

INSIDE FRANCO'S SPAIN -Behind the 'Curtain of Bluff'

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Abner Loses Chicago Dem Primary

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improved contract must be the result of the 12-week Chrysler strike, the UAW leadership this week rejected another so-called "final" offer of the Chrysler Corporation, which dealt primarily with a pension plan.

As a matter of fact, the UAW ranks learned that Reuther had again returned to a demand for a minimum 10-cent package as the basis for settlement. Two weeks ago, Reuther made an offer to the company which was widely interpreted as scaling down the pension and insurance plan demands to far below the 10-cent package considered a minimum for settle-

Chrysler has announced that it had offered one of three varieties of pension plans to settle the strike.. It claimed that it offered a 40-year premium plan like that at Ford or like the U.S. Steel plan and the Bethlehem Steel plan.

The result of this company propaganda is to add some confusion in the minds of many workers, who do not know nor have they been taught the deficiencies in the other plans. To do so, the Reuther leadership would have had to explain the serious weaknesses in the Ford plan, or expose the major limitations of the pension settlements of CIO President Philip

week it suggested opening the negotiations to a group of publicspirited citizens to see who was at fault. But it has agreed with the corporation to keep negotiations secret in the past and the Chrysler delegate conference has never been called together since the first week of the strike so that the UAW ranks could discuss the various offers Reuther and Norman Mathews made to Chrysler before they were presented in negotia-

Unlike the General Motors negotiations in 1946, where Reuther insisted on releasing the daily record to the public as well as to the union, and where the ranks were always kept in touch with developments, the Chrysler strike negotiations have been maintained with almost Iron Curtain secrecy. Only one local union in the Chrysler strike has had weekly meetings to get reports on negotiations and most of these have been very

vague. Very disturbing also is the continual playing down of the importance of needed contract improvements in the Chrysler dispute. For the public record, Reuther may be stuck with his previous offer to arbitrate the contract, but any such move will find great resistance among the active unionists, who seem to grow more ada mant as the strike stretches out.

Hill Boasts that Jim Crow Controls Democrats, Got FEPC Bottled Up

Dem Policy Leader's Speech

Following are the passages made public in the speech by Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, in which the Democratic leader pointed with pride to the record of the Democrats in bottling up civil-rights legislation, through the strength of the South (see story on this page):

"I tell you it is the power and influence of your senators and congressmen that has made possible defeat of FEPC and other so-called civil-rights bills. They hold this power and influence as members of the Democratic Party.

"The anti-poll-tax bill is bottled up today in a subcommittee of the Senate Rules Committee. Senator John C. Stennis (Democrat of Mississippi) is chairman of this subcommittee because of his membership in the Democratic Party. If he were a member of the Dixiecrat splinter party he could not be chairman [and] could have little influence in the fight against civil-rights bills.

"The general civil-rights bill (containing a combination of the controversial programs) is bottled up today in a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator Jim .(James O.) Eastland (Democrat of Mississippi) is chairman of this committee. If he were not a Democrat, he could not be chairman of this or any other committee.

"As a Democrat, I hold a place on the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I led the fight in committee against the FEPC bill, and the committee dropped it like a foundling on the Senate's doorstep-without a word in its favor (the committee reported the bill to the Senate calendar without recommenda-

"If our group of Southern senators is to continued to defeat these civil-rights bills, we must keep the power and influence we hold as members of the Democratic Party. I also warn that the Republicans are committed to civil rights."

The Democratic Party has shelved FEPC and civil-rights legislation for Negroes and minorities. On this key issue of the Fair Deal in the eyes of many liberals, the Southern Democrats (not the Dixiecrats) have shown who controls the party which labor-liberals and others have set out to "reform."

This appears from the as yet unchallenged report of speech made by Democratic leader Lister Hill, senator from Alabama, in which he boasted of the power of the South's reactionaries in the Fair Deal party.

There is a reason for the unusual frankness and open admissions of Hill's speech. The forthcoming Democratic primary in Alabama will see a decision between the regular Democrats and the Dixiecrats; the latter captured the apparatus in 1948 and want to hold it. Hill is trying to persuade his fellow Democrats that they can achieve their objections more effectively inside the Democratic Party than by operating independently of it.

Hill's address, with candidness (Turn to last page)

MAY DAY Celebration

"Ten Years of Independent "Socialism"

Speaker: Max Shachtman

Chairman: BEN HALL

and a representative of the Socialist Youth League

Apr. 30, Sun., 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. N. Y. C. (near 13th St.)

Protest Cold War on Democracy

By GORDON HASKELL

Three leaders in the fields of law, science and education this past week attacked the growing subversion of civil liberties in the United States.

Dr. Joel Hildebrand, dean of the University of California's College of Chemistry, predicted that if teachers at the university are forced to sign special loyalty oaths it would result eventually in a "critical situation" for the nation.

Hildebrand stated that "scholars of great distinction" at the university have said they would not sign the oath. "There are others." he said, "on the faculty who have stated that they will resign from the university if any professor is dismissed against whom no charges of disloyalty, communism or incompetence have been brought. There are others who sian spies. will seek other positions rather than remain in a university whose

Hildebrand has been a leader of the group at the University of California who have been willing to bar proven CPers from the faculty, but who do not wish to submit to dictatorial practices by the Board of Regents.

AGAINST SECRECY

During the same week Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of Johns. Hopkins University, denounced the "growing trend toward secrecy in science" and reaffirmed the "universal right to know as a basic human right" in a speech in New York City.

the growing restriction on scientists in all fields under the guise of protecting "secret" scientific information from disclosure to Rus-

At a luncheon of the Civil regents take such a cynical and York County Lawyers Association, he says that all members of the

danger to men who are unable to he teaches. reply to attacks made under congressional immunity. He suggested that the immunity might be withdrawn from legislators who make unfounded charges against private

These may be the first notes in a swelling chorus of opposition to the procedures of the lovalty purge as they show themselves in different fields. Of course, none of gested any serious remedy short

Rights Committee of the New tion of guilt by association (when cred, and of which they know

dictatorial attitude toward their Nathaniel Phillips, chairman of Stalinist party should be barred the committee, referred to Sen- from teaching) while gagging at ator McCarthy's charges against the arbitrary exercise of power various and sundry State Depart- by the Board of Regents over the ment officials as evidence of the faculty of the university at which

EXPERIENCE HITS

But it is not to be expected that everyone will see the whole loyalty purge in all its aspects and understand just WHY it is going on and how it is connected with the decay of our whole social order.

The important thing is to note that the loyalty purge is beginning the above gentlemen have put Men in different fields, with diftheir fingers on the CAUSES of ferent interests and ideas, are dis-Dr. Bronk leveled his attack at the witchhunt, nor have they sug- covering that the loyalty purge is not something which is happenof saying "you shouldn't do that." ing merely to some "communists" In the case of Hildebrand we or "subversives," but rather that have an example of a man who something is happening to THEM. has been willing to swallow the They are finding that fields of undemocratic and unscientific no- work which they held to be sa-

(Turn to last page)

Philly UE Suspends Local Heads As Pro-CIO Forces Organize

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 17 - The unconstitutional suspension of five top officers of Local 107 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, which nationally is Stalinist-controlled, has resulted in the formation of an organizing committee for the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE-CIO) here at the Westinghouse South Philadelphia plant.

Employees of the plant, totaling over 7,000, will constitute three of the 40 bargaining units of Westinghouse's 75,000 employees scheduled by the National Labor Relations Board to vote for bargaining agent next Thursday, April 27. The five suspended officers plus a number of stewards (also suspended on March 24 and 27) are playing a leading role in urging members of Local 107 to change their affiliation on April 27 by voting for the IUE-CIO.

The officers, including Business Agent Clarence Felker, and, one steward, were suspended by the executive board for refusal to take a loyalty pledge to urge members to vote for the UE and other suspended stewards were alleged to have distributed IUE literature and buttons.

During last week several leaflets distributed by the IUE backers were well received and pro-CIO sentiment began to mount in the plant. There were no incidents at the plant gate such as roughing of distributors or the burning of leaflets, such as had occurred several months ago when the IUE staff first approached the local.

The leaflets stressed the fact that the UE and their backers in the local had prevented any open and democratic discussion of the issues and outlined the wage demands of the IUE-CIO drawn up at the recent Westinghouse IUE conference board meeting.

CIO FAVORED TO WIN

While it has been generally conceded that the IUE-CIO will win over the UE by a substantial margin in an overwhelming number of major Westinghouse units, the UE has been able to keep the South Philadelphia local under its control. The setting up of an IUE committee within the plant should facilitate cashing in on the unconstitutional suspensions and other recent blunders of the pro-UE sections of the local leadership.

The struggle in the voting unit set up for shop workers should result in an extremely close vote between IUE and UE, with the balance expected to tip in favor of the CIO affiliate by next Thurs-

The white-collar workers (totaling approximately 2,000) have been split into two units: the larger covering general clerical the shop and offices, and the smaller made up of professionals (engineers, technicians, time studiers

The New Lysistrata

During the coal strike in Amigo, W. Va., the wives of 30 striking miners met in the basement of the community church and voted a resolution that if their husbands went back to work without a contract they would retaliate by leaving all the housework for the men to do after coming home from

Now out! 1948 **Bound Volume** of LABOR ACTION

\$3.00

Federation of Westinghouse Indeand "no union." The federation the nod in the professional

The division of workers for voting purposes and possible subsequent division among several unions is clearly the result of company prerogatives exercised under the Taft-Hartley Act. In its recent request to the board the Westinghouse management had asked that the workers, covered previously by one local union, be split into four voting units.

The wage demands of the IUE Westinghouse Conference Board met with general approval in the plant. These demands included: nine paid holidays, shorter work week with no loss in take-home pay, a wage increase, removal of wage inequities, sick leave, noncontributory pension, insurance and hospital plan and adherence to seniority rules. The UE, in an answer, labeled these entirely legitimate demands as "utopian" and thus undermined the future bargaining sessions. Another popular demand asked the company to pay for all grievance time.

RALLY HEARS CIO CASE

Local IUE activities were greataided by a visiting delegation officers and members of the East Pittsburgh Local 601, IUE-CIO. A letter was distributed from that local pledging their support and inviting Local 107 to join East Pittsburgh, Fairmont, Sharon, Mansfield and Warren in the IUE.

The increasing sentiment for the IUE was manifested by the encouraging attendance and spirit

DETROIT, Apr. 15-The workers

in the main Dodge plant have fi-

nally been given the opportunity

to show that they are solidly be-

hind the strike against the Chrys-

More than 8,000 members of

Dodge Local 3 of the United Auto

Workers picketed the Dodge plant

for an hour on Friday. Led by lo-

cal officers, the pickets circled the

plant once and then marched to

listened to a report on negotiations

In the report on negotiations the

greatest interest was shown by the

members in the statement that the

union will not budge an inch in

the demand for fully paid insur-

ance and hospitalization coverage.

At present, most of the members

are paying from \$5 to \$10 a month

for this coverage. To have it fully

paid by the company consequently

would amount to a raise in pay

At the start of the strike on

January 25 Dodge Local 3 an-

nounced that picket lines would

be maintained throughout the

posed to that followed by most of

strike. This policy they counter-

Keyworth Stadium, where they

By JIMMIE LITTLE

ler Corporation.

