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More Light on Reuther Shootings ... page 2

# Unions Rally For Washington Conference; Now Is The Time to Form A Labor Party!

# THEM SPEAK UP

are anxious to lead the protest parade. Many have planned for early meetings and are appealing to na-

"It is taking all the strength of the top labor organization to hold back the rank and file until further plans are formulated. These will be drawn up at meetings in

"Apparently the strongly worded protests of the labor spokesman have caught fire among their local members. Telegrams, letters, telephone calls have swamped the offices of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the International Association of Machinists and the Railway Labor Executives Association."-N. Y. Times,

Let them speak up! Let the members in the shops, the locals, the stewards and committeemen elect their delegates to a vast representative Conference of Labor to plan labor's fight against the government-big busi-

# By BEN HALL

The wage-freeze impels the whole labor movement toward unity. For two months, every major tactical move has been directed by the United Labor Policy Committee, representing every important union except the United Mine Workers. Delegates of the CIO, AFL, railway brotherhoods, and machinists act in unison to prepare a common defense.

The surge toward common action is symbolized by the drawing together of the two rival meat-packing unions of the CIO and AFL.

In the catastrophic strike of 1948, these unions fought one another and settled separately with the employers. When their strike was called off on the employers' terms, they engaged in bitter jurisdictional warfare. Now their contracts are threatened by the Wage Stabilization Board. In self-defense they have founded a permanent unity committee looking toward eventual merger of the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO) and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (AFL).

On March 20 and 21, Washington will be the scene of one of the most significant assemblages of labor since the founding of the CIO.

At the call of the ULPC, leaders of all city and state bodies of affiliated unions gather to map out a program of action. On the first day, the CIO, AFL, Machinists, and brotherhoods will meet separately; on the second day, they will convene in one single session as the delegates of united American labor.

# Form Unifying Conference

We need not speculate on what discussions will take place and what decisions will emanate from these discussions to understand the deep significance of this convention. Here for the first time, in the face of a grave crisis, all unions sense the need to convoke a unifying conference to decide upon labor's program, labor's plan of action.

As will be explained, this is not yet the united Conference of Labor, representing the elected delegates of the rank and file in their local unions, that LABOR ACTION has so often urged but it is a noteworthy step in that direction

## This is not the first time that labor has desperately needed a unifying policy.

The 1945-46 post-war strike wave saw every important union locked in struggle to win some small return for the sacrifices and losses of the no-strike war years. In 1948 came long strikes to keep wages in pace with rising living costs-the steel strike, mine strikes, rail strikes. At each turn the unions faced the subtle interference of fact-finding boards and the heavy-handed persecution of injunctions, fines, and military rule. But the unions sought salvation from Democratic "friends" in Washington; they hoped for well-timed favors from President Truman.

# Focus on Real Source of Danger

Now we enter a new period of war mobilization. As billions are allocated for armaments, as taxes are pushed upward, as inflation threatens, as compulsory draft-labor is suggested, labor must and does begin to ask: Will a new brood of war millionaires be born? Who will pay for warthe rich or the poor?

By choosing the capital as the site of its convention, the ULPC focuses attention on the real source of danger. (Turn to last page)

# Senate Crime Committee **Probes Reuther Shooting**

### By WALTER JASON

Page Two

DETROIT, March 11-The persistent efforts of the United Auto Workers (CIO) to arouse public opinion on the scandalous disclosures resulting from the hearings of the Kefauver crime investigating committee of the Senate hit pay dirt this week.

John L. Burling, committee counsel, announced today that the committee would investigate the shootings of Walter and Victor Reuther. It would soon hold public hearings in Detroit to dig into some new and hitherto unrevealed facts that may throw much light on the assassination attempts against these two UAW leaders.

Ever since the Kefauver committee left Detroit, the UAW has been broadcasting further details of the testimony before the secret grand jury on "labor rackets." The performance of various characters from Sam Perone to Carl Renda, Dean Robinson, president of Briggs, and John Fry, president of Michigan Stove Company, before the grand jury strength-

Miners in the great northern

West Virginia field have recently

completed a wildcat political

strike against the state govern-

ment. The diggers left the pits for

more than a week in protest

against a bill abolishing indepen-

This stoppage was the latest

chapter in a long struggle in West

Virginia over mine safety. State

laws provide for a safety inspec-

tor, called a fire boss. In order to

save money, even at the expense

of miners' lives, the mine owners

have had their foremen take the

state fire boss examination and

then serve as fire bosses at the

foremen. Since these foremen are

also responsible for "getting out

production," they naturally tend

to cut corners. It is like making

dent mine-safety inspectors.

ened every suspicion concerning the beatings of six Briggs union militants, and raised the question: Was there any connection between these murderous attacks and the subsequent assassination attempts of the Reuther broth-

Guy Nunn, UAW radio commentator, has had truly sensational broadcasts hitting at the tie-up of the racketeers and industrial leaders in Detroit. The volume of threatening letters and the anguished cries of some Detroit businessmen like Harvey Campbell, vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, indicate that Nunn's comments were touching extremely sensitive spots.

#### NEW CLUES REVEALED

Mine Strike Demands

**No Anti-Safety Laws** 

Many of Detroit's ministers, other prominent citizens, and the city council all demanded that the Kefauver committee return and check into the situation. Gerald K. O'Brien, public prosecutor, also made such a plea. Police found it expedient to

A long struggle has taken place

in the courts, backed up by sev-

eral strikes, to end the practice

of combination foremen-fire boss-

es. Some time ago, a state Su-

preme Court decision upheld the

United Mine Workers. As soon as

this happened, however, the mine-

owner controlled state legislature

cynically wrote a bill making the

combination fire-boss foreman le-

It was against this bill that the

miners struck. The servants of

the coal barons passed the bill

anyway. The miners, back at

work for the moment, are watch-

he signs or vetoes the bill. The

man think twice before signing.

cat strike were from the same

large, highly mechanized mines

The locals involved in the wild-

ing the governor to see whether

question Perone about the Reuther shootings. Incidental to this questioning, Perone was asked if he knew Mel Bishop, former UAW regional director who was once placed as administrator over the Briggs local during the hectic period of the beatings. Bishop was supposed to block any wildcats. A one-time friend of Reuther, Bishop had become in recent years a bitter enemy.

Perone denied knowing Bishop. and Bishop issued a statement that he did not know Perone. Then it was brought out that Perone and Bishop had been arrested together in 1947 for violating a state law against hunting without a license. They were caught in Perone's car, and they were fined together. Bishop claims he just itched a ride from Perone who was a complete stranger to him. This interesting coincidence is among the angles into which the Kefauver committee is going to search. There are some other startling facts to be brought out as a result of the investigation some private detectives hired by the UAW after Walter Reuther's narrow escape from murder on April 20, 1948. These men have been checking into the case ince that time.

The reward-of \$250,000 still stands for a real information leading to the arrest of the attempted killers of Walter and Victor Reuther.

Perhaps the murder attempts will not be cleared up. Nevertheless, the UAW campaign is doing a wonderful job of exposing the terrible crime and racketeer-industry alliance in Detroit.

Only two weeks ago, Campbell of the Chamber of Commerce was deploring the Kefauver hearings as "stirring up a stench over old cases." Today Campbell has a cover-up statement about how businessmen in Detroit want crime cleaned up, etc., etc. Other imes, other tunes!

# **Electrical Workers**

LABOR ACTION

effect on August 22 of that year:

it increased jobless pay from \$21

to \$25, and extended the benefit

period from 22 to 26 weeks. Fur-

ther, a dependency allowance for

minor children was added,

amounting to \$2.50 for one child

As soon as the new provisions

went into effect, the employers

raised the question whether work-

ers drawing unemployment pay on

claims filed previous to August 22

could collect under the liberalized

provisions. By some peculiar proc-

ess of logic, the employers felt

that those already on the jobless.

rolis were not entitled to the ex-

tra four dollars and the extra

four weeks' coverage; and just to

show how inconsistent they could

be, they didn't challenge the de-

pendency allowance for such peo-

eral ruled that all unemployed

were entitled to the benefits of

the new law. Then the bosses

went to court, but failed to get

an injunction halting payments.

lenge the added payments in each

case before the Bureau of Unem-

ployment Compensation, and this

tied up the claims until the pres-

ent time. There were about 142.-

000 such cases in the entire state.

and in about two thirds of them

the employers succeeded in stop-

A test case was made by the

CIO United Steel Workers, and

a BUC referee ruled against the

workers. Now the matter is be-

fore the BUC Board of Review.

and it is a foregone conclusion

that any decision they make will

be appealed to the courts, right

This will add several months

up to the Ohio Supreme Court.

to the time necessary to decide

whether or not the unemployed

ever get what is coming to them.

It may seem hard to believe, but

even in this supposedly enlight-

ened age the greed of profit-hun-

a few bucks from those who need

ping payments.

Their next tactic was to chal-

At that time the attorney gen-

and \$5 for two or more.

# OHIO LABOR NOTES\_ **Ohio Witch-Hunt Body Set; Bosses Fight Compensation**

### By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, March 12 - Determined to keep up with the current trend, the state of Ohio has joined the long list of those with witchhunt laws against "subversives." Panicked by the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee's report that there are slightly over 200 Communist Party members in the entire state—nearly a quorum to make a revolution—the legislature passed the Saxbe-Carney Joint Resolution without a single dissenting vote.

