foreign to the basic premises of socialism and foreign to the traditions of the PSP. But it was evident that there would be no retreat from the dynamism of our program, and opportunist elements began to drop as fast as they joined in.

This posed before us several organizational problems and new criteria for membership were enforced. Our political allies were leaving the national front they formed with us. Their support of the reforms they agreed upon was becoming lukewarm in preparation for final withdrawal. Questions of the political alliances of the PSP were coming to the forefront. Mistakes of the past were giving us good and severe lessons. It was a mistake on our part to accept lip-service support to our program as indicative of political reliability on the part of an ally or of a member.

In the last five years many situations have radically changed. Many debatable issues ceased to be debatable. Socialism in Lebanon cannot succeed unless it is integrated with socialist development on the Arab scale. Our experience, our sufferings, our successes as well as our failures have given us a depth of understanding of the various issues that make the socialists of Lebanon, along with other Arab socialists, the regenerating force that will enable us to contribute to world peace and give hope to the Arabs in a better future.

Toward this end the PSP has attended all Asian and other international socialist conferences. Many of its leaders have visited European and other socialist parties. They did so in order to pool their own experience and learn from others. They have done this with the firm conviction that socialism is the unifying force of the East and West. That unity as such is truth and happiness.

III—Arab Nationalism & the Israeli Problem

What is known as the "Arab World" is in reality one Arab nation. Geographic unity, economic and political interests, the community of language, culture, history and aspirations are factors which make the Arabs one nation. The awakening of the Arabs has constantly been geared toward the unity and independence of their nation. For this reason they fought on the side of the Allies during World War I [see MacMahon-Husseini correspondence].

The secret treaty of 1916 known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which led to the division of the Arab nation into several states, constituted a betrayal of Arab national aspirations. The function of the Arab socialists is therefore not confined to social and economic regeneration of the Arab masses, but is to include the achievement of Arab unity.

Imperialists and reactionaries have acquired a vested interest in the continuation of the present state of affairs. In fighting for national unity the Arab socialists are somewhat unique. No socialist movement anywhere was faced with a torn-up notion, the unity of which fell almost exclusively upon their shoulders.

In view of this situation we find that the socialists in the Arab World are also nationalists, although not in the classical sense. In our view nationalism is contrary to socialism when it is aggressive, exclusive, acquisitive and self-contained. Nationalism is un-socialist when national exaltation becomes a creed or a conception of the Absolute. Nationalism is progressive, necessary and an integral part of socialist theory when it is anti-imperialist and gives a rallying force of unity to a national entity disrupted by the schemes of closed diplomacy and power politics.

Socialist adherence to the nationalist movement facilitates the path of cooperative rebuilding of society in the aftermath of unity and freedom. It also instills the nationalist movement with immunity from becoming narrow and dogmatic, a situation that has led to the growth of fascist and neo-fascist regimes in recent history.

It is our firm conviction that if we act as the vanguard of the nationalist movement we will shorten the nationalist phase of our country's development. We will prevent the movement from falling to the leadership of vocal anti-democratic groups. And by our example we will enlist the non-socialist elements to help in achieving our final objectives.

Another unique problem which faces the Arab Socialist is Zionism. I shall not deal with all the aspects of the problem. The basic difficulty lies not so much in its complexity as in the solid jungle of legend which has grown up around it.

Due to the immense barrage of propaganda the Zionists have put forth, the world has been looking at Palestine mainly through Zionist spectacles and has unconsciously acquired the habit of reasoning on Zionist premises. To expound the Arab case would entail not only the assertion of historical truths but also exposing the fallacies and pseudo-facts that have been advanced. This alone would require a whole series of articles. Here I shall point out a few of the major objections we hold as socialists to Zionism:

(1) **The existence of Israel lessens the chances for a successful elimination of prejudice and anti-Semitism from the rest of the world. In fact it is a retreat from facing the problem at its roots. As such it becomes a *modus vivendi* between the forces of anti-Semitism and the victimized Jews. It is an escapist compromise with bigotry and reaction. Arab Socialists think of the Jews as a religious group, and they will fight any discrimination or persecution against them in Arab countries or abroad. But the very existence of Israel frustrates our efforts instead of contributing to them.**

(2) Zionism is a movement that seeks to make religion the rallying factor of a nation. As such it is self-contained, mystical and intolerant of other religions or races (cf. the treatment of Arab minorities in Israel). It becomes aggressive and violent (cf. the organized massacres at Dair Yasseen, Qibia and Nahalleen). It is in addition an expansionist movement (cf. Israel's defiance of the proposal to internationalize Jerusalem). Dr. Nahum Goldmann stated at the World Jewish Congress in Geneva that "Israel is unique among nations, there is no other state where 90 per cent of its people live outside it." This, I submit, is the driving ideology of Zionism. The implications can be drawn by the reader and perhaps will make our attitude toward Zionism more understandable.