Reuther

and nurses). The CIO is expected tended good wishes and promises to win in general clerical over the of support of his organization. The claims of the Stalinist UE leaderpendent Salaried Unions, the UE ship were exposed by James B. Carey, chairman of the IUE. Carey listed the many crimes which the Communist Party followers have committed against the membership of the UE.

A report on recent NLRB elec-tions showed the IUE winning 17 of 19 held to date in April. The UE recent settlement with Westinghouse Airbrake was analyzed and shown to be a sellout, including a contributory pension plan which cuts the take-home pay without adequate coverage or control being provided.

The suspended business agent, Clarence Felker, made an effective talk on recent local events. He showed that those who favored the IUE had exhausted every possibility of avoiding a split in the local. In November a generally pro-CIO "Labor Unity" slate had elected to office a majority of the contested posts.

However, because of "carryover posts, the unprincipled desertion of "Labor Unity" President-Elect Carl Gray and the failure of the inactive portions of the membership to participate in local affairs. the district UE moved in, set up an organizing committee (consisting largely of defeated officers), heavily tapped the substantial finances of the local, and extended regime of terror, slander and patronage. Despite this, Felker and his associates admirably conducted the collective bargaining and other duties of office.

The recent suspensions, ordered from above, brought to an end any hope of joint activity by pro-UE and pro-IUE forces. It is to be at a rally held on Saturday, the hoped that the coming elections 15th. David McDonald, secretary will conclusively resolve the disof the United Steel Workers, ex- pute in favor of the CIO.

Dodge UAW Rallies Mass-Pickets

Reuther "Debates" Crow on Chrysler Strike Issues at Meeting of Citizens' Committee

BORNIGODE

Progressive Line vs. Redbaiting at Conmar

Listening to some labor leaders one might get the idea that the only practical way to defeat the Stalinists in the trade unions today is to redbait them to deathany progressive ideas be damned. They may, of course, add that they are for this or that progressive idea in general; but now, they say, is the time to be "practical"—the CP must be licked and the task should not be held up by "ideal-

The sad thing about this view is that it is neither practical nor principled. The various lines in combating the CP have of late been given a severe test, and the principled approach has shown its superiority.

The biggest arena of this kind today is the present struggle for control of the electrical industry between the CIO's IUE and the Stalinist UE. Only recently an election at Conmar Zipper (Newark) took place, with the IUE-CIO beating the UE by almost 2-to-1. What was interesting about this election was that it was an example of the progressive method

Prior to the election the CP started making an all-out effort to win its first NLRB election in New Jersey. Organizers were sent into Newark by the score. The UE has always been a heavily staffed union; now it is worse than ever as the Stalinists find themselves increasingly squeezed into smaller fields with no place to keep their oversized bureaucracy at work and

The plant had 150 Negroes out of 800 workers and the CP made an extreme effort to win the Negroes as a solid bloc in order to outbalance the expected CIO majority in the plant. Of late the CP has more and more depended on Conmar pointed the right way.

its Negro blocs to tide over rough periods; unfortunately, by and large they still retain their hold

POINTED THE WAY

At Conmar they ran into progressive opposition. The Conmar IUE-CIO local had elected a Negro president-and remember that Negroes constitute only 19 per cent of the working force! How could the CP hurl its usual slanderous charge that the IUE was Jim Crow when the president was a living refutation of the lie? Once its effort to line up a Negro bloc had been broken, the CP was finished and it received a drubbing richly deserved.

But Newark is the center of District 4 of the IUE-CIO, and this district is one of the most progressive in the union. Such examples as that at Conmar can be expected here. But there is still much backwardness both in the district and in the international union. Mere lip service is paid to Negro rights and to progressive ideas by many who have a long way to go before they can be considered progressive trade-unionists.

From this backwardness springs resistance to an all-out attack on the Stalinist strongholds like the Negro workers, and this jeopardizes the chances of victory in many a situation. The CP has managed to win the loyalty not only or many Negroes but also of other minorities of foreign - language speaking workers, such as Spanish and Portuguese, who resent "100 per cent Americans" who parade the accident of their birthplace.

The electrical industry, like most of the mass - production fields, is heavily populated with minority peoples, and only a consistently progressive line can win them away from the Stalinists,

Cigarette Makers Lying In Ads, Say FTC Probers

lying under capitalism which goes prefer Luckies 2 to 1." by the name of "advertising" has been getting a combing-out in recent hearings of the Federal Trade Commission and its latest finding. is guaranteed to be buried by virtually every daily newspaper in the country. So read it here while

On April 5 the commission ordered the makers of Camel and Old Gold cigarettes to stop their "false" and "misleading" claims that these brands contain less nicotine and throat irritants than any other. The FTC also made public a "proposed report" finding Lucky Strike advertising guilty of similar lies ("false claims" is the polite term) and ordering its makers to stop spreading the whopper

Three successful meetings were

League last week in the Midwest attended.

held by the Independent Socialist

as part of the tour of Max Shacht-

man, national chairman of the ISL.

man's lecture on Titoism which

was the highlight of his three-day

visit to Detroit. At the Detroit

meeting the audience was treated

to the spectacle, or more exactly

the debacle, of a Socialist Workers

Party spokesman who sought to

defend the fantastic views of his

organization on the satellite coun-

cussing Yugoslavia, the "spokes-

man" discreetly refrained from ex-

pressing any opinion on that sub-

On Saturday night Shachtman

spoke at a forum of 70 in Cleve-

made the same mistake as Earl

Browder, and the results were as

Sunday night Shachtman talked

on current trends in the American

labor movement before an audi-

CLEVELAND, Apr. 16 - Max

Shachtman, national chairman of

ence of 25 in Akron, Ohio.

conclusive for the ideas of inde-

pendent socialism.

By JOE HAUSER

*land. At this meeting a Stalinist

tries. Since the SWP is now dis-

More than 50 attended Shacht-

3 Successful Meetings Held in

Detroit and Ohio for Shachtman

There is no truth, says the report, to the yarn that Luckies are improved by "toasting." In general, it says, "there is no evidence that one brand of cigarettes is superior

The FTC says that the slogan "It's Toasted" was dreamed up before the first Lucky Strike was made, and that it has no relation to the actual process of manufacture. Testimony at the commission showed that the American Tobacco Company and the other companies spend fabulous sums for the sole purpose of creating and maintain ing a gigantic hoax on the public.

S. C. Stephano of Stephano Brothers, Inc., took the stand, A congressman cited some of the

subject "Titoism and the Crisis in

the Stalintern." Sixty-nine people

This forum is an established

group of about 20 years' standing.

Although its membership is com-

posed largely of older people, it

keeps a lively interest in current

affairs and hears speakers of all

dure. Shachtman had only 45 min

utes for his presentation, followed

by 15 minutes for questions. Actu-

ally the question period ran to

about 25 minutes, with many of

the questions really a form of dis-

cussion. Following this came 35

minutes of discussion with five

minutes per speaker. This period

increased the "warmth" of the

meeting with points of view from

Stalinist, De Leonist, ISL and in-

dependent speakers being heard

The nature of these remarks

served to offer Shachtman the op-

portunity for an excellent 15-min-

ute rebuttal, defending the prin-

ciples on which the ISL is based.

Following the forum, a good

part of the audience adjourned to

a house party devoted to further

discussion, relaxation and raising

the funds necessary to cover

Cleveland's share of Shachtman's

the Independent Socialist League, tour expenses. The general feeling

spoke here last night before the was that the evening was quite

General Welfare Forum on the interesting and successful.

According to the forum proce-

shades of political opinion.

brand "will cure my sore throat" or another is made of "nothing but the finest tobaccos." He asked, "Is all that true?" "It's nonsense, sir," was the re-

A. Y. Yeaman of Brown & Williamson was asked about blindfold tests. "I do not believe that the average smoker who is blindfolded can tell any brand," he answered. But he thinks he can, and that is the important fact." The cost of making him believe the fabrication is paid by the victim.

F. S. Royster, representing tobacco warehouse companies, was asked: "Do you know that every piece of tobacco that goes into Lucky Strikes is of the highest

"On the contrary, I know it is not," said Royster. LSMFT - Lucky Strike Means

It is through blue-sky advertising, among other methods, that the Big Three of the tobacco industry have gotten their stranglehold on the business. The use of cigarettes has more than doubled since 1939, but in the same period the dominance of the Big Three has gone up from 67.6 per cent to 80 per cent of the total.

Plua for Taft

A businessmen's outfit backing lated a confidential letter to the Ohio Voters," its pro-Taft argument is signed by E. F. Ireland of Cincinnati and W. S. Kring of Lis-

it would have cost you to put your entire working staff on a 40-hour week and a 75-cent minimum wage. Then you will know how many dollars the amendment, exhour scale, will save you. Taft described that amendment in detail on the floor of the Senate the day now is the law."

So they suggest that "contribu-

Taft for senator in Ohio has circustate's hotel operators. Called "The

"We suggest you compute what empting you from that wage and it was up for action. He discussed it in a manner most favorable to us. The exemption amendment

tions up to \$1000 will be welcome."

troit branch of the National As- that all along it was just Tornmy sociation for the Advancement of Colored People for their Jim Crow policy in employment. Negroes fact, the deduction of the \$4 strike who apply for work at the Briggs assessment from each worker's Stadium office are told curtly "we do not hire colored." Herbert Hill, assistant field sec-

that Negroes spend thousands of dollars each year in Briggs Stadium and, since the stadium refuses to hire Negroes, the NAACP would do everything in its power to publicize the Jim Crow attitude of the ball park and its concessionaire and urge Negroes not to purchase the products sold in the stadium by the Michigan Sports Serv-

DETROIT, Apr. 15 - Briggs Sta-

which has the concession at the

Carl Stellato, who campaigned with the support of Wtleer Reuther, defeated Thomas Thompson for the presidency of Ford Local 600, official complete returns of the runoff election showed today. Stellato polled 15.020 votes to 14,-413 for Thompson.

Stellato and Thompson split evenly in control of the six other top local offices. One of the top officials elected was William Grant, a well know fellow traveler of the Stalinists, who was elected to the post of financial secretary. He ran on the slate with Tommy Thompson. Thompson was bidding for his fifth term as head of the United Auto Workers' largest local. His group still has an edge of power in the Local 600 general council and executive

In the meantime an attempt by the chairman of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors to put Thompson in the board seat left vacant by the death of Edward J. Jeffries Jr. has been stymied temporarily. Thompson served on the board last year.

Stellato campaigned on the theme that Thompson was controlled by George Miller, an assistant Wayne County prosecutor. It was charged that Thompson "couldn't make a move" without conferring with Miller.

WHO'S RESPONSIBLE

The workers in the UAW were somewhat confused by Stellato's victory statement which said: "This is definitely a rejection of Thompson's stand on the speed-up which he said didn't exist." Stellato added that his victory would signify "an end to the speedup at the Ford Motor Company."

Remembering that Stellato dium, home of the Detroit Tigers Reuther's candidate they recall and the Michigan Sports Service, that Reuther sold the 1949 Ford contract to the workers as "an stadium, are under fire by the De- end to the speedup," Now it seems Thompson who was to blame for the whole thing. As a matter of paycheck last Friday and the reactionary manner in which many of the Reuther followers exploited retary of the NAACP, has stated it definitely had a bearing on the defeat of Thompson.

