	18	117)
	1	
	dent Social	ist Weekly
		ist Weekly
Indepen	dent Social	FIVE CE
Indepen	dent Social	PIVE CE
Indepen	dent Social	FIVE CE

## THE COP AND THE DUKHOBOR: Courts Conscript the Constitution

... page 7

Reject Phony Offer by Chrysler

Catholic Labor Classes Plug T-H

... page 7.

Rankin Ties Up with Gerald Smith

...page 3



What was foreseen happened last week when Say Gabrielson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, attacked "socialists" as having "no more place in the official family of the president of the U.S. than

ment," in a Lincoln, Neb., speech, and later in Omaha when he characterized Americans for Democratic Action as "a hybrid, nefarlous, political organization" of "New Dealers, Fair Dealers, radicals, Socialists and just plain bureaucrats who would like

It was Inevitable that the use of undemocratic and totalitarian measures to oust the Stalinists, real agents of a totalitarian power, from political life and labor unions, should be followed by the use of similar measures against genuine radicals and liberals, some of whom participated in or blinked at the suppression of civil liberties in the fight against the Stalinists.

sweeping the country as part of the cold war does not emanate solely from the Republicans. Senator McCarthy may be putting on a sideshow but he is only burlesquing ideas straight out of the Democratic Party repertoire of

security checks. The best policy the Republicans have found so far is "me-tooism" on this also.

The New York Post on March 22 carried the story of a couple of ECA rejectees-ECA is an administration project set up by Congress, and administered by the very State Department now under Republican accusation for being a hotbed of "subversives." One rejectee's job application was turned down because, while he is a time-study expert and industrial engineer, in the '30s he belonged to the Proletarian Party, a tiny non-Stalinist group which believed Russia to be a workers state. Another rejectee belonged to the Socialist Party in the '30s and once helped the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, started as a united front of socialists, communists and liberals but later taken over by the communists and listed as a communist organization on the attorney general's infamous list.

(Turn to last page)

# U.S. Imposed New Greek Regime

Intervention by the United States last week in the election results of Greece has brought Sophocles Venizelos to power as premier of that country. Venizelos, up to that moment, had agreed to purchasing power, and the demand form a coalition between his Libfor workers to produce goods is eral Party and two other democratic parties. But when the Unit-Recovery of the European coun- ed States authorities decided tries, and their projection of otherwise, he dropped his coaligoods into the world market, has tion partners and became the pre-

Now to get support for his government he must rely mainly on prising American businessman. He the votes of the royalist and outis trimming his sails—and the jobs and-out fascist deputies in the parliament. Fifteen deputies of Furthermore there is quite some his own party have announced

For a clearer explanation of this

confused and complicated picture it is necessary to go back to the elections of three weeks ago. The Populist (royalist) government suffered a terrific setback, receiviny only 18 per cent of the total vote. It was the majority party up to election time, having obtained 55 per cent of the vote in the previous election. It was the party that had worked hand in glove with the United States and was responsible for all the policies in Greece since the 1946 elections.

Three center parties (National Progressive Union, Liberal Party, Social-Democratic Party) received more than twice as many votes as the Populist Party this time. It was these three parties that agreed to form a coalition government.

Of the three, the Liberal Party (Turn to last page)



## Cold-War 'Prosperity': Army of Unemployed Is Near 5 Million

It would be hard indeed to convince almost five million workers and their dependents that America today is experiencing great prosperity, for the simple reason that they haven't any prosperity

In February, 1950, the unemployed numbered nearly 4,700,000, almost 1,500,000 above the number a year before. By June-July of this year the five million mark is expected to be reached and even exceeded. This does not include the several million additional workers on part time who want full-time jobs.

Not counting part-time workers. the unemployed now stand at 7 per cent of the total working force -that is, for the whole country, In many communities the percentage runs much higher. There are 40 areas where 12 per cent of the working force is jobless and in distress areas the percentage is from 20 to 27, the textile center of Lawrence, Mass., being in the last category.

The misery is very real and widespread. State unemployment insurance covers only about 2,500,- J. Croaff, who issued the order, mere pittance of \$21.70 a week. But these form the aristocracy of the unemployed. The rest are not covered at all by unemployment insurance. Of course, those under coverage face the grim time limit

surpluses here and there, but presumably, as in the case of the unemployed migrant farm laborers of California, "not in quantities to encourage reliance on them." vent the several scores of deaths from starvation reported in the

Among the miserable must be listed the young people from schools and colleges entering the labor market at the end of the June, 1950, term. What a prospect for them! In 1949 there were some 700,000 fewer jobs than in 1947 and some 700,000 new workers added to the labor force, competing for

United Press dispatch in El Paso (Texas) Times, March 9:

"PHOENIX - Emergency food and medical supplies were ordered rushed Wednesday to a farm labor camp near here where almost 100 children were reported starving. "Juvenile Court Judge Thomas

000 of the jobless, averaging a said it was the worst case of mass destitution I have ever seen.'

"Juvenile Officer John E. Thompson reported one family with six children, ranging in age from 17 months to 11 years, have been without food for 10 days. Thompwhen they will be cut off from all son said, 'From what we have seen benefits. In some localities a little so far, there are almost 100 chilrelief work is handed out. Fed- dren in a starvation condition."

crepancy of nearly 1,500,000 will be exceeded in 1950. College faculty advisers are warning students to "lower their sights" and grab any apportunity that comes along, Certainly not in quantities to pre- be it for a clerk or a machine operator. What price education

A number of circumstances combine to produce the alarming rise in unemployment.

The CIO's Economic Outlook

points out in its last issue that the consuming power of the masses is being curtailed. The per capita income for the last quarter of 1949 was below the same period of 1948, down \$31. The relative shares of the lower and middle - income groups in the national income have declined, while those of the higher-bracket business groups rose. Farm income and farmer purchasing power dropped 15 per cent in 1949 and are expected to go down more in 1950. The demand for •goods is limited by the limited

made American products less mier. sought after-and has made "caution" the watchword of the enterhe has to offer.

likewise limited.

technological unemployment due that they will vote against the to the quantity of labor - saving Venizelos government.

(Turn to last page)

# UAW Exposes Phony Offer THE CONTRACTOR On Pensions by Chrysler

DETROIT, Mar. 28-Caught flatfooted and exposed by its second phony pension offer, the Chrysler Corporation was blasted this week by the United Auto Workers (CIO) in a manner calculated at long last to turn the bitter feeling of the 89 000 strikers against the com-

When Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, and the negotiating committee stormed out of a meeting with the company officials and explained the fraudulent character of Chrysler's offer, it was the first time that the UAW leadership really ripped into the company's preposterous claims.

The issue which broke the camel's back, as far as the Reuther leadership was concerned, was the new offer of Chrysler which the UAW had first proclaimed as a step in the right direction

it was ready to put \$30 million in at this fake, and Reuther called a a special fund to finance the pro- press conference to tell the world posed pension plan for employees with 25 years of seniority at the Then the UAW made its "final"

proposals, and it appeared on Monday that prospects for a settleof the nine-week strike might be better. Of course, the \$30 million offer amounted to less than five cents an hour per man. and this was way below the minimum standard of any pension plan, but the UAW leadership hoped this could be changed.

On Monday, when the UAW negotiators walked into the conference, Chrysler told them they did NOT intend to set up a trust fund, but rather the \$30 million could be used by the company in any way it saw fit. It would "guarantee" the payment of the

## Ford Auto Workers Demonstrate In Favor of Jobs for Negroes

By JIMMIE LITTLE

DETROIT, Mar. 24-In an action approved by the General Council of Ford Rouge Local 600, United Auto Workers (CIO), a demonstration was staged last Wednesday at Gate Two in front of the Employment Building protesting the absence of Negro workers in the plant's "B" Building. The union charges that the building in question is the only one of the Rouge units in which Negroes are not employed.

AFL Barbers Local 960-552 and Guild 844 are giving free haircuts to the striking Chrysler workers. Since the inauguration of the program on February 20, as many as 70 freshly groomed strikers have emerged from the shop daily.

According to reports, over 18,000 members of the ousted CIO United Public Workers of Michigan have already affiliated or are in the process of affiliating with the

And in the midst of the UAW's Chrysler strike, it is announced that the eight top men of Chrysler Corporation received \$1.848.467.39 in salaries in 1949. In addition they are eligible for annual pensions of

\$211,902. The top pay of the group of eight was paid to K. T. Keller president, \$250,800, while the lowest paid of the eight was Owen R. Skelton, director of engineering, who received \$158,254.63.

Racial tension in the city is on the upswing for the first time since the major riot of 1943, warned George Schermer, chairman of the Mayor's Interracial Committee. Rumors of the mayor's intentions to dismiss Schermer cannot be taken lightly; Mayor Cobo, since assuming office, has tacitly or openly opposed any and all liberal steps. He has completely doomed progressive public housing and is expected to veto a private interracial cooperative housing meas-

Edward M. Turner, president of the Detroit National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, during a hearing before the Detroit Housing Commission strongly hit at the discrimination which exists here in public housing. Legal action will shortly be taken by the NAACP against the city of Detroit if the housing commission does not "desist in its policy of racial segregation in public housing projects," stated Turner during the hearing.

### The U. of Chicago Chapter of the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

announces:

April 8, Saturday at 8:30 p.m., SOCIAL An SYL party with all the trimmings: food and refreshments, singing and dancing-at 824 East 61 Place (just

April 9, Sunday at 4 p.m., FORUM

The Rise of Fascism in the Japanese-American Relocation

Camps. Rosalie Hankey, Instructor of Social Science.

April 14, Friday at 7 p.m., RECREATION NIGHT

Join us for an evening of pingpong, badminton, pool, cards, bowling. Admission free. At Ida Noves Hall.

April 16, Sunday at 4 p.m., FORUM

Decline of Fascism in the Japanese-American Relocation Camps. Rosalie Hankey, Instructor of Social Science.

April 20, Thursday, FILM SHOWING

"Czar to Lenin," the dramatic documentary film of the Russian Revolution. Three showings: 5:30, 7:15, 9:15 p.m. At Social Science 122. Admission 50 cents (tax incl.)

April 23, Sunday at 4 p.m., FORUM

Women and Family Life in Stalinist Russia. Lewis Coser, Instructor of Social Science.

April 29, Saturday, SPECIAL FORUM and SOCIAL

April 30, Sunday at 4 p.m., FORUM

The Hydrogen Bomb and the Future of Socialism, Irving Howe, co-author, "The UAW and Walter Reuther."