(3) The legal basis for Israel (the Balfour Declaration) is, from a socialist point of view, amoral. In accepting such a legal basis, one is condoning a movement to establish a 'national home' in the home of another people against their will and without their consent.

(4) The presence of Israel as a state constitutes such a threat to the Arabs that all their attention is diverted away from foreign policy. The true interest of the Arabs in international affairs lies in pursuing a vigorous and positive neutralism, but the local area tensions prevent the effective expression of this interest and block the materialization of a unified Third Force movement in Asia. This movement is the only possible path toward peace. By obstructing it, Israel acts as a center of war and imperialism.

Toward a Discussion: Anti-Zionist or Anti-Israel?

Naturally, Comrade Maksoud's relatively brief statement of an Arab socialist point of view on Israel does not answer all the questions we would like to put on the subject, but perhaps discussion can be fostered by making a few comments which suggest themselves immediately—not through misunderstanding, we hope.

Comrade Maksoud is undoubtedly largely justified in remarking that one of the difficulties in discussing Israel and Zionism is the mass of encrusted "legend" around it and the strong influence of Zionist propaganda in shaping the views and opinions even of socialists who do not think of themselves as Zionists. We have pointed that out with regard to this country too. In fact, we can say quite confidently that LABOR ACTION is the only socialist organ in America (and probably Britain can be thrown in too) which has devoted a fairly large amount of attention to a Marxist socialist attack on Zionism, both in its ideological aspects and in its concrete policies as acted out in Israel. That is worth pointing out to define our common ground with Maksoud.

That common ground further includes agreement with respect to the expansionist nature of the Zionist ideology which dominates the rulers of Israel, which represents one side of the threat to peace in the Near East, and which is part of the drive behind the "organized massacres" of which the Israelis have been guilty, as well as of the scandalous policy which Israel follows with respect to its Arab minority.

We therefore are among the few socialist groups which can discuss this question with Arab socialists as thorough anti-Zionists.

But we also think it is important to make the simple distinction between being anti-Zionist and anti-Israel, just as we insist on the fundamental importance of the distinction between being anti-Stalinist and anti-Russian.

It is around this part of the question that there may be a substantial difference of view which we would be highly interested in discussing further.

A DIFFERENT POLICY ON ISRAEL

At any rate that is what is suggested to us by Comrade Maksoud's repeated references to "the very existence of Israel." Although he writes in terms of opposition to Zionism, the sharp nub of some of his arguments seems also to point to the conclusion that the aim of legitimate Arab nationalism must be to wipe Israel out as a state. We do not know whether Comrade Maksoud would actually go that far, but surely it is a point to be clarified since the present operating policy of the Arab regimes is indeed directed to this end.

Our own point of attack is centered on the Zionist-chauvinist policies of the Israeli government and leaders—to be sure, a policy which, we also know, is shared to one degree or another by a large majority of its people. Our hope is the growth of those small tendencies now existing in Israel which reject these policies, policies which are not merely the outcome of mistakes or malevolence but which flow from the Zionist ideology itself. We look to the disintegration of the reactionary Zionist illusions among the people under the battering of experience, just as we look in the case of other countries to a change in the politics of the people in the direction of socialism under the same battering. But on no account can we advocate the destruction of a state by foreign regimes (which, moreover, themselves represent a reactionary class) because we condemn the policies of that state.

We advocate that Israel cease to look upon itself as a Jewish ghetto in the Near East and move toward being in truth the home of two peoples living in harmony, integrated into what is after all a predominantly Arab Near East. We find missing in Comrade Maksoud's brief statement, moreover, any criticism of the reactionary role which (we believe) has been played by the Arab ruling classes—and not only the Zionists—in exacerbating Israeli-Arab relations.