-MICHIGAN LABOR NOTES-

NAACP Blasts Ballpark Hiring;

Ford Local Elects Reutherite

The two workers whose discharge resulted in the four-month strike at Gar Wood Industries have been victorious in obtaining \$1,242 in unemployment compensation. The payments were based on a ruling by the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission referee that they were innocent of the misconduct alleged by Gar Wood. The UAW is now studying the

possibility of obtaining compensation for all the strikers at Gar Wood on the grounds that the company was at fault in the disagreement. Gar Wood officials, according to Michael F. Lacey, UAW regional director, had agreed to let tool workers sit at their machines discussions before the State Mediation Board several weeks before Brown was fired.

Remember the 75 cents minimum-wage law which went into effect in January of this year? A clause in the new contract between Firestone Tire & Rubber Company and the United Rubber Workers (CIO) would seem to indicate that some companies have never heard of it. Under the section on life insurance one reads: "The amount of insurance depends upon the hourly earnings of the employee. Those receiving less than 72 cents an hour will be given \$1500 life insurance policies." Or maybe the union never heard of

BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocketbooks, April 26: I AM THINKING OF MY DAR-LING, by Vincent McHugh. 224 pages, 25 cents. A Signet book.

THE REVOLT OF THE MASS-ES, by Jose Ortega y Gasset. 144 pages, 35 cents. A Mentor book. ELLEN ROGERS, by James T. Farrell, 256 pages, 25 cents.. A Signet book

EDGES; THE OUTER Charles Jackson, 192 pages, 25 cents. A Signet book.

FUND DRIVE: 2 WEEKS

By YETTA BARSH

Fund Drive Director

APRIL 17 - Only two weeks remain before the end of the ISL brings its total up to \$95 (95 per fund drive. We have raised 70 per cent of our \$12,000 goal. We would like to see the remaining 30 per cent raised in the period before May 1, and we feel that this is possible if the units participating in the drive will push hard until the final day of the drive.

Of the 28 units in the drive, nine have hit the 100 per cent or better mark, Six of the 100 percenters are Socialist Youth League unitswhich means that all but three other \$50 would be in the mails so that you don't fail to hit the SYL units have fulfilled or oversubscribed their quotas to date.

A total of \$114 was received from the following SYL units this week: Newark SYL \$15 (100 per cent), St. Louis SYL \$15 (100 per cent), SYL at Large \$53 (177 per cent), Buffalo SYL \$10 (33 per cent), NYC SYL \$21 (87 per cent). The sum of \$551.50 (157 per cent) has been contributed by all SYL units, which means that SYL has eversubscribed its quota by \$201.50.

Newark completed its quota this week with its last \$32 contribution. Now it and the rest of the units that have already hit the 100 per cent mark are in a position to

spend the remaining period going is obvious that Seattle's prospects

top. Its \$60 remittance this week push. Both Chicago and New York

efforts and come out with flying friends in the Midwest. colors before the end of the drive.

within a day or two. However, it top!

are not good if our comrades there Reading is now almost at the have not already started a big The remainder of this week's

\$896.50 contributions were received from the following: Cleveland \$57. are at the 86 per cent point, Chi- Detroit \$27, Philadelphia \$50, St. cago having sent in another \$20 Louis \$15, San Francisco Bay and New York City \$338.50. Both Area \$43, and "General" \$110, repof these branches should be able resenting \$10 from friends in Portto add a little steam behind their land and \$100 from a couple of

The last two weeks of the drive Seattle sent in its first \$30 must be made to count or we will (which is only 10 per cent of its not achieve our \$12,000 goal. Start goal) with the promise that an- your last-minutes efforts right now

Give Now to the ISL!

Fund Drive Director Independent Socialist League 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

...., my contribution to the Enclosed is \$... Tenth Anniversary Fund Drive of the ISL.

Fund Drive Box Score Received \$100 333 BERKELEY SYL

CHICAGO SYL	100	- 2 6 5	265
SYL AT LARGE	30	53	177
WEST VIRGINIA	50	55	110
BOSTON	75	7 5	100
NEWARK	250	250	100
STREATOR	25	25	100
NEWARK SYL	15	15	100
ST. LOUIS SYL	15	. 15	100
Reading	100	95	- 95
New York City SYL	125	108	87
Chicago	1500	1288	86
New York City		3440	86
St. Louis		83	83
Cleveland	300	236	79
Los Angeles	500	357	71
Buffalo	1000	700	70
Youngstown	100	70	70
Baltimore	75	49	65
Philadelphia		254	63
San Francisco Bay Area	- 500	266	53
Detroit		167	33
Buffalo SYL	30	10	33
Akron	200	64	32
Pittsburgh	150	41	27
General	1525	326	21
Seattle	300	30	10
Detroit SYL	30	. 0	. 0
· •		_	. —
Total\$1	2,000	\$8,438	70

the other locals involved in the strike. But in a short while it transpired that what was mainly involved was that the "Flying Squadron" members would be on routine patrol and not too much effort was to be expended to involve the rank and file. In fact, so anxious were the officials of the

> for the duration of the strike." If this is a tradition it is a very ter Reuther and Allen B. Crow, aren't they?" asked Crow.

"according to tradition, all mem-

bad one and one that should be broken; but unfortunately, up to the present time, no membership meetings have been held at Local 3 since the strike started. The various groups vying for power within the local all seem to be content not to press for membership meetings. Neither group seems to want to include the rank and file members in the affairs of the local union except to call upon them once a year for their support at

DISTRIBUTORS ATTACKED

Friday's demonstration was marked by violence when two men and a woman was assaulted by Flying Squadron members and taken into "protective custody" by Hamtramck police. The three were passing out handbills inviting Dodge workers to attend a rally in support of fair employment practices legislation.

This is an indication of the trend that some of the members of the Flying Squadrons are pursuing. In their eagerness to prove that they are not "reds" they discourage all literature distributions. Originally they were organized as minutemen for the protection of the union against attacks by goons, scabs, etc., and for a skeleton force around which mass picket lines could be rallied.

REUTHER DEBATES CROW

As tension in the eleven-weekold strike mounts a meeting was held this week by a citizens' committee to investigate the Chrysler strike. It was held in a Wayne local not to involve the rank and University auditorium. The Chrysfile that it was announced that ler Corporation declined an invitation to be represented. The surbership meetings were canceled prise of the evening came with an like their working conditions, they unscheduled debate between Wal- are free to go elsewhere and work,

of Detroit, which lasted about 20

Reuther was a scheduled speaker at the meeting. Crow sat in the audience while Reuther related, for about an hour, the circumstances of the Chrysler strike and negotiations. Then Crow opened

"You have spoken a lot tonight about profits," he said. "But you know that even Chrysler Corporation has no guarantee of future profits. Suppose Chrysler should eo bankrupt?"

..."I am not worried about that ever happening to Chrysler," Reuther retorted.

"How about small companies which do not make big profits?" Crow asked. "The small companies with

which we have bargained for pensions have stepped up their responsibilities to their employees," said Reuther, naming several

any one of these companies will stay in business," persisted Crow. "Under our full-employment economy I think they will," said Reuther.

"But you cannot guarantee that

"Chrysler is losing money right now, the same as you are," Crow retorted.

"No question about that," Reuther replied, "but management has done a lot of stupid things. Management got us all into a lot of trouble in 1929. It was blind to conditions. And there was no government in business in those days, although there was plenty of business in government."

"If the Chrysler strikers don't

that easy for a family to pick up and move somewhere else." When Reuther showed charts illustrating Chrysler profits for the last three years, Crow demanded:

"That is not a very good an-

swer," snapped Reuther, "It is not

"But what will the Chrysler figures be for 1950? You have no assurance that for the next four years those figures will be as

"We have no assurance that Ford's profit will be as good, &i. ther," Reuther answered.

"Fifteen hundred automobile firms have started and gone out of business," said Crow. "Yes, and 16,000,000 men were out of jobs in 1929," Reuther flung

"You have talked a lot about the prerogatives of ownership. Would you take these prerogatives away?" asked Crow. "That question is not pertinent

back.

to this discussion," said Reuther. "That question is the biggest thing in the world today. Your line of talk sounds like socialism or communism to me," answered

"Well, Joe Stalin's biggest allies are those representatives of the blind selffishness of organized greed," Reuther replied, "He is counting on us to defeat ourselves because he knows he cannot do it The citizens' committee voted to

petition Chrysler and the union to open the bargaining sessions to public observers "in order that the public, which has a major stake in this prolonged dispute. may know that the disputants are sincerely striving for industrial

Editorials

British Wage Crisis

"Socialist" England is facing a new wage

We put the "socialist" in quotes because England isn't. That country is led by a Labor Party government; that party is committed to socialism in its program, but there is a far cry between programmatic paper and per-

With its refusal to introduce democratic workers' control in the nationalized industries. with its maintenance of an essentially imperialist foreign policy, with its perspective of trying to build "socialism in one country in a Europe which was never more interdependent than now, and which therefore leads to a species of autarchy—the Labor government has indeed only opened a road through which the British working class can press through to a socialist democracy. But it will take other policies and, no doubt, other leaders, for the first milestone of socialism to be reached on that road.

All the more reason why the term "Socialist England," unfortunately popularized in the title af a book published last year by a Labor Party proponent, is not only inaccurate but positively harmful. For if this travail through which the Labor government is going in its effort to squeeze a little "socialism" into what remains essentially a capitalist economy-if this is already socialism, then the enemies of socialism are handed a free gift for their prop-

The fact is, England is facing a wage crisis of its present character precisely because it is still far from "socialist."

The Trade Union Congress pledged itself to support the government wage-freeze until January 1951, under the insistence of the Labor leaders, but even with all the pressure the decision was passed by a bare majority of the votes. The agreement is wearing thin.

Biggest of the wage struggles coming up is that of the Amalgamated Shipbuilding & Engineering Union, whose 1.250,000 workers produce most of the country's manufactured exports. The employers' association has flatly rejected their demand of an increase of a pound a week. The Ministry of Labor had to intervene to stop a strike vote. The union leaders decided to defy the government and take a vote anyway. If the engineers get an increase, the other unions will be hard to

Tribune Group Points Left

Is this great union of the British workers acting "irresponsibly"? Is it perhaps led by opponents of the Labor Party? Nothing of the sort, of course. But the workers are tired of being told to be austerely self-restrained while the cost of living rises and while the profits from their labor are accumulating in the pockets of British capitalists who are not nearly as bad off as their anticipatory screams (amplified in the U.S. press) might lead the unwary to believe.

The insurgent unions are demanding that the government limit profits and prices before cracking the whip over labor's militancy. Limit profits!—surely a modest demand from a government which presents itself as "so-

But the very existence of this situation points to the contradiction in which the Labor leaders are enmeshed by their failure to adhere to a genuinely socialist policy. England cannot remain half free and half slave. ized (bureaucratically) and 80 per cent private capitalist, under a Labor regime, and survive to build socialism. And even less can it do so while making no effort-not even seeing the necessity-to turn its energies toward integrating the European economy, not under the United States' Marshall Plan but under an independent federation unified without regard to the interests of capital. It must go forward or it will be beaten back, to the discreditment of the claims of "socialism" which it has ventured.

The Labor leaders' response to its narrow squeak in the election was to retreat while hanging on to office. Last month the left-ofcenter "Tribune" group of the Labor Party (led by Michael Foote and Aneurin Bevan) made the essential point about this:

"Are the crusaders to parade solely as the champions and only true defenders of the welfare state? Are they to stress chiefly the fears of a return to Tory misrule? Are they ... to extol the moderate nature of British socialism, and to confirm the view of the more pallid national newspapers that no major gulf of principle divides the two major parties? If so, it were as well that the crusade were never undertaken....