Forums listed above are all held in Ida Noyes Hall 159th and Woodlawn). Admission is free, refreshments are served, all are

#### How CIO Expulsions Can Aid Stalinists

By A. WINTERS

The CIO leaders who have just expelled the Stalinist led unions from the CIO have discovered that expulsion decrees alone are not enough to wipe the CP forces out of the labor movement. If any of the CIO bigwigs had illusions on this score, they are rapidly losing them by now, and rather pain fully at that.

The whole expulsion method was designed as an easy and painless method of eliminating the Stalinists, but it has actually turned out to be just the opposite. In their one mass base in basic industry, the electrical field, the issue of who is to rule-CIO or Stalinists—is far from settled.

In a lesser union but still an important one, the CIO Longshoremen, the official CIO has not yet moved for expulsions, although the heat has been applied. It has finally become clear that the Stalinists are far from through as too many people thought. Every time they have suffered tradeunion defeats—and in recent years they have suffered many - they have bounced back in one fashion or another.

The key to understanding this is the fact that Stalinism is a social force. Its main attraction for the militants who follow it is not merely its trade - union direction but the fact that it offers what appears to militants as a radical solution for the ills of society.

the suffering is growing. To Negro workers who follow This week Local 7 is holding its them—the Stalinists have had a first major mass picket line and revival among Negroes-they apstrike rally in front of the Chryspear to be consistent champions ler plants. This proposal was unanof the rights of the Negro people. imously approved upon presenta-The Stalinists have made much tion to the ranks, indicating how capital out of the case of the Trenthe character of the strike may ton Six (six Negroes accused in change in a sound militant direc-United Electrical Workers, UE,

playing a considerable role Their anti-Wall Street line.

which enables them to criticize the Truman administration, helps them to corral militants fed up with the phony Fair Deal. The Stalinists in general carry out a political line as well as their trade-union agitation, and this makes them appear far superior to the average CIO organizer sent n by Murray or Carey to combat them. Generally speaking, the Stalinists are better organizers too, but this is not decisive in most

Because their cadres are political they have stood up under the nammer blows of the present anti-Stalinist drive going on in almost every sphere of life in the nation And make no mistake about it: the pressure has been enormous; and by and large the CP rank and file s standing up.

Why then did Murray decide on such a battle when the ranks could have finished the Stalinists off via democratic elections? The answer to this question is: The CIO bureaucracy did not want to replace the Stalinists with militants who had just been victorious via democratic methods and who would not be yes-men for any machine.

The CIO officials preferred to get rid of two opponents with one blow, the Stalinists AND the mili tants. The idea of militants cleaning out the Stalinists was too conagious and dangerous; hence the bureaucratic solution to the problem of Stalinism in the trade

The danger that exists today outside of the question of bureaucracy, is the fact that Stalinism may become the vehicle through which militants can express their discontent. In this way the CIO Trenton of murder), with the expulsions can only aid the Sta-

## **Food Companies Cut Profit Melon But Farm Labor Plight Worsens**

tide them over until the next crop

is ready. Those who can prove

three years' residence in Califor-

nia and one year in the country

are entitled to \$115 a month re-

lief. With farm labor unemploy-

ment tripled compared to last

year, county relief offices com-

plain they are running out of wel-

In one county of the fertile San

Joaquin Valley, the welfare di-

rector reported a relief load of

1,500 cases, each one representing

a family of four. The number who

created a brief local scandal.

without access to nearby plumb-

fare funds.

Mexicans.

While large food companies are declaring bonanza dividends for the fiscal year just ending and while crops command peak prices on the market, the specter of mass farm labor unemployment in the West throws its shadow ahead.

The rapid turn to farm mech-

what was wrong with the Chrys-

ler offer. Chrysler admitted the

MASS PICKETING PLANNED

truth of Reuther's charges at its

Thus the UAW and Chrysler are

as far apart today as they have

been since the beginning of the

strike. The interesting thing is that

it was the company last week

which began to weaken and found

it necessary to go through the mo-

tions of making a second and

itants are constantly putting pres-

sure on the UAW negotiators for

a real victory settlement and the

situation has now been reached

where it will take a first-class sell-

ing job to get the active unionists

to support any settlement which

The UAW has begun to pour out

strike relief and the ranks are get-

ting food orders, emergency doctor

bills paid and other vital neces-

sities cared for, so that morale in

the strike is slowly reaching a bet-

Chrysler's stupid maneuver has

helped the spirit of the strikers

considerably, for the hatred for

the corporation as the source of

is not truly satisfactory.

Meanwhile the active union mil-

"better" offer

ter level.

anization last year to cut labor costs, the large agricultural subsidies given by the government and the ready consumer market were the elements that created an exceptionally profitable year for the large farm and dairy companies. To quote only a few figures chosen at random from newspapers of recent days, the American Sugar Refining Company announced a profit for 1949 (after deductions for depreciation and special amortization) of close to \$8 million. The Borden Company in its annual stockholders' report lists a net income of close to \$22 million. These represent increased profits over the peak year of 1948. The same is true for the Standard Fruit & Steamship Corporation. which announced a net income of over \$1,500,000, and for the Anheuser - Busch Breweries, which

THOUSANDS STARVING

Despite urging by the Department of Agriculture that crops be cut, farmers are expected to sow Though the valley grows a hunbig crops again and the expecta- dred different crops and has be- out, even this pittance is not availtion is that government subsidies come the top cotton-producing will not be cut. In the words of area of the country, the large Gladwin Hill, reporter for the growers of California who profit New York Times who has written enormously from the low wages Arizona and other Western states, a series of articles telling of star- paid to migrant workers have not In the growing labor militancy and vation among the migrant farm undertaken the responsibility of unionization of these workers lie laborers of the West and picturing providing all-year work for this the only hope for their acceptance the conditions of squalor in their small labor force of under 100,000 as a necessary labor force whose camps, the present situation of the people. This class of workers is all-year-around needs must be farm interests is by way of con- particularly vulnerable to cruel taken into consideration as a pre-

After their short seasons of work and because the seasonable deon fruit and cotton ranches, mimand for their labor makes it imgrant workers have no reserve to possible to strike roots

THEY FOUGHT BEFORE

Unemployment insurance for farm labor, of which there is some talk in California, is doomed to become nothing more than a political football in the coming election campaign, according to the Times writer, who says: "Sentiment generally seems to be opposed to ordinary year-around coverage, on the ground that many workers would take advantage, of it and work only enough to be eligible for benefits.'

This "sentiment" is very obvi much greater, however, and it is ously that of the large ranch inestimated that about 8,000 are living on food handouts from the sur- and which want to continue this plus stocks of the federal govern- mass misery and unemployment to ment—as Hill writes, "not in quan- defeat the unionization drive of tities that would encourage reli- the National Farm Labor Union, ance on them for support." Wel- which despite the difficulty of orfare officials admit that thousands ganizing migrant workers has are starving. Recently in Arizona made significant progress in the San Joaquin Valley.

the plight of 100 starving children The story of California's migrant Most of the migrant workers workers is rich with accounts of live in shack towns, sometimes militant struggle. These struggles announced a net income of over large families occupying one tent prevented wages from going still lower for this most depressed of ing facilities. Applicants for relief all labor groups. It is illusory to are about evenly divided among expect the county relief authori-American Negroes and whites and ties to solve the problem by handouts during the slack months. As the articles by Gladwin Hill point

The same situation of squalor. starvation and illiteracy exists in trast described as "such lush agri- exploitation by the growers be- requisite for hire on the ranches."

Hart to a to a season and on

# Rankin, Gerald Smith **Develop Closer Ties**

According to news reports, John most courageous man in Washing-Rankin, Mississippi's anti-Semitic, anti - Negro, anti - labor congressman, is becoming increasingly tied up with the fascist rabble-rousers of the country, particularly Gerald L. K. Smith

The Reverend L. M. Birkhead's organization, Friends of Democracy, which specializes in keeping tab on the would-be Hitlers, reveals that Smith has announced he will soon publish a book called "Congressman John E. Rankin, the Fearless Statesman."

At the end of 1949 Rankin introduced a bill in Congress to outlaw the Anti-Defamation League, a conservative Jewish group organized to combat anti-Semitism and racial discrimination. Gerald Smith writes:

"Shortly after arriving in the nation's capital I had a visit with a man whom I consider to be the

ton-Congressman John E. Rankin, The next day Mr. Rankin introduced a bill to outlaw the Anti-Defamation League . . It is my firm conviction that John Rankin is perhaps the only man in Congress with enough courage to present this bill . . . Every good American . . . should write a letter to Mr. Rankin congratulating him on his super courage." Smith added that "within the

next month or two we hope to publish a book summarizing the best excerpts from Mr. Rankin's speeches entitled 'Congressman John E. Rankin, the Fearless Statesman'... Kurt Mertig also claims that he

has been in touch with Rankin. Mertig's groups, the Citizens Protective League and the German-American Republican League, are both fascist outfits

## Tito Gets His 'Ja' Vote In One-Party Election

Amid the fanfare of official speechmaking, the Yugoslav people went to the polls on March 26 to vote for the 620 deputies to the two houses of Parliament. With a reported 93 per cent of the population voting, the results fell into the usual East Europe pattern of 95 to 99.8 per cent majority credited for the single list

The three months of speeches by leading members of the Titoist bureaucracy set the pattern for the general election. Faced with the growing internal difficulties due to the economic blockade by the Cominform satellites, the need was to mobilize the people's support, or at best passive tolerance, for the present regime. Therefore the issue was presented almost on a plebiscite basis: for Yugoslavia or for the Cominform.

That the internal economic situation in Yugoslavia is near desperation is seen by the repeated erences that Tito has made to it, the difficulties. It was also announced that there would be an end to the exporting of foodstuffs, and that peasants could retain a greater share of their livestock. At the same time new laws were passed freezing labor to jobs

The electoral laws which were to herald a greater "democratization" of the political regime have already been discussed in LABOR ACTION as window-dressing. In any case, there has been no report that any candidate took advantage of the new law that candidates outside of the Titoist slate could get on the ballot through petition signatures. There is no doubt that the over-

whelming majority of the Yugo-

slav people do support the present regime as against the Kremlin. In presenting the issue of the election in this form, the Titoists made the election a show of national unity against the Russian threat, while suppressing internal

## **Debates and Meetings Arranged** For Shachtman Speaking Tour

Midwestern and Eastern cities by 23, at 8 p.m. on "The Crisis in Sta-Max Shachtman, national chalr- linism." man of the Independent Socialist League, are going ahead. Several cities are arranging debates, while reports of them in subsequent isothers are preparing meetings in sues. The schedule which Shachtconnection with the tenth anniver- man will follow appears below: sary of the ISL and LABOR AC-TION. Rochester, which was not on the original schedule, requested that Shachtman make his first stop there and such arrangements are being made.