The obvious reason for the oneway vote was that anyone in oposition would automatically be abeled pro-subversive. The resolution is to consider the setting up of a permanent commission to investigate subversives, and in the meantime is to act as such a commission.

According to local newspaper ports, the only ones protesting this legislation were several Stalinist-dominated unions and the Cleveland chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Two of the Cleveland daily papers did carry editorials objecting to this resolution, urging that no indiscriminate witchhunt be started.

The Saxbe-Carney Committee has already met, and has decided to hear its investigators' reports in closed sessions, for two reasons. They do not want to let slip secret information which any might embarrass the FBI, nor, so they say, do they want to see innocent persons smeared in public. This also acts to prevent anyone investigated from publicly clearing his name. Of course there is no good choice between public and private hearings. The way to avoid witchhunts and smear campaigns is to prevent setting up such committees in the first place.

# STEALING PENNIES

**Red-Baiting and No Militancy** 

Back in 1949, Ohio voted to gry bosses forces them to chisel liberalize unemployment insurance pay. The new law went into it the most.

March 19, 1951

By PAUL ROBERTS The revolt against the Italian working together.

parliamentary group."

The friendly relations between the rebels from Stalinism and the PSU have, as we predicted, strengthened the hand of those in the PSU who were opposed to any entry into a government coalition with the conservative Christian Democratic Party. This has not been pleasant to the leaders of the right-wing Socialist PSLI (Saragat) which is collaborating with the Christian Democrats, since it also increases the pressure on them to get out of the governmeni, thus making possible a cabinet crisis in the near future.

**Fund Drive Box Score** 

TOTAL Youngstown ..... Streator ..... Soc. Youth League .. Boston ..... Oakland Detroit ..... Newark Akron .. Baltimore Connecti Indiana Los Ang Minnesot Oregon Philadel Pittsburg Reading Seattle . General

NAME ..... ADDRESS CITY

taxi drivers responsible for enthat "kicked off" the last UMW Help Stalinists in IUE Shop forcing traffic laws. nationwide strike. Not in the Headlines

same time they were acting as strike should make that gentle-

# Life in Lobbytown

George H. Bender of Ohio refused courts decided that union con- rival, the UE, in that plant. The to listen to labor's complaints about the influence of pressure groups on Congress. Shortly afterward the same statesman wound up and let go with a sion by the Circuit Court ruled charge that too many government employees are taking time off from their work to drink coffee. Two days later, representatives of the coffee industry and coffee importers started screaming. Since then, Representative Bender hasn't opened his mouth about coffee drinkers.

# Deodorant

. In the English town of Bournville, an electrical service company announced that it had invented an ultra-violet device which would rid factories of bad odors. It was thereupon deluged with letters . . . from unionists who wanted to know if the apparatus would eliminate the stink Jeft by time-study men and plant managers.

Note for C. E. Wilson tracts with cost-of-living escalators were such a good idea that alimony should also be determined in the same way. A decithat a Mrs. Joan Scudder could ask for additional alimony if the Bureau of Labor price index rose.

# **One-way Pretext**

In Battle Creek, Mich., the army breathed a fast sigh of relief when the railroad strike ended. Military officials were on the spot when the army issued its strikebreaking back-to-work order, on the legal ground that the railroad men were employees of the army. The Trainmen's lodge pointed out that if this was so, then the strikers and their families were entitled to buy food, clothing and other items at the cut-rate prices provided at military exchanges. The army, on the other hand, didn't take its pretext that seriously.

For living Marxism—read THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

## By GERALD McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH - Westinghouse Local 601 of the CIO electrical union (IUE) has lost a round in In Washingotn, Congressman In Waukegan, Ill., divorce fluence of its Stalinist-controlled leaders of the IUE-CIO have come to rely on solving their problems by shouting "Communist" to such an extent that they are trying it against the corpora-

> The development arose when Westinghouse gave a job promotion to Tom Fitzpatrick, a UE leader. The IUE-CIO leaders then went to the newspapers with a big blast accusing Westinghouse of "favoring the Communists" because of this promotion.

The corporation cooly pointed out that Fitzpatrick had the highest seniority of the men eligible for the job, and that his promotion was therefore required under the IUE-CIO contract! This was not a very good position for the IUE local to be in, to say the least.

The person really responsible for this unwise policy, however, is IUE President James Carey. More than once, he has accused the big electrical corporations of being "pro-Communist." The vicious machine built up in the UE by the Stalinists has been a tough nut to crack, and Carey has seemed to hint that the companies should help the IUE by boot-

ing out UE people. Then, too, Carey and many panies by yelling "red" at them, that is far more important. thus using the companies' own

weapon against them for once. But witchhunting is a game at which big corporations can't be beat, and Carey only helps the corporations and the UE when he tries. It always looks as if he is asking the companies to play footsie with him, and this lays the IUE open to charges of company-unionism

#### HOW TO REAT UF

At the same time, it can't be denied that the big electrical manufacturing companies are deliberately helping out the UE where they can do so discreetly. They love to have the workers divided, and they are fully aware that the UE was always a weak union, easy to push around in the shop because it was so busy pushing the Kremlin's line. So the corporations will help the UE when they can.

But they won't do it because they are "pro-Communist"; they do it because they're anti-union, and prefer a weak one to a strong one. That is the basis they have to be fought on.

It is true that such a fight won't get the page one headlines that come from charging West-

inghouse with being "Communist." But at the same time, such a fight won't nauseate a lot of other IUE people have felt that rank-and-file union members and they were embarrassing the com- make them prey for the UE, and

> In the long run, the UE is ing to be completely beaten only when the rest of the rank and file are won away from it. When this happens, the little handful of Stalinist hacks and hatchetmen will be powerless. The rank-andfilers who still cling to the UE will be won over if the IUE fights ' militantly for their grievances and their living standards, and this means every man in the plant, even CP hacks like Tom Fitzpatrick. When this is done, the UE has no valid talking point.

The BEST recent book on the labor-movement\_

# "The UAW and Walter Reuther"

Irving Howe and B. J. Widick \$3.00 Random House

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tion. It doesn't work very well.

# Silone Socialist Group Draws Stalinist Rebels

Stalinist party, led by Deputies Valdo Magnani and Aldo Cucchi, continues to gain new adherents -and also to move closer to the positions of Ignazio Silone and his Socialist Unitary Party. Magnani and Cucchi and their chief supporters met last week with Silone in the latter's home and discussed future plans for

Following that meeting Silone issued a public statement supporting Magnani and Cucchi and defining them as "democratic socialists." At the same time the two deputies announced in parliament that they wished to be listed as "Independents, but related to the PSU [Socialist Unitary]

Although the group led by Magnani and Cucchi is clearly opposed to support of the government, it is not so clear about the matter of arms budgets. There is a great danger that, just as the

Quota

100

25

500

50

\$12,500

in's friendship pacts with the West by voting for the Western arms budgets, so these Tito-inspired rebels may yet fall into the same trap by failing to oppose rearmament in an Italy with which Yugoslavia is getting more friendly.

# FRENCH CABINET CRISIS

France had another cabinet crisis last week. The cabinet of conservative Premier René Pleven resigned in a squabble over the electoral setup for the coming elections. The new premier is Henri Queuille, a member of the so-called Radical Socialist Party, which is also a conservative group.

The new cabinet under Queuille. contains virtually all the same people that were in the previous cabinet. In fact, with some minor -and shortlived-exceptions, the same faces have been showing up in almost all the cabinets France has had in the last four years Basically, all these cabinets have been founded upon a coalition of Radical Socialist Party, a minor conservative groups, few the Popular Republican Movement or MRP (a Catholic party) and the Socialist Party.

This coalition, covering almost all but the extreme reactionary RPF (led by DeGaulle) and the Stalinists, has managed to hold a precarious majority in parliament. This parliament, elected in 1946 for a five-year term, is faced

Paid

\$2518.00

60.00

15.00

255.00

\$ 25.00

Per Cent

20.1

60

60

51

.50

#### Stalinists in 1935 followed Stal- with new elections in a few months.

The proportional representation system used in 1946 would make t easier for the Stalinists, though they have lost some strength, hold on to a good part of the 30 per cent of the seats they now have. The DeGaullists, whose followers are scattered about the country like the Stalinists, also stand to gain from voting by proportional representation.

The center parties in the government coalition, and particularly the conservatives and the Socialists, stand to gain most from a return to the pre-war system of electing deputies by a majority vote in local regions. The Catholic MRP now looks pretty certain to lose by either system. for its nationwide strength has decreased and it would lose votes to the DeGaullists under the proportional system and to the other center parties under the pre-war majority system.

### SP FOR CHANGE

The pre-war voting system required a deputy to get an absolute majority for election. With so many patries in the field, it was rare for any one of them to gather over 50 per cent of the votes. That meant a runoff or second ballot, in which many parties made agreements to pool their votes for whichever of them was strongest in each locality. The Catholic party rightly feels that the Radical Socialist Party would be the big gainer from such a system. Not only would the votes of the smaller conservative parties go to the Radicals on the second ballot, but even in very many cases the Socialist votes would too. The Catholics therefore insist on a single ballot, with a plurality sufficing. Hence the crisis.

