

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MARCH 17, 1952

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The 4 Horsemen in Detroit: Witchhunt, Labor-Baiting, Jim Crow, Anti-Semitism

By **WALTER JASON**

DETROIT, March 11—This has been a tragic week in Detroit.

The aftermath of the first week of hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities was a violent flurry of un-American activities typical of a vigilante-democracy.

All week long, the hatreds, prejudices, and passions inflamed by the sensational anti-Communist stories in Detroit's daily papers exploded into mob rule in many auto shops.

Not since the disgraceful race riots of 1943 has Detroit seen such an eruption of lynch spirit and venomous race hatred. In those days, it was the streets that were the scene of clashes, while the plants were quiet. Last week, the trouble occurred in the auto shops.

And it all made meaty grist for Stalin's propaganda mills.

It is such an unpleasant story that its details were reported neither in Detroit's papers, nor in the New York Times.

The cold facts say little, impressive as they are: Seven persons named as Communists were fired, one was forced to quit, and ten were marched or ordered out of plants, in spite of efforts of United Auto Workers (CIO) secondary leaders to keep things under control.

For once, the uprooted, frustrated and bigoted new milieu of workers, drawn from the deep South, had a chance to blow up, and they did. Against them stood only desperate union officials, inside and outside the plants, a

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THE DOPE PEDDLER



U.S. Arms Drive Sows Political Crises in France and Germany

By **GORDON HASKELL**

The pace of the rearmament effort demanded of Western Europe by the United States continues to produce political results which are not at all to the liking of the American government. In truth, they cannot be said to be much to the liking of anyone, with the exception, perhaps, of Stalin and his colleagues.

In France, the rearmament program has been the most immediate cause of what amounts to national political paralysis. Under the burden of the obligations assumed to fight the war in Indo-China and to arm the country, the national economy totters under inflation and a contraction of the balance of trade. One feeble government follows the other in helpless confusion.

No bloc of parties can be found which is both strong enough to maintain a parliamentary majority and also willing to assume the responsibility for imposing a program of taxation and austerity which would bring the national budget within reasonable balance.

It is hard to imagine that this situation can continue indefinitely. At some point either the American government will have to grant funds sufficient to remedy the situation, or the franc will collapse completely. The inability of the French political setup to produce a strong government capable of IMPOSING the rearmament burden on the nation tends to decrease the likelihood of American economic aid on a scale large enough to save the situation in that manner. And at the moment it appears that only one of the two most reactionary political forces in France, the De Gaullists or, less likely, the Stalinists would be in a position to capitalize on a complete collapse of the franc.

USING BRASS KNUCKLES

In this situation, Washington obviously was embarrassed by the brash and lordly warning to the French by Senator Connally, who, by virtue of his chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is formally at least Truman's chief foreign-policy lieutenant in Congress. Connally thundered: "France must be told that she cannot rely upon the U. S. to defend her and to hand out large sums of money to aid her from an economic standpoint. France must do her duty. That's all."

Washington was embarrassed because the Democratic Senate leader was publicly putting into words the very attitude which all Europeans recognize and resent as U. S. dictation and domination of the Western countries. There hasn't recently been as crude and public an outburst of American imperialist threats.

U. S. pressure for rearmament led to a political crisis in Britain;

it has produced or exacerbated one in France; and in Germany the picture has similarities.

In Germany, the issues surrounding rearmament and the complete integration of Western Germany into the Western military camp are still being fought out in more purely ideological terms. That is, the economic impact of an actual armament program in progress is still in the future. At the moment, the chief

issues revolve around the existence of a strong opposition to the militarization of Germany, and the effect which such militarization would have on the prospects of unifying the nation.

OPPOSITION MOUNTS

Yet even though the bread-and-butter question of the inevitable lowering of the standard of living which rearmament would bring is still a theoretical one, the rearmament question looms increasingly as the major one in German politics.

The Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) has been leading the fight against rearmament on the terms accepted by the Adenauer government. Its position has been that the unification of Germany must take precedence over rearmament, and that in any event the complete freedom from foreign domination and complete equality with other nations must precede any commitments on this score.

This question has led only to what appears to be a consistent

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Help Save The Victims of Franco!

We must stop Franco's assassination of the militant anti-fascist fighters in Spain!

The labor movement, the socialists and the liberals in the United States have a splendid opportunity to strike a blow for freedom. More than this, they have a duty to perform the effect of which will be far wider than the immediate aim: to save the lives of Franco's victims.

Nine militants of the Spanish underground trade-union movement have been condemned to death by a military court. Rumor has it that they have already been executed, though this is not certain. Further trials are in preparation or in process, in which the defendants will face the same fate. LABOR ACTION carried details on this two weeks ago.

Franco has embarked on a policy of exterminating, or at the very least, decapitating the Spanish underground. He has been emboldened in this course by the financial and military support promised or already given him by the American government. A corrupt, demoralized and enfeebled regime has been given the feeling of a new lease on life. Its first reaction is to strike out against the democratic and socialist fighters who constitute its greatest domestic danger.

The American labor movement has already condemned the Franco legal assassinations.

When the verdict against the nine trade-unionists was announced, Jacob S. Potofsky, chairman of the CIO's International Committee issued the following statement:

"These workers, and other convicted in recent mass trials at Seville and Barcelona, were arrested, tried and sentenced by the dictator's courts for the 'heinous crime' of trying to build free, democratic, responsible labor unions."

That is a good beginning. But if real pressure is to be applied to the Franco dictatorship, much more needs to be done . . . and it must be done speedily. Every union local, every central labor body, every liberal organization should pass resolutions and send telegrams to the Spanish Embassy in Washington demanding that Franco release his victims. The State Department and the chairmen of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees should be deluged with demands that they stop supporting the butcher Franco. Where possible, public meetings should be organized by leaders of the labor and liberal movements to protest the trials and sentences as a public demonstration of the feeling of the American people.

American socialists should exert their utmost effort to urge and stimulate such actions.

Stop Franco's repressions now!

IUE Pres. Carey Is Out of Line In Asking Gov't Aid Against UE

By GERALD McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH, March 8—President James Carey of the CIO Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO) has openly called on the bosses of the electrical industry and the witchhunters in government for "help" in winning workers in the electrical industry from the rival Stalinist-controlled UE. In so doing, he has broken a united front of the labor movement against further government interference in internal union affairs. Carey couched his plea in terms of concern for the "national security."

By his stand, Carey is endangering the entire labor movement, most of all the IUE. The question of further government action against the remaining Stalinist-dominated unions is being investigated by a Senate Labor sub-committee headed by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.). The subcommittee is considering "a legislative program to deal with communist-dominated unions" in war industries.

Both President Philip Murray of the CIO and President William Green of the AFL denounced any new legislation. Murray has stated the correct union policy so admirably as to deserve extensive quotation.

"As a basic philosophy," said Murray, "we in CIO believe that the right of American workers to choose their own collective-bargaining representatives as fundamental to our democratic way of life as the right to speak, to worship, and to assemble freely."

"We believe that if the government undertakes to determine what unions can represent workers in this country, it will have embarked upon the long trail toward government control of unions. In the dictatorships of the world, unions exist at the sufferance of the state. We in America do not want to take a single step in that direction."

The government already has adequate power to screen out of defense plants any individuals who seek to aid the Communist Party or Russia by committing espionage or sabotage, he continued.

Just as surely as the Taft-Hartley Act has failed in its efforts to deal with the Communist problem in American unions, just so surely have we the CIO succeeded in dealing with the problem in the marketplace of trade-union ideas."

WORSE THAN A LAW

Let the reader keep these sound principles, so well stated by Murray, in mind while examining Carey's proposal. Carey went through the motions of agreeing with Murray and the rest of the labor movement. No new legislation is needed, he declared. But he proposes something infinitely worse.

Not a law is needed, says Carey, but an "administrative solution." This "administrative procedure" would be carried out by a "tripartite committee" in the Department of Defense. The committee would be composed of government, industry and labor representatives. If this committee found a union to be "communist-dominated," it would simply cancel all defense contracts in plants where the union was bargaining agent until the employer broke off relations with the union! This procedure would be better than a law, IUE Attorney Benjamin Sigal told the Senate sub-

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Reuther Fails To Draw in LA

By GERALD CARR

LOS ANGELES, March 2—Walter Reuther spoke tonight before an audience of less than 300 in a hall with a seating capacity of 500, in spite of the fact that he had adequate publicity in the press and through the ADA, sponsoring organization for Reuther's speech. One might easily infer by the size of this audience that Reuther has difficulty in drawing the large crowds he used to get only a few years ago. Can it be that Reuther no longer inspires the confidence of liberals and worker-militants?

At least it is not amiss to note the irony implicit in this situation: the Los Angeles Daily News, in an article billing Reuther's speech, stated that the sponsors were wondering how they would be able to seat the mass audience anticipated.

