

new trends ...

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Labor Swings to Co-ops

By SIDNEY ABERMAN

IN THE PAST, American labor's only effective weapon, when industry passed its hard-won wage increases back as higher prices, was to strike out again for fatter pay envelopes. Today the steep wartime rise in living costs following the government's failure to put effective lids on profiteering is forcing labor to pay more attention to what co-op enthusiasts have always insisted is labor's strongest arm, its combined purchasing power. Two summers ago the AFL research bulletin, *Labor's Monthly Survey*, saw the point: "Unions protect our income when we receive it, but how can we protect ourselves when we spend it? Many union members already have found the answer: organize consumer co-operatives; own and control the stores that serve you."

This trend is the best news since the 1870s when hundreds of union-financed stores blossomed prematurely and soon wilted. Disillusioned and discouraged then, labor has since confined itself chiefly to prudent resolutions, except for a brief flowering of co-operatives in 1919-20. Fortified now with time-tested Rochdale principles and careful to work closely with existing co-ops, the unions are cultivating that field again.

AFL TAKES THE LEAD

It took a whole year for the AFL to swing into action. In February, 1944, a leading editorial in the *American Federationist* acknowledged that "In Sweden the movement has become a powerful servant of the people with co-operative housing and industries as well as retail stores." In April an AFL post-war forum in New York City gave its greatest applause to Murray Lincoln, Ohio Farm Bureau head, when he bawled out American labor for not following the example of millions of trade unionists in other countries who have organized their consumer power through co-ops.

At the same forum Elmer E. Milliman, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and chairman of the AFL post-war committee on co-operatives and labor, gave unions a plan of action to follow: Establish liberally financed committees on co-operative education and organization at union headquarters and in every local, and use correspondence courses, night classes, and other devices for training union members to become co-op leaders in their communities.

In June, 1944, *Labor's Monthly Survey* came out with the AFL's hearty official endorsement and presented for serious consideration the picture of a

U. S. movement grown huge without the evils of big business, returning 25 millions in savings the year before on a billion dollar volume spread over 5,000 retail stores, twenty-eight wholesalers, and 112 factories, and serving a million and a half American families. Groceries, gasoline, clothing, and farm equipment were among the wide range of items handled, and co-op owned facilities included canneries, gasoline refineries, flour mills, bakeries, lumber mills, and print shops.

ROCHDALE WAY IS PROTECTION

Blessed were the mechanisms safeguarding co-ops from money domination and preventing profits from accumulating in the hands of a few stockholders. "Before the war 70 million families in 40 nations were members, and co-operatives of different nations did business with each other across land and seas. The Rochdale principles have controlled this great network of business for the people and by the people, so that all business savings were returned to the people and high quality goods were furnished at a fair price."

But the best was yet to come. Hailed by *Federation News* as the "largest step forward taken by organized labor in recent times to assume its place in the development of consumer cooperation," the AFL convention in New Orleans last November approved the setting up of a Department of Consumer Co-operation within the Federation with a

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Halt the Firing Squad In Spain!

AMERICANS WATCHING the course of events in Spain have reason to be greatly concerned about recent news from Madrid. Sigfrido Catala, a leader of the *Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo* (National Labor Confederation), was tried before a military tribunal for "repression and illegal activities," and sentenced to death. During the civil war Catala was Governor of Cuenca province. For several years he was in prison, then was released, and early in 1945 was rearrested. It is understood that he and other Anarchists and Republicans were prosecuted on the basis of an agent-provocateur's work.

Representations in behalf of Catala have been made by both the United States and British Embassies, the *New York Times* reports, and the convicted man is preparing an appeal. Foreign Minister Alberto Martin Artajo replied to the Embassies that the matter was being looked into. "The consensus in Madrid," says the *Times*, "is that Catala's chances of escaping the firing squad are good."

Meanwhile the Spanish Council of Ministers has announced that two leading Socialists, both well-known enemies of the Franco regime, and 264 other political prisoners, would be set free. The two are Theodomiro Menendez, public works sub-secretary under the republic, and described as a leader of the Asturian revolt, and Rafael Hanche Delaplata, mayor of Madrid through the civil conflict.

It is gratifying to know that Britain and the United States have appealed in behalf of Catala, who certainly should be liberated, for his case is in a class with many others accused because of beliefs rather than of deeds. But is this action to be limited to a single individual?

Release of Menendez and Delaplata is significant, the *Times* says, "because both are avowed enemies of the Falange."

Persons unfamiliar with the Spanish situation may think that the freeing of these two and the other 264 political captives is a big forward step. But some of our friends who are closer to the picture there wonder if this is not a mere gesture designed to make the world believe that the Franco regime has become liberal.

For 100,000 political prisoners are still held in the prisons and concentration camps of Spain, and almost as many men and women, ill-fed and hollow-eyed, and herded by unfeeling overseers, are driven day after day through the never-ending weariness of forced labor.

With millions of lives sacrificed in two wars for democracy, the peoples of the non-Fascist countries need to be undeceived about present-day efforts to sell them the idea that General Franco and his crowd have become democratic-minded and pure of heart.

Letters of protest should be sent at once to the Ambassador from Spain, Don Juan Francisco de Cardenas, The Spanish Embassy, Washington, D. C. *Not only should he be told that real regard for human justice calls for the lifting of the death sentence against Catala and his prompt liberation, but he should be reminded also that until the great mass of politicals in the prisons and slave labor camps of Spain are freed, those who govern that nation must be denied admission to the company of decent peoples.*

"34 BUCKS TO TAKE HOME"

THE largest union in this country, the CIO United Automobile Workers, has launched its counter-attack against the concerted anti-labor assault spearheaded by the nation's largest corporation, General Motors. On November 21, 1945 every General Motors plant in the country was shut down tight by a strike, the outcome of which may very well determine the economic fate of millions of workers in the near future.

To demonstrate the corporation's ability to grant a thirty per cent wage increase out of its enormous profits, the union was willing to throw all bargaining open to the public, but General Motors told the union that the corporation's financial position was "none of your damn business." The corporation's stalling tactics, interpreted in many quarters as a deliberate scheme to precipitate a strike, were finally met by a union proposal to arbitrate. When G. M. stalled again, the strike was called. At the time of this writing (November 22) the one hundred per cent walkout is a dramatic demonstration of labor's strength and appears to be gaining sympathy from workers and unions all over the country (except for some highly suspicious manoeuvring by William Green and John L. Lewis who might wish to gain at the expense of the CIO workers).

This should come as no surprise, for more and more workers are learning that there is no earthly reason why they cannot earn a decent living in a country which has a productive capacity of two hundred billion dollars a year. During the war many servicemen overseas were bamboozled by anti-union propaganda into thinking that the average American worker was growing fat on fabulous earnings, but now the majority of them who have come home to take jobs at poor salaries, or to join the ranks of the unemployed, are beginning to take a different

view. In *The New Republic* of November 19, 1945, Ralph G. Martin tells the story of Joe Wadrzyk, an ex-soldier, typical of the great majority of G.M. employees, who has just returned to the production line. Joe says:

"Over in Germany, I sorta had the bright idea that all I had to do was to come home and get fat and rich. . . . I got my first paycheck this week and you know what I got? . . . I had 34 bucks left to take home. Can you imagine that? 34 bucks a week, only 14 more than when I started as a messenger boy for General Motors 22 years ago. Isn't that a laugh? It's like starting all over again now."

After expressing his amazement at the higher cost of living and his inability to see how his fellow-workers could bring up children on such low wages, Joe concludes:

"I don't want to go out on strike. I'm not going to make any money while I'm striking. But if the company won't give us any more money, then the strike is the only weapon we've got left to use. I'm not asking for the moon. I just want to make a decent living."

Joe Wadrzyk and his 300,000 fellow workers must be given every support possible, not only for their own sake, but for what it means to every other worker in this country who does not want to go back to the relief rolls and the slop-and-gravy existence of the thirties. Big Business is out for the kill, with a display of solidarity not only in its own ranks, but also in the halls of Congress. As if by pre-arranged signal, the House Rules Committee introduced on the day the strike was called, a bill to penalize unions for striking during the life of a contract and empowering an employer to sue for damages resulting from a strike, and another bill to make sympathy strikes illegal in interstate commerce. All these threats will not, however, stop the millions of Joe Wadrzyks from trying to earn a decent living. On the contrary they may serve as a further lesson in awakening Joe to the realization that the capitalist class will never want to let him earn a decent living, that he is not reaching for the moon if he learns that the very system which allows him only 34 bucks a week must be overthrown and replaced by a free socialized economy.

THE ATOMIC COUNTER-REVOLUTION

No one has as yet pointed out the other wrinkle in the atomic outburst of energy: the use to be made of it against the enemy within the walls.

The civil war in Spain would not have lasted so long, had a friendly government been able to supply Franco with our little atomic bomb. And Franco would have certainly been delighted to kill half the population for the sake of establishing "law and order" for the other half.

If the "disorders" continue in Java, we wonder whether it would not be better for the British to settle this Dutch difficulty once and for all by letting loose some of the energy accumulated "for future use."

After all, the vast expense involved in the making

of the bomb can be borne only by governments, because they alone dispose of the power to tax. And if it was true more than a century ago that the power to tax is the power to kill it is many fold truer today. More than ever it should now be clear that the concentration of power in the hands of government is the menace of our time, while it is being advocated by both right and left, by fascists and communists alike and by all their fellow travelers, as being the one sure solution of the problem of insecurity, poverty and want.