The Socialist Party, although leaning slightly toward the prewar system, has been fairly neutral as between the two "majority" type voting systems. That is largely because the Socialist Party has lost a great deal of strength since the 1946 elections and stands to lose a good number of seats re-



#### By ALBERT GATES **Fund Drive Director**

The end of the second week of the ISL's Fund Drive for 1951 saw several new entries in the list of contributors which helped to raise the percentage of the total goal to 20.1.

Youngstown and Streator now head the list with 60 per cent each. Neither of them were listed in last week's summary. Right behind them is the Socialist Youth League, which jumped

aardless of what system is used. The Socialists have in any case completely abandoned the proportional representation system for which working-class parties have long been fighting. The Socialists fear that under PR they would lose tremendously, while with local majority voting some of their local and national "big names" stand o chance of re-election.

The Radicals, although they are looking forward to big gains, do not want to force another cabinet crisis which might precipitate new elections before parliament has had a chance to write either of the majority vote systems into law, thus leaving PR in force. They are therefore trying to conciliate the Catholics as much as possible, and Queuille may even go so far as to accept the Catholic single-ballot and plurality-election system. If he does, he will have no trouble getting the support of all the government parties for his cabinet.

# FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL

Joseph Schappe, leader of the German group which publishes Freie Tribune and which is forming a new Independent Workers Party, has called for the formation of a new workers' International. He has urged pro-Tito Communists to get together with "Trotskyists" and Independent Socialists in this new grouping that would be "free of both Moscow and Washington.'

from 11 per cent last week into third place with 51 per cent.

Page Three

A total of \$225 came in from the SYL, but this money is from two units only, Chicago and New York. The Chicago SYL has picked up where it left off in the 1950 campaign when it outstripped all other SYL units and most ISL branches. We have no doubt that they mean to cop the honors this year too.

We received an initial payment of \$200 from Buffalo, putting them right behind New York City with 23.5 per cent. Detroit also joined the list with an initial payment of \$140. With additional sums from New York City, Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis. the drive now has total receipts of \$2518. This isn't too bad, but it is not good enough. Going into the third week of the campaign, we should be approaching the 40 per cent mark.

There is a good chance to pick up the slack in the next week or two because we have yet to hear from places with important quotas in the drive

Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Seattle, Pittsburgh, to name several of the important branches, have yet to enter the race. However, we expect to report their contributions in our next report. Pittsburgh has written saying that its first payment is on the way.

The big guns in the drive, however, are New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo and Oakland While they have already sent in good sums, they are really lagging percentage-wise.

The box score is on this page.

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specializes in books and pamphlets on the Labor and Socialist movement, Marxism, etc., and can supply books of all publishers.

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# **ONE REASON IS ENOUGH!**

### By MAX SHACHTMAN

Here is one reason why every member and friend of the Independent Socialist League, every reader of LABOR ACTION should give generously and speedily to our Fund Drive which, once every year, is the irreducible minimum that must be raised to maintain publication of the paper for the twelve months to follow.

Never before, perhaps, has humankind faced so incredible but real a catastrophe as threatens today, just as never before has it had such overwhelming means at hand for averting disaster and realizing its passion for peace and freedom. Strange paradox!

Never before, too, has there been so elaborate and extensive a machinery for influencing the thoughts and deeds of people-the press, the radio, the screen. Those who command this machinery are making maximum use of it to exploit the noble passions of the people for their own ends, and their ends lead straight to the terrifying catastrophe of the Third World War, with all its physical and social devastation.

This is no less true of one side in the world conflict than of the other, of the imperialist democrats and the totalitarian Stalinists. Both are interested solely in preserving and extending their power, no matter what price the people must pay for that. But neither one of them can do without the support of the people. Once that is withdrawn, these apparently great powers collapse like paper dolls. Both of them keep the active or passive support of the people by force. But sheer force is not enough. They must capture and keep the minds of the people, too. That is where their mind-shaping machinery is indispensable.

This machinery is, on both sides, a vast producer and disseminator of those half-truths and quarter-truths which are the worst kind of lies. It is not too hard for the writers and speakers

supporting the Washington war camp to tell a good deal of the truth about Stalinism, nor too hard for the supporters of the Moscow war camp to tell much of the truth about capitalist imperialism. But neither of them is interested in telling the truth about themselves. That would make impossible the performance of their sacred duty, which is to mobilize millions throughout the world so that they will have, for their third world slaughter, an adequate supply of human fleshfor what is already, in the Korean war, called by those tender names "Operation Killer" and "Operation Meat Grinder"

Against that imposing machinery, or pair of machines, what can a small paper like LABOR ACTION do? One thing—one thing that all the rest of the press which supports one war camp or the other n one way or another does not do and will not do because it cannot do: LABOR ACTION can tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth!

That's what it does fifty-two weeks in the year and what it intends to keep on doing. It does not confine itself to telling the truth about Stalinism in order to cover up or smudge over the truth about American imperialism: or to disclosing the facts about the latter only in order to conceal the truth about Stalinism. How many other papers are there that are capable of making the same claim? How many others can honestly sustain such a claim?

That is one reason why we have a right to call for the maximum support from all of you for our Fund Drive. You, dear reader, and you alone can make sure that the aggressive and uncompromising voice of international socialism does not weaken, but is heard in growing volume and power. Only that voice speaks fearlessly against war and reaction, for peace and democracy. What cause is more urgently worthy of support today?

There are many other reasons why you should give. I have given only one-but it is enough!

32.5 1800 585.00 Chicago ..... 24.1 New York City ..... 4200 1013.50 23.5 200.00 850 Buffalo ..... 22.5 650 146.00 19.4 300 58.50 Cleveland ..... 800 140.00 17.510 50 5.00St. Louis .....

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Help Support Independent Socialism!

Page Four

# The **ISL** Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





# SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DIALECTICS

### BY PHILIP COBEN

In this column on March 5, Carl Darton discussed the work of Hertz and Lesser on "People in Groups," that is, the behavior of people in social organization as distinct from their behavior as individuals. Other social psychologists, of course, are also beginning to investigate this field, which has an obvious interest for socialists. It cannot be said that their results are startling as yet, but this is much less important than the fact that the question has at least been recognized as meriting serious experimental inquiry. The reader may consider the fact that this recognition comes so late to be a commentary on the social psychologists. It is. But at any rate, interest is picking up.

Thus, the Penguin Science News (No. 16) publishes an interesting article by G. R. Taylor on "Group Dynamics." The point most strongly stressed is the one which we summarize below. Toward the beginning of the article is the following observation:

"... outside a small professional field, the idea that the behavior of a small group of people is anything more than the sum total of their individual behavior is scarcely given consideration. To take a specific and rather crude instance, the popular assumption is that if you take ten shy people and form them into a group, it will be a shy group. As a matter of observed fact, this is not true. In certain circumstances, ten normally shy people may be remarkably forthcoming when grouped together.

Under a later subheading on the "Secret Agenda," we read: "the observer of groups begins to see that groups sometimes show a determination to behave in a way which every individual member would repudiate. In the case just recounted, every member [of a psychotherapy discussion group] was prepared to declare his readiness to discuss neurotic symptoms. The fact remained, no one did. Thus there is a valid sense in which we can say that the group has a life of its own, apparently distinct from that of its members . . . This kind of phenomenon also comes up in a slightly less obvious form in groups of a quite normal kind, such as committees. The group will decide to discuss a certain subject, and then (as the observer notices) deliberately neglect its decision and discuss something else. This has led Main to speak of the 'secret agenda' of the group . .

# "A New Epoch in Psychological Thought"

Summarizing his article, Taylor comes to "a conclusion which may fairly be said to open a new epoch in psychological thought: that behavior is not simply a product of personality, as has always been assumed, but is the product of inter action between personality and the culture of the group. The implications are far-reaching . .

"The second thing which emerges which might also be called revolutionary is that there is a valid sense in which we can say that a group has a life-intentions, anxieties and patterns of behaviorwhich is distinct from the life of the individuals composing it. Because of its association with mystical ideas of the 'group mind' conceived as a kind of supernatural entity, social psychologists have always shied away from conceptions such as group life, group mentality, group behavior and the like. But it is now quite clear that groups activities are more than just the sum of the behavior of the individuals which compose them, inasmuch as the group influences that behavior in a way which is characteristic of that particular group.'

We find this paper of interest not because the author's "epochmaking" and "revolutionary" concept comes to us as a revelation but for precisely the opposite reason: because the discovery strikes HIM all a-heap. The point is, of course, that the concept involved is one of the basic principles of Marxist dialectics—that is, a basic contribution BY dialectics TO the enrichment of the scientific method.

Naturally, as people who derogate dialectics like to point out (quite correctly, but unaware that they are breaking in an open door), the fact that the concept, as a general guide to action, is bread into the warp and woof of Marxist thinking is no substitute for scientific experimentation and inquiry. Obviously true: neither is scientific method a substitute for scientific experimentation-it is a guide to it.

But the role of an understanding of dialectics is unwittingly explained with utmost clarity in the sentence from Taylor which is italicized above. He is saying that social psychologists have been hampered in investigating their field by-what? In effect, a philosophical is false. In the dialectical method—which is at bottom only an extension and enrichment of scientific method-Marxists propose a number of methodological principles which are "truer"that is, which are more fruitful in guiding the scientists investigation of



# Reading from Left to Right

MILITARY TRAINING IS A RECOGNITION OF BANKRUPT DIPLOMACY. - Conscription News, March 8.