We would like to say the same thing to Arab workers that we have often enough directed to the Israeli socialists: only insofar as you fight against the reactionary foreign policies of your own governments can you hope to appeal successfully to the workers on the other side of the border to oppose their leaders' policies. Unfortunately, on both sides the workers are stuffed with the idea that the other side contains no one but hopeless chauvinists. A beginning must be made in breaking this vicious circle, and genuine socialists have done such jobs before.

Such, at any rate, is the point of view which we would like to discuss with Arab socialist comrades.—Ed.

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Val Lorwin 'Loyalty' Case — —

(Continued from page 1)

ature today and why goodnatured joking is politically dangerous in Moscow.

Metz grew older to become a research director for the Republican National Committee and later staff director of the Hoover Commission on government reorganization. Lorwin, becoming a New Dealer after 1938, eventually became head of the State Department's European section of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs Division, and then transferred to the OSS.

On February 20, 1950 McCarthy made his famous speech in the Senate in which he declared that he had the names of 81 "Communists" working for the government. No. 54, said McCarthy, was a State Department employee who "has been connected with a number of Communist-front organizations and was active in attempting to secure the issuance of a non-immigration visa to a French Communist leader." This was Val Lorwin.

McCarthy's charge was based on the following grain of truth: In 1947 a joint committee of the CIO and the French CGT (not yet CP-dominated) was scheduled to meet in New York, in line with the desire of the CIO, which wanted to show off labor's Marshall Plan support to the French labor leaders. The only difficulty was whether one CPer and one fellow traveler among the CGT's delegation could be gotten into this country for the few days necessary to attend the conference. Lorwin agreed with the CIO that it would be a good idea to have the conference in New York rather than in Paris. Says Lorwin:

"The action had first been proposed by Ambassador Caffery in Paris. It was approved right up to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Willard Thorpe, and by the Assistant Secretary for Political Affairs, Norman Armour."

But the Visa Division, one of the most reactionary agencies of the government under Truman as under Eisenhower, objected; and Undersecretary of State Lovett decided in favor of their opposition!

THE "TEMPER OF THE TIMES"

No one will be surprised that McCarthy found all this a sufficient basis for smearing his "case No. 54," but the real Lorwin case starts with the capitulation to McCarthy's smear by the Truman administration.

On October 23, 1950 Lorwin (then on leave without pay to write a book) was informed in Paris that he was under loyalty and security charges of having been a CP member in 1935—in other words, on charges based on Metz's 15-year-old story of an incident.

Lorwin then began working on his vindication. At hearings in December 1950-January 1951 he even had two professional government ex-CP witnesses testify that the whole Metz story was an impossibility—no CPer, rooming with a known right-wing conservative, could possibly have held a CP meeting in this house, or revealed himself by flashing a party card, and furthermore the CP didn't even have cards then, but rather 16-page membership books.

But in February 1951 Lorwin was suspended from the State Department. In March the loyalty board's verdict was that he was to be dismissed as a "security risk." This was under the Truman administration.

Lorwin and his lawyer decided to ask for a new hearing in order to take a new tack: not concentration on disproving the 1935 story but on proving that Lorwin was an anti-Communist. "We misjudged how the temper of the times had deteriorated," Lorwin relates, "and now tried to give a detailed picture of a young socialist, moved by humanitarian principles, who left the Socialist Party after realizing that things were better not changed in one clean sweep, and who became, I suppose, a New-Dealer."

The "temper of the times," already under Truman, demanded not proof of facts but proof of correct ideology.

Ninety-one witnesses testified on Lorwin's behalf in

the new hearing, and a year later (March 1952) the decision was reversed by the board. Says the sympathetic *Post* story: "The reversal on his security status is considered unprecedented in view of the stiffer requirements"—referring to the fact that the Truman administration had by then changed the operative criterion from "reasonable grounds" for labeling a man a security risk to "reasonable doubt" about him.

But as we shall see, this "unprecedented" clearance did not end the Truman administration's persecution of him, even before the Eisenhower regime took over.

In any case the whole business, even after apparent vindication, convinced Lorwin that he was through with the State Department. He stayed on through June "just to show that honest men don't have to run," and then he got out, to join the faculty of the University of Chicago.