WORLD GOVERNMENT?

It is even reflected in the "solutions" offered by liberals free from the taint of totalitarianism. The atomic bomb is to be made harmless by turning it over to a world government! We cannot say that we confront this proposition with an open mind. Our mind is a blank. What in the name of clarity is a world government?

The vast majority of mankind—more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of this world—live under governments which allow them no voice whatever in the conduct of their affairs. The other third has only a pseudo-voice. Half of Europe and part of Asia is subject to the dictatorship of the Communist party; the rest of Asia is either colonial territory under the domination of European powers, or torn by civil war like in China with neither party in the struggle 'representative' of the people 'they lead.' What part are these peoples of the world to play in a world government when they have no particle of a voice in the less distant national governments already installed? We wonder whether Russell Davenport contributed at all to the clarification of the issue when he advocated a federation of free peoples of the world. Where there are no free peoples what is there to federate?

And if the federation is to be one of existing governments, in what way would such a 'federation' differ from the military alliance of the past? What is there to prevent any power federated with the others withdrawing from the federation and letting loose a rain of atomic bombs whenever it pleases? Has not Japan demonstrated that an attack can be engineered and carried out while a 'round table conference' is engaged in 'peaceful' negotiations?

Let us be clear on one point at least. A world inhabited by free peoples would not need to be policed by a world government. In a world policed by a world government, who is to police the policeman?

IRAN, U.S.S.R.

Iran is in the throes of a process of "democratization." The Russian army has organized a spontaneous uprising of that part of the country which it occupies.

The next step will be a popular unanimous vote for separation from Iran and for union with Soviet Russia.

Spanish Libertarians Adopt New Program

The underground libertarian movement in Spain, after an apparent silence of several years, is again coming to the forefront of the final struggle against the fascist regime of Franco and his Falange. The anarcho-syndicalist labor confederation of Spain (the C.N.T.) and the libertarian movement met in secret conference from July 1 to July 16, 1945 inside Spain to work out their program and policy following the liberation of the Spanish people. The decisions of this meeting are of utmost significance to Spain and to freedom-loving people everywhere, for they are the expression of the only mass movement of considerable size which militantly advocates collectivized economy coupled with political and personal freedom. The minutes of that conference have just been published in "Cultura Proletaria" of New York. The document is extremely important and we give below the list of questions having a direct bearing upon the future activities of the Spanish Syndicalists and the Spanish libertarian movement, together with the decisions arrived at. We shall analyze the situation as it now presents itself in Spain in an early issue.

The following eight Regional Federations were represented at the Plenary Session: Aragon, Catalonia, Balearic Isles, Center, Galicia, Euzkadi (Basque Provinces), Levante, and Andalusia.

QUESTION: Examination of the present political situation in all its aspects: a) the possible intervention of the army to destroy the Falange, and constituting a Directorium with liberal tendencies; b) the possible formation of a Monarchist combination comprising Monarchists, members of the CEDA (Spanish Confederation of Rightists) and Radicals, to take over the government with military support; c) an attempt, today less likely than ever, of a Monarchist restoration under the reign of the Count of Barcelona; d) a sudden collapse of the Falangist house of cards.

Resolution unanimously adopted: The Libertarian Movement of the "Alianza" does not support, nor will it recognize any solution which is not democratic, which does not emanate from the people or which fails to exploit all possibilities and all means of subversive activity and all movements of anti-fascist elements for the destruction of the Falangist state, including a movement which would provoke the Fascist forces themselves.*

Question: The "Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas"; value of its programmatic basis.

Resolution adopted (5 against 2): Participation in the "Alianza" of rightist republican forces should not be permitted, considering that the leftist political elements who fought against Franco bear exclusively the responsibility for the activities against Falangism and for the redemption of the Republic.

The "Alianza" is the sole organ of resistance today, and of the government of tomorrow. It denies any validity to the pseudo-governments which may

exist in exile or that might appear there. This does not mean that the prestige or the moral value of any personality not yet subject to the discipline of the "Alianza" could not be made use of. This being so, the "Alianza" constituted as government is the sole authority which could confer diplomatic representations or occupy those government posts which it considers most suitable.

The Plenary Session regards it as fit and proper to claim those ministerial portfolios which permit the realization of positive constructive work in harmony with our political and social maturity and the disinterestedness of our popular appeal.

At any rate the National Committee [of the C.N.T.] considers that it has the right to assign to itself those ministerial posts which circumstances will render advisable and which the rivalries with the other sectors will permit. The Plenary Session mentions the following as the most fitting ministries for the libertarian movement: Interior, Agriculture, Education, Industry and Commerce, Communications and Labor.

On the question whether the governments of Catalonia, Galicia and Euzkadi should be recognized, it was resolved that all regions which at the date of March 1, 1939, had enjoyed autonomy should be allowed the same degree of autonomy they had then. Nevertheless, the Plenary Session considers that separatist deviation should be energetically opposed, while the autonomous currents in a federative sense should be actively supported. These do not endanger Spanish unity and allow the free development of administrative, cultural, folklorist and social cravings. The Plenary Session expresses at the same time the wish that the C.N.T. should participate in the various government agencies which will be set up regionally, synchronizing its functions in full agreement with the national aspirations conditioned by the peculiarities of each geographic unit.*

Question: Creation of a Consultative Assembly before general elections.

Resolution adopted: The Plenary Session considers it desirable to set up a Consultative Assembly with some legislative character, it being understood that final decisions and executive power belong to the government. The Assembly thus cannot go beyond its limited function as an auxiliary, leaving to the political parties and to the organizations which make up the government the function of designating the cabinet ministers, these bodies having also to arbitrate any political crises which might arise as a consequence of antagonisms within the government. Thus, the final orientation will never slip out of the

* *Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas* (National Alliance of Democratic Forces) is a body set up in Spain in the spring of 1945. It is made up of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor), the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers), the Socialist Labor Party of Spain and the Republican Party.

* The Euzkadi delegation expressed the wish to exclude from its Regional organization the province of Santander but to incorporate the province of Navarra. As both these provinces were absent, the proposition could not be discussed.

hands of the parties and organizations upon whom rests the full weight of Spain's historic destinies.

The National Committee, prompted by the opinions of the Regional Confederations and of the other sectors, accepts the principle of Proportional Representation.

Question: How to apply Justice.

Resolution adopted: The Plenary Session is of the opinion that popular courts should be set up on a legal basis. These courts should be implacable in the application of special laws on political responsibilities ranging from loss of nationality and of citizenship with economic sanctions to exemplary execution for all criminal offences. The Plenary Session is also of the opinion that the technical or special realization of this imperative will should be entrusted to a Commission. To this effect, the Plenary Session asks the National Committee to consult a suitable group of lawyers and to work out instructions in juridical form and in harmony with our aspirations. The Plenary Session believes that many of the existing laws lend themselves perfectly well to the rigorous justice which we propound. It is all a question of the inexorable use of the laws. The Plenary Session is utterly determined that any immunity whatsoever is inadmissible.

Question: Armed forces — a) should the present Army be totally dissolved or should it only be purged; b) dissolution of armed forces; c) creation of new popular institutions.

Resolution adopted: The Army will be disbanded with finality. The Republican state will then call upon the chiefs and officials who remain, after a preliminary purge, and who offer guarantees of democratic loyalty or of republican spirit. In this way it will appear clearly that it was not the military institution as such, but a group of vile and treacherous militarists who revolted cunningly against the Republic. The military institutions will remain definitely dissolved. *Ipsa facto* new armed groups nurtured in a popular anti-fascist spirit will be created. The Plenary Session affirms categorically that militia chiefs and officials must receive technical military instruction to become competent leaders and should exercise command according to rank. Such militia chiefs will be the best guarantee that they will never become a danger to the democratic institutions freely evolved by the people.

Question: The Church, the influence of the State upon the appointments of church hierarchies, number of churches and financing of religious propaganda; legal status of the Church toward the State.

Resolution adopted: The Plenary Session believes that the responsibility of the clergy and of the Church in the Fascist upheaval has been demonstrated beyond any doubt. Hence, personal responsibilities have to be laid squarely upon the shoulders of the members of the Church hierarchy, considered as plain citizens, this without prejudice of a great public trial, when advisable, against the Church because of its shameless intervention in politics and

the spiritual perversion of which it was guilty during our civil war.

Question: Labor pact between U.G.T. and C.N.T.

Resolution adopted: The Plenary Session believes that it is most desirable to lay stress upon the ties which bind us to the U.G.T. and to associate the U.G.T. in all our plans of collectivization, socialization, control, etc., with full responsibility. It draws attention to the manifest danger of supporting political power.* This does not mean that through a positive activity in the social order we [the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.] could not go on conquering those positions which would best guarantee the social aims of both national labor organizations. It is not desirable at present to go farther than the joint boards [already created] and our combined economic activity. Moreover, political reasons which cannot be divulged interfere at present with the fusion of the two national labor organizations.

Question: Should a political party replace the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation); attitude toward the a-political views of some confederal groups in exile.

Resolution adopted: The delegations are most emphatic in their view that there is no need either to create or to discuss the creation of a political instrument replacing the F.A.I. It is not an urgent problem, nor is a Plenary Session competent to constitute a political party. Owing to the nature of political parties and to the formidable change of tactics which the creation of one would entail, only a national convention would possess the required authority and the historic right to decide upon it. Nevertheless, careful watch over the internal confederal unity makes it desirable to proclaim one's uncompromising opposition to those who maintain honestly this opinion [that the F.A.I. should be replaced by a political party]. All positions of libertarian character are accepted within the C.N.T.; outside of the C.N.T. all the activities which weaken its discipline are to be condemned.