On April 16, at 8 p.m., Shachtman will speak at the Mayflower Hotel in Akron Ohio, on the subject of "New Trends in the Labor

The Philadelphia branch of the ISL will have Shachtman speaking at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W.

The BEST recent book on the labor movement-"The UAW and

Walter Reuther"

\$3.00 Random House Order from: Labor Action Book Service 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. Irving Howe and B. J. Widick

Preparations for the tour of Girard Street, on Sunday, April-

L'ABOR ACTION will carry full schedule of his meetings and

	Винајо	April 9-1
	Detroit	
)	Cleveland	April 15-1
	Akron	. April 16-1
	Youngstown	April 1
	Pittsburgh	
	West Virginia	April 2
	Philadelphia	April 2
	Reading	April 2
	New York	
	Newark	

April 9-11 \$6659.38.

Danaio	AIDIII O AI
Detroit	April 12-14
Cleveland	April 15-16
Akron	April 16-17
Youngstown	April 18
Pittsburgh	April 19-20
West Virginia	April 21
Philadelphia	April 23
Reading	April 24
New York	
Newark	

87 per cent. All it needs to com-18 plete its quota in quick order is

## Give Now to the ISL!

4 Court Square

### East German Police Can't Quell Socialist Resistance

tain. Internal resistance is so strong and widespread that the totalitarian authorities cannot cope with it. The border is as full of holes as a sieve.

Reports from various directions insist that this is the state of affairs in the westernmost satellite of the Kremlin, latest being a detailed story in U.S. News & World Report for March 24. Strongest and best organized of

the resistance forces is that of the German Social-Democratic Party. In 1946 this party was officially merged with the Stalinist party to form the present "Socialist Unity Party" (SED), but actually its forces simply went underground. General staff headquarters for the Socialist underground is in Hannover (West Germany) but it has an advance post in Berlin, with agents throughout East Germany An anti-Stalinist weekly news-

paper. The Little Telegraph, is cently called Albert Einstein an distributed weekly all over the Russian zone, published by Arno. Scholz, a member of the Berlin City Council. All work of propaganda and press distribution is enormously facilitated by the fact, especially bewildering for the Moscow power, that resistance ganda office in New York City, exagents have infiltrated the Stalinplains to Americans the ABC of apparatus, reportedly to the very tops of the "people's police" and the SED. So an episode as the "Election campaigns are quite different from those in the West-U. S. News reports is possible:

"Recently a Telegraph correspondent was arrested on suspicion, but the police could find no underground evidence in his apartment Upon his arrest another corespondent was instructed to flee the city and leave incriminating evidence behind. The Russians then were tipped off that the second reporter was the man they were after. They raided his apart-

Russian-controlled East Ger- ment, found papers he had left bemany is not behind an Iron Cur- hind, and released the first correspondent, who was promptly smuggled out of the Soviet zone Now both are back at work on the resistance newspaper."

Berlin acts as a protected base for the underground, 100 miles deep inside the Russian domain Along the 500-mile border between East and West Germany thousands of refugees, smugglers travelers, couriers and agents of the underground go back and forth illegally every day in the week. Resistance agents in the police force send out a steady stream of tips on coming raids and ar rests. Police deserters frequently take political prisoners along with them as new recruits.

The organized underground does not favor terrorist methods and discourages them, but violent sabotage is growing nevertheless. It is reported that there are from a dozen to 40 anti-Stalin terrorist groups active, with numerous industrial and political dynamitings to their credit.

To counter the resistance forces, the satellite government recently set up a new Ministry of State Security with Moscowtrained Wilhelm Zaisser at its head, closely linked with Russian MVD forces. Special anti-sabotage sections have been set up in police districts and police controls tightened everywhere. But at the same time whatever mass support the Stalinist regime had has been dissipating, and it becomes harder to sweep back the flood.

"Allied observers" are reported to believe that Russia may even be forced to recognize its setback and withdraw its troops from the zone - an admission of defeat which would be primarily due to the unflagging resistance of the

## FUND DRIVE OVER HALF MARK

Fund Drive Director

solved.

MARCH 27-The Independent Socialist League's Fund Drive has just passed the half-way mark in time and the receipts to date total 55 per cent. While this means that the schedule has been kept, it does not guarantee that the total quota will be met easily within the time set. That is why all of the branches, and particularly those which are below the 60 per cent mark, must begin to take stock of their efforts and to arrange to speed up their collections right now. There are five weeks left and they must be made to

Gerald Winrod, next to Smith

perhaps the best-known fascist in

the country and one even more

open than Smith (he was one of

the wartime defendants in the se-

dition trial of pro-Nazis), reports

that Rankin was a guest speaker

on a recent Upton Close radio

broadcast. Close and Winrod have

since the former was fired off the

air as a radio commentator; since

that time, also, Close has pub-

lished a booklet "revealing" in ap-

proved Hitlerite fashion that Com-

Mertig, whose groups have been

trying to hold street-corner meet-

ings in New York City, says that

Rankin asked to be notified if New

York police interfere with his

The disgrace to the human race

who sits in Congress for the state

of Mississippi is the man who re-

The Yugoslav Newsletter, pub-

lished by the government's propa-

ern democracies. Underlying all

political efforts is a common aim;

therefore candidates do not speak

but rather compete on the basis

of ability, experience and under-

standing of the problems to be

In other words, you can pick the

best man—to carry the Leader's

opposed economic interests,

**Quite Different** 

Yugoslav democracy:

"old faker."

munism is a Jewish conspiracy.

collaborating intimately

The total figures in last week's of last week the total stood at \$5817.88, representing 48 per cent of the total. The \$841.50 collected this week raises that total to

Newark continues to maintain its good pace. Its \$33 contribution this week increased its total to

Detroit, which was late in getting started for very understandable reasons, followed up its good beginning last week by sending in another \$50. Although it is still

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

Tenth Anniversary Fund Drive of the ISL.

near the bottom of our list, letters from Detroit lead us to believe that it will be moving rapidly

from now on. San Francisco Bay area made a 15 per cent jump last week by sending in \$73. If our comrades there will speed up their collections in the next week, they will not find it difficult to move up to the upper half of our list.

New York City, which raised its total by \$237 last week, will have begin urging members and friends to speed up the fulfillment their pledges. The big lead which it established at the beginning of the drive is not being

is ahead of schedule, it is not enough of a lead to guarantee an easy and smooth finish.

The Socialist Youth League has achieved \$326.50 of its \$350 over all quota. The New York City SYL contribution of \$19.50 accounts for the increase this week Another \$23.50 and the over-all SYL quota will be met.

The remainder of this week's contributions is represented by the following: Akron \$18, Chicago \$138. Cleveland \$31, Los Angeles \$35, Philadelphia \$68, Pittsburgh \$26, St. Louis \$13, General \$100.

## **Fund Drive Box Score**

Chicago SYL		\$200	200
Berkeley SYL	3Q.,	39	130
Streator	25	22	88
Newark	\$250	218	87
Chicago	1500	1138	76
Los Angeles	500	357	71
Youngstown	100	7 <b>0</b>	70
New York City SYL	125	87	70
New York City	4000	2770	69
St. Louis	100	68	68
Buffalo	1000	600	60
West Virginia	50	30	60
Cleveland	300	152	51
Philadelphia	480	204	51
San Francisco Bay Area	500	223	45
Reading		35	35.
Boston	75	25	33
Akron	200	64	32
Detroit		140	28
Baltimore		20	27
Pittsburgh		41	27
General		155	10
Seattle		Ó	0
Newark SYL	15	0	0
Sh Louis SYL	15	0	0.
Detroit SYL	30.	o ~	0.,
Buffalo SYL	30	0	0
SYL (at large)	30	0	0
le le			<b></b>
Total		\$6659	ر معدد <del>آرای</del> در
	A SWINGS	4003 K	<b>55</b> :

## <u>Editorials</u>

## **Robeson Case Again**

bility for canceling the television program on which Paul Robeson was to have appeared with her and others to discuss "The American Negro's Position in Politics Today." That puts the onus on the National Broadeasting Company.

Paul Robeson is a Stalinist, and we are not of the opinion that the TV audience is sustaining much of a loss by failing to hear his pro-Kremlin views. That, however, has exactly nothing to do with the question at issue. We can with little difficulty think of a dozen others in short order whose voices over the air waves add nothing to their hearers' enlightenment.

The point is that NBC canceled the program because, it said, it had received protests against Robeson's views - that is, against allowing him to speak because of his views. With disgusting hypocrisy, it did not even say that it objected to airing Robeson; the unspecified "protests" did it.

It would be breaking down an open door to point out that "protests" in the mail against (say) a speech by Senator McCarthy would be thrown in the wastebasket by the NBC officials. These gentlemen would get righteously wrathful against the idea that "freedom of speech over the air" was to be denied by such pressure.

Stalinism is a hateful doctrine, but it is not the only one. And freedom of speech has not been hallowed in American Fourth of July speeches because it means freedom only for ideas acceptable to the majority. The cancellation of the symposium (Robeson was only one of the scheduled speakers) is of a piece with the witchhunt poisoning the country under the aegis of both McCarthy and the administration in their own ways.

## **Autarky in England**

One of the things which first aroused the anger of the ruling circles in America and Britain against Hitler was the foreign-trade policy adopted by the Nazis in the late '30s. Unable to compete with the productivity of the American industrial machine, and lacking the capital resources of the British Empire, the Nazis sought to get a share of the world market by barter agreements with countries which had economies even weaker than that of Germany, the debtor nations of the world.

Without of course "condoning" for a moment the bestiality of the Nazi regime nor the reactionary character of the trade policies it adopted, the Marxists explained at that time that the Nazis were doing no more and no less than any other capitalist government would do which found itself in a similar economic position.

Today Britain, which has a Labor government, is embarking on a foreign-trade policy which is in many ways similar to the one adopted by Hitler. While leaning heavily on the Marshall Plan subsidies, Britain has been systematically developing trading practices in the sterling bloc which seek to get around the overwhelming power of the dollar on the world market.