Reuther's speech itself drew only scattered, half-hearted applause. The speech was largely a stereotyped liberal one: America must provide leadership for the "world revolution" of colonial peoples and backward areas in order to undermine the Stalinists who, to quote Reuther, "did not start this world revolution but are riding on its back and leading it wherever they can." He reiterated the "we must provide leadership," etc., at every step identifying himself and the audience with the American government.

Only recently, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples discovered that the army was listing NAACP branches in California as subversive. The NAACP protested and got their name removed, but the incident is symptomatic. What would stop Carey's board from decertifying the UAW-CIO in more than one UAW local where the Stalinists have hung on? The ramifications of the procedure, once well under way, would prove disastrous.

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cuse for calling the IUE a "company union"—which it does. It is the UE which is close to being a company union, but Carey gives the UE the opportunity to smear the IUE as one in the eyes of electrical workers. Carey is trying to get locals by government edict which he hasn't been able to win so far in NLRB elections. He should have more faith in his own union!

committee, because legislative procedures are "too cumbersome and slow!" This kind of attack on the democratic process was made by an IUE attorney and not by a spokesman for the NAM, or a reactionary anti-democratic group! Carey wants the government to "screen out" union officials in the same way it has "screened out" actual defense workers in some plants. This "screening-out" is to take place, not against spies or saboteurs, but against men with "dangerous ideas." The government has already "screened out" anti-Stalinist militants in collusion with the employers at more than one plant, notably Bell Aircraft. Carey wants this vicious practice extended to union officials outside the plant. To be sure, Carey himself would not condone "excesses" such as the Bell case, but they would take place anyway.

One further thought of Carey's demands a word: "If government and industry would show the same interest and zeal in resolving this problem that labor has shown, the problem would be swiftly obliterated." There are so many things wrong with these proposals that one hardly knows where to begin.

UE GETS A POINT (1) Liberals like Carey are supposedly against government by "administrative procedure." They are supposedly for "government by law and not by men." The slogan is axiomatic in the age-long struggle against absolutism and tyranny. This Carey chucks out the window. A good example of the current "administrative procedure" is the attorney general's notorious "subversive list." This list arbitrarily designates organizations as "subversive" without any recourse whatsoever on the part of the accused, precisely because there is no law authorizing the procedure, and therefore no law to challenge in the courts.

(2) If Carey thinks that administrative procedures are less cumbersome and slow, let him be reminded of the "administrative procedures" of another tripartite committee of labor, management and the government known as the Wage Stabilization Board. Seven months ago, the IUE won a raise from industry. The WSB approved the raise only last week, and then only after mass demonstrations by electrical workers in protest against the stalling. If administration procedures against unions would be faster than this, it would be because of the witch-hunt, not because of inherent advantages of government-by-decree over government-by-laws.

(3) Carey knows full well that General Electric and Westinghouse are not going to lift a finger against the UE. As he has pointed out himself, the UE makes "sweetheart contracts" to keep its bargaining rights. The UE is profitable to the big corporations, just as a fight between two unions in the industry is profitable to the big corporations. Carey thinks he is "scoring a point" in the eyes of the public in calling on the corporations to fight "Communism," when he knows they won't break with the UE. Does he think he is going to persuade the "patriotic" corporation stockholders to vote out their present executives who are now distributing very "pay-tribute" profits? Hardly. What Carey's tactic does is give the UE an ex-

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THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY on the HOME FRONT

Cairo, Ill.: Jim Crow Takes a Fall

The transfer of 21 Negro children to public schools formerly set aside exclusively for the use of white students has gone ahead, successfully in Cairo, Ill., despite violence, arrests, and racial tension.

These transfers capped the long efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, ACLU, and other organizations to crack what is referred to as the "last stronghold of Jim Crow in the state of Illinois."

A thorough report on the Cairo situation, prepared by Edward H. Meyerding, executive director of the Chicago Division of ACLU, shows that only the threat of withdrawing state funds from the local school system finally forced local officials to abandon segregation. A 1941 state law denies state funds to segregated schools.

However, when an attempt was made to transfer Negro children to "white" schools disorders broke out. There was a bombing of a Negro home belonging to Dr. U. Bass, which failed to injure anyone; another attempted bombing of a Negro leader's home and a shotgun blast of still another Negro leader's home. Fiery crosses were also burned during the night of the bombing (Jan. 29), when Cairo was, according to the ACLU report, "a tense city."

ILLINOIS'S GAG ACLU's Chicago Division has decided to enter the legal fight against Illinois' controversial election law. At issue is a regulation requiring 25,000 signatures on a nominating petition, with a specified 200 signatures from each of the 50 counties in the state. These signatures must be solicited by a resident of the particular county. In effect, this means no small party has a chance of putting their candidates on the ballot.

N. Y. SYL CLASS ON MARXISM IN AMERICA, 1927-1952 Session 3 — Sunday, March 23 at 8 p.m.

THE DEVELOPMENT of the TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND THE LABOR PARTY QUESTION

Discussing: The Founding of the 4th International; the Transitional Program in the Light of Recent Experience; Attitudes toward a Labor Party in America. Speaker: BEN HALL

At Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

Israel's New Economic Policy

By EUGENE VAUGHAN

The financial and economic reforms recently adopted by the Israel government sharply underline, the about-face which the Mapai-led government has been forced to take in face of what had become Israel's continuously degenerating economic condition. Whereas in the past the government followed the policy of trying to cushion the population as much as possible from the blows of economic life, that policy has now gone by the board.

These reforms now initiate a new policy which will call upon the people in Israel to accept a further cut in the standard of living and a further rise in the price level, thus bringing official prices closer to the prices which had prevailed until now on the black market.

Briefly the reforms provide for the following: (1) The ordinary, developmental and defense budgets will be balanced. (2) The current exchange rate of \$2.80 to the pound will be retained for purchase of wheat and other essential foods.

(3) The exchange for tourists, institutions, and diplomats will be \$1.40 to the pound, which will also be the rate for the import of meat, fish, coffee, tea, pharmaceuticals, seed and fertilizers. (4) The rate for investors will be \$1 per pound.

(5) Israeli importers will henceforth not be required to turn over to the treasury a pound at the official rate for every dollar's worth of non-payment imports. (6) Exporters will be able to retain part of the proceeds of foreign currency from overseas sales for the acquisition of raw materials. They will also be permitted to bring in raw materials as non-payment imports.

(7) The cost-plus system of calculating prices (production cost plus profit) will be dropped. It was found that this system caused a decline in productivity and in many cases in unwarranted profits. Prices will henceforth be fixed to allow greater profits

and eight separate congressional committee hearings resulting in 4,476 pages of reports and several dozen bills. Last June Congress voted for the basic idea of UMT, that is, a requirement that all youths have six months' training at the age of 18 and serve seven and one-half years in the reserves. One of the reasons for the current shelving of the measure is the impossibility of operating a program now because the youth are needed as two-year draftees for the regular armed forces.

Heavy mailbags of anti-UMT letters account for the rest of the reasons for the refusal to pass legislation now—now being a presidential election year, when potential candidates' ears are cocked a little in the direction of the voice of the electorate.

UMT Shelved: Victory For Anti-War Pressure

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for more efficient producers. (8) Raw materials will also be distributed on the basis of the efficiency of the enterprise. (9) Preference will be given to the import of essential foodstuff and items needed for food production and agricultural expansion, e.g., pipes, fertilizers, seeds, etc. (10) Piecework will be introduced in public works in government projects wherever possible.

The first measure is designed to fight inflation. In the past the government budgets, particularly the military budget, have been covered by borrowing in a manner which pushed up the spiral of inflation.

STANDARD OF LIVING WILL FALL The next three points, which involve the devaluation of the Israeli pound and the setting up of multiple exchange rates, are designed to effect an increase in the cost of all imported goods, except for the most essential foodstuffs, to encourage exports, and encourage foreign investment in Israel.

Prior to devaluation, the legal price to an Israeli for an import valued at a dollar was approximately 333 prutot, or one-third of a pound. Now the same import may cost as much as a pound. Already the prices of many articles have gone up. Some items like fuel have gone up from 65-140 per cent.

This rise in the price of imports must lead to a substantial fall in the standard of living because of Israel's heavy dependence on imports, unless wages are increased proportionately. The latter is out of the question at this time except for minor wage adjustments based on current wage contracts.

Devaluation should further encourage exports since the export-prior will get more pounds per dollar of export than before. It is hoped that this devaluation will encourage the flow of foreign investments to Israel, for now the foreign investor will get more Israeli pounds for his dollar with which to buy the materials and

couldn't get in any other way. Now these materials will be cheaper for the Israeli regardless of the arrangement between himself and the foreign "donor." The sixth point is again designed to encourage export. Many Israeli industries rely upon foreign raw materials, and because of Israel's shortage of foreign currency, find themselves idle when they can't get an allotment of dollars with which to buy raw materials. Now export industries will find it comparatively easier to get raw materials and in this way export industry will be encouraged.