The Libertarian Movement must submit to the directives issued from Spain safeguarding the continuity of all the decisions regularly adopted and based upon the necessity of prosecuting the struggle against fascism until its complete extirpation and of defending the rights and conquests thereafter to be gained. The minorities within our organization are free to express their opinions but must not fail to carry out the decisions of the majority advantageous to the common good. The National Committee of Spain will try in its relations with the groups in exile to induce our comrades to take the greatest care in their activities for the sake of greater efficiency.

As to an International Conference, the Plenary Session agrees that the Spanish libertarian movement does not find it possible to appear before a captious meeting at which the intention would be to place it in a position of manifest inferiority, by invalidating its rights, but we invite our delegations in exile

* The U.G.T. supports the Socialist party [Ed.]

British Imperialism in the Middle East

By NELS ANDERSON

The writer of this letter from London is an American businessman who has spent two years in the Middle East and India. He writes about his experiences from the point of view of a businessman interested in the development of American foreign trade. The editors of NEW TRENDS do not share the author's sanguine hope that American business competing with the British in the Middle East is likely to give the natives of these countries a fairer deal, but we publish extracts from his letter for the light it throws on the motives of British imperialism.

London, England

THE TIMELINESS of the Palestinian problem may be guessed here from the volume that is being written in the local dailies. There is a general feeling that Truman* talked out of turn. The Britisher takes this attitude: "Yes, it is all right for the Americans to talk, but we have the problem on our hands. Will the Americans take it?" They would be very loath to give us the protectorate. And, while a protectorate in that part of the world would not appeal to us, it would actually be as alarming to the British as is the present southward thrust of Russian influence through the Persian Corridor toward Anglo-Iranian oil.

On the Palestine issue, Britain is saying, "We are pledged to maintain a population balance between the Jews and Arabs." And each time a story about Palestine gets into the British press there appears next to it some vague story of occasional doubtful origin about protests from the Arab League. The Jews, many of them, believe that the Arab League, organized during the war, is a tool of the British to stimulate a sense of insecurity in Palestine. Whether that be true or not, certainly the League would not get far if the British were not friendly to it. Just before I left Egypt the League had under way a

* President Truman has since dropped his demand that Palestine be opened to 100,000 European Jews [Ed.]

to come to Spain and examine, in the light of the indisputable reality of things, the actual activities of our organization.

[The only question on the agenda which referred directly to the economic activities of the C.N.T. was referred back to the National Committee. We give here for the sake of historical accuracy the texts of Point 8 of the Agenda and of the resolution adopted.]

Point 8: Economics: a) functions and responsibilities of labor unions; b) legal recognition of collectives; c) who will take and administer agricultural, industrial, commercial undertakings and movables and immovables of those compromised in the Fascist regime — the government or the Unions.

Resolution adopted: The proposition of the Regional Confederation of the Center is accepted and the National Committee is asked that the competent elements work out the final text.

drive to boycott Palestine merchandise in Arab countries. Naturally, the British would not be opposed to that because they are having much trouble with the Jews trying to start small industries.

But the British are just as opposed to any industries starting in the Arab countries. I spent an evening at dinner and in conversation with three textile industrialists of Egypt. They recited the many obstacles placed in their way by the British, using the Egyptian government as their agent. Egypt has a cheap and ample labor supply, but industry cannot make headway. The Foreign Office is too wise, too subtle and too strong.

DOLLARS ARE FORBIDDEN FRUIT

Moreover, in all these countries the principal obstacles appear when men of commerce or industry try to do business with the States, and they are anxious to do business with the States. A typical example is that of a man who has a textile factory and an engineering plant. He has tried several times to get equipment from the States. If he was able to get an import license he was never able to get a permit to buy dollars. Britain has made dollars the forbidden fruit of the Middle East. I know a man in Palestine who wants to put up a cement factory. Palestine has one cement factory but the market could use another. More than two years ago he tried to get a plant from the States. He learned that he could get the plant but he could not get an import license. After more than a year of futile effort, he accepted the advice of the British, to do his buying in the "Sterling Area." Ten months ago he came to London on the assumption he could buy the equipment, and he had some assurance that it would not take long. He is still here and mighty discouraged. The equipment is not yet available and Britain will not permit equipment to be purchased elsewhere.

GREAT DEMAND FOR TOOLS

The examples I have run across are not isolated cases. There is throughout the Middle East a great demand for tools, machines, supplies, trucks and all that with which men can put themselves to work. But nowhere is the demand greater than in Palestine. Give the Jews there a chance and they will build up a variety of small industries. They will introduce to the Middle East the most modern type of industry. Great Britain is much more concerned about that prospect than about the opposition of the Arabs. The opposition of the Arab is real, but it would not be much greater if the number of Jews were doubled, nor would it be much less if half of the 500,000 Jews were moved out.

Although on a smaller scale, the Palestine problem is not unlike the Indian problem. While in India there are other racial and religious complica-

tions, one of the real difficulties is the opposition of the British to all efforts on the part of the Indians to build up their industries to put themselves to work.

Two years is a short time for looking around the country, but during the two years I was in the Middle East and India I did a lot of looking around in Iran, Iraq, India, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. The British have held on to these countries grimly as a private market. Iraq is virtually a British estate. She has a population of about 4,500,000. In 1943 her export trade was £9,534,000 and her import trade £15,632,000. Almost all of this was with the British or through the British. That is a trade of about \$23 per capita.

Palestine has a population of about 1,600,000. In 1943 her exports amounted to £12,752,000 and her imports amounted to £27,203,000. At least two-thirds of this volume of business, £39,955,000, was done with or through the British. The per capita volume of trade in Palestine for 1943 was about \$100 more than four times that of Iraq. That tells something of the difference in standards of living between Iraq and Palestine.

In these figures there is a very interesting moral. Although the Jews have been opposed in their industrial efforts, they have built up the country. They have raised their standard of living. They have also raised the standard of living of Palestine Arabs above the standards of Arabs in other countries. Iraq has stood still. There is no problem about progress in Iraq. There is no struggle to develop the land resources; no demand for small industries. The British are satisfied with Iraq.

But if Iraq were developed, the resources are sufficient to care for nineteen instead of four-and-a-half million. If the standard of living in Iraq were increased to the Palestine level, giving Iraq a fair economy instead of her present subnormal shirt-tail economy, her trade would increase accordingly.

The point I am making is that the British antiquated and short-sighted foreign policy is damaging to her own foreign trade. It is a niggardly kind of diplomacy which tends to engender ill feeling. If she would move some of her capital to Egypt and let the people there go to work and make their own cheap textiles she would help raise their standard of living. They would probably buy less of British cheap cloth but they would have money for other things.

POVERTY WIDESPREAD IN IRAN

In Iran during the Aid-to-Russia program the American Army hired about 100,000 Persians as coolies and paid them higher than the prevailing rate. Ours was the biggest payroll in Iran. But it took all these coolies could make to buy food. There was very little for clothes and extras. It is my guess that these workers did not buy of foreign goods per capita more than \$5 worth a year. It is a safe guess that a million peasants in Iran, Iraq or Egypt do not buy a million dollars' worth of goods from out-

side in a year. They are so ground in poverty that they cannot buy even the tools they need. They cannot be customers, nor will they be until they can be helped to raise their standards of living.

It is my understanding that we Americans in our foreign commerce have not had a national policy. I would imagine that if our State Department had had a foreign policy for commerce it would have been patterned after the British because the British policy was defined by the British industrialists.

Not a great many of our industrialists have been interested in foreign commerce. They were not forced to it as were the British. Had they been forced to look for foreign markets, they would have exerted the necessary pressure on our State Department.

U. S. LOOKS FOR CUSTOMERS

Now at last we have come to a turning in the road. We will need to think about markets abroad. Our State Department is beginning to assume a new interest in these things. We are at the point of looking for customers. It is a good time to come to some understanding how we should go about this very important venture.

It is to our credit that such corporations as have gone abroad—meat packing, oil production, mining—have set up factories in various countries and put people to work. This idea must be carried much further. To illustrate, let us take the case of Iran.

Here is a country with about 15,000,000 population. In 1943-44 her import trade was £11,839,000 and her export trade (not including 100,000,000 barrels of oil) was £5,457,000. This was a per capita trade of about \$4. Iran is a country of various resources. If certain irrigation projects were carried through, her agricultural area could be doubled and most of her 3,000,000 nomads could become wholly or partially stabilized. With the various developments that could be carried out with foreign loans and leadership her living standards could easily be doubled. Iran would then build roads. Her cities could have sewers and water systems. She could develop a vast amount of electrical power. Iran needs tools and machines; then Iran will be a market for telephones, automobiles, air conditioning equipment, motion pictures, household equipment, office equipment, students, tourists, luxury goods.

In other words, what we need by way of foreign economic policy is a determination on the part of our government to cultivate the markets for private enterprise. Find the potential customers, give them tools and machines, show them how to do things. Help them make the things we can buy so we can sell them something else. This approach is precisely the opposite of the British foreign policy. The British are going to get licked badly. The shirt-tail customer and the swagger-stick trader belong in history, but it is difficult for the British to change. We don't have to worry for we start with a clean slate.