Its trade pact with Argentina gave rise to howls of indignation and pain from American interests which were in the process of ousting Britain completely from the Argentine market. And now the American oil barons are also setting up a chorus of woe and condemnation for British oil policies which seek to bind consuming nations in the British oil market.

In a letter to the New York Times last week Westmore Willcox wrote: "For there can be but one logical outcome of Britain's present policies—a sterling area economic autarky, which will inevitably force the counter-construction by the United States of a dollar-area economic autarky, in sheer self-

The tensions and frictions in the world are not solely a result of the irrepressible conflicts between Stalinist and capitalist imperialism. Within the latter camp the inexorable economic laws of capitalism continue to operate. When Britain was the dominant economic power in the world, she proclaimed the timeless morality of free trade. Today, under a Labor government which has not dared to cut itself loose from the economic base of capitalism, Britain strenuously opposes the liberalization of currency exchange and proceeds towards autarky.

This is the road of national suicide for Britain. The alternative would take imagination and daring, and a willingness to revolutionize the economic relations both inside Britain and in the countries of the continent. It would mean that Britain would become the prime mover for an Independent Western Union with one integrated economy and socialized production.



#### GM Could Give 33% Pay Raise from Profits

#### By GORDON HASKELL

A couple of weeks ago LABOR ACTION commented on the fantastic profits raked in by General Motors during 1949. It was pointed out in that article that the \$656,000,000-plus reported by GM as net profit was only a portion of what the corporation had extracted from the labor of its workers.

If the whole net profit of the corporation had been distributed evenly among all wage earners and salaried employees of the corporation (including the president), it would have increased their wages by about

Now it is a well-known fact that under capitalism no one could advocate such a distribution without being labeled a crackpot. Capital would not stay in an enterprise which distributes its profits to those who make them. The Du Pont family which took a cool \$100 million out from General Motors when the last dividend was declared would take their marbles and play somewhere else . . . and anyway the stocks on which the Du Ponts made their money have the controlling vote when it comes to deciding who will get what share of the swag.

So we won't talk about the feasibility of a 75 per cent wage increase for the boys at GM. But how about some other sum, say a measly 33 per cent increase? Would that be crackpot talk too? Well, it all depends on how you look at it. The fact is that last year General Motors could have paid 33 per cent more to all its workers and still have cleared around \$371 million in net profits.

#### More Wages, Less Taxes—Giant Profits Still

It works out very simply. The total wage bill for GM last year was \$1,440 million. A 33 per cent increase would have added roughly \$475 million to it. Now would that have to be subtracted from the \$656 million in profits? Not on your life. For the actual GM profit, before the federal corporations tax, was \$1,093 million. (That's over a billion bucks). And the wage increase would have come out of that long before the revenuers had got to it.

It would have left GM with a gross profit of some \$618 million. The federals would have taken their 40 per cent off that, or about \$247 million, leaving the GM stockholders to roll around in about \$371 million. All the figures are rough. But the fact remains that GM could have given a flat 3 per cent raise across the board, and still made more for the fat boys than it had made in any previous year in its history except

Of course, that's only a part of it. Last week the Chrysler Corporation astounded the world and gladdened the hearts of the boys on the picket line by announcing that they were shelling out some \$2,581,000 in bonuses to 229 top executives.

Though Chrysler is a giant, it is a pygmy compared to GM, at least when it comes to passing out bonuses. As every worker at GM knows, that great corporation has a bonus plan too. "Its purpose," says the GM Annual Report for 1948, "is to provide an incentive and reward for eligible employes who contribute to the success of the business, through making them participants in the success."

#### Them That Has, Gets

Does a man sweating his life away on the assembly line "contribute to the success. . . . "? Well, maybe. But he isn't an "eligible employee," because to be eligible he has to make a minimum salary rate of \$650 a month or \$7,800 per year.

Well, not to keep you in suspense, in 1948 GM dished out \$40,979,700 in cash and stocks to the eligibles, and put aside some \$9,563,000 for future distribution. And all that goes out before they figure their net

There are quite a few figures in the above, but they can be studied with profit. Of course, it isn't the same kind of profit which the eligibles and the big stockholders get out of it. But a realization of just what is being done with the wealth produced by the auto workers can lead to some hard thinking about what could be done with it if our great industries were controlled by the workers instead of by a handful of moneyed aristocrats. And that's true, even if some of the thoughts turn out to be a little bit too subversive for Senator Mc-Carthy and J. Edgar Hoover.

> Get it EVERY week! A sub to LABOR ACTION is only \$1 for 1 year



#### LABOR ACTION Independent Socialist Weekly

Vol. 14, No. 14

April 3, 1950

Published weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York City 11, N. Y. GENERAL EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y. Telephone: IRonsides 6-5117.

Subscription rate: \$1.00 a year; 50 cents for six months. (\$1.25 and 65 cents for Canada and Foreign.) Re-entered as second-class matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874.

> Editor: HAL DRAPER Assistant Editors: MARY BELL and L. G. SMITH Business Manager: L. G. SMITH

Opinions and policies expressed in the course of signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

## Reading from Left to Right

AMERICAN POWER: THE DOMESTIC SOURCES, by Richard Hofstadter. (American Perspective,

The author of The American Political Tradition makes a point often emphasized in L.A.:

"To a large degree our domestic economy is underwritten by the combined power of our military preparation and our economic aid to Western Europe. The services of our so-called welfare state are dwarfed by the combined bulk of foreign economic aid and defense appropriations. In the days of the New Deal, Franklin D. Roosevelt's seven billion dollar budgets were stigmatized by his opponents as fantastically high; today, in an age of forty billion dollar budgets, expenditures of over eleven billion dollars for defense alone and seven billion dollars for foreign economic aid pass with far less partisan excitement than the much smaller New Deal

"We have thus reached a point at which our domestic economy, by a singular irony, is underwritten by the very precariousness of our situation in the cold war. We are less free than we have ever been at any time in our history to confront the realities of our domestic problems unhampered by fundamental and costly considerations of security, or to attack these problems with anything like our full resources. Simultaneously, a kind of floor is provided to our economic activity insofar as a minimum level of employment is guaranteed by our immense national budget. We are living under a curious kind of military Keynesianism in which Mars has rushed in to fill the gap left by the decline of the market economy. At home we enjoy the fictitious juxury of a prosperity without welfare, a prosperity insured by peril. Abroad we blunder badl, perhaps half conscious of the fact that if we cease to provide ourselves with peril we would deprive ourselves of our insurance....

# WORLD POLITICS

#### Ruhr Industrialists Riding Back to Power on Allied Policies

(composed of British and Ameri-

cans). The work of these control

groups is to cease with the cur-

tailment of the activities of the

occupation forces, whereas the au-

thority is supposed to continue to

function indefinitely. The author-

ity, being a public body, is or will

necessarily be subject to various

pressures (such as are the propo-

But the arrangements made by

the Allied High Commission in

respect to the ownership, etc., of

the effectiveness with which the

work of the authority will be car-

ried out. This, in turn means that

no matter how much the author-

ity is improved and reformed, it-

will always be limited by the so-

cial and juridical structure under

which the actual operation of the

"Decartelization" and "decon-

centration" have been the fictions

under which American policy in

only real effect of the decarteliza-

a statement of the American Jew-

The essentially anti-democratic

telization" covers up has repeat-

edly been revealed by such in-

stances as the invalidation of so-

cialization measures, enacted on

the basis of the expressed will of

large popular majorities, by the

military government. Such meas-

ures were enacted in the states

of Hesse and North Rhein-West-

phalia. The military governor jus-

tified his intervention by stating

that only after a central govern-

such issues be referred to the pop-

A similar treatment was accord-

the principle of co-determination,

under which the workers in a

ish Committee.

ANTI-SOCIALIST FICTION

sals of the AFL and CIO).

#### By EUGENE KELLER

(Continued from last week)

A statute for the Ruhr industries was first contemplated after the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers at London in the winter of 1947 had broken down, and plans for the establishment of a West German government were made by the Anglo-Americans. That is, control over these industries had to be retained in the latter's interest; but if their foreign policy was to have a reasonably strong social base on which to operate, the industries could not permanently be withheld from the

Furthermore, pressures exerted by the French, who wanted the Ruhr separated from Germany proper, and the Russians, who wanted a share in its control, had to be counteracted. There also were reports that American steel interests, in order to avoid expansion of their own productive facilities, were eager to stabilize and raise German steel production, thus also forestalling the expansion of French facilities, which would obviously not be as easily controllable as those of Germany, if controllable at all.

#### "TRUSTEES" PRO-NAZI

Under Military Government Law No. 75, promulgated in November, 1948, so-called trusteeship associations for coal and steel were set up. They were to reorganize into smaller units ("deconcentrate") and run the individual enterprises. These associations consisted of Germans only; its members were to be and are representatives of management, labor and the "pub-

As is well known, the representatives of management were practically all deeply implicated with with Nazi politics and the Nazi war machine; moreover, they are ment had been instituted should the dominant elements in the associations. (We eannot go into details regarding the managerial representatives but refer to Commentary of April, 1949, the New Republic of March 21, 1949, and the numerous dispatches in the press.)

The trusteeship associations are holding the Ruhr industries "in trust" until "final disposition" has been made of them. Under the law, this final disposition of the properties was to be left to a popular referendum.

The International Control. Authority was created in December, 1948; its chief purpose was to be the control and allocation of steel and coal production (but not its ownership or administration). The Germans were allowed merely an observer who had no vote.

As it is, the authority has never yet functioned as such. Actual con-trol over production has been above, it is obvious that this mem-

(since 1945) and still is in the ber cannot represent the interests hands of the Combined Steel and of the German people. the Combined Coal Control Groups

It should be clear then that the steps advocated by the AFL and CIO in opposition to present U.S. policy are, under the circumstances, mainly formal in character. Possibly, if they were adopted, they would allow a somewhat greater leeway for the play of social forces. But the growing power of the German bourgeoisie would scarcely be affected there-

#### THEY'RE RIDING BACK

When it is proposed, for examthe industries will be decisive for ple, that Law No. 75 be retained, a fetish is being made out of the fact that the trusteeship associations do not own by "hold in trust" the Ruhr industries. In reality, these associations have served and are serving the German magnates and their managers as a vehicle to ride back into their old posi-

Coupled with this proposal is the demand that the industries not be returned to private ownership. But who the owners are to be is not stated although it is imthe Ruhr has been applied "The plied that the trusteeship associations should be made permanent. tion program so far has been to Such compromises between "free furnish an excuse for putting off enterprise" and government conor preventing socialization," reads trol\_ (with\_labor\_ participating), however, usually work out in favor of private enterprise and are certain to do so especially in ocpolicy which the fiction of "decar- cupied Germany.