"It is the faith of socialism carried across this land with a new crusading zeal which can win the second election of 1950.... In this Parliament our task must be, not to surrender our weapons, but to fire the first shots which will lead to unchallengeable victory.

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gue Socialist Youth and outh Student Corner ialist Youth League Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth Leagalist Youth League Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth Leag

College Grads Face Gloomy Job Prospects

Amid a general pattern of rising unemployment in the national economy, job prospects for college graduates are particularly de-

The 1949 midyear recession broke with the inception of seasonal hiring in middle fall. The decline in unemployment which continued until February 1950 was offset by the fact that even at its lowest point there were still 3.5 million unemployed. This represented a 1.5 million rise over the figure of the preceding year. Unemployment rose again in February and by March it reached the alarming figure of 4,684,000 or about 8 percent of the total labor force. In New York City alone on February 23 unemployment was 400,000. It must be remembered, however, that official figures are based only on those sources which can be reached by public agencies and that in all probability the real extent of unemployment is much greater.

Surveys conducted by Frank S. Endicott, director of the Northwestern University Bureau of Placement, Robert S. Moore, director of the Columbia University Bureau of Placement and a Veterans Administration report prepared in conjunction with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, bring out the following material.

There will be severe competition among college grads this June for available positions. It is estimated that big business will take only three-quarters as many graduates this year as compared to last year. Women students will be particularly hard hit.

Can You Crash into a Profession?

The prospects within respective professions are as follows:

Engineering: There are now one-third of a million employed in this field and one-quarter million taking courses. It is likely that a good many will not find jobs. Last June, for the first time, there were more graduates than positions available.

Law: For law graduates there are fewer jobs in metropolitan areas than there were in the depths of the depression. A leading California law school reduced enrollment in the fall of 1949 because the state had reached its saturation point.

Pharmacy: The 20,000 now enrolled in this division are more than enough to meet the current shortage.

Business Administration: Employment is rising in this field but graduates will find job-getting more difficult.

Journalism: The decline in the number of newspapers in large cities makes job-getting difficult in metropolitan areas. Personnel: This field is already overcrowded with job applicants.

Science and Psychology: Without a graduate degree job-getting is extremely difficult. With graduate work positions are available. Teaching: Prospects on the elementary school level are still good

although the peak of the rise has been reached. High school population will decline until 1952. From 1952 to 1962 a 35 percent rise in high school attendance is expected. Social Work and Medicine: Here jobs are still plentiful.

With a long-term unemployment trend present in the economy it is obvious that inexperienced graduates will be particularly hard hit. Yet the demands of an increasing standard of living and a highly complex economy indicate that the nation needs people with specialized training. A continuance of this trend, if unchecked, will result in a drop in college enrollment

First Aid for a Plague

College students must at this point demand government aid for protection from the demoralizing prospects of joblessness. The government now employs almost 10 percent of the national labor force. It is not unreasonable to ask that the government intervene to create employment for American youth.

The building of more schools (an obvious necessity with an increasing population), the creation of projects, both in the social science and the natural science field for the advancement of knowledge, an increase in the number of graduate scholarships to provide training where such training is a prerequisite for employment—these are some of the measures which can reasonably be taken in order to make the right to a job a reality for American youth.

In addition college graduates who are legitimately seeking work should receive the same protection which unemployed workers get in the form of unemployment benefits. This would require a special appropriation since college students cannot themselves pay into an insurance fund and, since they are not employed, they have no employers to contribute to such a fund.

Unemployment has been a recurring p the measures indicated above we do not hope to solve the problem. What we can do, however, is provide SOME protection for unemployed youth; that is what these proposals mean to accomplish.

College organizations of all types should consider this problem as central to the future of the student body and should likewise consider means of alleviating what has become a prime question for American



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Reading from Left to Right

WORLD POLITICS

acceptance.

such an inquiry.

but we were wrong.

Russian slave labor.

of Stalinism and its labor camps.

Discussion: Sees Sartre Blast at Rousset as Stalinist Apology

LETTER TO ADA FROM PORTUGAL, by a Group of Liberals. (ADA World, February 18)

Portugal, accepted into the Atlantic Pact of the "democracies" by the West, is the land of the forgotten fascism. "Forgotten," that is, by selfstyled defenders of democracy in the U.S. who are too busy "containing Communism" to utter a peep about Salazar's despotic regime in the little Iberian country.

The monthly organ of Americans for Democratic Action prints this letter to an ADA officer by a group of Portuguese liberals. Their bitterness at U. S. support to their dictator is apparent, though (being liberals) their ardor for the cold-war machinery is undiminished. This in spite of the cutting truth of the following passages:

"... we cannot denounce to the world the hideous support given to Salazar's tyranny by the Western democracies without facing the Gestapo (PIDE) and go into the jails or exile.... [We are] mocked at by the three big democratic powers when they pet the Dictator, give him gifts of dollars and testimonies of friendship in formidable naval demonstrations. As a result, Portuguese fascism has gained in brutality....

"The policy of the U.S. in this part of the world seems specially chosen to display a great callousness, displease the people, breed discontent and build up a resistance that naturally will seek support abroad. How could it be otherwise if the U.S. sets aside a day of national consecration to human rights while giving material support-dollars-to keep fascism in power? Such policy cannot find a moral code on which to stand.... Only a few days ago it was announced that ERP dollars would be forthcoming to Portugal at the rate of 57 million!.

"It is evident that you cannot defend democ-

(Concluded from last week)

proposal of David Rousset, French writer, to in-

stitute an investigation of Russian slave-labor

camps, to be conducted by former inmates of Nazi

concentration camps, revolved around the rejection

of this proposal by Jean-Paul Sartre and Merleau-

tuals to answer NO to the Rousset proposal? Here

we must follow one of the most reactionary lines

of reasoning this writer has come across in a long

period of time, not to mention its confusion and

elementary lapses of simple logic. What is the

twisted line of thought as presented by Sartre and

Merleau-Ponty in their magazine, Les Temps Mo-

ing us of their awareness that Russian citizens can

be deported to labor camps, without trial and with-

out any time limit to their sentences. They quote at

length from the now famous Labor Correction Code

of the USSR, indicating a lively familiarity with its

details. They acknowledge not only that the prison-

and 15 millions), but ask with deep concern whether

population is a prisoner can be considered a "social-

is posed, they do not consider Russia to be social-

ist. Sartre and Merleau-Ponty even ridicule the

hypocritical formulas in the code itself, describing

the alleged "re-educational" aims of forced labor,

etc. Phrases describing the totalitarian bureaucra-

cy, the police-terror system, etc., are freely em-

ployed. Evidently, we are dealing with men who

know their subject and are not duped by routine

But hold, this is only the first part of the arti-

cle. Henceforward, intellectual rationalizing and

confusion take over. The basis is laid by an ab-

struse distinction between the goals of fascism and

not the practice of Stalinism, in Russia, but its

theoretical objectives. Having slipped this over, we

are then informed that the authors "have nothing

in common with a Nazi, but we have the same val-

ues as a Communist." This abstract Communist (is

he or is he not related to the living Stalinist?) has

"values in spite of himself." This holds particularly

true if he is a Stalinist from Martinique or China.

That is, if he bears some relationship to the work-

And, here comes the heart of the position, "What-

ever be the nature of the present Soviet society, the

USSR is found, grosso modo, on the side of those

By "Marxism" the authors ask us to understand

Evidently, from the way in which the question

a country in which one out of every twenty in the

The authors begin by blandly and calmly inform-

dernes? (January 1950)

ist society."

Stalinist propaganda!

HEART OF SARTRE POSITION

ing class or labor movement.

What causes these two leading French intellec-

The center of the argument in France over the

racy allied to fascism without betraying an utter contempt for moral principles.... The U. S. army cannot pretend to defend human rights in the Azores, while collaborating in Lisbon with

LIBERAL JOURNALISM: A DIAGNOSIS, by George Soule (Yale Review, Winter 1950.)

Soule raises the question why liberal journals like the Nation and the New Republic have never been able to "achieve a secure financial position." He ascribes it to liberalism itself; and in so doing he paints a picture of liberalism which is half flattering, half derogatory, with the topically divided mind of the liberal which he himself describes:

What kind of world is it that the liberal wants? He does not want a finished world of any sort, for in such a world there would be a single absolute authority.... Freedom cannot breathe when it must choose between a totalitarian yes and a totalitarian no.... The liberal ..dislikes to think in terms of power.... It is his inuitive aim to undermine absolute authority in any quarter, to muddy waters, to prevent a situation in which someone can say 'or else--' to him....

"Is the liberal, then, the apostle of confu-

sion ... Not at all....
"If this sketch of the liberal approximates the truth, then the liberal editor who attempts to appeal to the whole body of liberal readers is accepting hazards unknown to merely commercial publications.... Liberal journals seldom stick to parties, and often desert leaders. They will win one group by being pacifist, lose them by reconciling this policy to a war, and then lose the enthusiasts of the war by puncturing the pretensions of the victory....

who struggle against those forms of exploitatio

known to us, in the given equilibrium of forces." How,

Why, in what sense—that is no serious effort at any

Is it not clear what follows from this? "From

which we do not conclude that one must show indul-

gence toward Communism, but that one cannot in

any instance make a pact with its adversaries." Is

ter brand of "indulgence" than that which forbids

it to show any form of "indulgence" toward its

'adversaries? Are all "adversaries" of the regime

in Russia war-mongering imperialists and reaction-

aries? The Sartre-Merleau-Ponty world becomes a

charges directed against Rousset in other sources

-that of lining up with reactionaries, covering up

the existence of colonial and concentration camp

systems in other parts of the world, ignoring the

in the case of Bourdet, no proposal for a "better"

Negro question in America, etc. We note again, as

type of inquiry, faultless and without the draw-

backs of the Rousset commission. In summation.

the proposal of Rousset is rejected: Sartre and

Merleau-Ponty will not join or give their support

The feal issues tend to be lost in the conflict

around the political personality of Rousset. But we

must insist that the politics of Rousset-which un-

doubtedly tend to take on a more and more openly

pro-American coloration-have no direct bearing

upon the political validity of his proposal. Nor does

the fact that various politically reactionary ele-

ments will unquestionably use the information un-

covered for their purposes (as they have done for

some time already) mean that the truth shall not

be revealed. We had thought that this line of argu-

ment, notorious as a cover for all forms of apolo-

gism and capitulation, had been buried in past ages,

of the French leftist-intellectual circles, must be

forced to face the real question: are they for or

against an ffective and popularly-proposed method

to uncover the truth of Russian slave-labor camps?

Are they for or against launching a movement

which sould conceivably assist the 10 million pris-

oners whose existence they readily acknowledge?

Have they criticisms of the proposed commission?

Do they desire to broaden its membership and ex-

tend the scope of its inquiry? Then let them offer

Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, as well as the others

The balance of the article is a repetition of the

two-camp, pro or anti-Russian world.

FOR OR AGAINST AN INQUIRY?

possible for the Stalinist regime to desire a bet-

answer. This blunt statement is simply presented for

More on Truman's New Foreign Policy Maker-

They Told the Truth about Dulles

The lead atricle in last week's LABOR ACTION discussed Truman's appointment of John Foster Dulles as Republican overseer of Washington's bipartisan foreign policy and cited several of the hard (but true) reflections on Dulles made by the Fair Deal and liberal elements in the course of the senatorial fight in New York State in 1949. We here add more of the material toward an understanding of Dulles as presented by the same spokesmen for the administration which has now elevated him to policy maker.