Conscription News, the bulletin of the National Council Against Conscription, which has published several excellent pamphlets on the militarization of America, regularly and authoritatively traces the development of military policy affecting the social life of the country. In the current issue, it once again goes after USMT-Universal Military Training, now in the process of being put across by Congress and the administration :

"Universal Military Training would have a direct influence on every individual and family in the country. The program is likely to substitute a military tie from generation to generation in place of the civilian forces in family and community life which bind people together.

"This dominance of the military would probably alter the scale of values around which the country now functions. Primarily the revision in values is a shift in prestige. The student who now aspires to become head of his class would probably aspire instead in a UMT nation to be at the top of his training unit. The community, which now esteems its doctors, lawyers, and other professional people, is likely to respect more the local-boy-who-makes-good as an officer.

"As General John Devine, commander of the Fort Knox 'model' UMT camp, once said: 'Boys will think of themselves more as UMT classmates than school (class) mates. Just as the college never ceases to think of the alumnus as having a unique relationship to the college, so the army continues to think of the veteran as somehow belonging to the army. Under UMST every male would become a veteran. Thus the prestige of the army and of veterans' organizations like the American Legion would permeate and dominate society. It is unwise and dangerous to grant an authoritarian institution like the military establishment the opportunity permanently to influence every boy in what it considers to be patriotism and democracy. Eventually a totalitarian society would come from using authoritarian methods against the ideas or dissenting opinions of those whose concept of citizenship differed from the army stereotype. In other words, permanent conscription could result in the domination by the military of civilian elements in society."

"Proponents of military training claim that UMST will prevent war because it is evidence that the United States stands ready to back its drive for peace by force. They say that military training is 'insurance against war.' But when any country adopts methods of force in its foreign relations it is only one step removed from the outbreak of hostilities. It is notice to the world that diplomatic negotiations have failed. The difficulty with relying on threats of force is that they must be carried out upon occasion if they are to seem effective. Once some other nation is not intimidated by our threat of force, we must either go to war or abandon the pretense that threats are effective.'



# BRITISH DOCKERS' STRIKE: A FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

[Readers of LABOR ACTION may remember that, during the recent wildcat dock strike in England, the union's leader Deakin raised the cry of "Communists" in the union. The following report on this situation indicates that the British Labor leaders are not above learning such devices from their American brothers. It is from the Socialist Leader of London, February 10, by Ken Eaton .-Ed.]

• '

'The Communist bogey is still haunting Mr. Deakin. Faced with a national dock stoppage, his only remedy is to tell the dockers not to be fooled by the Communists.

So remote is he from the rank and file of his union that it is impossible for him to realize the general validity of the men's grievances.

And so helpless is he in this situation that in the way that Hitler used the Jews as a scapegoat for Germany's ills, he uses the Communists as scapegoats for the troubles in his union.

And in so doing he puffs up the Stalinists to an importance they did not previously have. Mr. Deakin believes, and the Stalinists do their best to spread his beliefs, that they are the only opposition

Yet at Liverpool, where the strike broke out. there are no Stalinists on the strike committee. In all the northern ports, their influence is negligible. and it is only in London that they possess any strength.

The issues in the strike are perfectly clear. [The article lists the "Dockers' Charter" of demands.7

Since 1945 the port workers have been involved in many disputes which although immediately set off by superficial causes have had as an underlying reason the general deterioration in their conditions. Apart from the increases in the cost of living, a smaller labor force is being called up to handle a

greater volume of exports and imports. And their leaders, more faithful to the Labour Government than to the rank and file, have sidetracked the demands from the branches for the implementation of the Charter.

The necessity of working overtime to supple ment their wages has turned the policy of Full Employment into Over-Full Employment. [The article quotes a pamphlet of the National Port Workers' Defense Committee, summarizing the facts on this point and winding up: "No wonder many of the older men are saying that we have got full employment but at dole wages."]

In view of the profits being made by the employers and the worsening conditions of the dockworkers, it is inevitable that bitter struggles between them should take place.

The union bureaucratically controlled from above is reluctant to fight for the men and the disputes have mainly been of an unofficial character. the is out of these struggles that unefficial port workers' committees have arisen, receiving solid

support from the rank and file who seek a redress to their grievances.

The spirit of the struggle is shown in their pamphlet Wage Negotiations Are the Business of the Members.

"The answer to our troubles is not to fight for more and more overtime and Sunday work, but to revive the 1945 spirit for increased wages at the expense of profits, and a decent living wage for a 40-hour week. Life has more to offer than just working; eating and sleeping. Militant trade unionism can win us this fuller life."

Criticism is levelled at the decision of the National Joint Council for the Port Transport Industry not to divulge information about what is taking place at the negotiations. . . .

The object of the strike is to make the trade union representatives reopen negotiations with the employers to achieve the terms of the Dockers' Charter.

#### They demand an end to the secrecy in which negotiations are shrouded, stating that these are the business of the members and should be reported step by step.

The encouraging feature about the dispute is the attempt by the rank and file to make union representatives realize their responsibilities to the membership.

The TGWU is notorious for its undemocratic character, its officials being appointed by the executive committee and not elected by the members. Consequently they are more concerned with pleasing those above rather than the membership. Too often the officials are incompetent, being selected from rebels in the ranks who use rank and file discontent to build themselves up.

The demand for constant reporting back on negotiations is a progressive demand which should lead to further demands of a democratic character in the union.

Only when rank and file pressure can exert its influence directly on the officials will the workers be able to achieve their just demands.

Although the dockers' leaders have not lost sight of the ultimate objective of workers' control of the industry they realize the necessity first of all of workers' control of their unions and conditions of work.

The struggle for socialism and the struggle for democracy are insolubly linked, and the fight for democracy at works level is vital if socialism is to be achieved.

# They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the ISL sends food and clathing packages to needy workers in Europe. You can help! Send your aid-especially clothing for school-age children-to the New York ISL, 114 West 14 Street, New York City 11.

March 19, 1951 LABOR ACTION



# GM All Time Profit Record Bares "Equality of Sacrifice" As Fraud

## By SAM ADAMS

of \$656.434.232, also set by

General Motors. The profit

was 100 per cent larger than

the next highest profit

maker, and larger than the

profits of 125 Class | rail-

This 27 per cent increase in

profits is AFTER TAXES, and

it is pure gravy for the owners

of the giant monopoly. For not

only were taxes paid out of its

huge income, but the corporation

was able to show a net working capital of a billion and half dol-

ars, and an inventory of nearly

arge figures seem so common-

place that they look insignificant.

But take our word for it: this is

a lot of profit, an immense

amount of profit, so large that it

establishes in the clearest pos-

sible way the difference between

big business and the capitalist

mass of working people, on the

The fight in Washington be-

tween labor's representatives and

the government and its hired big

business administrators has bro-

ken into the open. Once more, la-

bor is given a run-around at the

capital. In the preparations for

war and the development of a

new stage in the war economy.

big busines has taken over. These

developments are giving the mo-

nopolies another opportunity to

ural riches and the wealth pro-

duced by the sweat of American

like the War Labor Board in the

last war, is glutted with the rep-

resentatives of industry and Wall

Street. The subsidiary boards are

set up in such a manner and with

such policies as will guarantee

the continued enrichment of pri-

vate capital and the impoverish-

Equality of sacrifice was farce

enough during the last war. In

the present developing war econ-

omy it is even worse. There is no

control of prices whatever, and

the cost of living rises uninter-

The worst price rises are in

food, which make up the largest

part of the average family's bud-

get. Yet the hired economists in

Washington are now trying to

prove that the cost of living is not

too bad by the simple device of

lowering the specific weight of

food expenditure in the average

plete farce and landlords enjoy a

post-war heyday. Worst of all,

wages lag far behind the cost of

living in this inflationary period

and the main efforts of the ad-

ministration and its big business

aides is to prevent wage adjust-

ments that can really benefit the

In this kind of a situation, the

profits of General Motors and

others is a grim joke indeed. It is

a mockery of every worker, espe-

cially those who labor in the auto

industry, and more particularly,

the GM worker. Every time the

United Auto Worker gets ready

corporation, it faces the prospect

to negotiate a contract with the

average worker and his family.

Rent control has become a com-

ment of the mass of people.

uptealy.

budget.

The War Stabilization Board.

suck the country dry of its nat-

class on the one hand, and the

In our war economy, such

roads taken together!

billion dollars!

other

"The General Motors Corporation wrote a new chapter in the financial history of private American enterprise last year. Achieving the greatest net profits and sales ever recorded by a private concern, the giant automobile producer reported yesterday 1950 earnings of \$834,044,039 on a business volume of \$7,531,086,846."

That is the way the New York Times commented on the report to stockholders submitted by C. E. Wilson and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., the corporation's president and chairman respectively.

But this bare figure does not tell the whole story. The almost billion dollars profit which GM made in 1950 exceeded the previous record

of the corporation, as revealed in the stenograms of previous negotiations, are one of the toughest of the gangs of industrial pirates in the country.

Every demand of the UAW is "unreasonable" or "confiscatory." It was not so long ago that the UAW had to strike GM to get some concessions from the company for its workers. GM denied that it could afford to pay the workers any decent wage increase. That

this was a lie became clear in the shudders of the company when the union issued the slogan of "Open the Books!" and "Show us." At that time the officials said it was none of the union's "damned business" what the books showed.