Fog Over the Tresca Case

By ERIC DUANE

THREE WEEKS BEFORE the recent election in New York City nineteen well-known individuals made public a report on an inquiry into the causes of the long delay in finding the slayers of Carlo Tresca, anarcho-syndicalist editor, shot down in the dim-out in January, 1943. They asked searching questions about the conduct of the Tresca investigation by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan and his aides.

Scant attention was given by the metropolitan press to that report, issued as a pamphlet entitled *Who Killed Carlo Tresca?* Only two dailies, *PM* and the *New York Sun*, printed anything about this, and both failed to touch the real meat in it.

Thereupon a sizeable letter of protest against such inattention was sent to the editors of the various papers by three members of the Tresca Memorial Committee—Oswald Garrison Villard, Dr. John Dewey, and Norman Thomas, the chairman. That letter was used in the *Herald Tribune*, *PM*, and the *World-Telegram*, and thus some of the outstanding phases of the committee's report were brought before several hundred thousand people.

"Our statement," said the three spokesmen, "was a conscientious effort to serve the cause of justice. It was objectively written, and we carefully refrained from placing the guilt in the Tresca killing at the door of any specific organization or person.

HONORS FROM THE FASCISTS

"But we pointed to some remarkable circumstances connected with the investigation of that crime by Mr. Hogan's office—especially the fact, of which we have documentary evidence, that Louis Pagnucco, the Assistant District Attorney long in charge of the Italian end, had received awards and honors from Fascists."

Pagnucco was given a gold medal by the Fascist Italian Ministry of Finance in 1929 for a widely circulated college thesis in which he lauded the Mussolini regime. In 1936 he was one of 14 students awarded cash scholarships from a fund collected by Generoso Pope, Italian newspaper publisher, often attacked by Tresca in his journal *Il Martello* (The Hammer) and on the public platform as Mussolini's chief propagandist in this country.

On that occasion Pagnucco made a speech of thanks for the whole group; he spoke with feeling of "the victorious Duce of the New Italy," and voiced the hope that "those who are benefited today may tomorrow reciprocate. . . ." And in 1939 Pagnucco was Guest of Honor No. 2 at a "fraternal club" ball where the Fascist Consul General Vecchiotti was high patron and Generoso Pope was Honor Guest No. 1.

"Obviously," Messrs. Villard, Dewey, and Thomas declared, "Pagnucco did not belong in the probing of a case in which Fascists had been under strong suspicion from the start. Yet for many weeks Mr.

Hogan did nothing about this, acting only when he learned that 117 citizens were about to petition the Governor for a special prosecutor.

NEW INQUIRY FADES OUT

"Then he promised a new inquiry, with Assistant District Attorney Lipsky in charge. But that didn't begin for more than two months, and a few weeks after that Lipsky was working on another murder. Since then a deep fog of official silence has settled over the Tresca killing, committed nearly three years ago.

"Though our committee's report was issued in the midst of a political campaign, it must be manifest to any reader that it was not in any sense political propaganda and was not designed to affect the election. For no candidate is opposing Mr. Hogan, who is on five tickets."

Those who recognize the great social menace in unpunished political murder are being urged by the committee to write to District Attorney Frank S. Hogan at 155 Leonard Street, New York City, and tell him he owes it to the whole community to demonstrate clearly that he is doing something definite toward apprehending those who killed Tresca.

Beside the three signers of the letter, those who sponsored the committee's report include: Angelica Balabanoff, William Henry Chamberlin, Frank Crosswaith, Varian Fry, Aron S. Gilmartin, America Gonzales, Sidney Hertzberg, John Haynes Holmes, Sidney Hook, Harry Kelly, Liston M. Oak, A. Philip Randolph, Sheba Strunsky, M. R. Werner, Edmund Wilson, and Bertram D. Wolfe.

LONG FOE OF TOTALITARIANS

Both Fascists and Communists had reason to be hostile to Tresca, the committee points out. He had long been an implacable foe of Fascists and Stalinists alike. Earlier he had been denounced by the Communist press after he had testified before a federal grand jury in connection with the disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, ex-secret operative for Soviet Russia. At that time the Italian National Commission of the Communist Party launched an appeal to the militants of all political parties "that in the common interest they make Tresca understand that police informers will no longer be tolerated in the political and labor movement."

In his last months Tresca fought stubbornly to keep Stalinists, Fascists, and "ex-Fascists" out of the Mazzini Society and the Italian-American Victory Council. One whom he repeatedly attacked and accused of moving against the Mazzini organization by order of Stalin was Enea Sormenti, alleged member of the Russian GPU, whom he assailed in a front-page editorial as "a commandant of spies, thieves, and assassins." Shortly before his death he told friends Sormenti was in New York again. "Where he is, I smell murder," Tresca said.

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Nightmare in the West

By INA SUGIHARA

OUR SECOND AMERICAN evacuation of World War II is almost over. It is more tragic and encompasses more hardships than the first, though it evokes less fanfare because civil liberties are no longer involved. Where there is no freedom, it cannot be lost.

The great majority of Japanese-Americans, evacuated in 1942 from the West Coast, have been forced out of government centers because Congress granted the War Relocation Authority only enough funds to keep the camps open the rest of the present year, and administrative procedure has been to take advantage of this move and dump as many back on the Pacific Coast as transportation facilities allow ahead of time, regardless of consequences to the victims.

With 90,000 of 110,000 people removed from American concentration camps, one should rejoice, but when we see the tragedy of the total event, not yet over, we can only grieve. To be forced out of a camp to sleep under a bridge is not a happy circumstance, even though one does not like camps.

The outcome is a part of a great tragedy, which might be entitled *The Nightmare of an American Refugee*. We can now take stock of that nightmare and picture the victims whose personalities have been injured for life.

At the outset aggravation was heightened by patriotic appeals. "This is your part in the war effort." . . . "It's for your protection." . . . etcetera. And with kindred flamboyant gestures "volunteers" were recruited to open up the centers (comparable to prisoners digging their buddies' graves).

Insincerity of the federal bureaucrats was obvious throughout. Primary evidence was the sharp reduction in wages offered to evacuees. First bids were \$50 to \$94 a month plus maintenance, depending on one's ability; and promises were made that everyone would be classified according to his skills, and that his background and experience would be recognized. Which was even better than private enterprise!

PAY CUT TO A FANTASTIC LOW

But wages were suddenly reduced, under pressure, to the Army's base pay at the time, \$21 a month, as a maximum. Then to \$19, \$16, and \$12 a month—and only those in highly skilled professions got the maximum. Everybody had to work a 48-hour week at these wages, irrespective of skill, for if they did not, the meager \$2.50 monthly clothing allowance and the army cot and pot-bellied stove would not suffice. The rugged existence in the camps required few workers with highly developed skills.

An endless source of conflict was the constant fostering of race-consciousness. The fine line between the favored few among the ruled and the rest disappeared, and the line between ruler and ruled grew deeper. Those "pioneers" who opened the centers were subjected to the same orders, inconveniences and restrictions as those who went reluctantly.

At the same time, definite cleavage between "residents" and "administrative personnel" developed. Residents could leave the barbed wire enclosures only with a "Caucasian" escort, while the staff could come and go at will. Evacuees worked regular wartime hours at \$12, \$16, and \$19 a month, while the "A.D." drew regular civil service salaries, sometimes for the same work.

Residents lived in rooms—20x25 feet—and if there were fewer than five persons to a family, they had to share with others to complete the quota, often with strangers; but of course, the personnel had private rooms or small apartments. Mess hall lines for the general populace were miles long, cooking by the residents being forbidden, and bathing and laundry facilities were many muddy steps away from one's door—but the personnel had their own separate mess halls and their apartments had regular facilities.

For many decades Orientals on the West Coast had suffered discrimination and persecution. In bitter onslaughts against them by whites the color of the Mongolians had been cited as a defect, as an evil. But this new thing was not discrimination against one of the darker races as such. It was a hysterical identification of a group of people with the enemy in a war. Curiously, Negro members of the administrative personnel were considered "Caucasian."

Persecution breeds suspicion and hatred. The centers were rampant with both. Small wonder that individuals were beaten up and that mob violence ensued. And old people died. Whatever causes the death certificates may have given, it is easy to believe that they died from hardship, from strain, from heartbreak.

STRIKES COME TOO LATE

Japanese-Americans had not been accustomed to striking for their objectives. But camp life with prison atmosphere drove them to use this weapon. Only the strikes in Poston, Arizona, and Manzanar, California, got into the daily newspapers, but word has come by the grapevine route of similar occurrences in some of the other eight camps. They were doubtless motivated in part by the feeling: "What have we to lose?" And, in truth, what had they? Their civil liberties were gone; they were working long hours for next to nothing; they were no better off than prisoners.

Unfortunately, such strikes often were initiated without a clear-cut purpose in mind. Though the people had nothing to lose, what had they to gain? Government fiat ruled behind the barbed wires and strikes were a feeble weapon against that authority. The fight should have been made before those wires went up.

Nevertheless, the young men among the Japanese-Americans were not exempt from the draft. A few of them contested the government's right to conscript them and lost. At first, they were treated even worse—though they were citizens, West Coast draft boards classified them as "4C"—"undesirable aliens." That was definite insurance against employment outside the centers.

Nor were the restrictions confined to physical movement. Project newspapers were censored, so was mail at first. Cameras were prohibited. The camp director's word was law, and none of the policy-makers was responsible to the people. The worst dictatorships could develop with that atmosphere—and did.