"The defeat of Mr. Dulles [is] a matter of impelling necessity." said Lehman in that campaign. Why? Presumably to prevent this double-dyed reactionary from exercising his influence for evil in the Senate. Having succeeded in keeping him out, Lehman's boss Truman lifts him to the position of exercising his influence — not on one vote in the Senate—but in helping to determine the administration's policy itself on the most crucial field today.

Louis Hollander, state CIO president, said that Dulles was "spelling out reaction." Truman has presented him with the State Department alphabet for the pur-

In a radio address George Meany, secretary-treasurer of AFL, described Dulles as "a corporation lawyer and spokesman for the most reactionary and anti-labor corporations in the U. S." according to the N. Y. lican was being boosted as an in-

Times for October 15. At a Carnegie Hall meeting on the 24th, FDR Jr. charged that as late as 1941 Dulles had been a contributor to the America First Committee. At another meeting, the same liberal Fair Dealer charged that "Nothing would please the Russians more than a U. S. Senate made up of 96 John Foster Dulleses.

The Russians should be mighty pleased now at Truman's gift to their propaganda.

GHASTLY, ISN'T IT?

Harold L. Ickes, quoted last week, also pointed out that Gerald L. K. Smith had come out for Dulles. State CIO president Hollander wrote, in a letter to all New York State locals, that "every reactionary in the world . is watching this election and oping for victory for Dulles." Lehman, who had accused Dulles of playing the part of a bigot in the campaign, exclaimed in a

speech: "I shall never yield to

the ghastly philosophy preached

by my opponent and other reac-

tionary leaders." Dulles is now ensconced where he can make sure that the country's policies in the world square with his "ghastly philosophy." For practical purposes, it does not turn out to be fundamentally different from the administration's philoso-

phy of imperialism. Toward the end of that 1949 campaign, Lehman went gunning for Dulles precisely on the foreign policy question. The Repub-

ternational "expert," with all kinds of know-how in international dealings.

On November 1 Lehman reported in a speech:

"Less than six months before the oubreak of the European war in 1939, in a speech which that great liberal Republican Wendell Willkie described as 'the most persuasive speech on the wrong side of the subject I have ever read,' he [Dulles] had this to say, and I quote: 'There is no reason to believe that any totalitarian states, separately or collectively, would attempt to attack the U.S. or could do so successfully. . . . Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan

contemplates war upon us." He quoted Dulles as having said in 1939 that "democracy is, of course, a luxury" and "if war were to occur our democracy would vanish.'

"FRANK" REACTIONARY

In a speech the next day Lehman added further information, dealing with the book Dulles published in 1939, "War, Peace and Change":

"His book was dedicated to the thesis that the world was divided into two groups: the static nations, among whom he counted the U. S., Britain and France; and the dynamic nations, which included Germany, Italy and Japan. The dynamic nations, he said, were characterized by certain admirable qualities: 'energy, industry, clean living, thrift, effi-

additional money. His conviction

forego present ease in the interests of future gains."

And Lehman pointed out correctly the main thesis of Dulles' book: appeasement and concessions to the "dynamic" totalitarianisms as the road to peace. Mu-

Lehman might also have pointed out that a section of Dulles' book (pages 44-48) is a long apology for the breaking of treaties and international obligations. Dulles, of course, has a justification of the Nazis' policies in view.

No one need draw the conclusion that Dulles was "pro-Nazi" politically. He deplored Nazism, naturally, though one cannot help drawing the conclusion from his book that he thought that Nazism was acting fundamentally in the interests of Germany, which for Dulles would mean-in the interests of German people "as a whole." Hence his appeasement policy. After all, why get so wrought up when a foreign capitalist class does what "we" might some day have to do in similar circumstances, much as the necessity may be deplored?

Various opponents of Dulles denounced his as a "frank reactionary." The emphasis should be on the first word. This frank reactionary (even according to his own lights, an "honest" one) is now a top leader of the West's not-so-frank course of reactionary imperialism against the equally reactionary imperialism of

The Profiteers Make the Engineer Their Scapegoat—

Who Killed the 32 on the L.I.R.R.?

By SUSAN GREEN

On February 17 at Rockville Centre, Long Island, thirty-two people lost their lives in a wreck on the Long Island Railroad. Jacob Kiefer, locomotive engineer, was indicted for second degree manslaughter. He awaits trial while out on \$10,000 bail.

This Long Island tragedy hit the front page again last week when Robert Moses saw fit, as president of the Long Island State Park Commission, to issue a statement. In no uncertain terms he placed the responsibility for the fatal accident on the railroad, the State Department of Public Works and the State Public Service Commis-

Moses declared that this tragedy need never have happened if for two passing tracks. By spending an additional \$150,000 - a small amount considering the over-all outlay of \$5 million expended for the constructionland could have been acquired for two tracks in the place of the single "gantlet" track where the collision occurred.

railroad," he stated.

sufficient land had been bought of the railroad to spend a little

"The purchase of such land never seemed to have been seriously considered by any of these agencies - the Public Service Commission, the State Department of Public Works and the "Certainly this railroad engineer, who seems to have had some

temporary aberration or momen tary lapse, cannot be held criminally responsible for the failure of all these bickering officials and

relief to their families. SCAPEGOAT TECHNIQUE "In such cases where there is a terrible loss of life, the disposition is always to look for a vic-

tim or scapegoat, and the attempt is always made to marshal public opinion against some one individual to obscure the fundamental responsibility of officials." How familiar, how true and how often repeated is this pat-

tern! Furthermore, this scapegoat technique is used not only to cover up the pinchpenny greed of capitalist owners of railroads and industries, but by shifting responsibility to an innocent victim of their greed, to save themthem in damage suits. Inciden-

scapegoat technique? It is hoped that this attempt to frame an innocent worker will be defeated. Moses will doubtless be asked to testify at the trial. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of which the accused Kiefer is a member, is of course interested in the defense.

The outcome of the trial should be an expose of the scandalous and criminal effects of the private-profit motive. In this small segment it caused the needless death of thirty-two people — to save a railroad \$150,000. The legal proceedings should also show how the profit motive poisons the minds of so-called public agencies like the Public Service Commission and the State Department of Public Works, so that they serve the private interests.

However, even if the railroad's attempt at frameup should be defeated and the trial should result in a resounding condemnation of this day and age? There have other law on the books? But there for the railroad owners.

are already enough laws on the will not bring back any of the books that are vitiated by the dead, mend any injured, or bring power of private interests.

Because the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is so closely involved through its member, Jacob Kiefer, because today a unien is looked to not only to give power to its members but a certain leadership in social problems, the Long Island catastrophe offers this union an opportunity to carry the thinking of people a step forward.

SHOULD FACE THE ISSUE

Why do not the locomotive engineers on the railroads have anything to say about whether or not \$150,000 should be spent for a safer two-track system instead of the treacherous single "gantlet" makeshift? They risk their selves hard cash demanded of lives on the job, and they have on their souls the safe carriage tally, how can one refrain from of thousands of passengers commenting that the rulers in the Would these railroad workers Kremlin are masters of the have valued \$150,000 above human life? And why have not the people who ride the railroads something to say about whether tracks should be laid with the least or the utmost safety provision? They daily put their lives in the care of railroad owners who obviously have no concern

> In a word, the question of workers' control in industry and in transportation is unmistakably an ssue-workers' control with participation by consumers and users. The question of socialization of transportation and of basic industry will one day be decided by the people of this country. However, basic to an economy that will supply needs in plenty and services in safety, is the democratic procedure of workers' con-

This all-important issue has been raised by the tragedy at Rockville Centre, Long Island. The Brotherhood of Locomotive the railroad and the public agen- Engineers would do the whole cies involved, is this enough in working class and the mass of people a tremendous service if it been exposés before. What's the faced this issue squarely at the answer? What's the remedy? An- trial of Jacob Kiefer, scapegoat

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their criticisms and make their proposals. But first let them accept the principle of an inquiry into To this very day they have not done so. Until ADDRESS they make themselves clear on this, they have no ☐ Bill me ☐ Payment encl. (stamps, currency or postal note) right to protest if they are described as apologists

Inside Franco's Spain

Barcelona Today: Misery and Unemployment Behind the 'Curtain of Bluff'

By MICHEL SALMON

BARCELONA, February-During this season nearly 60,000 tourists, mostly British and French, have visited Barcelona, bringing the precious foreign currency of which Franco has such an urgent need.

However, in spite of real effort made in their favor by the municipality, the best hotels de luxe were not able to offer to their customers the most modest hot bath "No luz, no agua." Neither light nor water in this great Catalonian city. The greatest city on the whole Mediter-

Many other things, too, are missing, but the tourists do not notice this much. After they have filled in, among other police formalities, a voluminous file of information, they will be given a special number and a special "dossier," which will accompany them during the whole of their stay in Spain. They will then be able to leisurely stroll along the wide and spacious avenues of Barcelona, admire the shop windows which, both for clothing and food, are better supplied than those of London.

If the tourists are on pleasure bent there is a very wide choice. Cinemas with a double program lasting four or five hours; night clubs where exotic dancers perform until the dawn during which one may enjoy an excellent champagne from Xeres, in the presence of complacent ladies-all at a modest price-to say nothing of the traditional and bloody bullfights staged two or three times

The tourists will finally have thrust upon them the misery which underlies all this luxury. Besieged by countless beggars, blind and deformed, by hungry gypsies and innumerable street hawkers, living on the verge of famine, they may be inclined to put this all down to the local picturesque color, or even to impute the misery of Spain, the eternal misery of Spain, to the "Spanish character."

It is symptomatic to note how often this argument is used by those here who support the present regime. This evidently dispenses with any further explanation and often receives the approval of the tourists, most of whom are not conspicuous for political acumen.

For instance, 1 met a couple of Swedes, vaguely liberal, in the hotel. They affirmed, Baedeker in hand and without speaking a word of the language, that although Franco was not a very pleasant gentleman, it was, nevertheless, necessary to have in Spain a "strong" man, otherwise the famous "Spanish character" would reduce the country to anarchy. We shall come back to

Unemployment Peak Last Year

Situated between the mountains and the sea, with its high quarters climbing the famous mountain of Tibidado and its popular quarters running along the port side, Barcelona, the heart of Catalonia and the lungs of Spain, is indeed the "Pearl of the Mediterranean," with a fabled past as a great maritime metropolis. It is at once the largest city and the first port in Spain. It is the greatest industrial center and an important university city.

"He who has drunk the water of the Canaletas (the fountain in the Ramblas, the most celebrated artery of the city) will never leave Barcelona." So runs a local

An attractive and generous city, with a population which is active, tolerant, witty and broadminded, with a tinge of skepticism and reserve which one finds nowhere else in Spain, Barcelona after the feverish hours of the Givil War has fallen into a heavy sleep.

With three hours of electricity per day, the material impossibility of obtaining raw materials, and defective communication, the flourishing Catalonian industry is only the shadow of what it has been.

There are more than 100,000 industrial workers unemployed in Catalonia. Unemployment which, during the last ten years, has existed in Spain, attained last year its highest figure. During my brief stay in Barcelona factories closed down, including the great firms of "Asland" and "Fradera" who supply cement to the whole of Catalonia.

From these facts the hostility against the regime is stronger and more unanimous than ever in ALL sections of the population. Never has the great Catalonian city been nearer to an economic catastrophe without precedent in all its history.