The seventh and eighth points are measures to improve Israel's productivity, which is very low. Cost-plus systems of calculating costs tend to reward inefficiency, as we can remember from World War II. Fixing prices on the basis of the costs of more efficient enterprises will tend to drive out of existence the less efficient concerns, unless the government chooses to subsidize the enterprise for some reason. This will lead to unemployment unless new efficient plants are set up to take the place of the inefficient ones going out of business.

The long-term effect of this plan is debatable. Will it lead to an increase in foreign investment? Will Israelis peacefully accept a lowering of their standard of living? Will it stabilize the Israeli pound? Will the elimination of inefficient plants increase production as well productivity per man-hour of labor? These imperishables will only be answered in time.

activity. This policy is deflationary, as it puts a premium on greater productivity. The great probability is that Histadrut, the trade-union federation, will find it very difficult to get proportionate wage raises for its members in spite of the current rise in the cost of living. The rationale of this whole scheme is an attempt on the part of the government to keep Israel's economic position from degenerating any further by means of economic shock treatment and (to use economic parlance) "a working off of the inflationary pressure." Demand for goods at the new price level will be lowered. The standard of living within the country will be cut to its barest essentials.

The government hopes to contract Israel's import of non-essentials, increase its exports, increase its productivity and in this way lessen the gap in Israel's balance of trade. It further hopes that the devaluation will encourage foreign investment, and that by means of these drastic measures it will be able to help people regain confidence in the Israeli pound and thus stabilize the pound on the money market even though at a lower rate.

SL FUND DRIVE Warning! We're Lagging Near Midpoint

Very little change has taken place in the standing of branches this week in the 1952 ISL Fund Drive. An anonymous contribution for the Oregon quota gives that area 130 per cent and keeps it in first place, followed by Streater with 100 per cent. These are the only two places which have met their quotas.

It is obvious that a real pickup is needed from the larger areas to produce a more substantial result in the campaign. At present we are one week away from the half-way mark in the drive, but funds have only reached 27 per cent. At the time of this writing, only four areas have reached 50 per cent of their quotas. There is why the drive is lagging.

Although New York and Chicago sent in the largest sums this week, the remittances were far too low in proportion to their quotas and possibilities. Detroit is doing badly in the campaign, sending in only one payment since the drive opened. The same is true of Philadelphia. Ten branches sent in nothing this week; 4 areas are still to report.

Only Newark, Oakland and the SYL really came through. The SYL is slowly reaching its goal now that it has passed the 50 per cent mark with a total payment of \$792. Its unit standing reads as follows: Chicago \$358, New York \$132, Berkeley \$94, Buffalo \$40, Detroit \$40, Northwest \$30, New Haven 20 and General \$28.

The coming week will be a decisive one in the drive. A real pickup is needed to raise the present standing by 23 points so that the 50 per cent mark can be reached on schedule. We are calling on the branches with larger quotas to see that we make it. Here is the list that can do it: New York, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia. If these five places meet this challenge we know it can be done.

Fund Drive Box Score

	Quota	Paid	Percent
TOTAL	\$12,500	\$3378	27
Oregon	50	65	130
Streater	25	25	100
Socialist Youth League	1,500	792	52.8
Cleveland	200	100	50
Buffalo	650	300	46
Oakland	500	165	33
Boston	50	15	30
Chicago	1,800	480	26.6
Youngstown	100	25	25
New York	4,000	987	24.6
Newark	300	73	24.3
Pittsburgh	150	35	23
Baltimore	25	5	20
Los Angeles	600	116	19
Seattle	300	55	18.3
Detroit	750	100	13
Philadelphia	300	20	6.6
General	1,000	35	3.5
Akron	75	0	0
Reading	75	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
Indiana	50	0	0

CONTRIBUTE to the ISL FUND DRIVE!

Independent Socialist League 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

Enclosed is \$..... as my contribution to the ISL's 1952 Fund Drive.

NAME ADDRESS CITY STATE..... (Make checks payable to Albert Gates.)

Next-A Labor Party!
by Jack Ranger

A Hard-Hitting, Meaty, Simple Presentation of the Need for an Independent Labor Party

25 cents a copy Order from: Independent Socialist Press, 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

INTERESTED?
Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League—

114 W. 14th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.

I want to join the ISL.

Name
Address
City Zone
State Yes

YOU and SCIENCE

THE UNKNOWN AND THE "UNKNOWABLE"

By CARL DARTON

Recently we heard a self-styled Fabian socialist state that he had renounced Marxism as no longer valid since it is a product of an outworn 19th-century materialism which even science has forsaken. As evidence he stated that present-day physics, particularly quantum mechanics, had renounced the "cause and effect" theory, and that on the basis of the "uncertainty principle" science itself has returned to an idealist outlook. The conclusion of this social-democrat was that only by a return to a belief in "higher values," particularly in the individual, could socialism be brought into being.

This viewpoint practically amounts to saying that science itself is no longer scientific, and it is an example of a philosophic misinterpretation of science. Self-appointed philosophers of science have taken the so-called "crisis in physics" and have misused the facts in an irrational manner. Such irrationalities are based upon the social insecurities of our times, rather than inherent within physics and science itself.

What is this new theory by which science is said, in effect, to have committed suicide? P. W. Bridgeman, Nobel prize physicist, writes: "Heisenberg's principle states that the ultimately possible accuracy of our measurements is limited in a curious and unsuspected way. There is no limit to the accuracy with which we can describe (or measure) any one quality in a physical situation, but if we elect to measure one thing accurately we pay a price in our inability to measure some other thing accurately."

Some philosophers have transposed the term "uncertainty" to "free will"—or even "vitalism"—toward the overthrow of scientific materialism itself. Actually these new trends may mean a re-evaluation of certain concepts based upon Newtonian physics, but rather than negating science, they point the way to even broader knowledge. Let us explain how science really assimilates "curious and unsuspected" facts.

In extending the frontiers of human experience, new areas of nature are opened up and placed under control. Scientists in doing this develop new concepts and symbols through which they can best understand and manipulate these new experiences and forces. The human need for concepts and symbols exist in our everyday activities, but since we were born in the cultural milieu of such common experiences they are accepted as the "common sense" of our day. The problem for the proper understanding of the new findings of science is how the concepts and symbols of the frontier areas can be reconciled with established scientific theories and assimilated into everyday language of common usage.

MYSTICISM VS. SCIENCE

Man, in exploring new fields such as electronics and particle physics, observe certain reactions which cannot be "explained" (or fitted into established concepts. When such contradictions occur three choices are possible.

The first and entirely non-scientific solution is to deny that the new experiences are "real" or "true." This was the case in the time of Copernicus when astronomers found that the broader experiences of the universe could be explained only by the heliocentric rather than the geocentric theory. Despite the experimental evidence, the established church and other interests maintained that it was impossible to conceive that the earth revolved around the sun.

The second possible approach in reconciling the new experiences of science with previous knowledge is to accept both the new and the old but to postulate an unknown factor which links the two. If this unknown is merely accepted as such with the expectation that further investigation and new facts will resolve the "mystery," this is a good scientific approach. However, often the unknown is deified into a mysterious "Unknowable" which serves as a bar to further knowledge. This is the idealistic or mystical approach which unfortunately still pervades much human thinking today.

A third and scientific answer to the contradictions of the new and the old is to postulate that the new is so overwhelmingly extensive and revolutionary that it cannot be fitted into the framework of past experience and that a new fundamental world view of nature and the universe is required. With the rapid expansion of science today this solution by re-evaluation of our fundamental concepts becomes more and more necessary. This is the meaning of the "crisis" or "revolution" in modern physics.

Scientists themselves cannot overnight reformulate the far-reaching concepts of their specialties, and everyday citizens cannot soon absorb the revolutionary implications of the new concepts. It is entirely irresponsible for some scientists to attempt, as poor philosophers, to inject the idealist concept of the "Unknowable" into science. It is even more criminal for hack politicians or social philosophers to attempt to justify the irrational in the social world with the supposed breakdown of the rational in the physical sciences. As long as we have a class society, however, there will be many who will attempt to justify the irrational whims of social authoritarianism by the analogy with the unknown in the sciences.



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READING from LEFT to RIGHT

LIBERAL VALUES IN THE MODERN WORLD, by C. Wright Mills.—Anvil, Winter issue.

Professor Mills, author of *White Collar and New Men of Power*, here jots down some interesting insights into the mind of modern liberalism—"key themes," as he puts it. He comments on liberalism as a set of moral ideas, as a social theory, and as a political rhetoric. One of the most interesting passages is on the third theme:

"As a kind of political rhetoric, liberalism has been banalized: now it is commonly used by everyone who talks in public for every divergent and contradictory purpose. Today we hear liberals say that one liberal can be 'for,' and another liberal 'against,' a vast range of contradictory political propositions. What this means is that liberalism as a common denominator of American political rhetoric is without coherent content; that, in the process of its banalization, its goals have been so formalized as to provide no clear moral optic. The crisis of liberalism (and of American political reflection) is due to liberalism's success in becoming the official language for all public statement. To this fact was added

its use in the New Deal Era when, in close contact with power, liberalism became administrative. Its crisis in lack of clarity is underpinned by its use by all interests, classes and parties.