#### SDP PROGRAM BETTER

By contrast, the program of the German Social-Democrats on the Ruhr industries is far superior. They too call for the integration of these industries with those of Northwestern Europe but with Germany as an equal partner. The industries would be nationalized (the principle of codetermination exercised by the plant workers being, presumably, an integral feature of nationalization, as it was in the above-mentioned aborted socialization measures of individed the legislative introduction of ual states). The distribution of their products would come under the control of an international

plant have a voice and a vote in the economic policies of the plant. In order to enforce such a program, it would be inescapably nec-Now that a central government essary that the German workers exists, the premise on which the military government's intervenbe called into the arena of politition was justified will most likely. cai struggle; and this struggle would logically and necessarily be be forgotten. The impending final disposition" of the Ruhr properties, directed against both the German according to recent press dis-patches will supersede all the mabourgeoisie and the Anglo-Americans. Quite possibly, American jor provisions of Law No. 15, in- trade-union officials have adcluding the one that the German vanced their compromise for the people should have a voice in it. very purpose of avoiding such a It is true that under the sostep. But they are mistaken if they called Petersburg (West, Boan)
Agreement of last November the believe that democracy in Germany can be had by making compromise proposals or by merely Germans will be permitted fullfledged member on the autifority; putting pressure on influential personages in the State Depart-

## YOU and SICIENCE

#### Culture on the Luce: "Life" and Science

By PHILIP COBEN

This is about an article on science in the current issue of Life magazine. It is by all odds one of the stupidest pieces you can avoid reading this year. That is exactly what makes it worth a column of attention given the fact that it will be read by about 26 million persons (Life's estimate of its readership).

It is entitled "Science Can Be Silly," by Anthony Standen, who lists himself as a member of three scientific societies. Life introduces it as "fun-making," "with tongue-in-cheek hyperbole," but the disclaimer is more obviously made with tongue in cheek than the article itself, which is not funny. Its purpose is obviously serious enough. Maybe the stuff ought to be exhibited first. Here's a faithful sample:

"The easiest way to introduce pseudo-science is to call any investigation 'the testing of a hypothesis.' If a social scientist wants to find out whether rich people are more likely to vote Republican than poor people, he first 'frames the hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between income and Republicanism' and then goes out and 'tests the hypothesis.' This can always be done, and it makes anything at all sound wonderfully scientific. A biologist, if he wishes to know how many toes a cat has, does not 'frame the hypothesis that the number of feline digital extremities is four, or five, or six,' he simply gets a cat and counts.'

This is about on the level of "Darwin teaches that men come from monkeys," and if Standen does not spring that one, his own paragraph on the theory of evolution comes close. Omitting any demonstration of its positive ignorance, it illustrates the very serious point of the article and the source of Standen's beef against the scientific method. The trouble with some scientists' discussions of evolution is that they don't leave room for God.

#### How to Count the Cat's Toes

Before the portals of the Deity, Standen warns science: Stand back! Now this has been done seriously by serious scientific thinkers and it can be discussed seriously. It makes somewhat heavy reading, however, for customers used to glancing at Life's pictures while waiting for the barber. None of that for Luce! Why bother to go through the twists and turns necessary to reconcile the scientific method with the Catholic Church when it's so much simpler to "prove" that science really can tell us next to nothing about our world—and that in any case the famed scientific method is more often than not a

Here's Standen's demonstration of what's "very often" wrong with scientists' methods: "Thus they will offer an argument that, in principle, runs like this: a man gets drunk on Monday on rye and soda water; he gets drunk on Tuesday on Scotch and soda water, and on Wednesday he gets drunk on gin and soda water. What caused his drunkenness? Obviously, the common factor: the soda water."

One can see perhaps why Standen has to make a dishonest living as a Luce hack instead of a decent livelihood as a scientist. Doesn't he really know what the next step in a scientific method would be? namely, to "test the hypothesis about soda water, the common factor, to see whether the man will get drunk on Thursday on it alone. But, as we saw, our anti-silly-scientist got positively hilarious over the idea of scientists' framing and testing hypotheses. A scientist is there to count the cat's toes.

But as we said, Standen's stupidity has an end in view. A key example will illustrate it. It begins this way:

"Can science disprove ghosts? The average science-ridden citizen assumes that, of course, it can." We interrupt the quotation only to point out that the average scientist makes no such claim, for the same reason that none would claim to be able to "disprove" the existence of a bat-winged brownie named Archibald on the planet Mars. The rest of the quotation from Standen illustrates the point.

#### Elbow Room for Archibald

"And yet, is that true? Suppose (just for the sake of amiable argument) that ghosts can occasionally appear when the psychological conditions are just right, and suppose—as might quite well be true that one necessary condition for the appearance of a ghost is the absence of a scientist. Then 'science' would go on investigating ghost after ghost, and would 'disprove' every one of them while they kept on appearing whenever the scientists were not looking."

Standen (and Luce) is not worried about the scientists' ability to disprove the existence of ghosts. It is the existence of God that he has in mind behind the tomfoolery. His method is indicative of the last bastions of theology in an age of science.

The commonest excuse of the spiritualistic medium for failing or refusing to produce a sure-'nuff spook before a scientific investigator is notoriously the same as Standen's: the spook won't show if there is an unbeliever around to queer the atmosphere. It will appear only before—the gullible. The routine is as convenient for Standen as for the trance-faker. And as long as science can't prove that the batwinged brownie does not exist, why be so cocksure? Science can't tell us everything, can it now? . . .

Science will never be able to tell us everything, no doubt, but it has pushed the darkness of ignorance further and further away. It abolished Jupiter as the wielder of the thunderbolt and dispensed with the giant turtle on whose back the earth rests. It pushed the godhead out of Mt. Olympus, out of the totem-pole, out of the sun's disk, out of the graven image with eight arms, out of one embodiment after the other—but it will never be able to push it out of the land where the bat-winged brownie lives.

For that land is always just on the other side of the ever-increasing circle of light, it is always there just inside the shadows, and wherever the light of science has not yet reached, there is plenty of room for anyone who insists on supernatural beings. Theology finds its elbow room in the nooks and crannies of men's ignorance. The less we know, the more room.

How else explain an attack in the largest-circulation magazine in America on the very foundations of science?

#### NOT IN THE HEADLINES ...

A year's subscription to LABOR ACTION brings you a living socialist analysis of news and views on labor, minority groups, national and world politics—\$1 a year.

### 'PRO UND CONTRA'

#### A NEW GERMAN MAGAZINE FOR MARXIST DISCUSSION APPEARS

By A. G. (By Mail from Paris)

Ours is without any doubt an era which is seeking a new orientation. This is especially true of working - class parties which reject capitalism, reformism and Stalinism, all three.

The need for basing realistic action on a new understanding of things is felt most vividly in those places where the Stalinist practice of "socialist" transformation of the economy and society, and of the "socialist liberation" which is peculiar to it, is being lived through in concrete, daily experience—provided that in the course of this experience the possibility still exists of confronting facts with ideas, or of confronting ideas with ideas, as is not the case in the satellite countries and still less. in Russia.

That is why Germany and especially Berlin occupy a special position, as areas which are in part under the control of Stalinism but in part still offer the possibility of an opposition to it. This situation, together with a certain number of other factors (the fact that they were so long cut off from the outside world: the technical difficulties of the first post-war years) has brought to birth here, since the end of the war, a multitude of groups and grouplets. They have one thing in common: they all aim at the constitution of a strong working - class movement which will be free of both reformism and Stalinism

Until a little while ago, the activity of these groups remained confined to narrow circles, to a semi-underground existence, with mimeographed material. It was an event of a certain importance, herefore, when during the last half year one of these groups, called "The Revolutionary Socialists of Germany," undertook the publication of a printed magazine which appeared under the name of "Pro und Contra" [Pro and Conl beginning with its second

#### PLANNED AS FORUM

It is not issued by an organization, properly speaking, but by men who are in agreement on certain fundamental questions -- former members of the German Communist Party as well as of the Social-Democratic Party. Some are still members of the latter, or indeed are adherent of the Fourth International or of other German be made about it.

opposition groups. What unites them, as was mentioned above, is above all this: to capitalism, refrmism and Stalinism they want to counterpose a genuinely socialist and Marxist position.

But they are not of the opinion that they already possess all the wisdom in the world. They recognize, on the contrary, the necessity for further reflection and clarification. And to this work they want to make a contribution with their magazine "Pro und Contra." As the editors themselves write: "These issues are intended to be documents for the new spiritual and political orientation.

And by no means do they intend it to be an organ which will spread only the ideas of the group itself. The magazine is rather to be an open forum for all nontotalitarian and non-reformist socialists.

This formula appears to us to be well adapted to what is required by the present state of the revolutionary socialist movement. It would be a step forward if in some way the various German groups, thanks to the initiative taken by the ground around "Pro und Contra," found in it the possibility of emerging from their obscurity and of making contact with public opinion.

Up to now four issues of the magazine have appeared. In part they contain theoretical studies attempting to analyze the contemporary scene and to work out the meaning of genuine socialism in the face of reformist and Stalinist ideas and realities.

In other articles, the issues published give detailed information on the economic, social and political conditions in Germany today. Thus, No. 2 published an interesting report on the way in which the Stalinists took control of Eastern Germany and on the structure of the SED (the Stalinist "Socialist Unity Party"). In No. 4 there is an article on the Social-Democratic Party which gives a good idea of the struggle of tendencies

within it. But the magazine does not limit itself to German questions. Notably, No. 4 contains a long and noteworthy study devoted to China and to the history of the nationalliberation struggles in the Far East

during the last half-century. All in all, it is a magazine which deserves to be followed attentively, in spite of the reservations to

## Not in the Headlines

#### Automatic "Ja" Vote rolled up, desk sets and even small

The Securities and Exchange Commission has recently cracked down on a corporation which put a new twist in election rigging. It sent its stockholders dividend checks with management's proxy statement printed on the back. To cash his dividend the stockholder had to endorse it, and thus he automatically signed over to the company management his annual right to vote on the company's policies,

It is such expert experience which gives corporations the right to scream about lack of democracy in trade unions

New strike technique: Picketing of a store by a Chicago retail union was having no that the choices presented for reeffect and the strike looked lost. ply were: Hearing that the store was having trouble with shoplifters, the union president called a meeting of all employees who had recently made a purchase in the store. The next day a dozen strikers came into the store with suspicious bulges under their coats: men's suits auditing firm."

for \$1.5 million for false arrest would be filed. Within 24 hours the strike was settled with an 11-cent pay raise.