And you can easily see why. Such profits as GM has been making for years is the result of a general all-round cheating of the workers in its employ, among others. They couldn't afford to pay a decent raise, you see. What they meant then, and what they mean now, is that they can't afford a reduction of their profits! If you think GM is alone in this current enjoyment of profits, you're missing the point. They are all making it and with a

vengeance. Du Pont reports all-time record profits for 1950 on sales of more than a billion and a quarter dollars. Owens-Illinois Glass Company made \$24 millions profit AFTER all taxes were paid. Net profits of American Telephone and Telegraph were \$359 million

compared to \$118 million in 1949 (Now you understand why telephone rates have increased throughout the country.) U. S. Rubber made ten millions more in profit than the fifteen million it made in 1949. Goodvear Tire and Rubber made profits of \$35.1 million in 1950-70 per cent larger than in 1949. Libby-Owens-Ford Glass made \$25 million profits, an increase over the year before. RCA made profits of \$46.2 million, 84 per cent larger than 1949. And the B. F. Goodrich Rubber Company made profits of \$35 million, the largest in its history.

**Page Five** 

The history of the last war is repeating itself. "Equality of sacrifice" is just a slogan under which big business enriches itself at the expense of the people. But it has an able assistant in the government at Washington If the labor officialdom hasn't learned that whole lesson vet, it is being taught it slowly but surely by Charles Wilson, the successful boy from General Electric.



# 'Divided' Minds and Democratic Rights

To the Editor:

In LABOR ACTION for February 12, Walter Jason gets very excited over the Hill case. [This was the case of the Negro captain whom the air force brass unsuccessfully tried to throw out on the ground that some members of his family had allegedly Stalinist connections .- Ed.]

"It didn't work on Capt. Hill. A veteran of four years in World War II. with an air medal and two oakleaf clusters, who flew fifteen combat missions, he was determined to fight for his personal reputation. The air corps made the error of forgetting they were dealing with a man." Etc., etc., about Hill's WAC lieutenant wife, his "career officer" brother-in-law "in Korea since two weeks after the fighting began." Jason does everything but list the number of people Captain Hill and his illustrious family have killed. Incidentally why doesn't he do that?

Now what is so wonderful about being permitted to kill "gooks" in Korea? And Captain Hill volunteered to kill "gooks." Now that Captain Hill has been reinstated he can kill as many "gooks" in napalm raids as he can kill.

Your article on the saturation napalm raid on that North Ko- hopeless) problems which they city was very good. Why don't you bind the two articles together and run them in a pamphlet? They will make the funniest reading of the year. What is particularly disgusting is to see a member of a minority group trying to reach an exploitive position in the "in" group.

"But what of the Dreyfus case?" Yes, what of it? What of the liberal Russian Jews of the 19th century who were just dying to get the Jews permission to die in the czar's army? Who celebrated the final granting of this privilege as a national holiday? (There may have been the excuse of ignorance . . . in the time of the French Revolution.) How join exclusive country clubs, or the Nazi party?

There may be in this cesspool. one drop of sweet-smelling civil liberty. Why don't you leave that to the NAACP or the American Jewish Committee?

Miss Pauli Murray, "former deputy attorney general of Caliof a strike, because the directors fornia," is to be one of the and working-class interests.

speakers at an anniversary dinner of the League for Mutual Aid. I understand that California has an anti-subversive law. Did she send any of your members up? Or better still, how many just plain convictions did she get for the bourgeois state? What is the total length of the bars in front of the men that she sent up if laid end to end? What is the total number of years divided by her contribution to the League

One understands, of course. that we live in a divided world. But do we have to be that divided?

We trust, for his own peace of mind, that our correspondent does not work in a factory-or practically anywhere else, for that matter. He may find himself producing parts for an airplane, a machine gun, a uniform, medical supplies, or other accessories to napalm raids. And it is pretty difficult to work anywhere nowadays without making a "contribution to the war effort." This is no mere jibe, as we trust Ackerman knows: his co-thinkers of anarchist, pacifist or mixed persuasion have been trying to deal with precisely such knotty (and confront through their attempt to be "undivided" while still existing on the planet. (See LABOR ACTION for last July 24.) Not a few have been brave enough to draw the absolutely necessary conclusion that the only solution is, in effect, to withdraw from the real and very bad world to some equivalent of a desert island, even if it is only a selfsufficient community in the hin terlands - where, unfortunately, they still run into problems. (See discussions along these lines in the late Politics magazine.) We accord a certain amount of admiration and awe to such determined attempts to carry out a wrong premise to consistently about the right of rich Jews to wrong conclusions. We also confess to a softer spot in our heart for it. fantasy though it is poliitically, than for those other determined souls who work at driving radical premises to prowar conclusions. Our own contribution to the "undivided" In the same issue I notice that problem is to stay in this world and fight with undivided devotion in every struggle for democratic

Ackerman, however, has picked an even shakier ground than most others of his tendency, as far as we know: democratic rights. He is not for defending a soldier from persecution for "thoughtcrimes." We presume that he would see no issue in army Jim Crow. We presume he would poke his kind of fun at the idea of defending the right of a worker, who is accused of being "subversive," to work in a factory under army contract. Nor could he have any truck with academic freedom: why defend the right of a Stalinist teacher to poison the minds of his students, any more than Captain Hill's "right to kill gooks"? After all, if we're going to be undivided. let's be serious about it . . . For that matter. why defend the right of a merely liberal teacher to continue to spread pro-capitalist nonsense? Is that any more principled? Why defend the German Jews under ... Hitler from anti-Semitism-so that a Jew should have the right to run a store and fleece consumers like other storekeepers?-

That could go on. In fact, we' call his attention to the fact that his views, in sheer consistency, would require that he defend only the right of people to be anarchists or conscientious objectors or to carry on other activities of which he approves. It is strange how alike this sounds to . . . But then, it has been remarked before that it is a blessing that not all people are intellectually consistent. He might even approve our own "inconsistency" in one respect: we think his views are suicidal, but we would defend his right to advocate them.

This is not a paradox: friend Ackerman is slightly more "di vided" than many of us poor denizens of this evil earth. He does not know that democracy is indivisible.

As for Miss Murray, we know nothing about her, but we do know the League for Mutual Aid, whose press release we gladly carried. We don't get the conclusion in this case: Should LABOR ACTION have suppressed the information that a government official was aiding the IMA? Are we supposed to condemn the IMA for permitting a myrmidon of the capitalist state to aid it, liberal though she may be? We are tempted to pose other questions . . . purely rhetorical ones .--- Ed.

for Mutual Aid?

N. ACKERMAN

### Page Six

# **Rockefeller Point 4 Geared To War** Capitalism, Imperialism Stand in Way of Real Aid to Backward Nations

### By MARY BELL

"Partners in Progress" is the pretty title of the report recently issued to President Truman by the International Development Advisory Board headed by Nelson Rockefeller. The report makes recommendations concerning the United States policy, popularly known as "Point Four," toward "underdeveloped areas." It is of interest, in the light of the current recommendations of the Rockefeller Board, to recall the claims made by President Truman in his speech before the American Newspaper Guild in 1950:

"Point Four is a successor to the old colonialism idea, the exploiting idea of the middle seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We want to have a prosperous world that will be interested in buying the immense amount of surplus things that we are going to have to sell. And now to do that they have got to have something to give back to us in order that they can buy our goods. I want to keep this factory organization of ours going at full tilt. In order to do that we must help these people help themselves.

"Point Four is an investment in a peaceful and prosperous world. It is a program which will bring increasing results over the years. It will bring about a chain reaction in economic development. It will serve to create economic health where poverty existed, and to equip the people of underdeveloped areas to carry forward their economic gains and preserve their independence."

The President approved the report of his committee and sent it on to congressional representatives. The major idea of Point Four when it was originally presented in summary form had a direct relationship to the ideological war with Russia and was the response of the "welfare state" to Stalinist imperialism.

### War Governs Every Aspect

What the course of events would have been if war had not broken out in Korea is, of course, speculative. What is before us is the report of the International Development Advisory Board as keyed to the war. There is no question that the war and preparedness for war governs every aspect of the report and the recommendations contained therein. Of the "two main threats" that face our society, it declares that the first of these is "military aggression and subversion," and the second, "hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy."

"Our first imperative," it reads, "must be to rebuild sufficient military strength to resist aggression . . . strengthening the economies of the underdeveloped regions and an improvement of their living levels must be considered a vital part of our defense mobilization."

"Considered from the point of view of the strategic dependence of the United States on these regions, it must be emphasized that we get from them 73 per cent of the strategic and critical materials we import-tin, tungsten, chrome, manganese, lead, zinc, copper-without which many of our most vital industries could not operate. They send us more than half of all our imports."

Thus war and the strategic materials necessary for war, supplied by the underdeveloped areas of the world, are the guiding considerations for rendering economic assistance to, or stimulation of investment in, these countries. Though not explicit in the report, it is unquestionable that a corollary aim is to ally these countries to the U.S. in the struggle against Stalinism, thus preventing a "third camp" evolution.