MARTIAL LAW NOW SUPREME

The crowning irony was the Supreme Court decision that the evacuation itself was constitutional, though the majority opinion stated that such acts reach the "brink of constitutional power." This case reversed all our precedents on martial law, and there no longer exists a check on military power over civilian authority in time of war. Another decision followed, stating that holding individuals after they had been removed from their homes was *not* constitutional. The second case *technically* exonerated the federal government of responsibility for maintaining its own refugees, thus giving Congress a loophole for reducing appropriations.

And Congress used that loophole—under its limited grant of money WRA can run only through June, 1946, and keep the centers open only until the end of this year. This called for a "dumping." Closing deadlines were set in all the centers, starting as early as October and ending in December.

These deadlines would not have caused hardships had proper groundwork for dispersal been laid. But for many months, the people had not been permitted to go out of the centers. Then they were considered only if they had

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Labor Swings to Co-ops

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full-time executive and staff to assist union members in organizing and managing co-operatives.

The unusually comprehensive report of the executive committee recommending this action also disclosed that AFL members already sat on the boards of directors of 46 urban co-ops with a trading volume of \$10,780,000 for 1943. Increasing numbers of workers were coming to "recognize that in order to control the quality and price of the goods they need for living, they must combine their buying power in co-operatives just as they combine their labor power in unions to control their conditions of work." Co-ops also would create jobs and stabilize employment.

CIO UNIONS JOIN IN

This latest action put the AFL ahead of the CIO in the field of co-op organization. In the absence of overall planning co-op activity within the CIO has rested with individual unions. Most notable examples are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with its bank and large-scale housing developments and the United Auto Workers, which hired Donald Montgomery the moment he was bounced out of the OPA for taking his job too seriously, to head up its Consumer Division and initiate a broad co-op development program.

Attractive displays illustrating co-op undertakings have been set up in CIO union halls within the Chicago-Detroit-Minneapolis area. Studebaker Local 5 may be setting a pattern for the future by housing its meeting hall together with the "spacious, bank-like quarters" of its credit union above "one of the town's cleanest, most modern food stores—a co-operative."

Meeting labor halfway, the co-ops have set up a labor division to make organized labor thoroughly co-op conscious. Co-op-labor institutes have been held in several big Eastern cities and there is a jointly sponsored training school at the University of Wisconsin.

Altogether these are small beginnings compared to the tremendous job yet to be done. To intensify labor interest, co-op promoters in this country would do well to publicize the exhilarating reports that come out of the far more extensively developed British co-ops concerning employee relations and the efficiency of labor management. For one thing the practical, democratic business principles that have carried co-operatives in all countries clear of Utopian pitfalls were largely formulated by British workingmen. And British co-ops, although somewhat politically backward, have grown into a formidable working-class movement.

Not satisfied with handling 10 per cent of the total 1943 retail trade in shoes, 12 per cent of the meat, 20 per cent of the coal and groceries, and 30 per cent of the dairy products, Britain's managerial workers are laying plans for their own mail

order house, department stores, and chains of five-and-tens. Steady growth and low operating margins of their enterprises place them on a par with the most efficiently conducted businesses in the world.

BRITAIN SETS EXAMPLE

An American labor movement that has had to wage a bitter fight for the right to earn a decent living might organize co-operatives if for no other reason than to work in them. For, being laboring men themselves, the owners and operators of Britain's co-operatives thoroughly appreciate the employee's point of view. An indication of this attitude was given by the general manager of a British society in a recent debate across the ocean with the editor of the *Chain Store Age* when he wrote:

"In our productive factories, where we may be manufacturing clothing or cocoa, we endeavor to make the conditions of the worker better than obtains in the outside competitive world. Good wages, decent trade-union conditions, welfare facilities, paid holidays, a pension scheme, a social life that encourages an *esprit de corps* are all embodied in the life of a co-operative factory worker."

It is not strange then that this billion and a quarter dollar business democracy, which employs close to 350,000 persons, is almost 100 per cent unionized and sets the standard for the whole country.

CO-OPS PROVIDE JOBS

The British worker, who is supposed to know his station, is more thoroughly unionized and through co-operative business organization has forged a generation ahead of his American brother. By contrast, the average American employee is still tied ideologically to the profit system and believes a better job of supplying his needs can be done for him than he can do himself. If, 14,000,000 strong, he has learned the value of collective action as an employee, he has still to realize that his union is largely an organ of protest and struggle against something bigger that controls the works. Fastened on to a system of concentrated wealth and cartelized control that periodically contracts and then seeks outlet in war, the union, whose prime function has been organizing jobs and not production, is left holding the bag, while visions of 60,000,000 jobs dangle out of reach.

The co-operative working formula for full employment is a far cry from vague, tempting, and dangerously priced political promises. It was explained recently before an assemblage of British co-operative leaders by A. V. Alexander, their equivalent of our Secretary of the Navy.

"At present," he stated, "more than £30,000,000 per annum is returned to consumers who purchase through British co-ops. If the principle of consumer co-operation were applied to the country's whole internal market, the surplus returned to the consumer would increase his purchasing power by £300,000,000 a year. Half of the country's normal peacetime problem of unemployment would

be solved by consequent increased demand for goods and services.

"We have gained enough experience in the cooperative movement to show that if international trade could be developed on the basis of mutual co-operation the savings would be enormous, the consuming power of the people would be increased, and their standards raised, unemployment reduced, and the economic rivalries between nations which lead to war eliminated."

LABOR'S CAPACITY TO CONTROL

Through his drive to popularize the union label the American worker has exerted at best a negative influence by refusing to pour his sweat-earned wages back into labor-baiting corporations. His new practical interest in co-operatives expresses a positive, deep-seated desire to be the boss over his own economic life. If he learns how to tap his managerial potential, he has the buying power largely to determine the nature of the economy he will continue to work for as well as buy from.

The 14,000,000 union members of America, assuming a \$40 weekly wage—could own and control as consumers productive and distributive units with an annual volume perhaps of twenty-eight billion dollars—that is, almost one-third of the national income at its pre-war peak. This could include in the food industry alone (where, according to the assistant head of the Department of Justice, Wendell Berge, three chains hold a virtual monopoly) 100,000 supermarkets, 1,000 central warehouses, and 100 canning factories, and numerous flour mills, creameries, bakeries and packing houses.

Has labor the stomach for the prodigious job of organizing its consumer strength, which would task it as greatly as did its original drives to get started? Or will she yield again to the mastery of the forces of imperialism and power politics that steal today's headlines? Time will tell.

As one alternative to the frequent totalitarian proposals heard in these days from both Fascists and Communists, or even to increase the powers of government under a liberal administration, the cooperative movement offers an immediate means for the workers to ameliorate their lot by their own efforts. It would relieve them from dependence on political parties, machines, electioneering, and the like, all of which usually leads only to the familiar change of putting one set of rascals out and another set in.

JAVA, BRITISH EMPIRE

Resistance to the British in Java has developed into a full scale war, while the Dutch sit tight and wait to be reinstalled by the British Labor Party. The British, at least in this case, do not let others fight their own battles because they know what it would mean to their Empire to lose one colonial battle so close to their "own" colonial peoples of Malaya, Burma and India.

Fog Over the Tresca Case

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Citing reported conflict between the prosecutor's office and the police over procedure in this case, the committee asks such questions as these: "What did Mr. Hogan find out about Sormenti's movements? What did he learn about a charge by Ernest Rupolo, convicted gunman, that Vito Genovese, reputed New York ex-gang chief, arranged the Tresca killing at the bidding of Mussolini and Count Ciano? What became of the promised new inquiry? . . . Was the slow-down due to apathy? Or to official incompetence? Or was some political influence an element in the situation?"

Hogan's name appeared on the Democrat, Republican, City Fusion, Liberal, and American Labor Party tickets. Many persons who have read the new Tresca pamphlet are expressing wonder at the support given him by the Liberal and Labor Party forces in view of the inertia of the District Attorney's office in this case.

UNIONS IN HIS DEBT

"Those labor unions particularly for which Tresca did so much and so freely in his lifetime," the committee declares, "have a moral obligation never to rest until his murderer and the employers of that murderer have been punished."

No one did more than Carlo Tresca to defeat Mussolini's efforts to organize Fascism among Italian-Americans; it was certainly his strategy, Norman Thomas has said, that drove the Black-shirts off the streets of New York in the Nineteen Twenties. Insistently, untiringly, he defended many workers menaced by prison or death because of their political or unionist activities.

And in the early years of this century he was in the forefront of the great textile strikes in Lawrence and Paterson, in the historic fight of labor against the steel barons on the Mesaba iron range in Minnesota, and in countless other industrial struggles, risking liberty and life to help exploited masses to become solidly organized so that they might win a living wage.

John Dos Passos, in a foreword to the committee's text, recalls that the labor unions gave Tresca a magnificent funeral. The committee might well have asked, as other observers are asking: What have the labor leaders of Greater New York done to get justice for this victim of political murder? How many of them have made any move whatever in that direction? And what is behind their lack of action?

UNAMERICANISM GONE WILD

In reply to a speech by the British laborite Professor Harold Laski advocating a social revolution in Spain, 5,000 letters of protest reached the Congressional Committee on Un-Americanism.

Not even a foreigner has a right to be un-American.