Take Your Choice

radios. The store detective, scent-

Two hours later—allowing time

for the story to hit the newspapers

-the union attorney showed up

at the police station with purchase

slips for each of the "stolen" arti-

cles, announcing that damage suits

ing a crime wave, arrested all 12

and hustled them to jail.

Sample of an "opinion poll": The Property Owners' Association, a real-estate lobby outfit, sent How to Win a Strike out postcards to feel the people's pulse on rent control. You might see the results in an advertisement any day. What it won't tell you is

> (1) "I am for rent control and police state for everyone."

(2) "I am for true American rights and principles and against rent control.

The results will no doubt be attested by the usual "reputable

# The Cop and the Dukhobor

## A Modern Parable as U.S. Appeals Court Conscripts the Constitution

By STAN GREY

"A Dukhobor tried to go naked in the streets of London. A policeman set out gravely to capture him, but found himself outdistanced because of his heavy clothing. Therefore he divested himself, as he ran, of garment after garment, until he was naked: and so lightened he caught his prey. But then it was impossible to tell which was the Dukhobor and which was the policeman."

Last week, the U.S. stripped itself of another item of clothing. Two decisions handed down by a U.S. Court of Appeals stamped the seal of law on the government's subversion of civil liber-

In one, the court adjusted the law of the land to bring it into harmony with the government's loyalty program by ruling that the discharge of a government employee for "disloyalty" was constitutional. In the other decision, the court ruled that the attorney general's "subversive list" was not subject to judicial review.

The administration could not have been granted a more felicitous gift than these rulings issued exactly on the third birthday of Truman's announcement of the loyalty program. Whatever else may be said about these judges, it would be difficult to impugn their sense of the appropriate.

#### Openly Based on Cold War

The distinction of these opinions lies less in their conclusions than in their content. That the courts will be eager partners to all the necessities of the cold war should surprise nobody familiar with the generally dismal history of the judiciary on the question of civil liberties. During and after the last war, the courts were only momentary junctions on the road to imprisonment for people who expressed any criticism of the war or the government.

Already in this cold war the judiciary has shown itself the inheritor of the "patriotism" of its predecessors. Appelate reversals of lower court decisions have rendered the Feinberg Act constitutional and overruled the invalidation of the rabid Ober Law in Maryland. On three important civil-liberties cases, the Supreme Court itself has given every indication that it will permit no trifles of democratic conscience to interfere with its judicial contributions to government persecutions. And now we have these two cases from the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington.

The majority decision in the "disloyalty" case is exceptional and noteworthy for the explicit and straightforward manner in which it offers the government the court's services in the cold war. No legalistic camouflages, no heavy-handed and learned obfuscation of the essential question involved. Quite openly and bluntly, the court indicates that the conditions of the cold war and the nature of the totalitarian enemy entitle the government to the blessings of the law in anything it may do.

#### Bill of Rights: A Hardship Case

Speaking for the majority of two, Judge Prettyman said: "It is our clear opinion that the president may remove from government service any person of whose loyalty he is not completely convinced . . . It so happens that we are presently in an adversary position to a government whose most successful recent method of contest is the infiltration of a government service by its sympathizers. We conclude that the executive order before us and the proceedings under it violated no congressional limitation upon the executive power of removal; that no constitutional right was involved in this nonappointment or dismissal; and that insofar as the circumstances imposed hardship upon the individual, the exigencies of government in the public interest under current conditions must prevail, as they always must when a similar

clash arises." And at another point Judge Prettyman said the court could not "ignore the world situation

in which not merely two ideologies but two potentially adverse forces presently exist, and certainly we cannot require that the president and the Congress ignore it."

This statement is a perfect summary of the way in which the courts will probably reconcile the cold war with the Constitution. It should be obvious from this opinion that the two are reconciled by conscripting the Constitution for

The central theme of Prettyman is that under the conditions of the cold war, the "exigencies of government" must prevail over any hardship to the individual. The "hardship to the individual" in this case involved nothing less than the right of trial by jury, right to confront the accuser and opportunity to challenge the evidence. If the court is willing, as it is, to waive these rights of the individual, what then are the limits of the government's right

#### "Clear and Present"

The cold war has been with us now for some time and will remain with us for even a longer time to come. Isn't it clear that everything the government does as a belligerent in the cold war can become an "exigency of government . . . under current conditions"? The government does not campaign against democratic rights for its own sake, but always in the name of the cold war. And now that the court has ruled in effect that whatever serves the cold war is constitutional, the government has a free hand.

Liberal judicial opinion also grappled with the dilemma of reconciling civil liberties with danger to the government and emerged with the "clear and present danger" doctrine. This emphasized the pre-eminent necessity of preserving democratic rights unless such preservation involved an immediate and unequivocal danger to the government. The Prettyman desion, like others today, does not follow this doctrine but has propounded one of its own, namely, the doctrine of the clear and present cold war. Under this doctrine, court need only establish what is obvious, that the cold war is with us, to conclude that what the government does in its struggle with its opponent is constitu-

#### Court Abdicates on List

It should also be noticed, especially by Dokhubors, that Judge Prettyman refers to the methods of the enemy as a justification of the methods of retaliation by the U.S. If the totalitarian enemy is going to infiltrate, then the government has the right to discharge on suspicion of disloyalty. But the U.S. is a democracy, less so every day to be sure, but a democracy still, and this cold war is supposed to be one between the democratic way and the totalitarian way of life. Now the judge tells us that democracy must shed itself of its democratic foibles when confronted with the methods of totalitarianism. The U.S. and Russia are by no means identical, but the Dukhobor has not been caught yet.

#### If You're—

- Against capitalism
- Against Stalinism
- For a Socialist Democracy

You belong with the— INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

For information and literature, write to: Independent Socialist League 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

The days when the courts rubber-stamp government repressions are also days of vigorous\* minorities. In this case too, Judge Edgerton. the minority of one, stated: "Without a trial by jury, without evidence and without even being allowed to confront her accusers or to know their identity, a citizen of the U.S. has been found disloyal to the government of the United States." This minority, like the Supreme Court minorities, courageously tries to halt the degradation of the courts, but such minorities do not make the law; they only illuminate the prostitution of the law by contrast.

A charming postcript to this decision is the fact that the majority would not sanction the government's placing a three-year barrier against the discharged person's employment by another government agency. The court said "on behalf of the individual our sense of justice rebels." How did justice creep into this? Quite dormant when the accused loses her job and reputation, that uncontrollable, raging sense of justice broke all its chains and burst out to straighten out a detail. Off with her head, proclaims the sense of justice, but let not a hair of her head be touched.

In the other decision of the court, with a majority of two against the same Judge Edgerton, a Philadelphia post-office employee's plea that he had been dismissed for disloyalty arising out of his membership in an organization on the attorney general's subversive list, was denied. (Clearly, a post-office employee's opinions constitute a clear and present danger.) Judge Miller for the majority ruled that the subversive list was not subject to judicial review, that the attorney general had acted under a presidential order that was not reviewable by the courts.

This is a tremendous victory for the government and it underscores what is unique and most ominous in the current "loyalty" drive. There have been persecutions before in American history, but they were by and large carried through under the law-law which was unjust. undemocratic, but law nevertheless, and law which was sustained by the courts. The repressions under the subversive list take place outside the law, not having been initiated by any law, not subject to judicial review as per this decision, and against which there is no obvious legal recourse.

#### Where Are the Limits?

This is the classic method of totalitarianism and the irony of the situation is complete when the courts of law decree the immunity of totalitarian procedures.

Whatever the strict technical questions involved, one can be reasonably sure that had the court wished it might so have interpreted the relevant law as to throw out the insidious subversive lists. Judge Edgerton found it possible to do so and the history of court decisions is filled with cases where judges interpret their conclusions into the law they want.

But this court refused to do so. Are there then no limits upon presidential orders? Can the president order the grossest violations of our civil rights and be immune? It is an idle question, for he has done just that with his subversive list and has now gotten his grant of immunity.

It is reported that the cases involving the same principle as the above will soon be ruled on by the Supreme Court. There is not too much hope to be placed in the outcome, for the court has demonstrated, if nothing else, the fitness of Tom Clark to sit on it. The overwhelming and terrifying fact is that the persecutions of the last few years, totalitarian in conception. totalitarian in their methods and totalitarian in their consequences, have been deemed by the courts to be legal. But a repressive government, suffocating the government, the schools, the shops with an atmosphere of "loyalty," will be no less repressive for the legal sanction of a few judges.

The Dukhobor has not been caught, but the race is getting hotter.

# Catholic Labor Classes Plug Taft Version Of T-H Law, Push Corporate-State Idea

olic Churches of Baltimore have United States, they made promises been busy running public "labor" classes. They are well pleased with the number of people attracted, with 340 enrolled in ten classes and several hundred attending a series of weekly central lectures. But they have failed to attract more than a handful of union members; and it is doubtful if their program is being fully accepted by their own people because of its weakness and incon-

In all the classes and lectures they make broad statements favoring social justice and criticizing the capitalist system for imposing an inadequate standard of living on the working class. They even quote FDR's figures showing that one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. But they refuse to analyze and condemn the class society that produces these conditions.

First they set up socialism as a bogyman, using all the standard falsehoods spread by capitalists generally. They refer to Russia as though it had established a socialist system. They claim that socialists want to take over all the personal property of individuals, such as automobiles and houses. They ridicule the idea of a classless society on the basis of that wornout religious theory of the Middle Ages, which says that just as members of the body have different functions so must members of society-all of which, of course, has nothing to do with the question of

When they go into detail on how their plan of reformed capitalism will work, their own people start asking questions. Basically, all they are asking for-as their system of the "middle course," or the pope's plan as outlined vaguely in an encyclical of Pope Pius XI—is a system of labor-management collaboration, with labor promised a little more; the capitalists still holding their class power of ownership of the means of production; and, though they do not quite say so openly, with the Catholic Church having a position of power in the government.

They showed their hand on labor's immediate problems when the subject of the Taft-Hartley Law came up for debate in the public - speaking section of the class. Their official position in all the classes is that the Taft-Hartley Law is slanted too much against labor just as the Wagner Act was slanted too much against the employers. Therefore they fayor modifications of T-H about in line with those proposed by Taft

In one class which was almost entirely non-labor, the vote dur-ang the debate was almost unanimously for the Taft revisions of T-H or for keeping it as it is, while the two people who spoke for repealing the law were bitterly attacked. In another class, which had a majority of labor-minded people, when the majority vote went for repealing T-H, the management and small-business people walked out of the class. It seems that there is a class struggle even in Catholic labor classes.