### No Humanitarianism!

When Senator Taft urges the ending of Economic Cooperation Administration (Marshall Plan) aid and proposes instead "Point Four assistance so long as it is conducted on a limited basis and isn't a global giveaway," he is, aside from expressing Republican isolationism, being his usual demagogic self. The Rockefeller Board is not in the least interested in gift-giving, but in the strategic interests of American capitalism. If it is not concerned with any particular sector

of capitalist interests, it is concerned with the over-all interests of capitalism in the present war phase.

It is nowhere in the report proposed outright to raise the living standards of the underprivileged countries, regardless of cost, as the humanitarian thing to do. Rather, "Efforts to stamp out disease or to train young people vocationally should be integrated with what is attempted in the way of expanding production of strategic (my emphasis-M. B.) materials and food." Examples are given so that the most troglodytic of capitalists may see. "Before a new ore body can be tapped in many countries, malaria control may be necessary," the report patiently explains. Elsewhere it says, ". . . in Central Africa the discovery of new drugs to combat sleeping sickness holds out the hope that several million acres of new land may be brought under cultivation." If anything, the report goes out of its way to avoid any identification with "global giveaway."

To accomplish its program of development, the Board recommends (1) the appropriation of a half-billion dollars for governmental assistance; (2) a single administration to replace the network of agencies now handling foreign investments; (3) increasing the strategic materials from these countries by 50 per cent; (4) the "prime reliance upon private enterprise and private capital," with the aim of more than doubling the present level of foreign private investment of less than one billion dollars to two billion dollars per year.

The Grav report, which preceded the Rockefeller report, also paid attention to this aspect of foreign policy. It found that 74 per cent of the \$800,000,000 1947-49 average of all net foreign private investment was channeled to the countries having profitable petroleum resources. Only \$128,000,000 went to Latin American republics above this petroleum investment and only \$28,000,000 went to other underdeveloped areas. In other words, disregarding oil investments, the role of American private capital has been negligible in Latin America; in Asia, where 52 per cent or 800,000,000 of the world population lives, its role has been virtually nil.

# **Private Capital Fears Risk**

These figures must be borne in mind when reading the report's recommendations that American capital investment must be doubled. There are many inducements offered to stimulate the flow of American investment capital, such as tax incentives which would free business from a United States tax if it were taxed in the country of investment; bilateral treaties to free American businesses from discriminatory taxes levied abroad; government underwriting of risks by private investors; special administrative assistance on the part of the government to aid investment, etc. Nevertheless, the past performance of American private investment capital abroad has demonstrated neither venturesomeness nor risk.

What the government has spent thus far on overcoming the poverty of backward countries amounts to \$40 million, which is only one-tenth of one per cent of the U.S. military budget. This figure, too, must be considered in appraising the Rockefeller recommendation for an appropriation of \$500,000,000, and the probable fate of the latter in Congress. The report merely recommends, and its recommendation must be considered as the most favorable variant by all odds of any possible appropriations for international development.

One must consider, besides the certain congressional cuts in appropriations proposed by the Board and the reluctance of American investment capital, the specific reluctance of the native capitalists within the underdeveloped countries. All these countries are within the capitalist orbit, but their underdevelopment consists in their lack of industrialization caused in most cases precisely by the course of capitalist growth in the developed countries, and economic and political domination by the latter. The bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped countries is often intertwined with and dependent upon the bourgeoisie of the developed countries. And because of the weakness of capitalism in the underprivileged

nations, society and government is dominated by other classes-feudal and landowning.

The strength of pre-capitalist classes and the lack of a modern, industrial society in the colonial areas of the world points to the inherent weakness in application of a plan conceived as an expansion of capitalistic methods and geared to a capitalist economy. In political terms this obstacle is easily visible when one looks at the political allies of the United States in these areas -the Latin American dictators, Asian despots and proto-fascists of every stripe.

The report makes obeisance and nothing more to the problem of democracy. It speaks of "reforms, where the people want them, fair and rising living standards, a living wage, full participation in the benefits accruing from increased wealth or income, the removal of discrimination based on race, color, nationality, religious belief, caste or sex . . . training in democracy ... the right of trial by jury, the right to work, the right to self-organization, to strike, to vote, as well as steady progress toward freedom from want."

If aid is administered, in whatever curtailed form and with whatever strings attached, given the present social organization in the underdeveloped areas, it will be administered by reactionary regimes. The real development and flowering of these depressed areas would require nothing short of a social revolution. But this plan is no stimulus to a revolution against reaction.

### Socialists for Economic Aid

Socialists favor economic aid to all countries -but without strings attached. The most flagrant example of what is likely to happen to economic assistance under the present administration is the relation between the U.S. and India today. In the teeth of the Indian famine with its inestimable toll in human life, the United States is withholding wheat because India is not in total agreement with American foreign policy.

A genuine Point Four remains to be developed. The best way perhaps, to show the Rockefeller report in proper perspective is to compare it with some aspects of "A Total Peace Offensive," the Point Four proposal initiated by Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, and a "left" version of this type of economic assistance.

The first difference is in amount. Reuther proposes an annual sum of \$13 billion for a huf dred-year period. This figure he derives from the equivalent money cost to the American people of World War II-\$1,300,000,000,000. The money is to be obtained through a reimposition of the war-time tax on business, an upping of the tax on incomes of over \$15,000, new tax monies from new employment, and current government expenditures. The plan would be administered through the. United Nations and would be conditional upon acceptance of total disarmament by the participating nation. This is a "laborite" attempt to offer a political program in opposition to that of Stalinism and some means, other than military force, to overcome Stalinism and gain the allegiance of the peoples of the world.

Where the Reuther Point Four program departs from the Administration program, it appears laudable. It is not geared solely to considerations of profitability for private capitalism. It rejects the concept that Stalinism can be successfully defeated by military force alone. Its monetary proposals come close to being a serious effort to realize the magnitude of the problem of economic development necessary in the backward areas. But it appears pitifully Utopian where it proposes to act through the United Nations and in its proposals for total disarmament.

Truman is correct in saying that the Point Four scheme is not eighteenth or nineteenth century colonialism. Rather, it is twentieth century "welfare" imperialism. It is not even new, having been applied in more limited form numberless times. It does not envisage aid given freely and universally to poor nations victimized for a hundred years by that "old colonialism idea." It would be their needs to the interests of modern, total war. That is why Point Four is a political and economic fake. sound white the last



The present document is the text of the presentation of the Istiqlal position given at a press conference in Tanger by the leader of the movement, Allal El Fassi, on February 23 last.

The Istiglal is a nationalist-democratic, not a socialist or Marxist, movement. The reader will note the references by Allal El Fassi to his stand on constitutional monarchy headed by the sultan, to "private initiative" in the economic system, to the "principles of Islam," and other references which indicate the bourgeois-democratic ideology of the Istiqlal leadership.

# By ALLAL EL FASSI

Gagged, reduced to an illegal existence, without any means of expression, we are condemned to silence, and some are willing to interpret this silence as concealment. We have appealed to you [the press] to come to this talk with us because we cannot express ourselves on the situation while the sword of Damocles hangs over the Moroccan nation.

All you know about the Istiqlal, everything which could trickle out under the crushing pressure of propaganda, is in danger of being swallowed up under the flood of calumny and lies. That is why it is necessary to talk to you today about the real facts on the Istiqlal.

# What is the istiglal?

cratic Party.

The Istiqlal also prides itself on taking on certain functions which other parties do not. It supplies forces for free education and carries on a determined struggle against illiteracy throughout the territory of Morocco. Can it be called an "SS corps" when our valiant comrade Medkuri is the founder and manager of several rural schools in the Casablanca region-and, as you know, he has just been condemned, in defiance of all principles of justice, to two years in prison and 300,000 francs fine.

Of course, the Istiglal gives financial aidnot to puppet newspapers abroad [a slap at the traditional policy of the French government]but to needy students whom the administration refuses to help. Under the stimulus of their party, the Moroccan workers (who constitute the majority of the Istiglal), in spite of the absence of trade-union rights, have organized themselves in

March 19, 1951

#### Page Seven

# **INDEPENDENCE FOR MOROCCO:** The Liberation Movement States Its Case

The following document is of the greatest interest in acquainting our readers with the important mass nationalist movement of Morocco which struggles against French imperialism, the Istiglal (Independence) Party. It is transmitted to us by our Paris correspondent with the note that it is accurate and reliable. For another document of the Istiglal movement, see "Morocco and the Atlantic Pact" in LABOR ACTION for October 9,

It is, however, THE radical and militant independence movement of the Moroccan people, largely supported by the Moroccan workers, as the Istiglal leader indicates. Its struggles for independence (or, as Allal El Fassi proposes as a first step, effective autonomy) has the wholehearted support of Independent Socialists.-Ed.

Everyone should know that the Istiglal is at present the victim of an exceptionally virulent campaign by certain reactionaries. Unfortunately, these reactionaries are able to wield, as their weapons, a great many means of publicity not only in France but also in North Africa. Their aim is clear: to give the world, and particularly the generous French people, a picture of our party which equals in horror that of Attila's Huns. This would then be used to justify the most horrible and merciless repression.

The Istiglal is, first of all, a political movement which is the logical outcome of the policy followed in the country. The legal and de facto absence of civil liberties in Morocco forces the movement into illegality, which hurts it very much and opens the door to all kinds of lies.