"It is in this situation that professional liberals make a fetish of indecision, which they would call open-mindedness, as against inflexibility; of the absence of criteria, which they would call tolerance, as against dogmatism; of the formality and hence political irrelevance of criteria, which they would call 'speaking broadly,' as against 'details.'

"We may not, of course, dismiss liberalism merely because it is a common denominator of political rhetoric. Its wide use as justification limits the choices and, to some extent, guides the decisions of those in authority. For if it is the common denominator, all powerful decisions made in the open must be justified in its terms, and this may restrain the deciders even if they do not believe in it. For men are influenced in their use of authority by the rhetoric they feel they must employ. The leaders as well as the led, and even the myth-makers, are influenced by prevailing theories of justification."

WORLD POLITICS

Testing Forces in BLP; SP Congress in Indonesia

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Mar. 5.—Some news items from different parts of the world:

BRITAIN: The first major show of strength between Attlee and Bevan occurred at a meeting of the parliamentary group of the Labor Party to discuss the "present level of rearmament." A motion by R. H. Crossman, a Bevan supporter, called on the party to oppose the present policy on the ground that it is bankrupting the country, pillaging the social services and endangering the Colombo Plan for aid to backward countries. Opposed to the Bevan force stood, among others, Attlee, Shinwell and John Strachey. They argued that not only was the present level of rearmament the minimum necessary for the country's safety but that it would be dishonest for the Labor Party to oppose decisions which it itself had made when in power. When

it came to a vote, with two-thirds of the MPs present, Attlee won by 124 votes to 41.

LONDON: Unfortunate news here is the expulsion from the Executive of the London Labor Party of all the left-wing members. Among these were Wine and Solomons. This move was largely engineered by the bloc vote of the Transport and General Workers Union—one of the largest in the country. However, the same conference approved the representation of the Youth and Women's Sections of the Labor Party on the Executive. This will, in effect, strengthen the left wing of the party, which has considerable influence in these groups.

INDIA: We hear that Comrade Anthonpillai, one of the founding members of the Ceylon branch of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India and now a well-known trade-unionist, was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly at the recent elections.

INDONESIA: In Bandung, West Java, a congress of the Socialist Party of Indonesia was opened by Sufan Jahri, formerly prime minister, on February 12. Representatives from various Asian socialist parties—including the Burmese, Japanese and Indian—attended as fraternal delegates. The protocol for the formation of an Asian socialist liaison committee was presented by the representatives of the latter two groups.

More recently, the fall of the Indonesian cabinet was announced in Jakarta. The government of Sukiman had entered into a secret agreement with the U. S. government for arms in return for future military rights. When this leaked out, it was found that no party supported it; they also desired to keep out of the East-West conflict; so, while the Indonesian Nationalist and the (religious) Masjumi Parties form a government, the Americans continue to supply arms.

Bevanites Warn Against Royal Politicking

On the occasion of the ascension to the throne of Elizabeth, British Laborites got some rest. It reminds that socialists are still republicans and opposed to the institution of monarchy. One such, mild enough, came from the London *Tribune*, in a leader article written by Jennie Lee, who is one of the editors of the *Tribune* and also the wife of Aneurin Bevan.

Jennie Lee recalls "the Keir Hardie tradition, in which many of us were reared" which was "strongly republican as well as socialist."

She reminisces: "neither in fantasy nor in reality did we feel we had anything in common with the foreigners on the London throne. The essential element in this estrangement was not their German blood. It was the remoteness of the life of the court from the burning poverty problems of daily life. Queen Victoria regarded Gladstone as a dangerous revolutionary. Succeeding sovereigns were just as completely the creatures of a rigid class and caste system. The poor belonged to the 'lower orders.' If they rebelled they were clubbed under. If they remained suitably servile, there might be an occasional blanket or bowl of soup for the aged and the sick, distributed with all the sickening unctious of organized charity."

But—
"Times have changed. Though the Palace continues to exercise

a great deal of social influence, the late king was impeccably a constitutional monarch. He did not interfere in party politics... Her father's example in all these matters is the most valuable part of the young queen's inheritance." Which is a way of warning.

But even today—

"It is important, at the outset of a new reign, that the Labor movement should make its attitude toward the Palace clear beyond any possibility of doubt or distortion. If we are republicans in private, let us have the integrity to be republicans in public. Is it our view that a president would be preferable to a queen? Observing what has happened and is happening in other countries, there can be no doubt about our answer.

"A sovereign who attempted to interfere in party politics, particularly to interfere on the side of reaction, would meet the same fate in Britain as elsewhere. The present crisis in Belgium underlines in no uncertain fashion just that point. But a sovereign who remains aloof from party politics, and with scrupulous fairness carries out his or her arduous public duties, is entitled to the respect of all of us. So," she concludes, "let's look forward to a long and happy reign."

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DISCUSSION ARTICLE: SOCIALIST POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

A Suicidal Line in Bolivia's Political Crisis

By JUAN REY

SANTIAGO, March 2.—In spite of all the political defeats, which we have analyzed in previous articles, of the pro-Nationalist policy of the Bolivian "official-Trotskyist" group, especially in relation to the BNR (Nationalist-Revolutionary Movement), they remain mired in their mistakes. The MNR's gains in the last election in the country seems to be the major glory of the Bolivian Trotskyists. They not only are backing the Nationalist leadership but are also demanding all political power for that party.

Latest is that the official section of the Fourth International, the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) has published an open letter to the military junta, the present government of Bolivia, demanding that the latter hand over the government to the MNR party, without any new election, on the ground that the last election gave it a majority. This gratuitous support to the MNR Nationalists, who are very well known for their dependence on Peron and for their pro-Hitlerist sympathy previously, militates against the most elemental consciousness of the Latin

American workers. It is true enough that the majority of the mine and factory workers are backing the Nationalist party, but the obligation of revolutionaries should be to unmask the mistaken policies of the Nationalist leadership and show the masses the right political road to independent class struggle.

As we have written before, the political situation in Bolivia is very strange; the Nationalist party, though defeated by an uprising, remains the strongest political party in the country, because of the reactionary anti-labor policy of the "democratic" Right, which ended in an electoral defeat and a military dictatorship. But all this is also a consequence of the adventurist and mistaken policy of the Nationalists, Stalinists and "official-Trotskyists," who exposed the workers to the right-wing massacres.

It is true that a political change is necessary in Bolivia, for the "bourgeois-democratic" Right is totally bankrupt. It is also true that the country must pass through a nationalist experience; but this does not necessitate support of the totalitarian national-

ist party by the workers' opposition, especially by the Trotskyist opposition. If the workers' party has to fight the ruling circles, the military Right, this does not mean that it must support a nationalist party which, in power, will persecute the workers' organizations as it has done in the past.

But the Bolivian POR is a tail of the MNR. The POR has grown in the shadow of the MNR.

In theoretical terms, the mistake in Bolivia lies in a wrong view of the perspective of the Latin American revolution. This view is: that the next revolution will be a bourgeois-democratic revolution which will solve the anachronistic agrarian problem and eliminate the economic and colonial dependence of Latin America on imperialism; in this revolution the nationalist petty-bourgeois parties will perhaps play a big role.

But, to go through this historical stage, the workers' party has to conquer political power and unleash the socialist proletarian revolution. Their theory, which is based on Lenin's old theory which he revised in fact in 1917, is en-

tirely inadequate in our historical epoch. In Latin America, and especially in Bolivia and Peru, if the agrarian and colonial problems are to be solved, they will be solved only by a socialist revolution directed and guided by the revolutionary proletariat—that is, a socialist revolution which will in passing solve the anachronistic problems of the democratic revolution, without losing its socialist and proletarian character.

Therefore the role of the petty-bourgeois, Nationalist or Stalinist parties will be very small and without historical importance. Today the policy of the MNR and POR is conducive only to the counter-revolution and it is reactionary. But we will deal with this problem in other articles on Latin American problems.

[NOTE: The Editors are requesting Comrade Rey to set down his views on the perspective and problems of the Latin American revolutionary movement in more rounded form for discussion.]