Their general program of advocating various industrial boards in which labor and management are to collaborate sounds very much like the corporative plan adopted in Italy under fascism. In the section of Pius XI's encyclical, "Forty Years After," which discusses the fascist program, there is no actual condemnation of the program, and it is not difficult to conclude that the pope would have liked it if it had been controlled by the Cathchic Church instead of by Musso-

Since the purpose of the classes was to attempt to swing both capital and labor to the support of a

To labor, they claim that the pope's plan offers wages high enough to meet the standard for minimum health and decency as set up by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, plus \$500 a year for investment over a period of 20 years, since they claim that every family should have a minimum \$10,000 investment, stock ownership and representation on labormanagement committees. There is no explanation of how labor is to get these things out of American

#### CLAIM CIO INFLUENCE

To capital, the pope's plan offers the assurance that property rights are sacred, that the Catholic Church will oppose the idea of a classless society, and a gentle admonition that they should not misuse their wealth. They admit

members of the Harvard Univer-

sity faculty, including Pulitzer

Prize winner Arthur M. Schle-

singer Jr. and Kirtley F. Mather,

president - elect of the American

Association for the Advancement

of Science, today announced their

opposition to the government's

loyalfy purge of the legless Pur-

Kutcher was fired from his job

ple Heart veteran, James Kutcher

as a clerk in the Newark Veter-

ans Administration because of his

membership in the Socialist Work-

ers Party and has challenged the

at Washington, D. C.

comparatively small companies have shown any interest in the plan. Although it is a good forthright capitalist plan, it seems the capitalists think they are still getting along all right on their own.

Catholics claim there is much stronger support for their plan from labor, particularly in the CIO. With a number of Catholics in prominent positions in the CIO. there may be more to the claim than labor progressives have noticed. However, it is certain that the Catholic Church does have a definite social and economic program, which the unions generally do not have, and it is organizing and agitating for it with much the same purpose and technique as is used by the Communist Party.

Special attention is being paid to the Belgian experiment, which has the official blessing of the pope's office. In Belgium, where

Fifty-Nine of Harvard Faculty

Support Defense of Legless Vet

People are being fired from jobs

and are being forced to suffer va-

rious indignities, not the least of

which is impugnment of charac-

ter. All of this at the hands of the

administrative officials and other

non-juridical hodies proceeds from

the doctrines of 'guilt by associa-

tion' and 'subversion' arbitrarily

"These are general trends about

which we are already aware: but

civil rights have to be defended

in terms of individual cases. All

over the country both prominent

and unknown men are at the pres-

port from U.S. capitalists-only 16 olic, the Parliament in August, 1948, passed a bill for the "Reorganization of the National Economy." It is to go into effect gradually, one industry at a time, over a period of two years.

Its main purpose is to set up councils for collaboration of capital and labor in such a way as virtually to control the entire economy, with the government itself having very little participation. The Catholic Action groups have a caucus inside the employers' association pushing for the experiment: the Catholic unions are powerful in the labor movement; and the Catholics controlled the government up to the time its resignation was forced by the slim majority that voted for the return of King Leopold.

The bill sets up economic and social councils, on a national, industry-wide and plant basis. Each

ceed behind our backs. Neverthe-

less they create a frightening at-

mosphere that cuts the nerve of

"As members of a university

community we are concerned with

the state of civil liberties today.

In such matters we think that ad-

ministrative agencies, using pro-

cedures which lend themselves to

arbitrary action, should be sub-

ject to control both by public criti-

cism and by judicial review. We

think that doctrines of 'guilt by

association' are inconsistent with

genuine freedom of association

independent thinking.

experts acceptable to both having the balance of power. Priests sit in on all councils as advisors. The government is not legally obligated to follow the recommendations of the councils, but in most cases. they claim, it does.

#### THEY LOOK TO BELGIUM

Although employers are going along with the experiment under the bill, the Catholic speakers make it plain that there has been much opposition to the law in general and especially to the section that requires plants to submit general financial reports to the plant social councils every three months. and in many cases the employers keen more than one set of books to hide the true situation. Labor also is not 100 per cent behind the bill. The socialist unions are strong and have given their support with reservations on its chances of

The Belgian experiment is the first hope of the Catholic Church because it combines all the things the church wants: labor is under control through collaborating with capital; the capitalist class still has the power, as was shown in question periods when speakers had to admit that there was no control over profits or management of big business; and the Catholic Church had political power until recently. The speakers failed to point out that the capitalists accepted this plan only in a moment of weakness and fear of the rising power of the working class following the war, in much the same spirit that the majority of American capitalists accepted the New Deal in the early 1930s.

The present crisis over Leopold. with nation-wide strikes spreading and the forced resignation of the Catholic - dominated government, raises squarely the question whether it is possible to maintain stability in an economy which is based on the struggle between the

#### government's loyalty program as ent time receiving the same type and freedom of thought. Because un constitutional in a crucial civil of arbitrary treatment that Dr. suit filed in the U.S. District Court we are concerned with both these Edward Condon was subjected to freedoms, we protest their denial last year. Most of these cases do in the case of James Kutcher." The statement of the Harvard teachers declared that "administrative agencies have been and are dealing with government em-Philly Westinghouse Union Wins ployees in procedures which vio-

## **Books Received**

late the basic decencies of notice

and hearing that are part of our

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, published March 29:

LAUGHTER IN THE DARK, by Vladimir Nabokov, A Signet book, originally published by New Directions, 144 pages, 25 cents. NOW I LAY ME DOWN TO

SLEEP, by Ludwig Bemelmans. A Signet book, 144 pages, 25 cents HOW TO KNOW WILD FLOW-

ERS, by Alfred Stefferud. A Mentor original, 144 pages, 35 cents.

#### SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFER!

**Books and Pamphlets** by Leon Trotsky The Permanent Revolu-

The New Course. Marxisin in the U.S. The Lesson of Spain Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist De-

How to Fight It .......... .15

ALL FOR ONLY \$5.00 Labor Action Book Service 4 Court Square

Long Island City 1, N. Y.

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 24-Local 107, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, at the Westinghouse South Philadelphia works, reports that Willie Banks, "a poor security risk' cases, it doesn't adthe Industrial Employment Re- force court has the right to decess to classified work! had been ready established in the land to effected without sufficient cause."

Bank's clearance highlights the Since July, 1948, nine members and restricted areas to non-classified work without loss in pay. Not a single one of the cases has been charged with espionage or sabotage; alleged association with or membership in or reading the ed in July, 1948, with the labeling press of various organizations list- of two pro-socialist and anti-Staed as "subversive" has been the linist miltants. Failure to settle basis of denial.

Bank's clearance indicates that panied these labelings resulted in many times "poor security risks" are designated on very insufficient evidence even according to pres- strike ended when the company ent government standards of guilt. agreed to transfer rather than fire Although in this case no loss of these and any future "poor secuincome was involved, due to a rity risks." This action in 1948 has union - company agreement on furnished the basis of union-comtransfers to non-classified work, pany disposition of subsequent usually in the Steam Division, cases. In addition, the local union, there is of course the loss of a with the aid of the union's national certain amount of social standing legal staff, has helped the individ-

Defense of 'Security Risk' Case

case, Local 107 News said: "Although Local 107 defends its 'poor view Board. After a hearing the prive the accused of the right to board ruled that "denial [of ac- work. We believe courts are altry people for treason, sedition or for any overt act and we will join continued defense of "poor secu- the action taken against people rity risks" by the local union. proven guilty of committing these acts. In the case just cited the acof the local working in the Avia- cused was denied access to his job tion Gas Turbine Division have before any charges were proved, been labeled by the U.S. navy and a direct contradiction of all the transferred from classified work existing statutory laws in the

#### PRECEDENT SET

The government drive against active local union members startthe layoff disputes which accoma two-day sitdown strike at the South Philadelphia works. The which no decision of the board uals in their appeal hearings be-

be returned to their original jobs. Review Board, James B. Carey In the report on the Willie Banks and the national CIO participated in the hearings of the first two

security risk," has been cleared by mit that an army, navy or air movement which are being faced Local 107 can learn much from the experiences of this local which despite the jurisdictional strife in the national union, has been able effectively to secure job rights for all its members regardless of political creed. The keystone of the local's defense was the uncompromising stand taken in July, 1948, that no combinations of government-company forces could abrogate the contractual provisions of layoff and transfer. This stand based on contractual violations made it possible to rally the united action necessary to force company

Thus, examination of this bit of Local 107 history reveals sharply the tragedy of yielding by some sections of large CIO unions to company demands for contract exceptions for "poor security risk cases." Although many plants do require employee clearances, there are always a number of jobs which could be declassified to provide employment for the so-called poor security risks. Such transfers cannot be regarded as a satisfactory disposition of the entire lovalty purge menace but they do guarantee the victim the right to re-

# Prosperity: 5 Million Jobless

machinery installed in recent years. For instance, 18 per cent more cars are turned out in the auto industry with 3 per cent fewer workers. Another instance: the Celanese Corporation obtains the same amount of production with 5,500 workers as formerly with 10,000.

#### CAUSE AND EFFECT

capitalists, while asking the workers to have unwavering confidence their investment in plant and equipment. This is now evident, to his workers.

Private investment, of which twopurchase of plant, equipment and cent from 1948 to 1949. In 1950 it is expected to drop another 13 to 16 per cent according to various estimates. A greater part of the tremendous profits the corporations are grabbing is left in "idle cash" instead of being put to use in industrial expansion. Thus the Then, as happens cyclically, the capitalist class sets in motion a chain reaction of unemployment.

In this context of cause and efin their system, themselves show fect, effect and cause. many a a lack of confidence by cutting small businessman folds up and with him the jobs he had offered

thirds is the part put into the the existence of the above enu- litical problem. It is to be necesmerated circumstances, all being sary by 1951 to do something poinventory for industry, fell 20 per well supported by reliable statistics, nobody expects a real break Only idea now in the incubating in the economy. The peacetime war budget of the government is still the greatest prop to the economy. The CIO considers further that the even inadequate social and economic legislation, the farm strings. support program, the credit policy of the Federal Reserve, all are elements of support to the economy. But still there is the alarming growth of that army of unemploved.