The Istiglal is run according to organizational statutes and rules which the [French] administration well knows, and which are modeled after those of political organizations in other countries. If we are "totalitarian," then so is the French Socialist Party, the MRP [French center bourgeois party], the Labor Party or the Demo-

Does "totalitarianism" consist in the existence of discipline and the absence of internal anarchy, such as characterizes every healthy organization? The function of our party is the same as any other party: to educate its members, develop their sense of responsibility, in a word to train them for political life.

the existing trade-union federations and have formed their own groups. Is it a "combat organization" because it tries to put the worker in a position where he can defend himself against exploitation?

Furthermore, everyone knows that the elected leaders of the chambers of commerce belong to the Istiqlal. And so bourgeois, workers and intellectuals fight side by side within our party; and it is no accident that men like Glaui Co. have no place in our ranks. [Glaui is a Southern Morocco leader who supports the French Protectorate-Ed.] His recent attitude proves that we have no ties with feudal elements, still less with feudal elements who flout the elementary principles of Islam, the fundamental basis of our party. Glaui is ill-advised to set himself up as an inquisitor, a role which is alien to Islam; if such an inquisition existed in that democratic and tolerant region. Glaui would be its first victim.

# Charge of Collusion with CP

In the same way we are accused of collusion with the Communists. But you know that we have rejected proposals for a united front which the so-called "Moroccan" Communist Party has been continually making to us. Furthermore this party has found us to be an opponent which bends every effort to destroy its influence.

It will be remembered that in 1946 the CPprofiting by its freedom of action, including legal existence, public organ, headquarters and its influence in the labor federation-extended its influence over a good part of the peasants of the Tadla region. It was due to our militants in the Tadla region that its influence has been wiped out. The same thing happened in the Agadir and Midelt regions.

We did not resort to coercive measures, as the administration claims, since we were able to rally the peasants peacefully. It can be stated without any exaggeration that it is thanks to us and to the principles of Islam which guide us that Communism has not taken root in Morocco. If, in spite of that, efforts are being made to introduce it, it is the administration and it alone which is responsible.

# Istiglal Is Not Anti-French

In his interview with a special correspondent of Parisian Libéré, General Juin [head of the French Protectorate] called us an anti-French nationalist party. I protest this assertion with the utmost vigor.

Our supporters and friends gave a correct expression of the party's opinion, at the time of the last Government Council, when they dissociated the "country and people" of France from its system of colonial administration. If General Juin believes, as he says, that they are one and the same thing, he alone bears the responsibility for that thought.

As for us, we do not confuse them; and we loudly declare: our movement, following the example of our beloved sovereign [the sultan], proved that when France went through the most painful time in its history [the Nazi occupation -Ed.]. It is indeed shameful that we should be accused of being anti-French by the same men who betrayed the French people and who, profiting today by their generosity and clemency, seek to line them up against a friendly nation by means of slanders and lies.

In addition, we have always maintained direct contact with the French people thanks to the fact that an important Moroccan colony exists in France. To counteract the healthful work of our Paris representatives in bringing about good relations and understanding with the French people, it is alleged that the Istiglal has two faces-one, in France, humane and democratic; the other, in Morocco, monstrous and anti-democratic. I declare, in the name of the Istiqlal Party, that I am in complete solidarity with my comrades in France.

As for the rest of it, the democratic character of our party is to be clearly seen in its structure and program. All the bodies of the party, from top to bottom, are constituted democratically. If at present we cannot convene a real na-

The second second second

tional convention of the party, the reason for that is very simple. Public meetings and even private meetings are absolutely prohibited (viz., the recent arrest of eight at Mazagan).

# Istiglal's Program

As for our program: the Istiqlal is for the establishment of political democracy. It is for a constitutional monarchy with a government responsible to an elected parliament. The Istiglal is for social and economic democracy guaranteeing the civil liberties and rights in the universal declaration of the rights of man. On the economic field, it is for a regime which will assure a rational exploitation of our resources and which will encourage the private initiative necessary to strengthen our country. This regime, at the proper time, will take as its example the socializations undertaken by the democratic powers such as France, Great Britain and the United

What are our present demands? These are summarized in the very name of our party: Istiglal-Independence. This has caused us to be called extremists and utopians. I am therefore going to give a precise content to the word independence.

From 1934 to 1944 the nationalist movement demanded only the application of the Protectorate treaty. You can see for yourselves what the result has been. On the eve of the 39th anniversary of this treaty, the most elementary rights and liberties are still denied to Moroccans. In addition, His Majesty the Sultan and Mr. Robert Schuman are denounced in Morocco. The country is stripped of cadres: there are 12 doctors, a score of lawyers, 120 students.

The two elected premiers who began to take hold of public affairs were brutally removed. The suppression of the imperial cabinet, which has been in existence for only a few months, has been demanded by the [French] Residence Générale. For the rest, the Protectorate regime is only a juridical fiction. All observers and investigators. French as well as foreign, recognize that there is only a system of pure and simple direct administration. I shall not refer here to the way in which the failure of the regime has been demonstrated; that has been done many times, and the fact is recognized by all discerning people.

Therefore we demand that the agreement which ties us to France be remodeled on new bases which would assure the development of Morocco with the cooperation of France. That is a token of our good faith. What extremism, indeed, is there in our desire to arrive at a healthy basis for collaboration with France?

We are charged with being negative. The truth is that they will have nothing to do with us. We are not afraid of any form of alliance: the responsibility for taking the initiative is France's. It is in the nature of things that it take the first step.

But instead of listening to us, they counter with brute force. Instead of trying to understand us, they employ the lowest maneuvers against us and try to condemn us under gag. We do not reject a common attempt to seek free and effective means of collaboration.

From another side, it is objected that we declare ourselves to be supporters of Arab fraternity, and that this is incompatible with collaboration with France. We do not believe that France is an enemy of the Arab peoples. On the contrary, France flatters itself on being the Moslem and Arab power par excellence. If French-Arab relations suffer from disquiet, it is precisely because of the Moroccan and North African problem. You have an idea of how rich would be the consequences of solving the "Magrébien". problem. It would transform the situation in the Mediterranean to the benefit of France. France would recover its role as a great power, strong in the union, alliance and friendship of the people, Arab and Moslem included.

The Moroccan people, rallied around its beloved sovereign, extend their hand to France. We are convinced that the firmness and wisdom of His Majesty will triumph over intrigues and provocations. We are sure that democratic France will no longer tolerate the undermining of French-Moroccan friendship.



March 12, 1951

# **Time To Form Labor Party**

# (Continued from page 1)

The "cynical hoax," the "blow at the living standards and security of the rank-and-file workers," the threatened end of rent controls, the "legalized robbery," the "great wrongs perpetrated on the American people" . . . to mention only a few phrases from the manifestos of the ULPC ... are not the evil work of some individual employer or a single giant monopoly. They are the calculated acts of the government as the collective representatives of employers. But this has to be made more precise. The political danger emanates not only from the "reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats" but also from the Truman administration itself!

After excoriating the administration for its domestic policy from top to bottom-wages, prices, taxes, labor controls, rents, big business domination of government bodiesthe ULPC contemptuously waves aside Truman's efforts to dodge responsibility. "We are offered the lame excuse." it replies. "that on other im-

ready implicit in the actions of

It should convoke a representa-

tive National Congress of Labor,

elected by the union members from

the shops, their locals and their

internationals. Let the members,

the committeemen, the stewards

and the locals elect delegates,

hear the facts, and reach deci-

for such a gathering; it can only

be a preliminary preparatory

body. To this conference, only the

leaders of city and state federa-

tions will come. The big tasks

confronting labor demand more

than a gathering of paid officials.

and require a sweeping shift in

political policy. Hollander re-

marks: "It is possible that we

may have to develop an indepen-

dent political party-not a third

party, but a first party of the

It is not only "possible"-it is

vitally necessary. Now is the time

to take this perennial hint off the

table and put it on the agenda for

For a long time, labor lived off

noble sentiments and lofty words

from Truman and his political

associates. Now they hardly both-

And if they were more careful

in their speeches? Could labor re-

vert to its placid acceptance of

the Democratic Party merely be-

cause worn-out "liberals" summon

up their remaining energies to

mutter new lip service to Fair

Dealism? A genuine Fair Dealism,

in action not merely in speeches,

can be reinvigorated to inspire all

people in the fight for progressive

policies only by admitting what

everyone should know: the Demo-

cratic Party, root and branch, is

a party of big business, decorated

with dusty and crumbly liberal

For the formation of an inde-

pendent Labor party! This is so

clearly and simply the lesson of

labor's fight, crying out for ful-

fillment. And such a step would

only be the logical next move in

the direction opened up by the

labor movement when its repre-

sentatives withdrew from all war

The shunting aside of all la-

bor's demands, the treatment of

its representatives with utter con-

tempt, the arrant adjustment of

all national policies to the de-

mands of big business-all this

could evolve so smoothly and so

quickly only because the unions

The mine strikers were hit by

injunctions and threats of fines,

Truman-inspired. Efforts to re-

peal the Taft-Hartley Law were

abandoned in Congress, Truman-

inspired. Social legislation was

But union officials failed to

speak out in vigorous public pro-

FAILED TO SPEAK OUT

Truman decree.

trimmings.

boards.

cent.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

er to compose fine phrases.

American people."

action.

They demand the mobilization

The Washington conference of

ter instrument than what is alportant policies the decisions must be made by a Congress the ULPC. which is not cooperating with the administration. There has been no affirmative action to meet our basic

position."

in their way.

the people.