TRUMANITES LAUNCH THE CASE

Lorwin may have thought it was all over, but it wasn't.

If the statement made to the court on May 26 by Assistant Attorney General Olney is to be believed on this point, in its closing days the Truman administration decided to ignore the decision of the loyalty board, go over its head, and get Lorwin indicted for perjury by a grand jury. According to Olney, Gallagher (now ousted, then already a career lawyer for the Justice Department) was authorized to present the case to a grand jury in December 1952. It was not actually presented till a year later, two weeks before the statute of limitations was going to run out.

(Olney claims further that no one in the present administration had had anything to do with authorizing further work on the case—presumably Gallagher carried it forward on the momentum inherited from Truman's attorney general—but even if this is taken with a grain of salt, the important point is that Truman's Justice Department proceeded after Lorwin's scalp on the basis of Metz's story, which even the loyalty board did not consider damning any more; and it was Truman's Justice Department which initiated the court action against Lorwin. Was the reason for this the fact that McCarthy was still continuing to name Lorwin in his pick-a-number speeches? . . .)

In December 1953 (now under the Eisenhower regime) Lorwin was indicted by a grand jury in New York for allegedly making false statements regarding the 1953 incident to the loyalty board. Lorwin did not even know that his case was before the grand jury until a friend phoned him in Chicago to tell him he had heard about the indictment on the radio.

"How would they do that without letting me know?" was Lorwin's first reaction, he says. (He was obviously still misjudging the "temper of the times.")

It was before this grand jury that Attorney Gallagher, for the Justice Department, asserted that the government had two FBI informers who would substantiate the Metz story. It was here also that Gallagher falsely claimed that Lorwin need not be called in because he would only stand on the Fifth Amendment, in spite of the fact that in hours of board hearings neither Lorwin nor his wife had ever done so.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT MANEUVER

This launched the first court case resulting from government capitulation to McCarthy's smears, and indeed one of the few court cases of any kind brought by the government in a security-risk case. This is the case which has just ended in a disaster for the whole witchhunt system.

The immediate reason for the blowup of the case was not any conscientious decision on the part of the attorney general's office.

The fact is that Lorwin had never been allowed to see the secret testimony by Metz before the 1950 loyalty board, although he had been given a transcript of the rest of the proceedings. The government could get away with this as long as the case was batted around

the administrative agencies, but in court it was another matter.

Lorwin's attorney demanded that Metz's testimony be made available. The Justice Department refused. Judge Edward M. Curran ordered the full testimony produced in court, under the threat of holding the attorney general in contempt. He gave the government five days to comply.

It was at this juncture that Assistant Attorney General Olney stepped in to supersede Gallagher and announce to the court that the government was dropping the case! By dropping the prosecution of the case like a hot potato, the government was forestalling any test of the power of the court to order production in a criminal trial of the secret records of a federal loyalty board.

THE INVISIBLE INFORMERS

For the record, the Department of Justice made Gallagher the fall-guy, throwing him to the wolves. Olney claimed the case was being abandoned because Gallagher had never had any right to tell the grand jury that there were two government informers who could testify to back up Metz, and also that he should not have said that the Lorwins would stand on the Fifth Amendment.

It is doubtful whether anyone in the country believes him at least on the first count.

Striking back, Gallagher revealed that the department itself had instructed him not to produce the full transcript to the court. He produced a memorandum from Olney's executive assistant stating just that. Attorney General Brownell did not deny the authenticity of this memorandum. He merely had the gall to claim that such an instruction, to defy a court, was "routine"! (A former head of the department's Criminal Division, Charles B. Murray, has stated that such an order was "unprecedented.")

Gallagher further insists that he had been told that the FBI informers did indeed exist, but that the FBI has refused to make them available as witnesses. His claim is substantiated by a consideration which cannot escape attention: There can be little doubt that McCarthy's original charges against Lorwin were drawn from the FBI files, and his formulations were obviously not based only on the Metz story. The presumption is strong that the FBI files contained other information derogatory to Lorwin, and that this information came from informers other than Metz. Such informers existed, then, and if the government now denies that they ever existed it is because it does not want to produce them.

Why it does not want to produce them may be due to other reasons besides the FBI's well-known reluctance to expose its stoolpigeons to questioning and cross-examination. If the government now realizes that the whole case against Lorwin is weak as a broken reed, it would hardly be sensible to throw in more public proof of the type of "evidence" on which it relies for its witchhunt.