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

A "Sermon" on Humility, Bravado and Tone

To the Editor:

As interested non-participants, sometime ago presented with a gift subscription to LABOR ACTION, may we put our two cents worth into your mail bag? On the whole, we've been enjoying our weekly copies. Despite its comparatively small resources, LA succeeds in covering a lot of the news from a badly-needed viewpoint. It also manages to print items that, for reasons generally obvious, do not come to light in the popular press. And now for the inevitable BUT—

In our eyes, LA has two chief defects: its tone, and its desperate paper battle with other more or less left-wing groups. The first objection may seem to be a purely literary one. It's not. When the LA staff assumes its too-frequent "defenders of the faith, the working classes, and the future revolution" pose, it frankly makes itself rather silly. No matter how right you people are, you haven't all the answers—and never will have. This in itself should be enough to make for due humility, aside from the fact

that bravado antagonizes more people than it impresses. And that it is bravado needs no better underlining than Mr. Draper's observation, in the Feb. 25 issue, that the ISL is still only a propaganda instrument, not a party. The dangers of lack of humility, when and if the ISL were to become a real political instrument, should be clear to students of the engendering and rise of Stalinism.

The second objection we have was finally brought to a head by Mr. Vaughan's comments on page 3 of the Feb. 25 issue. We certainly do not advocate all the various socialist "ways" throwing up their differences and adopting a uniform catchism. All we'd like to see is a spirit of fair-mindedness, an appreciation of the possible merits of the other fellow's activities—particularly when he too is a rebel. (I suppose we're still talking about humility... but it's about time somebody preached this "sermon to you.") Specifically, to talk, as Mr. Vaughan does, "of the semi-Stalinist pacifist and 'neutralist'

tendencies inside the labor movement," makes both the facts and LA's own advocacy of a Third Camp pale. Or at least it should. Is Mr. Vaughan talking about MPs Sorensen, Emrys Hughes, et al, pacifists and Labor Party members? If he is, he—and you—should know better. Is he talking about any pacifist, or is he only following the right-wing popular press in making peace a dirty word? This loose smearing of good rebels who happen to wear a different label is the poorest of policies; it is the arch bane of factionalists. Experienced politicians, of course, are impatient of any variation on the Golden Rule, but it happens to be true that no evil can be beaten by another evil. That is not victory, but displacement. Again, Stalinism offers an interesting case history.

This is not, of course, an easy matter to solve; it's not even easy to talk about. But the ISL ought to decide—if it really believes that there are three camps—which side it is on. In the meantime, and for your positive merits, we'll probably renew our subscription, when the time comes. Burt & Helen RAFFEL

Our London correspondent Al-Jan Vaughan's reference to "the semi-Stalinist pacifist and 'neutralist' tendencies" in the British Labor movement meant exactly what it said, as the whole context of his article might have indicated. He was referring to those who are sympathetic to Stalinism and/or to the Russian propaganda line in foreign policy. We have referred to this tendency several times before. That is quite apart from anti-Stalinist pacifist and "neutralist" elements in Britain.

Since this is their only concrete example our readers' sermon leaves us in some doubt as to the basis of their reaction. If we were discussing this with them around a table, we might be bold enough to suggest, in an unobjectionable tone as possible, that if they were unaware of such a Stalinoid wing, they should at least consider a plain statement like Vaughan's on its own merits, without unwarranted suspicion. Actually our readers' concrete example shows the dangers of interpreting plain statements of political views in terms of "humility" and "bravado" and thereby losing the political point involved. It happens that this is equally true of their favorable reference to Draper's statement that the ISL is a propaganda group and does not present itself as a "party." This was a restatement of the ideas put forward in greater detail on this point in 1949, on the basis of a political discussion and analysis. "Propaganda group" or "party" bears upon the political perspective of a group; further discussion can be found in the 1949 resolution referred to.

All of which makes it difficult to discuss the strictures on LA's "tone" as "defender of the faith," etc. The danger is that we might, through lack of personal acquaintance with the Raffels, interpret their remarks unjustly; because the most frequent context for such a comment is the feeling that anyone who vigorously holds and puts forward a definite set of programmatic ideas and proposals must think he "has all the answers," etc. (See "Reading from Left to Right" in this issue for C. Wright Mills' comment on liberals who like to make such smug observations.) It is anyone's democratic right to feel uncertain about the problems of today, but it shows no "spirit of fair-mindedness" to belittle the very idea of presenting and advocating a clear political program with vigor and conviction.

This, as we said, is the most frequent context; we hope it isn't that of the Raffels. If they will visit us on a trip to N. Y., we will swap criticisms of LABOR ACTION with them. That's an invite.—Ed.

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RENEE, by H.-R. Lenormand. A Signet book, novel; 155 pages, 25 cents.

CONJUGAL LOVE, by Alberto Moravia. A Signet book, 144 pages, 25 cents.

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Portugal: the Forgotten Fascism

By RICHARD TROY

Twentieth-century reaction has struck in a great many places and one of the most notable, and yet least known, is the southwestern corner of the Iberian peninsula, the tiny country of Portugal, the country in whose capital the meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have just been held.

Portugal is little known, of course, because it is a small country which plays but a small role in world politics. Furthermore, the reactionary coup took place some 25 years ago, and though the regime celebrated its first quarter century of rule last year with some pomp, very few took time to notice it. But because Portugal is one of the countries holding membership in the "democratic alliance" of western civilization, and because reaction took a rather classic form in that country, it merits some momentary attention.

It is only in times of severe international crisis that Portugal has been thrust into the international limelight by the great powers. Historically, Portugal has served as England's one reliable outpost on the European continent; historically Portugal owes her independence to England. During the Napoleonic wars it was through Portugal that Wellington's armies gained a foothold on the continent, from which they were able ultimately to wrest the entire continent from him. And during the First World War Portugal was again lined up on the British side.

In the Second World War, however, the matter became more complex since social as well as national issues were at stake. The triumphant reaction was caught between its natural sympathy for Nazi Germany and its natural strategic alliance with England. And it was only when it became clearly evident that Germany was going to lose the war that Portugal agreed to permit its much-prized middle Atlantic possession, the Azores Islands, to be used by the Allies as a base for anti-submarine activities.

In the struggle which now grips the world, fascist Portugal has, of course, placed itself in the "anti-Communist" camp, at the disposal of Washington strategists. Portugal was made a member in full standing of NATO and consequently gained, this year, the honor of entertaining her fellow fighters against tyranny at the annual meetings. These meetings, it is said, were held in Lisbon to highlight the importance of the Iberian peninsula (that is, chiefly Spain).

Stagnation and Apathy

Portugal is a poor country, with few well-developed industries and resources. Its profit-making exports are few (sardines, olives, etc.); its ability to exploit its own overseas possessions (in Africa mainly) very limited. The small bourgeoisie in Lisbon, Oporto and other towns ekes out a fairly good living for itself but has little initiative and spunk; it capitulates to military and clerical forces very easily. Portugal, like many Latin American countries, is sharply divided between its relatively lethargic masses and the active and parasitic politicians who cluster around the few main cities, trading jobs and favors. The lethargic pace of the ruling class is enhanced by the fact that, like Spain, it must gaze back over centuries before it can see a period in which the country produced a vigorous and enterprising ruling class. Portugal has long been a stagnant country.

Whereas the Spanish peasantry and working classes put up a stout defense of their republic, a defense which roused the sympathy of the entire world, Portugal's republic, such as it was, fell without the firing of a single shot. Its capitulation presents little of that heroic stuff which inspires those who today might work for the overthrow of the dictatorship. But, as we shall see, that does not mean that recent history is without some bright spots.

The two most important dates in recent Portugal history are 1910 and 1926. The first is the date of the Portuguese revolution in which the king and his cabal were deposed and a series of radical governments took control. The second is the date of the Portuguese counter-revolution, in which the republic was overthrown and the dictatorship of a military clique established, from which eventually was derived the present Salazar regime.

"Strong Man" Salazar

The revolution of 1910 was aimed at the corrupt politicians surrounding the king, the semi-feudal elements surrounding the church, and the stagnation and corruption of Portuguese public life in general. The period immediately following the revolution witnessed the coming to power of a younger generation of politicians who put through a number of important pieces of reform legislation.

Then, its energies largely spent, the group of newcomers buckled down to the business of running the lucrative state machine. The remaining years of the republic saw, consequently, many changes in government, the rising and falling of innumerable cabinets, the throbbing of several attempts at dictatorship. It was a hectic and chaotic period, one which could inspire little confidence in the parliamentary form of government, one which proved the native bourgeoisie incapable of ruling in its own right.

This general development follows a course not unlike that of a number of the more backward countries, notably some in Latin America: a revolutionary upsurge just before the First World War, followed by a brief period of progressive reform which, in turn, is followed by a degeneration of the revolution into a group of squabbling politicians who struggle over the spoils for a number of years. The culmination of the whole development: a military dictatorship which re-establishes most of the old power relationships, particularly the one between the church and the state.

The central figure in the Portuguese counter-revolution is Oliveira Salazar who, unlike many of his ilk over the face of the globe, received his training as a university professor rather than as an army general. He is a man of a number of undenied talents and considerable self-control. Just as he rose to power by a relatively peaceful route, his reign has also been relatively peaceful. He was often referred to, in the '30s, as the "invisible dictator," for unlike his neighbor Franco he has little liking for pomp and for long periods of time had his name mentioned rarely in the newspapers.