Having irrevocably against him the working classes, who reject with scorn the demagogy of the Falangist trades unions, Franco attempted to gain the sympathies of the commercial and industrial sections who were sickened by the corruption and the increasing difficulties of

Blind Alley of Corruption

This was the reason for his journeys to Catalonia and the Biscay provinces, the only two regions of any industrial importance in Spain. One can say now that Franco suffered one of the greatest checks in his career. It is true that his task was not easy. To give satisfaction, at the same time, to his ministers and the Falangists, partisans of a controlled economy from which they draw considerable personal profits, and to the industrialists who desired to free themselves from the dead hand of the totalitarian state, was in fact an impossible

The Catalonian industry is divided principally into three sections: textile, metallurgy and building. In taking the index figure of 100 in 1936 (before the Civil War) one sees that while production has remained about the same for textiles, it has fallen for metallurgy to 57 and for building to 50.

In order that Catalonian industry can function it must pass through the blind alley of the most hidebound and corrupted administration in Spain. First there is the Min-

istry of Commerce and Industry, which grants the import and export licenses; then there is the National Institute of Foreign Currencies, charged with the distribution of currencies, the Service for the Control of Electric Energy, of which the big boss is Senor Mariano de las Penas, a Balzacian personality, and finally the omnipresent and plethoric Fiscalia de Tasas, the organism controlling the

Let us speak first of Senor de las Penas, the electricity king of Catalonia. His department was founded five years ago when electricity restrictions began to become serious. The drought, lack of coal, caused a drop in production in Spain from 35 million kilowatt hours per day to 14 millions in 1948 and to 9 millions last year. Catalonian industry was the first and most seriously affected. Senor de las Penas, since he had obtained control over the Electricity Department, distributed the small supplies of electricity in accordance with a personal profit system known as the "pots of wine." This system of de las Penas has become, as it were, officialized. It costs the mere bagatelle of 10,000 pesetas to a textile manufacturer who wants simply to install a new weav-

A modest artisan of Barcelona had the good fortune to enjoy the favors of Senor de las Penas. He was the favorite hairdresser of Senora de las Penas and lived in an elegant quarter of the city. When the senora wants to have a permanent, the Electric Central distributes current to the whole of the quarter. This is the only free distribution of current given by Senor de las Penas!

Very often in wandering about the streets at night I heard behind the closed shutters the noise of machines working. To utilize the night supply for industrial purposes is a serious offense, but the inspectors of the senor follow the example coming from on high and willingly close their eyes if it has been made worth their while to do so.

Let us glance now at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, which is at present directed by the honorable Senor Juan Fernandez Suanzes. His predecessor, Senor Carcellas, retired in 1945 and now enjoys a snug little fortune valued at 600 million pesetas. Carcelles, a little Catalonian engineer, commenced his career in the offices of the Falangists at Barcelona with the modest salary of 1.500 pesetas per month....

Let us give the following example. A friend of mine is one of the principal

semi-finished cork, a typically Spanish product. He purchased several hundred tons of cork in its natural state from an important person, a marquis, one of the courtiers hanging around Franco, who is the owner of immense estates in the south of Spain, Andalusia.

In order to transport this cork to Barcelona my friend needed 400 trucks. Very naively he went to the Spanish railways to ask for them. Naturally the thing was not possible. My friend got excited. He showed his letters of credit from the marquis, from high personalities of the Falange and from the government. Nothing happened.

It was necessary to come to terms with an official of the Spanish railways who demanded, without beating about the bush, the sum of 100 pesetas per truck, viz., 40,000 pesetas in all. Once this sum was paid the trucks were produced in five minutes! This was the first oper-

The second consisted in obtaining from Madrid the export license. The first attempt met with a complete check. It was only after having had the necessary psychological intuition that my friend, distributing freely 100-peseta notes from the porter to the elevator boy, who this time, did not make a mistake in the floor, managed to reach the door of the sanctuary of the office of the secretary charged with the distribution of licenses. This gentleman proved to be quite reasonable and contented himself with 15,000 pesetas only. Thus it was that the cork for export to Britain and France was subject to an increase in price of 55 per cent.

Bled White by Bureaucracy

Another example, not less edifying. The laboratories Alter of Madrid asked for import licenses for certain pharmaceutical products urgently needed. The note which was sent them by the ministry was stupefying in its cynicism. The laboratories must, if they wanted to obtain their license, abandon half of their purchases gratuitously to the Military Sanitary Service and must cede a quarter at cost price to the Falange. They would then be free to sell the remaining quarter at no matter what price. The ministry would guarantee immunity!...

One coud multiply the examples. Never has any government, even the pro-consuls of the Roman decadence, been guilty of such wholesale corruption. Never has any country been bled so white by its legal government.

The Fiscalia de Tasas (organization controlling prices) is an even more corrupt institution. It is certainly the most hated of all the fascist bureaucracies. This or-

This report on Franco Spain is by a special correspondent of the London Socialist Leader, published March 11translated by John McNair.

ganism only, which supervises all the Spanish economy, has a stac of 50,000 employees, who from the first to the last have a double function of bureaucrats and ... spies. Charged with the control of prices, the inspectors allow any increase desired, provided they receive a substantial retribution.

It is thus that the black market, after having paid the bribe to the Fiscalia, has become the "free market." Sugar, the controlled price of which is 4 pesetas per kilo (21/4 pounds), is sold at 15 to 20 pesetas. Milk, without added water (for there exists in Spain a variety of milk called "popular milk" with 40 per cent water added), reached 15 pesetas a liter (1% pints), etc.

The Fiscalia de Tasas, which works hand in glove with the Food Office, employs an infinite ingenuity.

Let us remember that the Food Office distributes to the heavy workers (category III) the following rations: 160 grams (6 ounces) black bread per day, a hunk of nauseous, sticky bread, ¼ liter (about ½ pint) of oil per week, and from time to time a handful of dry vegetables. The Western European markets being at present closed to Spanish agricultural products, owing to the development of their own agriculture, the few big bosses of the regime-who monopolize the exportation of food supplies-have found themselves in possession of considerable stocks, notably of sugar and rice.

There was evidently no question of making a present to the famished population by increasing the slender official rations, nor even of throwing them on the free market, which would have caused a dangerous fall in prices. The tandem price-food controllers thought out the following combination:

It Happened in Madrid

At the beginning of January, this happened at Madrid. The workers learned that unlimited quantities of rice and sugar would be sold to them at 3, 5 and 7 pesetas per kilo. It was necessary for them previously to sign subscription bonds. Naturally there was a rush. At the end of the month, the moment for taking delivery, these precious food supplies had increased in price to 81/2 and 12 pesetas per kilo. The price-food controllers had simply added 5 pesetas per kilo for the transport, and the prices then became equivalent with those of the black market. The workers were compelled to take the quantities for which they had subscribed. Those who refused had the money "docked" off their wages. Thus the protesters had neither money nor dinner.

Do not imagine, however, that the Fiscalia goes for the workers only. When its interests demand, it operates no social discrimination. The textile industrialists of Barcelona know something about this. These buy raw cotton, indispensable in their production, from the Fiscalia at the price of 18 pesetas per kilo. The Fiscalia before disposing of it bought it at 30 pesetas, but this deficit is largely covered by the fraudulent profits obtained elsewhere. Because of this the textile industry was recently Rourishing in Barcelona. Although of poor quality Spanish textiles were one of the cheapest on the European market.

A month ago, the Fiscalia decided, ipso facto, to put cotton on the "free" market-through its own intermediary-at the price of 50 pesetas. They had not long to wait for the result and today there is a formidable increase of 150 to 200 per cent on the finished products. Pharmaceutical cotton wool has gone up from 50 centimes (1/2 peseta) to 1-90 pesetas!

Apart from these bureaucratic frauds the Spanish industrialist has to support very heavy taxation. In building this amounts to 140 per cent of the cost price. Thus we find that Catalonian factories are closing one after the other; most of them have only a "symbolic" activity and are running one or two days per week. The industrialist is called upon, however, to pay his taxes as if he were working full time.

Preceding its political downfall the economic failure tolls the bell of the Spanish fascist regime.

University of Chicago Politics Club Presents a Special-Feature Debate-

SHOULD COMMUNISTS BE PERMITTED TO TEACH?

YES!—Irving Howe

Literary Critic and Co-author of "The UAW and Walter Reuther"

NO!—Abba P. Lerner

Prof. of Economics, Roosevelt College; author and lecturer

Prof. Bert Hoselitz, Chairman KENT HALL, May 2, Tuesday at 3:30 p.m.

Abner, PAC Candidate, Defeated in Chicago; Ballot-Rigging Rife; Policy Mistakes Seen

CHICAGO, Apr. 17 - Subversion of the democratic voting process at the polls by Democratic Party wardheelers is considered in labor circles here to have been a big factor in the defeat of Willoughby Abner, CIO leader, in his campaign against the Democratic machine for state senator from the 5th Senatorial District in the primary balloting April 11.

Estimates, as yet unofficial, running higher than 5,000 votes stolen from Abner by all sorts of skullduggery, indicate that this first CIO-PAC fight against the Truman-Arvey local machine was by no means such a rout as has been announced. The only available official figures so far show that the machine's man, Marshall Kirshak, polled 19,825 votes to Abner's 8667.

Everyone familiar with the corrupt Democratic machine knew before the voting that efforts would be made to steal Abner votes at the polls; the exact methods were naturally unknown. But they turned out to be, according to Abner poll watchers, methods such as these: machine precinct captains and even judges "helping" unsophisticated voters by entering behind the poll curtain and pulling the levers on the newly installed voting machines for them: direct offering of bribes to election judges and Abner poll watchers; and in one case the cop on duty ordering all poll watchers to leave the premises before the ballot counting began.

Presumably CIO-PAC will document these frauds and show them

"Atlantic Defense"

"General Sir Frederick Pile, who was responsible for Britain's ground defense against the V-1 and V-2, said yesterday that if Britain were attacked by ordinary atom bombs, she could probably stand ten. 'Now the hydrogen bomb comes into the picture. We could stand one. That means a 100 per cent defense, which is not so

--- Manchester Guardian, Feb. 28.

The U of Chicago Socialist Youth League presents 3 special meetings featuring

IRVING HOWE

April 29, Sat. at 8 p.m. Religion and the

A Symposium with Irving Howe Joachim Wach Prof. of History of Religions C. W. Mackauer Prof. of Social Sciences

Intellectuals

lda Noyes Library—Adm. 35¢

April 30, Sun. at 4 p.m.

The H-Bomb and the Future for Socialism

Ida Noyes Library—Adm. Free

May 2, Tues. at 8 p.m.

The Negro in American Literature

A Symposium Other Speakers to be announced

lda Noyes Library-Adm. 35¢

illustrations of political corrup- Senator Douglas and three rabbis. tion already have made a deep impression on those inexperienced workers active in the campaign and have intensified their resolution to continue the fight against the Democratic machine.

While meetings for the purpose of evaluating the election campaign for Abner have not yet been held, one can trace now the events of the closing period of the campaign, leaving to a later occasion a report and discussion of the reactions of its labor-liberal participants. Suffice to say for the moment that there is no present indication that these participants feel that they have been "licked" or their morale shattered.