The U.S. News & World Report

ple who are known throughout

have obtained more votes, votes

that obviously went to Plastiras,

but some of its leaders have yet

to announce their position on the

The Communist Party, outlawed

in Greece, informed its sympathiz-

dio" (somewhere in the Balkans)

to vote for the candidates of the

Democratic Front -- but NOT to

vote for the leaders of the Demo-

cratic Front who are running as

more than one and a half million

votes had been cast. More than

two-thirds of these votes had been

cast for democratic parties. This

is significant when one considers

that the Populist (royalist) Party

had received 55 per cent of all the

The fact that the strength of the

Populist Party has now been re-

duced to 18 per cent (and it would

be much lower in an honest count)

is even more significant when one

votes in the 1946 elections.

When the elections were over,

recent civil war.

candidates.

While nearly everybody admits five million is accepted as a politically about unemployment. stage is to expand public works. That costs money."

The implication here is clearit's going to be quite a job to get the government to open its purse

President Truman, even in his Florida retreat, has heard about the unemployment problem. It is rumored that he expects to send a message to Congress asking for an increase in unemployment insurance pay and a lengthening of opines that "Unemployment above the time of coverage -- both ur-

Plastiras, the head of the largest

party, as premier. The leaders of

the three parties. Plastiras. Veni-

zelos and Papandreou, all signed

the agreement. The Democratic

Front, running a close fifth in the

election, was not invited to par-

But there was a hitch: the

United States and Great Britain

did not want Plastiras. Not that

they have any big fears about

Plastiras, but he and his party

have some ideas about Greece

handling her own affairs, and he

may not always accept the advice

So the U.S. convinced Venizelos

to break with the coalition and

line with the royalists. Venizelos,

who retains the leadership of the

Liberal Party only because of his

father's famous name, is simply a

bridge-playing egotist who will

jump through the hoop whenever

the State Department of the U.S.

The people of Greece clearly

voted to demand a government

free of entanglements, free from

the death-grip of the royalist par-

ty. Now, the U.S. insists on shac-

kling them again with a right-

wing combination that is in no

way different from the old one

which was repudiated in the elec-

ticipate.

of the U.S.

wants him to.

gently needed. This, be it realized. is a very controversial subject in Congress

The AFL, "noting with alarm" the growing numbers of jobless, seems to have taken the unique position—unique for a labor organization—of not bothering the federal government at all. It has come out with the suggestion for local full-employment committees to canvass communities for all employment possibilities. Admittedly such activity may scare up a few jobs, but is this a substitute for an over-all program?

The CIO presents a more comprehensive program. It wants lower prices; wage increases ("wherever possible" is the way the CIO puts it); a farm program beneficial to both farmers and consumers; improved social-security laws; a revised tax system to relieve lower income families; the funneling back of large profits into investment, if not in plant and equipcenter issued a statement that they ment, then in housing. would form a coalition and name

This is a fairly good program and it is hoped that the CIO will press for its acceptance with vigor In passing, it must be stated that such a program would have an infinitely better chance of fulfillment through an independent labor party than it can have through the Democratic and Republican "friends of labor."

There are, however, a few more items that should be added to the CIO program. The demand for a guaranteed annual wage is firmly based on the incontrovertible fact that workers and their families must eat and pay rent all the year around. The demand for a shorter work week grows from the conviction that labor-saving machinery must lessen labor and not the number of laborers. And, in accordance with the principle that human life is more important than private property, workers should have the right themselves to operate plants that their capitalist owners can't or won't operate.

Finally, it is timely to repeat the socialist teaching that the gnawing insecurity of unemployment will be finally conquered only with the creation by the people of a system of production to serve their needs, in the place of capitalist production for profitsand what profits!

## **Greek Government**

had participated in the recent regime in Greece. Its leaders had also worked with the United States government as closely as had the royalists. As a matter of fact, they were the front men in the Greek government, permitting the U.S. to claim that "democrats" were in power in Greece.

#### NEW CENTER PARTY RISES

But among the center parties that received the most votes in this election was a new group, the National Progressive Union. This is what has surprised and shocked the old-line politicians, the correspondents of the N. Y. Times. and the U.S. intelligence agents.

The National Progressive Union is led by General Plastiras. His party's program called for support of the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine and for friendship with Washington and London, All the parties had that in their programs. But Plastiras had a few other points and that it why the people voted for his party.

The NPU called for improved relations with Yugoslavia and Greece's other neighbors. It called for amnesty of all prisoners taken in the civil war who are now on the notorious prison islands. It. also called for a smaller army and asked that the policy of insulting Russia at every turn be stopped. -

To the people this meant a chance for peace, the return of many of the soldiers and prisoners to their homes, and the end of the danger of Greece becoming an international battlefield for the big powers.

Plastiras' record in 1923-as colonel he headed the provisional government which drove King Constantine into exile for dragging Greece into war against Turkey-also served him in good stead in this election. The people saw in Plastiras a chance to get rid of the present regime, as he had done in the past. This is the reason for the overnight growth of his movement.

#### SOLDIER VOTE RIGGED

All the other parties had been screaming that a big vote for Plastiras would mean an end to Marshall aid and the Truman Doctrine: that many in the Plastiras party were Communists (the social - democratic New Leader in this country raised the same howl

would reopen the "royalty" ques- the country as socialists and retion and bring civil war to Greece. sistance leaders during the last That this propaganda had some war. The Democratic Front would effect on some people who are tired of internal strife and fright-

ened of enslavement by Russia, there is no doubt. Many of these people voted for the other center parties, which also claim to be democratic and some voted for the Populist Party, which repreers through the "Free Greece Rasents alliance with the Western

ly to the royalists. Here it was difficult to reach the people who were bombarded for the past four years with the most atrocious propaganda, in areas where no one dares breathe a word against the king, where the fascist gang's rule still dominates. The soldier vote came in long

after the other results had been announced. It was here (and in the rural areas) that the royalists found strength. Every observer claims that this vote was rigged and it is difficult to believe otherwise. There is no war on, and to believe that soldiers, no matter how patriotic, will vote for parties that will keep them in uniform indefinitely—this is to forget everything that man knows about man.

#### SOCIALIST FRONT GAINS

In addition to the rise of the Plastiras movement, the second significant development in this election was the big vote obtained by the Democratic Front. This group captured the vote in the big cities, the votes of the tradeunionists and the socialists. The Democratic Front, led by John Sofianopoulos and Alexander Svolos, is a peculiar conglomeration of selves socialists, some revolutionary socialists and many Stalinist fellow-travelers.

The Democratic Front program put special emphasis on workingclass rights, amnesty for the prisoners, and peace. The advanced workers who voted considered it the only party worth voting for. To these workers the Plastiras program was nothing more than just a few radical promises with many contradictions and no hope for fulfillment.

There were many other socialist and working-class parties in the election, but the Democratic Front was the only one with peo-

**Prof. Meyer Schapiro** Art Department, Columbia University, on The SOCIAL MEANING of MODERN ART

Friday, April 7, at 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall (9th floor), 74 Fifth Avenue between 13th and 14th Streets

Admission 50 Cents

Auspices: New York Student Federation Against War

#### considers that all the other reactionary and fascistic parties were almost wiped away completely.

#### U.S. CRACKS WHIP

As soon as the elections were over the democratic parties of the

## Purge Reaches Out --

The ECA limits employment in the Marshall Plan administration to persons loyal to the United honest people who consider them- States and its form of government who are not and never have been members of "any organization advocating contrary views."

#### IRONY FOR ADA When Gabrielson avowed that

"Socialism is just the first step toward Communism," and that "Socialists follow the lead of the British Labor Party in the same way that Communists follow a party line laid down in Moscow,' we are certain that he was not concerned with any niceties about the varying stages in the transformation of society in accordance with Marxian theory. He was merely lumping socialists with the totalitarian agents of Stalinist society as the basis for their riddance from government. He was also lumping in the same bag the liberals who stand for the "best" in capitalism and are quite opposed to socialism. By the rule of totalitarian logic, the whole kit and caboodle is "guilty by associa-

It is true that the socialists leven those of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party) and liberals are critics, mild or severe, of the capitalist system. But it is also distressingly true that the particular brand of socialists and liberals that he is attacking, that is, members of ADA, belong to an organadministration that launched the

purge against "subversives," and from whom the Republicans are only taking cues. Senators Humphrey of Minnesota and Myers of Pennsylvania are so-called Democrats. The totalitarian mind canlife to dead gray uniformitywhich would necessitate a police state to keep opinions alike and loyal only to the existing form of governmeπt.

The terrible irony of the situation is that most of the exsocialists and liberals gravitated to the Democratic Party out of hatred of Stalinism and disillusionment with socialism, which they too identified with the Stalinist perversion. The latter is a major political belief which many of them regrettably share with Senator McCarthy and the attorney general.

The degeneration of Russian society and the degeneration of capitalist society gives rise to new political types, the totalitarian collectivists of the Stalinist variety on the one hand, and the totalieven undemocratic measures. In concrete political life, this has call a halt to the witchhunt. meant the flight of certain types of socialists, liberals and labor leaders to the camp of capitalism, in most cases, to the Democratic Party, and the support of the administration that drew up the is a government-by-decree tech- could be a beginning.

nique that is completely extra-

#### CHICKENS HOME TO ROOST

Within the labor unions, this trend has meant the ousting of not stand the small degrees of dif- the Stalinists by bureaucratic and ereace. It would reduce political other undemocratic practices. The labor bureaucracy is strewn with the bleached bones of ex-socialists and ex-radicals of all kinds who have pursued this policy.

These people are the real Machiavellians, not the Marxian socialists who have always tried to relate the means to the goal, and understand that democratic ends require democratic means to attain them. The chickens are coming home to roost for the reformists, the compromisers, the advocates of half-measures, the postponers of socialism. One of the 'main reasons for the march of reaction in this country is the complete gutlessness of labor leaders, liberals and radicals of all stripes on the matter of civil liberties.

Will they wake up now that the flood threatens to engulf them? We fervently hope so. The tide tarian liberals on the other. The can be stemmed. The forces exist. credo of the latter has been that The ranks of labor and the people Stalinism-is so vile that any are not corrupted. They can be means is legitimate to combat it, aroused. All they need is courageous leadership, and they will A commission of inquiry, such

as LABOR ACTION has suggested, into the illegal methods of the FBI. the attorney general's list—a commission which would give open hearings to the victims. ization that helped into power the original "subversive" list, which which would seek legal redress-