Unlike Franco too, he gained his position largely on the basis of his ability as an administrator—he was the first man in recent Portuguese history to balance the government's budget. He was made minister of finance in the military dictatorship of 1928 and soon, by dint of increased taxes and lowered expenditures, had the budget situation well in hand.

Aping Mussolini

This miraculous feat did nothing to solve any of Portugal's pressing problems; it resulted neither in increased economic prosperity nor in raising the living standards of the impoverished masses, but it did impress the military clique whose position, at the time, was none too secure. The prestige Salazar gained was so enormous that, on the threat of resigning, he was granted, in the early '30s, supreme rule over the entire country. In 1933, with some flourish, he established "the New State."

"The New State" was nothing more than a Portuguese adaptation of the "corporate state" of Mussolini's Italy. It was milder, less pretentious, but the philosophy was essentially the same. It was officially denied that the people, free and at liberty, could decide what best suited their interests. Instead, it was said, only the "New State," in which the true aspirations and needs of the people were expertly fused, could express the best interests of the nation as a whole. This rationale for dictatorship is one we are well familiar with.

On its basis, and with an increasingly large repressive apparatus, freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc., shortly vanished from the Portuguese scene. Their exit, unfortunately, was not dramatic; the republic was snuffed out slowly but without much struggle.

In line with the Italian experience, an elaborate system of "corporations" was constructed to govern each different trade and industry. The workers were organized into "corporations" as well. But, like Italy, none of these organizations amounted to very much and were only an elaborate disguise for the retention of the status quo. The new government lacked that type of dynamism which we associate with Stalinism and Nazism and thus was unable to make any major alterations in the social fabric. The victory of the counter-revolution chiefly signified an insurance that the efforts, even if weak and ephemeral, of the republic to reorganize Portugal along new and possibly more progressive lines could no longer be made. To insure this, the church had to be restored to its "rightful" place, and the working classes put in theirs.

Friend of Franco and Hitler

Salazar's most vigorous exponents—and in the late '30s he had a number of fervent admirers all over the world—have never claimed that he was a democrat. No one, in fact, has ever made this claim for him, even when his country was admitted to the NATO, the organization whose founding charter specifically states that it is a league of "democratic nations." And Salazar himself, who is a remarkably forthright person, would be the first to deny that he has any truck with democratic ideas!

When the civil war broke out in Spain in 1936 Portugal was one of the first countries to take a definite stand—and but for British objections its armies might have participated actively with Franco in the war. As it was, Salazar permitted Franco to set up a radio station in Portugal, gave Franco information on the position of Loyalist warships, encouraged the Germans to use Portuguese airfields in transporting materiel to Franco's armies, and opened Portugal's doors to the wealthy of Spain who had fled the Loyalist armies. The government also did what it could to make the feeble efforts of the Anglo-Portuguese Commission, charged with localizing the war, a complete and utter failure. When Franco's armies marched into Madrid and Barcelona Salazar's radio sent congratulations; and when the Civil War ended in 1939 Salazar offered a special proclamation of thanks.

Salazar's policy in this period tended, likewise, to be pro-German. As has been mentioned, Salazar's position in the pre-war years had to balance its ideological affinity with Hitler's "New Order" against its strategic affinity with England's Old Order. For a while the former appeared to be the overriding consideration.

German firms were given special rights in the extensively but sparsely exploited Portuguese colonies of Africa;

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German became the second language in Portuguese schools; German rifle lengths were established in the army; trade relations with France were cut off; and the German SS gave Salazar's army a head in training its Guard Legions. In 1939 a British naval delegation to Lisbon was markedly ignored by Portuguese officialdom; two weeks later an Italian delegation was lavishly feted. And in the same year Franco simultaneously decorated the chief of the Gestapo, the head of the Italian Secret Police—and our hero Salazar! A little while later the size of Portugal's army was reduced—which, in effect, was a pro-German and anti-British move.

But, still cautious, and knowing that a victory for Nazism in Europe was not completely assured, Salazar continued to pay lip service to the ancient British alliance. Just as Franco balked at making any final commitment to the Hitler war machine for fear that an Allied victory might yet issue from the war, Salazar continued to keep the lines of communication open with England. There was another consideration for both countries, too, which made them hesitant: a full-scale war might wreck their none-too-steady economies, thus opening fissures through which the oppressed and silenced might rise and speak.

Stirrings from Below

However, by 1943 only the most foolhardy clung to the dream of the New Order. An Allied victory seemed a good bet. Salazar climbed off his fence and joined up. Even then, his position was more that of benevolent neutrality than active participation; when the war was over his country was not listed among the "united nations."

While it is true that the Portuguese republic did not put up a serious or widespread struggle against the encroaching dictatorship—such as the Spanish republic did—it is not true that all the Portuguese have resigned themselves to the "New State." The numerous political arrests which the regime has made over the years attest to the existence of a simmering, but steady, undercurrent of serious opposition.

The regime is continuously turning up with "plots" and "conspiracies," and there are trials going on all the time to cow the public. Democratic sentiment is not the only motivation for the opposition: Despite the artificial wartime boom the Portuguese economy has, in certain respects, weakened over the last decade, as an ECA report published in 1950 illustrated. This in addition to the fact that the yawning chasm between the rich and the poor has, if anything, grown wider in this period of inflationary economic life.

Several small revolts which broke out in the chief cities of the country in 1942 made this clear. While the tensions are not nearly so great as in Franco Spain, where economic collapse in the last 15 years has assumed extremely serious proportions, the "corporate State" of Salazar has little to show for itself except for the perennial balanced budget.

As an indication of the continued existence of opposition it is interesting to note that in January 1946 when Salazar—perhaps to please the new democracy-conscious masters of Europe—suddenly authorized free public meetings, several political parties immediately sprang into existence and converged on meeting halls. Full-dress protests against the "new state" were the theme of all of them. "Democracy, Not Dictatorship" was the cry. A small newspaper, *Republica*, which hitherto had a circulation of 5,000, published several articles of protest and, as a result, the paper's circulation soared to 100,000 in several days.

This brief respite was too much for Salazar, and was soon called to a halt. Nothing more was heard for three years.

West Kills the Dream

It was the fervent hope of many Portuguese liberals that, with the completion of the great "war against fascism," their own fascist boss Salazar would be eliminated too. This was a hope which, as we know, was shared by the entire Spanish emigration. It was more than a hope; in the middle of 1945 many thought it was a certainty. But the dream rapidly vanished.

The Western Big Three—the U. S., France and England—published, in March 1946, a full record of the collaboration of Franco and Salazar with Hitler. A proclamation gave the Allies' blessing to any overthrow of the Franco regime, and, by implication, the Salazar regime too, which the Spanish or Portuguese people might contemplate. Ambassadors were withdrawn; everyone waited. Nothing happened, and the Allies turned to more pressing business, their duty done. The great democratic hopes which the war had roused in the minds of millions had been placated; this was more than enough.

Nothing more happened until 1949-50. Memories are very short; when Portugal was incorporated into the Marshall Plan and NATO, hardly a soul noticed the apparent incongruity of the new alliance between one of Hitler's former partners and the Western democracies.

Spain was a slightly different case, however. It was not only a country of much more international prominence; but it will take more than the passage of time to erase the memory of the Civil War of the late '30s. Consequently, the alliance between Washington and Madrid had to be concluded outside of the official Aid and Defense framework of the Western powers. With Portugal, on the other hand, such devious routes were unnecessary; and no apologies for the action were forthcoming.

These were important developments in Portugal's recent history. The \$50 million in aid which ECA granted to Portugal did, as a matter of fact, play a crucial role in lifting the Portuguese economy out of the economic trough into which it had sunk in 1948-9. Portugal had

(Continued bottom of next page)

THE FACE OF FRANCO SPAIN — III (conclusion) The Dilemma of the Resistance Movement

By B. Sa.

"Potential strength": that is the expression which comes up most often in conversations with the militants of the Spanish Resistance; in point of fact, all the underground organizations are weak today. The anarchists do not have a thousand real militants in the whole country, and each of the other organizations—republicans, socialists, Communists, and POUMists (anti-Stalinist left-socialists)—have still fewer. But the connections and sympathizers of these organizations are numbered in the millions.

"People don't want to join organizations," I was told by the Barcelona militants. "They have lost confidence in political action. Last spring most of them went out into the street precisely because the demonstration had not been called by anybody. Because they want to act directly, in their own name. That's something of a tradition here in Spain."

"Right now the people above all pour ridicule on the regime. Here are two true stories that are rather typical:

"Soon after the Barcelona strike, a storekeeper put into his window a portrait of General Franco with his arms folded. Above it he wrote: 'We are all like that.' He was arrested but the story made the rounds of the city."

"A few months ago in Madrid, the monarchist journal *ABC* front-paged a portrait of Franco, and on its second page was an ad for some agricultural product which included a picture of an ox. The two were so arranged that, when seen in transparency, the horns of the animal appeared to decorate the Caudillo's brow. There was a scramble for that paper, and finally it was being sold on the black market for a lot of money."