Arthur Koestler: From Logic to Morality

By J. S. WHITE

IT WAS TO THE overtones of the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, the imprisonment of revolutionaries and the suppression of their parties, the N.E.P., the failure in China and to the background of the unheeded famine in the Ukraine, the swift changes in policy and the Moscow "witch" trials, that Arthur Koestler experienced his disillusionment in the Communist Party that caused him to leave it. It was in particular the trials of the old revolutionaries and their strange confessions that led Koestler to investigate the deeply human background of the political misjudgments that caused men with high idealism to commit outrages and confess to acts which they did not commit. The result of these researches was the powerful psychopolitical novel "Darkness at Noon" which starts the swing of the pendulum of Koestler's mind away from the politics of logical reasoning and its consequent to a new ethical emphasis. That this is a mark of the times is evidenced by the writings of revolutionaries such as Silone and Malraux as well as "religious" writers like Eliot and Auden.

HOW THE PARTY REASONS

In the person of Rubashov, Koestler describes the ideological and emotional conflict that takes place between the old guard revolutionists and the adherents of the new national regime who see the future in terms of the success of the fatherland and who have renounced justice as a means toward its attainment. Rubashov's disillusionment arises from the complete disregard that the human being has suffered in the mathematics of the Party's reasoning.

"... In order to defend the existence of the country, we have to take exceptional measures and make transition-stage laws, which are in every point contrary to the aims of the Revolution. The people's standard of life is lower than it was before the Revolution; the labour conditions are harder, the discipline is more inhuman, the piece-work drudgery worse than in colonial countries with native coolies; we have lowered the age limit for capital punishment down to twelve years; our sexual laws are more narrow-minded than those of England, our leader-worship more Byzantine than that of the reactionary dictatorships. Our press and our schools cultivate Chauvinism, militarism, dogmatism, conformism and ignorance. The arbitrary power of the Government is unlimited, and unexampled in history; freedom of the Press, of opinion and of movement are as thoroughly exterminated as though the proclamation of the Rights of Man had never been. We have built up the most gigantic police apparatus, with informers made a national institution, and with the most refined scientific system of physical and mental torture. We whip the groaning masses of the country towards a theoretical future happiness, which only we can see..."

He now drops the old rules of logical calculation and returns to "the remains of the old illogical morality" which he had burnt from his consciousness with the acid of reason.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Koestler progresses after he had written "Darkness at Noon" to what appears, on the surface, to be an anti-intellectual attitude. "Arrival and Departure," which follows, is the case history of Peter Slavek who escapes from the torture-land of Nazi-occupied Europe. He belonged to the Party but he disagreed with its methods and tactics and broke with it. The story unfolds to present Peter with the alternative of following Odette, the girl he loves, to America, or remaining to fight for the Cause. Peter is taken down with a fever at this point and a torture-burn in his leg begins to bother him again. He places himself under the care of Dr. Sonia Bolgar, a psychoanalyst. He becomes

paralyzed and unable to walk. His paralysis is caused, according to the analysis, by his inability to make the choice.

The psychoanalytic treatment which he undergoes with Sonia is an attempt to find in his childhood what events led Peter to seek refuge in Causes. She finds it in the tyranny exercised by Peter's younger brother over the family, which took away the spotlight from Peter. He has a childish desire to murder his brother. Later, in a tussle in a row boat, the two brothers fall, Peter then aged five, upon the younger one, who is accidentally killed. This along with other associations, indicates to Sonia that Peter's attachment to the Cause is derived from the sense of guilt resulting from the accidental death. He desires to punish himself. Psychoanalysis thus indicates to Peter the meaning of his actions, the reason for his acceptance and devotion to the Cause: a foolish sense of guilt emanating from some childhood reactions and the accidental death of his brother. If that is all it is, why should he attach himself irrationally to a belief in devotion, sacrifice, cause, justice, etc. and the pain and sacrifice involved? He accepts Sonia's prescription: live and enjoy yourself; forget Causes. The psychoanalytic therapy works and Peter is again able to walk: he decides to go to Odette in America.

SCIENCE AND ETHICS

But science does not seem to have the full answer. For in the end Peter cannot go to Odette and the joys she can give him; he finds he must return to fight. An irrational core in human behavior, not accounted for, becomes, Koestler believes, the leading factor. Man is moved by matters that do not seem to be of immediate, selfish interest to him: the contrary is just as often true. Kropotkin, if we recall, found the source of this action in mutual aid, a biological racial consciousness, without which the human species would not have been able to survive in the struggle against the hostile forces of the physical world. It is this oft slighted phenomenon of life that makes thorough-going materialism and selfish philosophy impossible. A view of life which accepts a basic utilitarian attitude towards human beings finds itself blunted, unable to penetrate the mystery behind much of human action.

Koestler presents an analogy which indicates—unfortunately only indicates—some other facts than scientific explanation. He calls to mind the confused drawings in red and blue crayons which become clear only as a colored tissue is placed upon each drawing. A definite picture, according to the color of the tissue, emerges. He writes to Odette as he prepares to reenter Nazi-land in the fight for freedom:

"Since the Renaissance, the red tissue-paper of our scientific reasoning has obtained greater perfection than the blue of our intuition and ethical beliefs. For the last four centuries the first has improved, the second decayed. But prior to that, in the Gothic age, the scales moved the opposite way; and I believe that this process will soon be reversed again... salvation will not come by an improved laboratory formula. The age of quantitative measurements is drawing to its close... I'll tell you my belief, Odette. I think a new God is about to be born. That is the kind of thing one is only allowed to say at certain moments; but this is the moment, because in a few minutes I shall depart..."

Koestler thus swings from Rubashov, who cannot accept the scientific logic of the Party, to Slavek who believes he has found some basic irrational force in human nature. In Peter's first crusade, under the aegis of the Party "he had set out in ignorance of his reasons; this time (after his rejection of Dr. Bolgar's prescription) he knew them, but understood that reasons do not matter much. They are the

shell around the core, and the core remains untouchable, beyond the reach of cause and effect."

DOUBTING ANARCHISM

The germ of much of present day thought lays embedded in this attitude. That Koestler swings from one side to the other is significant, but most significant is his choice, which recognizes and accepts an ethical basis as a necessity of living. For in the end some sort of amalgamation of reason and idealism will result, for man finds living more fruitful when backed by a spiritual driving force and sanctioned by intellectual assent.

Perhaps Koestler's contact with anarchist action, thought and feeling in Spain during the Civil War has contributed somewhat to his perturbation and investigation into problems that promise to yield so much in human values. In "Dialogue with Death" he writes:

"... how ridiculous it is that we place so much importance on the personal character of a man; how little depends on what a man is, and how much on the function which society has given him to fulfill; and how limited a field is left to him in which to develop his natural propensities. . . . Suddenly I seemed to understand why the Anarchist doctrine is so popular in Spain. To the Anarchists the problem of the human race is as simple as cracking nuts: just smash the hard shell of social institutions and savour the delicious kernel. A fascinating theory; but it seemed to me rather doubtful whether trees would ever bear nuts without shells."

Of course, society is not a tree, and then, to continue the analogy, why not trees the shells of whose nuts are soft and edible? In this case, it is a question of seeking the knowledge, of being willing to struggle against the forces of ignorance that maintain that the old is good enough and even best.

Koestler has indicated both the need to remain in the struggle and the ethical basis upon which it must be fought. In his latest book, "The Yogi and the Commissar," he has investigated further the swing of the pendulum which now becomes transformed into a spectrum at the infra-red end of which stands the Commissar who believes in "Change from Without," to whom the world's evils can be cured by a radical reorganization of the system of production and distribution of goods. At the other ultra-violet end of the spectrum, crouches the Yogi who believes that the world can only be improved by individual effort from within, that it is the means that count. These extremes, says Koestler, can never meet. "You cannot argue with a naked Commissar—he starts at once to beat his chest and next he strangles you whether you be friend or foe, in his deadly embrace. You cannot argue with the ultra-violet skeleton either, because words mean nothing to him." The issue remains between the fundamental conception of change from within and change from without.

PESSIMISTIC OPTIMISTS

Having discovered in his earlier writings the basis for an approach to the solution of social problems—Rubashov has rejected the method of logical reasoning and its consequent, Peter Slavek accepts faith and ethical belief—the reader seeks for an elaboration of Koestler's ideas. But he does not find any true development, only a restatement. He does add some prescriptions to fit the problems of the moment. The time for revolution, he thinks, is not now. This is a period of storm which must be weathered through, in our foxholes, so to speak. "The alternative for the next few years is no more 'capitalism or revolution' but to save some of the values of democracy and humanism or to lose them all; and to prevent this happening one has to cling more than ever to the ragged banner of 'independent thinking.'"

To do this, Koestler would set up a "fraternity of pessimists" that is, short-term pessimists, who are basically optimists. Their role will be an active one even while waiting for the moment when they can emerge to strike violent

blows against capitalism and totalitarianism. In the meantime their aim will be to "create oases in the interregnum desert." It is difficult to perceive the reason for his emphasis upon the creation of "oases" or why one must only seek to save "some" human values. One cannot, of course, walk the streets crying out for a bloody revolution, but when have responsible people ever done this? Each situation has been or must be met in its own way whether it was or is that of Czarist Russia, Fascist Italy, dictatorial Argentina, Capitalist America, German-occupied France or the Spain of De Rivera. All of the human values must be saved, and failing this, whatever of them can be. It is highly questionable if by limiting our social perspective or that of those we hope to influence, that by seeking less, we will gain more.