TWO PAPERS BACKED HIM

Sparked by Abner's 1st Congressional District PAC club in the South Side Negro neighborhood, and aided in the adjacent white wards by IVI-ADA and especially by a broad "Campus Committee for Abner." at the University of Chicago which alone mobilized some 200 student activists, the campaign stirred hundreds upon hundreds of politically alert workers and liberals into action against Korshak's candidacy. He became the symbol of the Democratic Party's inability to produce a figure who could match the aspirations of labor and its allies. More than that, he represented in the eyes of all not devoted to the machine the alliance of the Democrats with the "Crime Syndicate," which the Chicago Crime Commission's director charged was "makstranglehold on the state legisla-

brother and law partner of Sidney Korshak, who, according to the testimony of the notorious Willie Bioff in the movie industry shakedown trial, was recognized as attorney for the gangster mob of Al Capone. Marshall Korshak was boosted for the Democratic nomination for state senator by 4th Ward Committeeman Joseph T. Plunkett. Since the election the Arvey machine has deposed Plunkett because he plotted secretly to dump the machine's candidate for state representative in favor of David Landau, who acted as attorney in a federal suit to stop the police from arresting Jake Guzik, top leader of the syndicate. Landau's campaign was distinguished by the fact that leaflets mysteriously circulated for him

Maryland's Ober Law, perhaps

the most atrocious of the crop of

state "anti-subversive" laws which

put civil liberties in cold storage,

was restored to legality at the time

when the state court of appeals

reversed Judge Sherbow's deci-

sion that the law was unconsti-

tutional, but it has hit an unex-

The first three victims of this

"dangerous thoughts" purge meas-

ure have turned out to be-three

The first actions taken under the

reinstated law involved the dis-

charge of three public employees

who refused to sign loyalty oaths.

Officials concede they are not

They are three women who base

their refusal to sign on religious

grounds. One of them, Doris Sham-

leffer, was fired after five years of

service with the state Department

of Employment and Registration

the day after the law came back.

The other two are Dr. Miriam E.

Brailey, director of the Baltimore

Health Department's Bureau of kinds of ways to get ahead.

"Communist or subversive."

pected application.

Quakers.

Maryland Ober Law Bags

a librarian.

Korshak, it turns out, is the

Because of these tieups, the Chicago Daily News editorially urged Democratic voters to support Abner against Korshak On the basis that Abner has

been in the "forefront of the fight for rent control, slum clearance, public housing and civil-rights legislation," the Chicago Sun-Times, political mentor for a sizable section of South Side liberal opinion, endorsed him also. Korshak's victory, in spite of the weighty support given Abner

from these varied forces, can be laid to a number of factors, all of which must be weighed and studied by CIO-PAC with the fullest encouragement of democratic discussion and the drawing-in especially of those devoted campaign activists who so enthusiastically demonstrated their interest in independent political action. As matters stand today, it is obvious that there exists a genuine basis for greatly expanded activity by CIO-PAC in terms of arousing, first of all, its union membership and secondly sympathetic liberal elements, to more—and better political and organizational work.

LABOR OR LIBERAL?

Aside from the fact that this is PAC's first campaign independent of and against the Democratic machine, with all this implies of inexperience, confusion and political timidity; aside from the fact that it was defrauded of thousands of votes; aside from the fact that it was to be expected that Democratic precinct captains would caring an all-out effort to expand its ry on a vicious Negro-baiting campaign among prejudiced white voters living adjacent to the Negro ghetto while Korshak billboards in the Negro neighborhoods cried "FEPC Must Win" - aside from all these factors, there were certain limitations. weaknesses and shortcomings in POLITICAL APPROACH which must be underlined if future success in LA-BOR'S interest is to be assured

The campaign was run according to "CIO policy," that is, it was considered the height of realism to enter into the Democratic Party primary and make a political and organizational alignment with liberal pro-Fair Deal elements against the conservative and reactionary Fair Deal machine. As a result, in campaign literature, Candidate Abner appeared not so much in the light of a fighting LABOR champion, but as a "liberal Democrat" who supports the

Tuberculosis, and Elizabeth Haas.

Miss Haas summed up their case

when she declared: "The framers

of this act, well intended for

the safeguarding of democracy

though they may be, show, to my

mind, disturbingly little faith in

the strength of the democratic

in their fear of totalitarianism,

political conformity, penalizing

guilt through association with

Court, and a state referendum.

those presumed guilty...."

process.... These frightened men,

ernor Stevenson. This may serve to snag many needed liberal votes which couldn't conscientiously be given to Korshak anyway, but it doesn't educate the mass of the voters-workers and their families -to recognize the necessity of voting LABOR.

In this connection CIO-PAC would do well to remember that it is not only political apathy which accounts for the smaller turnout of the electorate in all primaries than in general elections, but that political disillusionment with the Republican and Democratic Parties as a whole is justly widespread. Consequently, CIO-PAC has to reckon on its own inability to move these "disgusted" people so long as its candidates appear as some type of the raditional "liberal Democrat" rather than with that bold new LA-BOR look.

In other words, to continue to enter primaries means that CIO-PAC will be restricting its appeal, entirely unnecessarily, to that section of the voting population which has stood traditionally closest to the powerful Democratic machine, and over which the machine by means of demagogy, corruption and sheer power of bigness wields its influence.

NO NATIONAL ISSUES

Secondly, one received the definite feeling during the campaign that some labor punches were pulled. out of consideration for CIO-PAC's tieup with its liberal allies. After all, one must remember that while Abner is the only candidate it endorsed in the partisan primary, no opposition was entered against the machine's U. . Senator Lucas, whose actions during the steel strike situation and handling of civil-rights legislation have drawn frequent bitter criticism from within CIO. Sticking to the narrow line of

state and local political issues, the campaign ignored all national and nternational issues, which in reality dominate all life today in the localities. But even within the formal framework of "PAC policy" as laid down by the Illinois state PAC convention in February, which includes suspension of subordinate units or officials for deviation from "policy," it seems flatfoodtedly against the unjust the CIO itself was born.

principle. Instead he permitted himself to be maneuvered into believing himself to be a demogague if he promised an unrelenting fight against it, come what may,

Finally, what is PAC going to do next fall about the state senatorship from the 5th District? Obviously, it cannot call for support to Marshall Korshak, Likewise, it cannot endorse the Republican candidate Crockett, who thinks Taft-Hartley is just fine. There is, of course, the ignominicus possibility that it abstain from any endorsement and just keep

But there is no reason to do this, when right at hand lie all the elements for waging a successful campaign for Abner as an INDE-PENDENT candidate of laborhundreds of workers who have gained invaluable experience in the primary fight and who won't relish being told to forget about it all, and the opportunity to give a real test to the attractive power of a labor candidate backed by a labor machine and its friends against the reactionary candidates of both old-line parties!

In the course of such a contest the better aspects of both labor's program and its human resources would have to come to the fore. It would involve quite possibly the loss of some liberal support, which would be more than compensated for by the adherence of those new layers roused to activity by a direct appeal to them as workers. launched immediately and not for merely a few weeks of pre-November electioneering.

Such an outlook would require that Abner's PAC club in the heart of the Negro district become the daily political center of workers in the area and one to which all the grievances that fester there would be brought for discussion, and considered agitation and action for their redress planned.

· Opposition to this type of grassroots political action by laborwhich seeks to show and prove in daily life to the people that a LABOR candidate is not merely another office seeker but their champion on every front-should come only and exclusively from those elements in the labor movement which have forgotten that it was in similar fashion within that Abner could have come out the factories of this nation that

2 German Trotskyists Jailed By Police in Russian Zone

well known among Berlin workers centration camp in the USSR. for their decades of activity as revolutionary socialists in the German labor movement and their unimpeachable records of struggle against the Nazis.

sanction the use of time-honored totalitarian methods, demanding Born in 1900, Oskar Hippe was an old Spartacist follower of Rosa dangerous ideas, and imputing Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. One of the first to break with Sta-The Ober Law, however, is still linism among the German Communists, he became a leader of the not securely in the saddle, fortu-Berlin Trotskyist organization benately. It still has two more hurfore 1933. After Hitler's downfall, dles to pass: test in the Supreme he became a member of the Berlin council of the trade-union-Footnote: Fred B. Ober, the movement reconstituted after the Baltimore attorney who rigged the war. Arrested in September 1948. measure, has been suitably rewarded for his generalship in the he was condemned by a Russian cold war on civil liberty. He is now president of the Maryland labor "for anti-Soviet activity and Bar Association. There are all the formation of a clandestine organization."

Two of the Trotskyist leaders in Haas was arrested toward the the Russian - controlled zone of end of 1948 under dramatic cir-Berlin, Oskar Hippe and Walter cumstances in the headquarters of Haas, have been seized by Stalin's the "German Economic Commissecret police and face execution. sion"-the center for the present From information received in Ministry of Planning for Eastern this country from their friends in Germany. He resisted arrest and Berlin, Hippe and Haas were ar- was severely beaten in public on rested late in 1948 by the Russian that occasion. It is not known what occupation forces and thrown into verdict was imposed upon him, concentration camps. Both were only that he was taken to a con-

> The action of Stalin's secret police against these working class militants is all the more atrocious because both men suffered terribly from the Nazi terror. Oskar Hippe was three times arrested and tortured by the Nazis and imprisoned for two years in the internment camp at Luckau. Walter Haas was condemned for high treason by the Nazis for his role as a leader in the underground Trotskyist organization at Berlin. He spent three years in the prisons at Plotzensee and at Cottbuss.

All labor and liberal organizations should protest the arrest of military court to 25 years at forced these working - class leaders and demand their release from the Russian prison camps where they are held by the MVD.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Claude Pepper, Dixie Politics, Innuendoes and Points South

To the Editor:

Coming up for air from the skeenteenth reading of that admirable juvenile classic, Busy Timmy, naturally I turned to my LABOR ACTION. I am moved to write the paper a comment or two on the Claude Pepper story in this week's LABOR ACTION, April 17.

In a letter, the individual Pepper can be disposed of promptly. (On the scene it apparently takes a bit of doing, either from the right or from the left.) Dr. Ralph Bunche sometime ago, in commenting upon the class to which Pepper belongs, said:

"The southern POLITICAL liberal, insofar as his attitude on the Negro question is concerned, must be judged only in terms of a less frequent and vigorous recourse to Negro baiting." Judge Waring or Lillian Smith has not yet taken to the hustings. Perhaps they will, since victory or defeat would not have a narrowly personal significance for them."

One of my objections to the article is perhaps less serious. In commenting on the extrovert-nepotism-thespian-celibacy Smather slander, the piece says: "That's the Southern cracker version of the more sophisticated methods of smear taught by the Truman administration's 'subversive lists.'" I don't get it. This particular

filth is innuendo for illiterates. Subversive lists are no kind of innuendo. I remember that there is a current novel in which the at the handwriting appearing on heroine gets in trouble with the FBI because she has a bust of Mozart on her piano, and suppose ary's familiarity through long that the article's reference is to guilt by association. In which case the point still is that crackers bow to no one when it comes to filth. Florida is not Mississippi. and they must have libel laws there. Extrovert, etc., is a little adjustment to the locale. The comment in the article, in my opinion, is less than serious opposition to either demogogy or witchhunts.