THE SYSTEM IS AWHIRL

Gallagher's claim is further strengthened by the fact that, at the time of the indictment in December 1953, Brownell publicly hailed it as another major step in his "continuing drive" to clean out "Communists." The indictment was widely regarded as Brownell's demonstration to McCarthy that he was working hard at the same game. This argues some special attention to the Lorwin case on the part of the tops of the Justice Department, rather than supporting the picture drawn in court by Olney of a department which scarcely even knew the Lorwin case was under way until the court order drew its attention.

In view of these considerations, a rather sickening note was injected into the public reaction to the case when the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (sometimes known as "Sidney Hook's outfit") jumped into the press with a statement calling on the Justice Department—which had already announced that Gallagher was fired—to take steps for his disbarment, while they "wired Olney the committee's congratulations for Olney's forthright manner in disavowing Gallagher's action." (N. Y. *Post's* report, May 27.)

There is another angle in the Justice Department's action in flouting the court's order to produce the full transcript of Metz's testimony. It is another aspect of the stoolpigeon issue in the trial, already highlighted by the quarrel over the two dubious informers who were never produced.

The question is: On what possible grounds could the Justice Department be unwilling to produce Metz's testimony?

We ask this not merely from the strictly legal point of view, but even from the point of view of bureaucratic expediency. For instance, the witchhunters—from Truman's attorney generals to McCarthy—have claimed that they cannot produce their stoolpigeons because this would destroy their usefulness in the future. But even this consideration, whatever one may think of it on other grounds, cannot justify their refusal in the case of Metz. Metz was not an informer whose continuing "usefulness" might be impaired by public appearance. He was a one-shot performer.

Perhaps the stoolpigeon system has its own logic, just as a gyroscope keeps spinning in the same plane once it has been set awlwhirl. . . .

From Truman to Eisenhower to McCarthy—the system has been whirling with its own momentum. The Val Lorwin case illustrates it in all three of its stages.

The Fake Fight — —

(Continued from page 1)

against legislative (and judicial) methods.

The administration of Truman, and of his various attorneys general who launched and developed the witchhunt even before McCarthy latched on to it as a power instrument, sought to organize and "legalize" their witchhunt through the bureaucratic-administrative channels of the executive department only.

Truman, in vetoing the infamous McCarran anti-civil-liberties act, explained that he was doing so, not because he was against the measures it proposed, but because all of its objectives could be better attained without any law. He argued that the executive could do anything the McCarran Act provided for in the shape of excluding foreign visitors, etc.—and could do it without subjecting such moves to judicial review, as would be true as soon as one passes a law.

It was Eisenhower and not Truman who even provided formally for some sort of hearings on the subversive list. Under Truman the whole subversive-list procedure was kept tightly in the hands of the administrative machinery.

It was not Truman but the McCarran Act, bad as it is, which provided for some sort of hearings and reviewable procedures for getting up its list of subversive organizations. Under the procedure which Truman steadily stuck to, the aim was to keep the attorney general's list from ever being subject to any other department but the executive, especially from review by the courts.

The Truman-Democratic witchhunt consciously and sys-

tematically attempted to substitute administrative decree for law in this whole realm of civil liberties.

This is what is behind the present Democratic outcry that the executive power must defend its "rights" against "legislative encroachment"—the latter being equated with McCarthy.

WHICH BRAND OF POISON?

This cry may or may not serve as a handle against the man McCarthy, but it is a fake fight against McCarthyism, if by the latter term we understand to be indicated not merely personal-power tactics and "irresponsible" smearing of really "loyal" men but rather the attack on civil liberties which shadows America.

In this way the Democrats are offering their own brand of McCarthyism as against the senator's brand. We will not presume to make a lesser-evil choice.

But it must be understood that the Trumanite method is precisely the one which is characteristic of the police-state of our times.

Witchhunt-by-investigating-committee may be a peculiarly American form of totalitarianization, or it may be only a passing phase, but one thing is sure: the totalitarianisms and police states of the modern world got that way through the road of substituting the administrative decrees of the executive power—an executive power made more and more independent of any democratic processes, legislative or judicial—and not through fascist or Stalinist counterparts of a Senator McCarthy bravely against the executive as such.

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