How Underground Fights

I asked the people I interviewed: "What are the conditions under which you fight nowadays?"

"We've seen tougher periods than this. Until 1944 the penalty of death hung over us. Now it is quite different, depending on the region or on the judge you get on your case. There have been cases where, for running an underground press, you were condemned to 10 years in prison in Madrid, while in Barcelona you got off with conditional freedom after three months and then soon afterward the dossier was miraculously 'lost.' The regime cannot count on its cadres; the latter keep a weather eye on the future."

[As reported in LABOR ACTION two weeks ago, the Franco regime has now again moved, in a series of trials, to invoke the death penalty against the opposition.—Ed.]

"How are things in the prisons?"

"In Spain prison regimes have always been rather liberal, and this has remained so in spite of Francoism. You don't get enough to eat, but you can get food from outside, and during the day inmates can take sun baths, play ball or read."

"And how do the police behave?"

"That varies very much depending on the locality. Sometimes they are brutal and sometimes just the reverse. In one village in Catalonia, a militant had received from France a

copy of Victor Serge's *Mémoires d'un Révolutionnaire*. The police chief to whom the censorship had sent the book called in the militant and gave it to him, saying: 'Read it and then lend it to me, please.'"

The Tragic Dilemma

The tragedy of the Spanish underground, which is so admirable for its courage and devotion, right now does not lie in the actual Franco repression, however.

I got a clear impression of this tragedy when I was introduced to an old intellectual in Madrid who had spent 15 years of his life in prison under all the regimes of the last few decades: under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in the days of the monarchy, under the right-wing republic in 1935, in the Communist prisons of Valencia in 1938-39, and finally under Franco.

"How do you envisage the fall of the regime?" I asked him.

"I see only one possibility," he replied, "a coalition of the Resistance movements with the monarchists. I don't look forward to that with any gladness, believe me, but what's to be done? The people cannot overthrow the regime; they would need arms, and they don't want any more civil war. So it's necessary to take advantage of the contradictions of the regime. I know, the monarchy will fail to achieve agrarian reform; it will try to prevent the democratization of the country. I know that this would mortgage the future, but what else is there to do? The first thing we have to do is get rid of Franco. After that, perhaps other possibilities will open up. We have been abandoned by the Western democracies, virtually also by the non-Communist labor movement, and, if we have to count on our own forces, there is no other outcome."

That more or less is the attitude of the socialists and of the anarchists, up to and including the republicans, whose very reason for existence is the abolition of the monarchy. Strange as it may seem, it was the anarchists who were the first to make contact with the monarchists, more exactly, with the pretender Don Juan himself. They abandoned their traditional intransigence, their slogan of 'all or nothing,' and took the road of compromise and political maneuver. Are they still really anarchists?

The Communist Party

"And the Communists?" I asked all the Resistance militants I met. "What's their strength? Doesn't your plan of an alliance with the monarchists run the risk of playing into their hands?"

"Certainly, that's a danger," they answered. "They have several trump cards in their hand. Russia is the only big country which does not support Franco. That is well-known in Spain and the Communists take advantage of it in their propaganda."

"But perhaps even more than Russia, it is Franco himself who indirectly helps them. Every underground action is labeled 'Communist' by him. That's the way he plays into their hands. It's a sure thing that Franco needs their exist-

ence. He presents the alternatives to the world: either me or the Communists. And that is false, for in reality they are not strong."

"It is indeed typical that the Communists are most popular in the regions which were in Franco's hands during the civil war. Elsewhere the people have still not forgotten them. Between 1937 and 1939 they were the principal power in the republican zone. Spain was then a kind of forerunner of the 'popular democracies.'"

"Furthermore it can be seen that they act under orders. In 1944 they tried to overthrow the regime with two or three thousand partisans from France. They tried to do it solely with the forces they controlled and it wasn't possible. They should have gotten into the working-class population of the towns and matured a general agitation against the regime together with the other organizations. But then it is certain that the leadership of the movement would have gotten out of their control. Up to 1947 they organized several resistance centers which were isolated and which they exclusively controlled. Since then their activity has been very little."

"But in one case they would represent a real danger: if war broke out and Franco was still in power; for then they would crystallize the whole opposition against the regime. They must keep that in mind, abroad: in case of war the Spanish people will march against Franco in any case, no matter whether he is allied with the Western democracies."

"The Communists are isolated right now. They will remain so after the fall of the regime. Of course they will then take advantage of the fact that we are in a coalition with the monarchists who supported Franco, but everything will depend on the forms and duration of this coalition and on our own cleverness."

The Spanish Resistance is caught in a tragic dilemma now. The fact is that only the Communists get effective help, that they are the only ones who can plan and act in the role of a world movement of which they are a part. The democratic Resistance, thrown back upon itself, dis-appointed by the Western democracies, with death in its soul, sees itself forced to make an alliance—with one of the elements of the regime in order to replace it.

But the downfall of Franco, for the great mass of people, means the future of a new Spain of greater freedom and justice than the old one, and the monarchy symbolizes precisely the obscurantist past, the power of the Jesuits, the maintenance in power of the big interests, poverty for the great mass of people. Isn't there danger that they will go to swell the ranks of the Cominform at the risk of a new terrible disappointment?

Spain can make a profoundly authentic and original contribution to Europe. Europe cannot be a complete whole, and in the long run is inconceivable, without the Spanish people. But it is necessary that the latter's burning desire for liberty and democracy find an echo and support among the peoples who are lucky enough to live under greater freedom than they do.

Salazar's Portugal: the Forgotten Fascism —

(Continued from page 6)

accumulated, during the war, an enormous gold and sterling reserve, on the basis of which it had managed to stagger through the years following the war. However, by 1950 this accumulation had largely been drained. This fact, added to a bad harvest in 1949, posed a very serious problem to the generally stagnant Portuguese economy.

Whether or not the regime might have fallen under the weight of these developments can only be conjectured; but whatever chance may have existed for such an eventuality was certainly extinguished by the timely ECA aid. By the middle of 1951 the economy was in fair shape again.

Despite the deteriorating economic situation the regime held the populace in its customary silence till 1949, but then something happened which gave them another opportunity to express their distaste for the regime. Carmo, Salazar's president, suddenly died. The question of selecting his successor was a ticklish one. Salazar, whose relations with the democracies were only fair, could not afford to handle the matter too brusquely. Some sort of apparently free election was necessary.

So the floor was open. Several candidates offered themselves for the vacant post. Gomez, a liberal with some Stalinist leanings, threw in his hat. Meyerbeles, an old-style Republican, announced his candidacy. And Salazar's National Front offered one of its trusted hatchetmen, Lopez. It promised to be something of a lively election if it came off.

But the enthusiasm the two opponents roused apparently convinced Salazar that he was in no position to offer the voters a great deal of choice. Internal security obviously had priority over international proprieties.

His Supreme Court quashed the Gomez candidacy on the basis of a law which had been rushed through his mock parliament at the last moment. Then a method was devised for guaranteeing that the election would not be secret: The ballots were to be made of varying colors depending upon the candidate. The risk involved in not putting a green-colored ballot into the box was considerable.

There was some talk of Meyerbeles withdrawing, but he hung on. The old Monarchist Party, for the first time since Salazar came to office, refused to support one of his

candidates. Perhaps, withal, a real election was going to take place. Everyone stood around with bated breath.

As was feared, four days before the election Meyerbeles suddenly withdrew his candidacy, to the severe disappointment of his followers. There has been conjecture about the pressure brought to bear upon Meyerbeles by the regime. On the other hand, he may have become convinced the election results would be rigged and did not want to abet the farce. At any rate, it turned out to be a one-candidate election. Salazar's propagandists claimed that more than 75 per cent of the eligible electorate (family heads) had voted; but this is "contested. At any rate, outside reporters all agreed that the election was "apathetic" and "lifeless" and could not be considered a vote of confidence for Salazar.

This is the regime which governs the country in whose capital the NATO meetings have been held. It was, in fact, Salazar's foreign minister, Cunha, who welcomed the delegates of the Western powers to Lisbon for the discussions on the subject of how the menace of Communism to the "free world" might best be met.

Crises in France, Germany — —

(Continued from page 1)

growth of socialist influence in Germany, but also to a struggle inside the German labor movement. The leaders of the largest section of the German labor movement have endorsed Adenauer's commitments on rearmament and the inclusion of German units in a future European army.

But the rank-and-file opposition to their stand has assumed proportions which justify the term "rebellion" in a dispatch by Drew Middleton to the New York Times dated March 3. "At a meeting of local union leaders from

all over West Germany held recently at Duesseldorf," he writes, "speaker after speaker arose to denounce the national leadership of the trade unions for having accepted the rearmament plans of the government."