Likewise, I do not think that the problem of Southern politics labor party. Nor could it be so simple as pressure or no pressure. The Florida senatorial primary is one of a whole group of contests this spring which are basically similar from state to state. They are basically similar, despite variation, distortion, and even when Truman is hid away in a closet, and a native voice speaks "to the people of Alabama," promising to hold back the tide, presumably with Listerine. If the Florida race is more blurred than for instance in the primary in North Carolina where Dr. Frank Graham will run, or more blurred in another way than in the "Loyal- polls. Other reports tell of a question at the polls. If this operist"-Dixiecrat contest in Ala- promised lottery with numbers ates in Alabama, neither is Florbama, that is because Florida politics is more blurred. If tickets to the drawing. Free moblurred, it is becoming clearer, and this in spite of the overlarding of Pepper's retreat from his pose as the liberal of the hour. are being offered elsewhere."

Classic Quote

William F. Clark of Wilkes-Barre died at the end of March. You don't know his name but he figured in labor history.

It was during the bitter miner's strike of 1902 that Clark wrote a letter to the leader of the mine operators' front, President George F. Baer of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, urging a peaceful settlement. Baer wrote back:

"The rights and interests of the labering man will be protected and cared for-not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God, in his infinite wisdom, has given the control of the property interests of the country."

That statement, released by Clark, brought nation-wide sympathy for the miners' case and helped their victory.

right has been more influential than pressure from the left, no doubt for bad but sufficient reasons. Peppers are Peppers because it is not vet possible for the little people to intervene in the political life of the South. In the South disfranchisement is the habit, with or without benefit of poll tax.

The primary contests in the South, all of which will elect government officials, shape up as struggles for hegemony within the Democratic Party between groupings that can be differentiated without too much trouble. This is true whether the difference is expressed as liberal versus conservative, or merely as Loyalist versus Dixiecrat. This is true also for Florida, the state of "every man for himself." That there are two nominees, instead

Florida, shows this division.

We can also count on Representative Smathers to demonstrate this division. For example, the Herald Tribune on March 28 published some of his campaign publicity, under the byline of that lily in the field, David Lawrence. The headline reads, "CIO RE-PORTED BUYING NEGRO VOTE IN FLORIDA TO ELECT PEPPER, SUPPORT-ER OF FEPC." Two lies in 13 words. The body of the article is some more shameless extroverted

thespian politics by innuendo. It is an echo of the Dixiecrat squeal the wall. It reveals nothing so clearly as the Southern reactionpractice with venality and propaganda muck. To quote, with emphasis not

mine: "Many Republicans are registering in the Democratic primary because they don't like the FACT that the CIO is bringing a lot of money into the state and BUYING THE VOTES OF NE-GROES IN SUPPORT OF PEP-PER WHO FAVORS THE PRO-POSAL FOR A FEPC.'

"With \$1 assessments collected from workers in NORTHERN is so simple as labor party or no states—called VOLUNTARY but actually obtained through IN-TIMIDATING PROCESSESbig campaign chests are accumulated by the CIO for use in a state like Florida."

"The Tampa Tribune which is one of the best morning newspapers and has been crusading against all forms of RACKETS hereabouts, has described the CIQ activities in detail. Reports from some large Negro centers say registrants are being offered \$2 for their vote, \$1 when they register and turn over their registraon registration certificates as ida exempt. vies, ice cream, soft drinks [how the South progresses] and other TREATS for Negro registrants

estimates coming from a Smathers seem quite low-he must have some dim understanding that bought, and could not be pro-Smather.

To quote more pure innuendo: fight now going on. Innuendo and

Pressure upon Pepper from the "The Tampa Tribune also publishes the CIO score sheet being used by PAID organizers who MAKE NO SECRET OF THEIR ACTIVITIES. It gives for each of the 67 counties the total eligibles, the number registered in 1948, and the goals for 1950. Presumably the organizers will be REWARDED on the basis of the quotas reached, as in any other drive." Or "The big unions have gone into politics intensively as a means of getting control of Senators and Congressmen so as to be able to force the labor legislation they want. They will at the same time be able to put the power of national unions behind the effort to MANIPULATE the Negro vote for ANY political purpose SMALL WONDER that Democratic Senators from the South are fighting vehemently against SCHEMES which will seek to regulate employment practices, of the five or more customary for thus enabling big unions to say WHICH NEGROES SHALL BE HIRED - a most powerful tool for political use."

And just for fun, to quote a little light shining inadvertently from a dark place. According to Lawrence, the Orlando Sentinel reports Mrs. Pearl Yancey, voting supervisor for Orange Coungroes here to register in the last looking into a psychiatry text (or two weeks."

Within the South neither Negroes as groups nor labor now has the opportunity to vote their convictions on legislation, decisively. On FEPC the best chance so far is in North Carolina where a vote can be cast for a liberal (Graham) who would educate but not legislate for fair employment practices. Not long ago, a certain "independent" candidate for governor of Texas advocated separate but equal polling places for Negroes.

To return to Florida. More pressure upon Pepper was undoubtedly possible, but I cannot see how the maximum pressure that could be produced in Florida -for this election-could have fundamentally changed the line-

Southern labor has obstacles that Northern labor reads about. In Dixie the little people have to establish their right to the franchise, and by and large, exercise it within the Democratic Party. at that. This places in the field of practical politics a question that remains there, even after the pressure is applied, and even when it is well applied. The question can be posed correctly from another point of view. It is:

"Whose victory do you prefer?" I am not compelled to but another \$1 when they go to the workers usually do answer that

Kate LEONARD

The point of last week's report on Claude Pepper was, of course, I can only comment that the the fact that he has been highly regarded as a liberal in NORTH-ERN labor and liberal circles. Comrade Leonard is invited to there is a deal of sentiment for write for LA on the complexities FEPC, and against Taft-Hartley, of Southern politics. The frontsentiment that need not be page article in this issue on Lister Hill and his Alabama speech touches on the Dem-Dixiecrat

Protest

(Continued from page 1) from their own experience that freedom is essential to progress, are being invaded and violated by the rough hand of the purge.

dinary people as well as profes- America. And it will come.

sors and university presidents. As that takes place the reaction to the loyalty purge, led by the workers who will be its most numerous and most harried victims in the The same experience of a per- long run, will rise in force. Only sonal kind is going to hit thou- such a reaction can guarantee the sands and tens of thousands of or- existence of civil liberties in

rent governmental and non-gov- suicide, particularly when not unernmental witchhunt, which is spearheaded, as we have stressed, by the attorney general's subversive list. We have pointed out, for example, that Senator McCarthy's smear methods, with unbased accusations, have nothing on the administration's official purge, if more crudely conducted on the senator's part. And we don't get the point intended in Comrade Leonard's last two paragraphs. Otherwise her letter is as interesting as usual. We'll try reading Busy Timmy some time.

Whitewash

To the Editor:

A curious item has appeared in the Socialist Workers Party's paper, The Militant: an unconditional political defense of F. O. Matthiessen, the Stalinoid Harvard professor who recently committed suicide and left a statement implying that his act was motivated by depression over world affairs.

The Militant headline reads: "Matthiessen Commits Suicide Over Cold War." This, it may be suggested, is somewhat disingenuous: a great many people are just as concerned about the cold war ty, as saying: "In all my 18 years as was Matthiessen; yet they do honor, that is, except the wilfull in this office, I have never seen not commit suicide. As The Mili- and deceitful obliteration of his anything like the parade of Ne- tant editors might discover by shameful record as a Stalinoid.

its methods are all over the cur- are they "against" psychiatry?), dertaken in conditions of extreme physical duress, is usually caused by motives more intimate than nolitical pessimism.

However, what is most interesting in The Militant item is that in the midst of its eulogy of Matthiessen whom it calls "not a Stalinist," but a "Socialist and Christian, with great love for his fellowman," it never so much as refers to Matthiessen's recent book on Europe or his activities at the Stalinist "Waldorf peace conference." It says not a word about the fact that Matthiessen wrote in his book that if he were in France he would be a member of the Communist Party or about his nauseating whitewash of the Czech Stalinists and of the Stalinist stooge in the Social - Democratic Party, Fierlinger, who acted as a fingerman against the Czech Trotskyists. Nor does it feel the need to mention that Matthiessen spoke at the Waldorf conference on the same platform with the GPU culture commissars and said nothing against their blatant defense of Stalinism

The Militant praises Mattheissen for his civil-rights work, for his willingness to defend the Minneapolis Trotskyists. For that, indeed, he deserves every honor — every

(Continued from page 1)

unparalleled in recent times out of the mouths of Democratic stalwarts, was made over the radio on April 12. He is a member of the Democratic Policy Committee, which shapes the legislative program of the Fair Deal. This body decided early last week on shelving a showdown on FEPC, by giving priority to foreign-aid programs. What he said is boxed on this page.

The only reply Senator Hill has made to inquiries on this speech is: "I was speaking to the people of Alabama." The idea is perfectclear: Truman and his Fair Deal spokesmen can make THEIR speeches to the conventions of labor, the Negro people and Americans for Democratic Action, promising and pledging anything they choose. These people are not supposed to listen in when Hill speaks more truthfully to his own state. It makes for crossed wires.

BIPARTISAN DEMAGOGY

The full text of Hill's talk was not reported, and the last sentence with which it ends looks cropped. The reference to the Republicans, however, brings up a fascinating example of bipartisanship in hypocrisy on the civilrights question.

It was a Republican senator from New Jersey, Hendrickson, who exhibited Hill's speech to public view, hitting the papers on April 15. With great show of indignation, this Republican called on Truman to repudiate Hill's sentiments and announced that "at long last" there was "proof positive" of Democratic "hypocrisy" to "prevent the passage of a sound civil-rights program."

It would be hard to choose between the disgusting hypocrisy of this GOP handyman and the hypocrisy of the administration. The fact are lining up the pro-White House section of the white-supremacy Democrats in the South, it is the embittered opponents, the Dixiecrats themselves.

It was Republican Chairman Guy Gabrielson who has said to try to arrive at an understanding. This indiscreet admission was later disavowed. But the Dixiecrat strategy notoriously hinges

on contacts with the Republicans. These "states-righters" hope to swing enough of the South into their bag to hold the balance of power and make a deal with the Republicans or threaten to do so. thus holding the Democratic Party fast to their line. It is for this reason, Washington columnist Stewart Alsop reports, that they are booming Eisenhower for president, since coalition on the general would be more feasible than coalition on an organization

GOP man like Robert A. Taft. In the light of this, Hendrickson's blowing against Hill offers a laboratory specimen of the pot calling the kettle black.

FEPC legislation is by means the MOST difficult job for a reform-capitalism movement to put across, in view of the pressures of the cold war. Yet even on this field the Democratic Party has offered little hope for its leftof-center Fair Dealers who look on it as the hope of progress. In 1948 ADA delegates at the Democratic Party convention won a "famous victory" when they put more advanced civil-rights language into the party platform. That is where the language has

remained. The Dixiecrat strategy of putting pressure on the administration from the right by organizing independently obviously has its strength! Hill's speech and the Fair Deal abandonment of the fight against segregation is one of their victories. Hill can claim, quite truly, that this was due to the entrenchment of lily-white Democrats in the party. But pressing behind the Hill Jim Crowers is the Dixiecrat threat from the outside.

The worker or liberal who wants to fight against Jim Crow is that if the Hill-Truman forces does not have to stop to weigh the demagogy of which Hendrickson accuses the Democrats against the demagogy of the Democrats. Republicans who are trying to The most effective road to getting make way with their even more what he wants is through the independent organization of labor's forces in politics, a labor party. It's even the most effective road to pressuring the Democrats into publicly that he has been keeping doing their utmost to implement touch with the Dixiecrat leaders their own promises on civil rights.