And if labor's "basic position" is ignored by its false friends, its "own" administration, then it cannot meet this crisis as it has in the past. As its representatives the ULPC cannot be a substitute meet in Washington, the unions must begin to organize themselves independently, self-reliantly, without old illusions, to carry on the fight in the interests of all the people, against all who stand

The Washington conference is a spectacular confirmation of the of the full power of the workers need for a new political policy. Labor is fighting its battle without support from the very men it lifted into office. It faces an almost unanimously hostile press. Where are all the so-called Fair Dealers? As we read the roster of Democrats supported by labor in election after election, as we recall the "liberals" and their stirring addresses at labor conventions, we wonder . . . where are they now? If a fighting progressive remains silent now, when is he supposed to speak up? So far, we have not heard of a single Democrat who has mounted the public rostrum to say to labor: You are right! I applaud your actions and I am with you. Not one! The unions face their own internal political crisis. Up to yesterday, they found only kind words for Truman; they taught their rank and file to rely on liberal Democrats. Day in and day out they preached that the answer to every knotty problem was to elect more of these saviors of

Almost without warning we now learn that our friends have vanished. From James Carey we hear: "Truman doesn't- even bother to pay lip service any more on social legislation. What remts of the Fair Deal were le have been completely junked. Not only is labor's advice being disregarded, it's not even being sought any more. With a few exceptions, everyone in inner administration circles is now practically openly hostile to labor."

## CENTURY OF PROFTEERING

And Louis Hollander, conservative president of the New York State CIO Council, finds that the same forces are at work in Washington as in Albany, and both are at work to "make this a century of profiteering."

White suddenly becomes black. Such a dazzling quick-change were so tractable and so quieshas to be explained. What happened and why? But above all, what comes next? And the rankand-file unionists are entitled to an explanation.

The political policy of the labor movement is bankrupt. The responsible leaders of the labor movement, now in the United Labor Policy Committee, have the cut off to a trickle. The rail strike duty to justify their course to was broken by the army-Wilsonthe members of their unions. The full depth of the crisis must be explained and the alternatives thrashed out before the rank and test, and point the finger of blame file. And for this, there is no bet- at the administration it helped

Wage Board, could reply: "It's just a bluff" when labor first threatened to quit the WSB. No indignity, no humiliation seemed likely to rouse the unions.

They seemed destined forever to drag along stoically as captives of Truman. Occasional complaints, a little whining, might be heard in private conversation. But nothing to pay any attention to

When labor stopped muttering to itself and began to act aggressively in opposition to its "own" administration, its demands gained a public hearing for the first time. The tiny concessions and hints of concessions, meager as they were, the temporary retention of the escalator clauses in existing contracts, these were won by leaving the wage board and threatening to fight.

Yes, labor has been fighting the administration, the Truman administration. Only a trained sophist could twist this fact away. And after arousing the ranks of labor, after beginning an out-and-out battle, the United Labor Policy Committee can hardly be satisfied with a few and its own candidates to fight

nickels; in the words of Reuther, a squabble of personalities or a it is "fighting the battle of all the American people." It has repudiated and rejected the total domestic policy of the administration on every key question and it demands a full reversal of the whole political trend.

To a television audience, Reuther denies that labor has "broken" with Trumon, IF NOT, WHY NOT?

Why continue in the camp of an administration whose policies run counter to the needs of labor, not just in this or that minor detail but in basic orientation? To stay in the Democratic Party now only leaves the last shreds of "window dressing" on an anti-labor platform.

Nothing that has happened in the last few weeks and nothing that can happen in the next can make any significant or basic alteration in Truman's line. He has given Wilson public assurance of his support. Both pretend that they are "puzzled" by labor's actions, which they find perplexing. There is one simple remedy for this artificial confusion.

Labor has its own program. It needs its own independent party

elect. No wonder Dunlop, the ornamental trifles. It is not mere-"public" representative of the ly fighting for a few extra wage then understand that we face not ruffling of injured pride but a serious political crisis in American life!

> If not the formation of a Labor Party, then what? Labor officials are leaders of millions of workers. They have to give some sort of reply. They cannot live on day-to-day improvisations. They seriously toy with the prospect of returning to the war boards, there to continue the illusory and futile effort to restrain the administration "from within."

But whatever the next step, one elementary fact is clear. The role of the labor movement in the battle for people's rights is to be determined. The destiny of the rank and file is at stake and they are entitled to a voice in making the crucial decisions.

What more democratic method can be devised than a national conference of all labor, a convention which assembles the regularly elected delegates chosen by the unionists in their shops and locals? Let the union leadership explain to such a convention what has happened and where it proposes to go. The Washington conference can be a first preliminary step.

**Barcelona Strike** 

### (Continued from page 1)

wishes of the American labor movement and of socialists and democrats throughout the world, the United States government exchanged ambassadors with the bloody dictator Franco.

Twelve years of totalitarian suppression! These are just words. Twelve years in which the working class of Catalonia and of all Spain had no legal organization; in which no man dared express his opinions of the government to anyone but a trusted friend; twelve years during which only the most determined dared to keep their underground organization going at the greatest risk to themselves and their families; twelve years during which the world seemed to have forgotten the workers of Spain.

And at the end of this time, the totalitarian regime of the Franco government is faced with a general strike in Barcelona.

### SPARK FOR GENERAL STRIKE

The information on this strike is meager. But the event itself is so significant that detailed information can only add to our understanding of the depth of its mean- of the POUM has continued to ing.

During January the streetcar fares were almost tripled. The workers started a passive strike against the fare increase, refus- workers of Barcelona is Stalinist ing to ride to work on the streetcars. The whole population supported them in this movement. Only the police rode the cars, and large numbers of them had windows broken by flying stones.

Last week the fares were reduced to their previous level. The workers had won. But the strike did not end. Once having tested their solidarity . . . once having seen that the workers could win in a concerted movement . . . the strike against riding the cars was continued as a protest against the general rise in the cost of living.

Then, on March 12, a full-scale general strike started. This was obviously the result of widespread and well-coordinated organization. It is reported that many workers received orders from the government "trade unions" to strike. The heads of the unions claim these orders had been counterfeited-which means that the whole movement had been carefully planned.

The workers not only stayed away from work but marched on

ned to burn down the building. but were frustrated by armed police in a fight in which at least thirty people were injured.

The papers reported that by March 13 over a hundred persons had been arrested, that a number of employers had joined the movement, that the cabinet had met in an all-night session to discuss the situation, and that troops were being moved in to reinforce the police and other armed bodies on the spot.

#### STALINISTS WEAK

Of course, the government is blaming the strike on "Communist agitators." Until more facts are available, it is impossible to say whether or not the Stalinists have played any role whatever in the Barcelona events. However, it is well known that Stalinist influence has always been weak in Catalonia, and that the workers there have traditionally joined the anarchists, syndicalists and the anti-Stalinist Marxists of the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM). It is also known that the underground movement thrive in Barcelona even under the most difficult conditions.

Thus we have every reas believe that the movement of the neither in its leadership nor in its purposes. Starting over the relatively minor question of a resistance to a fare increase, it has turned into an act of defiance of the whole totalitarian structure of the state.

It would be folly to attempt to predict the future of this movement without a good deal more information. The general strike may be crushed by the soldiery, and it is quite possible that it may be called off by its leaders after lasting a short time. Whether it was planned long in advance or not, it is clear that it has tested the will of the workers of Barcelona and the neighboring industrial cities of Catelonia to struggle, and has found them ready.

And even though it may be suppressed tomorrow, it has disclosed in one flash the fact that the twelve-year-old dictatorship of Franco has not broken the will of the working class of Spain.

The American labor movement opposed the exchange of ambassadors with Spain and the grant- ing workers of Barcelona.

the city hall of Barcelona. Accord- ing of loans to that country. But ing to one report, they had plan- this opposition was chiefly a verbal one. When Washington went ahead and took Franco's bloody hand, the labor movement in this country heaved a sigh of discontent-and resignation. The labor leaders did not denounce this act as a betrayal of democracy, and they certainly did not even contemplate withdrawing their support of the government's foreign policy.

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### IT WAS NOT IN VAIN

But now the workers of Barcelona have spoken . . . in the only way in which a totalitarian dictatorship permits them to speak. They have let the world know, once more, that there is not one Spain which must be wooed as an ally in the cold war, but that there are two Spains: one of the dictator Franco and his political and economic supporters, and the other of the working class and masses of the people. And their action is a living reproof to the American labor movement which supports, however grumblingly, the policy of its government which is propping up Franco and his similars throughout the world against the common people.

All over the world, wherever people are languishing under toalitarian rule, the Barcel general strike will serve as a heartening portent. The Czech workers, the Ukrainians, the masses of all the nations ground under Stalin's heel will lift up their heads an inch higher. They know what totalitarianism is, how solid and all-powerful it ap pears to its victims.

But the working class of Barcelong has demonstrated once more that the hard, dangerous underground preparations are not in vain. That however long may be the night, the day is bound to come when the working class will regain the historical initiative and the totalitarian structures of oppression will be toppled into the dust.

For us in America, where the working class is not crushed nor democracy dead, the Barcelona events should be a double inspiration. We must fight twice as hard to win the American labor movement to a policy of real democratic internationalism and away from its suicidal policy of support to the machinations of the State Department. Only thus can we keep faith with the strik-