If Koestler's pessimists are to be short-term ones they need not, at the same time, be near-sighted ones. It is in this connection that Koestler has been taken to task, unfairly, for his advocacy of Colonel Blimp. Viewing the present time as a downward slope in history and finding that the ethical brakes of society have been neglected, thereby enabling the totalitarian dynamism to run the social engine amok, he sees in the inertia of English society a favorable climate for his oases. Colonel Blimp "will treat me as an annoying kind of oddity and push me about from sheer lack of imagination; the imaginative Commissar will politely shoot me if I disagree with him." But this is a corollary following from his general proposition and cannot be used outside the context against him. For Koestler adds, "In other historical situations, on the upward grade, Blimp might again become the main enemy of progress." The fellow-travelers naturally do not like his choice. One cannot help remembering that these are the usual dangers involved in his "reformism."

Koestler's main contribution, though not a new one, has been to point out in his vital, probing analyses, the primary importance of means in achieving ends and to indicate the necessity of establishing a balance between rational and spiritual values. This will mean, and herein lies the failure of the Second and Third Internationals, that capitalism and all that it denotes cannot be fought with its own methods but with ethical means that are peculiarly socialist, and, I may add, libertarian.

SOCIALISM AND FASCISM

Koestler has also taken apart an economic myth that has long needed careful left-wing scrutiny. It has generally been accepted that economic nationalization controlled by a socialist group means socialism and will automatically bring in its wake socialist and just conditions in other spheres of human activity. This is a prime conception of Marxism, one from which much of its failures have resulted. "A planned, state-controlled economy," says Koestler, "is the inevitable next step of historical evolution, and thus 'progressive' in the same sense as industrialization, rationalization, air-transport and artificial manure." It may be questioned that what is historically evolving is "progressive." In the face of the possibility that regionalism or decentralization may be more desirable, would it follow that nationalization and state control (in the centralized meaning of it) is "progressive"?

Let us not further dispute this point with Koestler. "Nationalization and planning," he points out, "may lead to socialism or fascism . . ." and can serve under any master.

Koestler's thoughts are vital and challenging. They awaken us and leave us taut with excitement and interest. He probes into the depths of our unconscious and emerges with startling discoveries. A thoughtful man, disillusioned with the Communist Party, he dropped out of it, but refused to "sit it out." As an artist he travels his voyage of discovery onward, his mission being to expose. The writer has a task to perform, a function to fulfil. He is captain, not of a pleasure cruiser, but a warship. "The indecipherable yet imperative orders in his pocket fill him with the consciousness of his responsibility. This is the greatness of the writer's mission; this is his predicament."

Comments on Contemporaries

The Network (October 1945) has some interesting sidelights on German Socialist cross-currents outside Germany, especially within the London and Mexican groups.

The Moscow spokesman in London is Wilhelm Koenen, former member of the Reichstag who, according to *The Network*, is "the prototype of a spineless party bureaucrat who served faithfully under all 'party lines' and who will continue to do so." In a recent article, this pro-Stalin social-democrat "emphasizes the collective guilt of the German people and the necessity for severe punishment and purges," and writes as follows (we quote from *The Network*):

"The majority of the German people have been loyal to Hitler until the end. We must take into consideration . . . that the German working-class has betrayed not only the international workers, but also the only Socialist State."

Against this wholesale accusation clearly dictated by Stalin, Paul Merker, who seems to represent the Trotskyite line—we quote again *The Network*—in antiquated Leninist terms tries to defend the German workers against the accusation of having "betrayed the only Socialist State" and of being rightly punished by forced labor for reparations in Russia. Merker raises the crucial question: Who is responsible for Nazism coming to power? We dare not give the answer, of course. However, with this polemic [against Koenen] Merker has acknowledged the co-responsibility of Stalin's Politburo, of the leadership of 'world anti-fascism,' for Nazism and all its catastrophic consequences."

The Network's weakness lies in throwing all the onus for world catastrophes exclusively on Stalin and Stalinism and in trying to shield Lenin and Leninism. . . .

The co-responsibility for Nazism lies squarely on all dictatorial ideologies. Dictatorship of the proletariat is no exception. It leads to, and is, totalitarianism, may it come via Stalin, or via Lenin, or via Trotsky.

* * *

The Palestine quandary has given rise to various attempts at breaking out of the blind alley. *The New Leader* (November 10, 1945) approaches the problem from a wider angle:

"We have reached our present disgraceful impasse partly because of the over-emphasis on Palestine. We have given the world the impression that this is the only way out and that responsibility for blocking it rests exclusively with the British. This curiously short-sighted view furnishes a psychological alibi for all the non-British world. Millions of men in other lands think they have performed their whole duty when they denounce the British for their inaction."

True enough, but why solve the problem by handing it over to the UNO, an organization which has already proved that it was unable to take over any international responsibility.

The Jews have a legal, physical and moral right to live wherever they like, in Russia, or in Palestine, or in the United States. To forbid them to live or settle in this or that country is but one further proof that the war was not waged for freedom, whether from hunger or from fear. Race discrimination remains a plank not only of pre-war totalitarianism but of post-war democracy.

* * *

Radical ideas are making strides in spite of—or perhaps because of—present day confusion gone stark mad. People are anxiously looking around for clear and clean ideas, for new solutions to old problems. We are glad to see *Politics* (October 1945) take up the cudgels on behalf of old masters of thought and of action. The first of a series of articles is devoted to Proudhon. In raising the whole question of the future of civilization, J. Hampden Jackson is appalled "by the prospect of the bureaucracy which must be entailed by bigger units, political, economic and social, but no one believes in an alternative." This is the tragedy of

our present atomic era. No one wants to think of an alternative.

In placing before the reader this cardinal question "Is there no alternative to the totalitarian State under one guise or another?" J. Hampden Jackson has an answer which is worth studying:

"If socialists look back in the history of their own movement they will find one. They will find a tradition known variously as libertarianism, individualism, self-government, mutualism, federalism, syndicalism: a tradition usually described as Anarchism, which fought its first fight with Marxism nearly one hundred years ago, and its latest, but not its last, in 1936, behind the lines of Republican Spain. They will find that this Anarchist (no-ruler) tradition was stronger than that of Marx in the First International, which Marx disbanded—or removed to New York, it comes to the same thing—because so many of the delegates were Anarchists. They will find that their famous Paris Commune was the creation of men who called themselves mutualists or federalists and were no followers of Marx. They will find that the most radical section of the French working-class movement was composed of syndicalists who opposed socialism, both Marxist and parliamentary. They will find that the revolutionary workers who bore the heat and burden of the day in Switzerland, Italy, and Spain were Anarchists. And they may even find that the mass of the people of Russia in 1917 cast their vote against the Marxists and for the Social Revolutionaries who stood nearer to the Anarchist camp."

Examining the value of Proudhon whom Jackson rightly calls the father of Anarchism, the author of this otherwise excellent article, falls into a curious lapse when he states that Proudhon "should be excused one senile lapse into optimism" when he wrote a few months before his death that "the Social Revolution marches much faster than it seems to." Although this was written almost a century ago, events like this second World War and eras like the atomic era may bring us much closer to profound social upheavals within a couple of generations than all of us may be aware of. Besides, optimism being the backbone of progress, let us permit ourselves this fit of "senility." . . .

* * *

The article "Spain Divided" (*Harper's Magazine*, November 1945) by Gabriel Javscas takes a line similar to the article the same author wrote for the first issue of *New Trends*. But his conclusions in the Harper article are rather far-fetched insofar as they are thoroughly impracticable and even undesirable. To propose that the Western Democracies should "recognize the exiled autonomous governments of the Catalonians, the Basque, and the Galicians and thus support them in their long sustained efforts to break away from Castile" is to offer a solution which no government could accept, however democratic it might be. The Spaniards themselves, within Spain (whether Catalonians or Galicians), will hardly support full separatism, which is so distinct from autonomy within a federalist regime. And if some (especially in exile) do support separatist tendencies, these are generally found among the ultra reactionaries. To compare, as Javscas does, Catalonia to Tangier (which was never Spanish) would be equal to comparing Scotland to Shanghai (which was never British); and to ask Franco to withdraw from Catalonia (but to remain in Madrid) is a puerile way of solving national calamities. The first and foremost solution is to make Franco withdraw from Madrid. And we are not so sure that the inevitable civil war in Spain would, in the words of Javscas, "divide all Europe once again into hostile camps, upsetting any order the Big Three might evolve at the peace conferences." And if so? Where is the tragedy? It is just as well for all the democ-

French Syndicalism at Crossroads

By PIERRE BESNARD

Paris, October 12.

THREE IMPORTANT events took place this month: 1) The National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. reached a number of decisions and the consequences thereof; 2) The Congress of the French Anarchist movement; 3) The upsurge of strikes for higher pay.

Regarding the decisions of the National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) it may be said that at no time were there graver decisions taken by a syndicalist assembly. In effect the National Confederal Committee has repudiated deliberately at once the Constitutional Charter of the C.G.T. (voted at Amiens in 1906 and maintained from congress to congress till Toulouse in 1935) and the statutes of the C.G.T. in all fundamental articles.

As a result, all safeguards of the rights of members of a syndicalist democratic organization are abolished and the Communist point of view alone remains. Neither the assembly nor the Congress retains any degree of influence.