As the most recent test of German opinion on the rearmament question, all eyes have been turned on the elections to a constituent assembly for the recently consolidated states of Southwestern Germany held on March 9. Yet the results of this election were so inconclusive as to produce what amounts to a journalistic curiosity in two pillars of conservative American journalism, the New York Times, and the New York Herald Tribune. Both these papers support the rearmament of Western Germany. Yet here are their respective headlines on the elections appearing on the same day (March 10).

New York Herald Tribune: "Germans' Vote Backs Bonn on Plan to Rearm; Election in New Southwest State Favors Adenauer; Tally Is Unofficial One."

New York Times: "German Vote Hints Strong Opposition to Rearming Plans; Poll in New State Shows

Gain for the Socialists, Who Made Defense and Election Issues; Adenauer Party Slumps."

Strangely enough, the news stories under these headlines justify both of them, and show the inconclusive state of mind in Germany on the issue of rearmament. The SPD gained substantially over its vote for the federal parliament in 1949, and Adenauer's Christian-Democrats lost proportionately. But the Free Democrats, who are in a coalition government with the Christian-Democrats, held their own, and the two parties which appeal mainly to refugees from the former Eastern territories polled heavy votes. Although they often cooperate with the SPD on social questions, they have stood with Adenauer on matters like the Schuman Plan and generally tend to support rearmament.

Further, the SPD lost about half the gains they had made in local elections between 1949 and 1950. Yet it is impossible to say without further information whether this loss has any relation to their stand on rearmament, or whether it is due to the difference between the kind of vote obtained in local as against national elections.

It should be emphasized once more that the debate on rearmament in Western Germany is still being held in an economic vacuum, as it were. In France it is the economic effects of rearmament which are paralyzing the political life of the nation, and in Britain it is also the actual economic impact of rearmament which has given such strength to the Bevan tendency in the Labor Party. Even without this, the SPD has been able to develop great support on the rearmament issue in Germany. If the Adenauer government actually succeeds in passing its rearmament program through the Bundestag it is quite probable that the economic consequences will strengthen the Social-Democratic opposition.

At the moment it appears, therefore, that short of war the most tragic effects of the rearmament program will be produced in France. This is due to the lack of a powerful and really progressive socialist movement in that country which is capable of utilizing the economic crisis imposed on it by the drive for rearmament for the purpose of mobilizing political opposition to the conservative government.

Pickpocket Reform

On January 27 the Rumanian government announced a drastic currency reform. All money in circulation was called in and the new currency was pegged to the gold ruble (2.80 lei=1 gold ruble). The old lei was to be exchanged at a variable rate, ranging from 20 to 400 old leis for one new one. "Class alien elements," "kulaks" and private individuals fared worst, having to exchange either all their money, or all of it over 3000 lei, at the latter rate.

This "reform" cut Rumania's purchasing power by more than two-thirds and wiped out most savings. The allegation that the measure was due to "inflationary pressure caused by speculators and hoarders," coupled with the warning that its infringement would be penalized as "economic sabotage," indicates to what use the currency reform will be put. In this, the Rumanian Stalinist regime follows in the footsteps of the Polish, whose "currency reform" was also used to bring down the workers' standard of living, not only that of the "kulaks."

Horsemeat And Porkchops

Did you notice how the horseburger stories were played up on the front pages? And how the authorities, for a change, were really on the ball in hunting down the culprits?

In contrast, have you observed how the news about the packers, including the biggest ones, cheating by leaving two to three inches of fat on high-priced pork loins and butts, was played down and quickly dropped out of the papers? You may have read that they were accused of violating the law which requires no more than one-half inch layer of fat.

It's pretty certain that the pork-cheating cost consumers a good many million dollars more than the horseburger hoax. But, so far, the law-breakers palming off horse-meat as beef, have turned out to be small fry. Palming off lard as meat, however, is perpetrated in the first instance by packers—who never tire of telling the public how "legitimate" they are.

Can it be that the big reason why the pork cheat is not important news is because the packers are buyers of big newspaper, magazine and radio advertising? Also, as in some cases, because the board directors of some of the big newspapers are also directors in the packing industry?

—United Packinghouse Workers (CIO).

The Four Horsemen in Detroit — —

(Continued from page 1)

minority of old-timers whose years of fighting for unionism and fighting against Stalinism give them a sound approach to defeating Stalinism . . . and many Negro workers who were determined to prevent any Negroes from being the victims of mob action.

Among the plants where trouble took place were Midland Steel, Hudson, DeSoto, Metal Products, Dodge, Cadillac, Briggs, and Chrysler.

The kind of tension and trouble that marked Detroit this past week was illustrated best perhaps by the case of Leon Englund, a former Stalinist, who is an active member of Local 7. He is a Negro.

Since 1947, when Englund publicly broke with the Communist Party, he has been a staunch right-winger. This meant nothing to the vast majority of workers in his division, for on Monday morning, the fact that he had been named as a Communist in 1947 was enough. All day Monday, shop leaders argued; they were abused and cursed, and called "Communists" and "N-----r lovers," as they tried to keep the predominantly Southern workers from running Englund from the plant.

On Tuesday morning, his co-workers, around 100 Negroes in that division, were determined to keep him working. A larger number of whites were determined to run him out. To prevent a riot, union leaders asked him to leave the plant, and he did.

Race Hate Boils Up

A meeting of the entire local union leadership was called, and a strong stand was taken to uphold the official UAW position, which says:

"The UAW-CIO is opposed to violence in any form that attempts to substitute for democratic processes. Violent action that deprives individuals of their democratic rights is the weapon of totalitarians themselves. It is not a weapon of democracy.

"We cannot defeat the Communists or the adherents of other forms of totalitarianism by falling into the trap of using their own tactics."

"The democracy of our union and of our nation is strong enough to bring to justice any person who gives reason to believe that he is engaging in subversive activities or is otherwise engaging in conduct detrimental to the best interests of our union."

Many local unions did as Chrysler 7. They issued the UAW statement as a leaflet, and called on the workers to stick to their union and its constitution. For this attempt, these leaders were abused, red-baited, and finally found themselves lost in the tide of passion. By the end of the week, every suspected Stalinist was out of work. In the case of Englund, his public denials, the firm stand of the union, and a feature story in the Detroit News enabled him to come back to work and remain. In another part of the Chrysler plant, this was not the case for another Negro named as a Communist. He also denied it, but at present to no avail.

What was especially tragic about the Chrysler situation was the vicious anti-Negro sentiments, the obscene anti-Negro comments, that spread throughout the plants. An

effigy of one Negro was hung up. In other plants, workers came in with ropes, just as in the deep South.

In another plant, where the local union president is Jewish, vulgar anti-Semitic signs were posted or scrawled on bulletin boards. It was a week of hate and fear and violent anger. Many a committeeman or steward was threatened for defending the union position.

The auto corporations, usually so quick to discipline or fire workers for engaging in "wild-cats," tolerated the lawlessness. They used it to further divide the workers in the shops. Outside of the policy statement, the top UAW-CIO officials were silent. They didn't display the vigor shown at times against unauthorized strikes.

Today the UAW stands torn by bitter internal dissensions, a seething cauldron of emotional reactions. The whole week was a body blow to the UAW's democratic traditions.

Will Reuther Give the Cue?

Nor is the end in sight. This week the congressional committee returns. Its announced target is Ford Local 600. Subpoenas have been issued to many officials, including Dave Averill, editor of Ford Facts, Shelton Tappes, now on the international union staff, and Jimmy Watts, who brought five minor officials at Ford 600 up on charges as Communists.

What the exact course of developments shall be, no one knows. What effect further hearings will have in inflaming the city is a matter of conjecture. The outlook is dark.

This past week the Detroit edition of the Pittsburgh Courier carried a strong defense of Rev. Charles Hill, signed by most prominent Negro ministers. No Detroit newspaper carried the blast at the congressional committee by the Americans for Democratic Action.

Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, has wired the committee for the right to testify in the hearings. In his message Reuther said, "In nearly all local unions, Communist influence has been eliminated. It has been generally recognized that we have successfully eliminated Communist influence at the top level of our international union."

Congressman Potter replied, "As far as I'm concerned, he can testify. I don't know how much he knows about Communist organizations but he has been fighting them, so I'd be very happy to have him appear." No formal decision of the committee on Reuther's demand has been made yet.

This situation places a grave responsibility on Reuther. As yet the UAW leadership has not directly criticized the conduct or results of the hearings. Will Reuther roll with the punch? Will he try to take the play away from the committee as being more "anti-Communist" than it? Will he vigorously defend the present UAW stand on democratic rights for Stalinists? Speculation, opinions in advance or faith in Reuther are beside the point. The events of the week will speak for themselves.

This much is certain. The entire UAW secondary leadership will take its future cue from Reuther and his stand. Unless he strongly defends the traditional views of the UAW, the secondary leaders will retreat, and a debacle for democratic rights is inevitable.

Perhaps the fate of the UAW is at stake here.

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