The least that can be said is that the rights of members and the syndicates have become a joke. Everything is under the command and subject to the will of the four members of the executive designated by the National Confederal Committee in violation of the statutes of the C.G.T.

From now on the C.G.T. participates in the elections. Since the Committee has torn up its charter, its secretaries and other confederal functionaries are already candidates up for election. The organic unity of the C.G.T. which could not be secured except by virtue of the *apolitical* (non-political) character of the Syndicate has been destroyed and the C.G.T. will be nothing more than an appendix of the Communist Party. It will have to sustain the political purposes of the Communist Party, that is to say the foreign policy of the Soviet government, since the Communists are nothing more (in France or elsewhere) than "internal Russians."

This policy of the Russian government, which is mainly responsible for the failure of the London conference, shows itself sufficiently warlike for the working class of France and other countries to be on guard. In my opinion none can look favorably upon such an evolution and everyone should

racies—Western or Eastern—to keep out altogether and to leave the people of Spain to decide their own salvation. And if this does upset the Big Three "order," so much the better for those whose fate unfortunately still lies in the hands of those Three, and not in their own.

Let Spain be a lesson to the peoples of Europe, as well as to those of India, China, Java, Indochina. . . .

* * *

The role of the Red Army is dissected by D. K. in the October-November issue of the magazine *WHY?* What would be the future of the Red Army?

"Indications from Russia," says the writer, "seem to show an eventual wedding of the State hierarchy with the military. The ideals of the Russian revolution are dead. The real function of the Red Army in the immediate future is that the organized counter-revolution. Apparently Stalin will not tolerate a revolutionary movement in Europe, unless it is dominated by himself." The author's inference that the Red Army will be used to quell revolutionary outbursts in Soviet occupied territories is quite correct. This is characteristic of *all* armies. The use of the British Army in Greece and in Java shows that the task of any Army, in peace time (it is much too busy in wartime), has always been that of quelling unrest against the powers-that-be. The soldier in the Red Army is as much a tool in the hands of the State as is the soldier in any other army.

on the contrary understand where acceptance of such a thing tends to lead us. It seems that some of our friends who do not understand the gravity of the situation would look with disfavor upon us if we broke the false unity of the C.G.T. These friends seem to think that we should aid with our contributions and our action the complete sovietization of the French Labor movement. How wrong they are! What unpardonable fault do they wish us to commit! Instead of adhering to the myth of unity to the point of suicide they should realize that the salvation of the labor movement is in its independence, in its autonomy, in its desire to fight nationally for its rights and internationally in joint action for its liberation and the construction of a new world based on justice.

The French syndicalists have grasped this and they are resolved, if need be alone, to draw the lesson from the facts: *to constitute without delay a Syndicalist Center* capable of realizing this program. They know that if they wait, the emotion now at its height may be dissipated; that the workers who, bewildered, are leaving the C.G.T. *en masse* will retire to their four walls and thereafter it will be difficult to get them out again. Those who have gone over to the Confederation of the Christian Workers are already lost to us. There is utmost urgency therefore to stop this movement of disaffection and to gather together all those who do not wish to remain in the C.G.T. This must be done before the renewal of the membership cards, that is to say before the first of January 1946.

Certainly the constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions which has just been formed in Paris is not designed to make us hesitate to follow the course we have chosen. I know well enough that this new International groups the workers of 50 lands with, it is said, about 100 million members. But to what end? To support the policy of their respective governments of all things! The president of this International, Sir Walter Citrine, has said that "if it engages in politics it will be lost." He can be quite certain that this International will engage in nothing but politics, and what is more it will be Russian politics. It will in no way represent the economic and social interests of labor nor will it have any political program of its own.

THE ANARCHIST CONGRESS OF PARIS

The Congress of the Anarchist movement which took place in Paris on October 6 and 7 was prepared last year by the Conference of Agen (October 30 and 31, 1944.) It was the first Congress since that of 1938. More than 400 militant members from Paris and the provinces attended. Most of the delegates represented a number of important groups. Every tendency within the Anarchist movement was represented. Since the Congress could not hope to realize a vast organic unity, it wisely decided to concentrate on unity of action which is of course more likely to yield results in every respect. A program of this unity of action was evolved and the means of propaganda to be employed were agreed upon. A committee of coordination was formed in which an equal number of representatives of all tendencies will participate. This committee of coordination will fix the sphere of propaganda for each branch of the Anarchist ideas and will determine their concurrent tasks; similarly, whenever necessary, it will determine the common action of all and the duration of this action.

This constitutes a great forward step and it would seem that from now on the French Anarchists, who have been profoundly divided, can all act together for the success of their common cause.

The Syndicalist workers have taken note of this unity of action with satisfaction and they are convinced that this can

be of great benefit for the entire working class movement which is under heavy attack from various quarters.

THE STRIKES

Many strikes have taken place, particularly in the coal basin of the North and the Pas-de-Calais where they were disavowed by the Communists. That has not prevented them from being victorious. Strikes of the municipal transport workers in Paris, of the dockers of Le Havre and Marseilles; the threatening strike of public utilities and of the provincial functionaries was delayed only with great difficulty and with promises. The teachers, postmen and railroad workers are preparing something. There is a strike threat from the interns in the hospitals who are still paid a mere 2,500 francs per month, and from the students who can find no living quarters and for whom nothing is being done. General dissatisfaction exists among the metal workers whose demands have been shelved by the Communists because of the elections.

In short, the general situation demands vigorous action which the C.G.T., bound to the Communist Party, which is allied with the bourgeois radical party, does not only fail to carry out but which it even opposes.

All of this proves indubitably that there is room for a syndicalist C.G.T. capable of taking in hand the neglected interests of the workmen and to guide them in an international action apt to rouse the proletariat toward the construction of peace which is threatened daily by the power politics of the Big Three who turn their back to peace which the world craves for.

Nightmare in the West

(Continued from Page 9)

jobs outside, friends who would guarantee that they would not become public charges, etcetera. Later these restrictions were removed, but each person leaving a center at any time had to fill out a long questionnaire, covering one's life history.

Two questions allegedly determined the applicant's loyalty: (1) "If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?" (this if the subject was a woman), a severe test indeed for one in a concentration camp, and (2) "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?" (How can one forswear that which he has never sworn?)

Many people, as might be expected, did not answer these questions with a clear-cut "yes," and as a result they were marked "disloyal." Most of them were sent to the camp at Tule Lake, California, as dangerous persons who had renounced their citizenship and should be deported. The legality of this move is now being contested.

THEY GO BACK TO WHAT?

The "dumping" process is almost completed. Within four months 35,000 men, women, and children were "resettled," by force when necessary, meaning that, if they had no plans for moving, as most of them did not and as many refused to have, they were picked up bag-and-baggage and sent back to "where they came from." The great difficulty here is that most of them have nothing to go back to. Farms and businesses were lost in the initial uprooting.

Nor were adequate preparations made for the return of this throng. Hundreds were literally "shipped" back to sleep in railroad stations and under bridges, including families with babies and 70 or 80-year-old parents. Many are sleeping in hostels, which accommodate 200 to 250 people where 75 would ordinarily be comfortable. The nightmare is not yet over.

West Coast reception of the returning evacuees involved more than 100 cases of violence or attempts at violence against them and at least one lynching. Old racial prejudice

was bolstered by resentment against more inhabitants crowding into an already over-crowded area. Squatters' rights had been lost.

What could have been done by the Japanese-Americans themselves to prevent this tragedy? Did they comply too readily with government orders? Should they have stood their ground and refused to be moved? Had they had the courage and training to undergo a mass non-violent movement, they might have succeeded, though, like the British, our federal government surely never would have admitted such a success. Nothing short of this would have worked, in my opinion. Test cases failed, the decisions hinging on political expediency rather than on concern for true justice. Strikes only made scare headlines in papers and they were too late—liberty was already lost behind barbed wires.

It is difficult to say what would have happened at the time if the people had refused to go. Perhaps as in the centers, when they refused to go out, the government would have arrested every single one. On the other hand, their sentiments would have been expressed and suffering might have been alleviated, not to mention the bolstering of their self-respect. Perhaps confusion about the relative value of security overshadowed civil liberties issues at first, whereas when freedom was already lost, those same values helped to make the people more militant, more rebellious. The result is a totally different group of people from those who were living on the West Coast three and a half years ago. Time alone will tell the effect on future generations.

How Long Will DAR be Tax-Free?

Refusal of the Daughters of the American Revolution to grant the use of Constitution Hall in Washington for a concert by Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, has resulted in a campaign, led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to have Congress remove the tax-exemption provision for that hall, and to end the printing of DAR reports as Senate documents. The DAR has always been free from taxation on the ground of being a public institution, and for 47 years that outfit of Jim Crow patriots has had its reports printed at government expense; the 1945 edition comprises a book of 202 pages.

Draft Evasion Still Prosecuted

Because opposition to the global war lately ended received much less publicity than similar opposition in 1917-18, few Americans are aware that 12,789 men have preferred to go to prison in the last five years rather than take part in mass killing. Sentences meted out to those men totalled more than 34,000 years, and fines assessed against them aggregate \$1,089,181. Some 15,000 draft delinquency cases were listed as pending by the FBI on the eve of Armistice Day; and these were still to be prosecuted despite the ending of the war.

NEXT MONTH we will publish an illuminating letter from an Italian anti-Fascist long thought dead by friends here, showing the vital part the libertarians played in ending Fascist and Nazi power in northern Italy, and describing collectives set up there by workers.

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