

LOS ANGELES, U.S.A.: Police Thugs, Bombs & Stoolpigeons In the City of the Angels

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Moscow's Change of Line on Germany ... page 3

Blackjack Over Tunisia

... page Z

Labor Drove Wilson Out but Steel Bosses Plot Their Strategy to Force Truman's Hand

By BEN HALL

War mobilization director Charles E. Wilson is gone and good riddance! After a brief pause for celebrating this happy event, we have to note that a steel strike is imminent, and that his departure marks not the end of the crisis in steel negotiations but its revival.

All the more necessary becomes a consideration of the significance of Wilson's resignation.

Perhaps Philip Murray and his fellow union officials congratulate themselves for devising a clever union strategy of delay in the mistaken belief that it was this tactic which finished off Wilson. Not so. It was not the compromise of 1952, not the last-minute rescinding of the strike call, that forced Wilson to resign.

In reality, it was labor's militancy of a year ago. It was a belated aftermath of labor's 1951 walkout from all war boards. It was a fear of a revival of the union spirit of those months that finally led Truman to repudiate his half-sealed pact with Wilson and force him to quit.

Now what threatens is a counter-thrust from the em-

Los Angeles: The Fight Mounts **Against the Thugs-in-Uniform**

and Ulloa, asking them if they still considered them drunk. Rios answered that he was now "surer

Under verbal pressure from witnesses the men put away their guns. With the arrival of the police, Rios and Ulloa demanded the arrest of the drunken men, only to be grabbed by these same men and pushed into patrol cars, along with a third Mexican-American who had merely witnessed the in-

poilce who had been having them-

and the witness were ushered into a small room and were stripped of their clothes and stood against a wall. Then Rios and Ulloa were systematically beaten by the "drunks" who had arrested them, one of whom was himself

Normally this case would have ended after these men were thoroughly beaten, jailed and fined,

munity Service Organization, which in the past has been in the forefront of the fight against police brutality, among other things. Rios had been in the cafe where the incident took place to collect on tickets for a dance given by the CSO.

After Rios and his fellow arrestees were taken away in the sauad cars the occupants of the cafe called Los Angeles City Councilman Edward Roybal on the phone and told him what had happened. (Roybal is also a Mexican-American who was elected from the East Side through the efforts of CSO.) Roybal immediately phoned the police station and stopped the beatings while they were in their early stages and this undoubtedly kept the witness from "getting his."

The same police who had been doing the beating then began to play like gentlemen, asking Rios and the others why such "intelligent looking fellows" had to cause all this trouble. At this point all three were taken to a police station downtown, where they were

(Continued on page 7)

ployers. Wilson's move is a "walkout" by an unabashed representative of big business, one who hardly succeeded, if he ever tried, in concealing his sympathies for the poor oppressed millionaire. His resignation is almost equivalent to a walkout of the representatives of "industry," i.e., the employers. He signals the next move to the steel monopolies: "There are worse effects to face than even a steel strike," he told Truman.

BOSSES IN A HUDDLE

This not-too-subtle hint is expanded into a full-page and very expensive newspaper ad by the McGraw-Hill Company, publishers of hundreds of books and dozens of magazines to serve the technical, professional and political needs of American capitalists. "Some Things are Worse Than Strikes," reads its blazing headline. Every patriot, it insists must take a firm stand against the "subversive course" of the "position of the Wage Stabilization Board on the union shop."

And for two days, the representatives of all the big steel companies postpone negotiations, while union leaders wait impatiently in their New York hotel rooms. The hired brains of big business are deciding now whether to take Wilson's advice and force the strike.

Whether one believes that either one or both of the Truman and Wilson versions of the affair are untrustworthy, the basic facts manage to slip into their exchange of letters: Wilson felt that the report of the Wage Stabilization Board was too liberal with the workers: Truman led him to believe that he (Truman) would favor a substantial steel price increase and would support efforts and maneuvers to talk the steel workers out of part of their gains.

But the steel union would have no part of it; they wanted no price increase; they insisted on (Turn to lost page)

Blackjack Over Tunisia

The French Never Heard That News About How Western Imperialism Has 'Reformed'

By HAL DRAPER

Page Two

The crudest case of imperialist blackjacking of a colony that the post-war world has seen has again backfired in Tunisia. The Kremlin's landgrabbers are not outclassed by the French in imperialism; it's simply that the latter have the edge in open, public, cynical, unashamed crudity.

The new assault by French Resident-General Hauteclocque on the Tunisians was opened in exactly the same way as was the first one on January 19, less than two months ago. Moving before dawn, in the style made fashionable by the GPU and Gestapo, he seized the responsible leaders of the Tunisians.

Two months ago, however, the victims were the NON-governmenfal leaders of the nationalist political party, the Neo-Destour, led by Habib Bourguiba, including the other members of the party's executive. This time, it was the Tunisian premier and government ministers who were arrested.

Premier Chenik and the native members of the cabinet (the other half of the cabinet consists of French appointees) were packed off to the border of the Sahara. Bourguiba, who has been in custody since January in a "controlled residence" on the Mediterranean coast, has now been transferred southwards also.

FRENCH TERROR

No treaty ever squeezed out of Tunisia by the French has even given them the right to have a say in Turisian political affairs. let alone arrest the legal government with their U. S.-furnished arms. In actuality, however, the French imperialists have ruled the land for 70 years, ostensibly to "protect the Bey."

A new general strike has been declared by the UGTT, the Tunisian General Union of Labor, which is affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The Tunisian trade-union movement is among the strongest in North Africa, the country itself being economically the most advanced in that colonial area.

As a matter of fact, the resistance of the Tunisians has not "flared up again" since in actuality it has not ceased since January. Although Tunisian headlines disappeared from the American press following the calling off of the general strike and the end of open street fighting at the beginning of February, the people have been continuing the struggle, especially through sabotage. On their side, the French repressions did not let up for a day. Having imported 20.000 new troops, in addition to the 20.000 already there. including paratroopers and halfed to fill concentration camps. Whole villages were destroyed by French reprisals, for example in the Cap Bon area. Several thousands of nationalists are in the French camps, the Neo-Destour charges.

QUISLING

\$1.00

the "moderate" strategists of the old control over Tunisia) can be Neo-Destour, it is unlikely that January's fighting will recur unil after the UN has acted on the 'unisian appeal (which it is due to take up as we go to press). However, one such outbreak has already taken place, near the coast town of Sfax, which is a center of a more militant nationalism than is represented in Tunis, and it is by no means certain that the Destour can keep the struggle entirely in its own control.

As categorically stated by the New York Times, the French sandbagged the Bey (nominal ruler of the country) with the threat of deposition, thus getting the 70-year-old "monarch" to turn traitor to his people and, for the first time, break with the Neo-Destour. The French threat of deposition was not, of course, an idle one: they have done it before. In 1943, after the U.S. troops took Tunisia, French General Giraud dethroned Bey Mohammed Moncef, who died in exile five years ago.

Up to this point (last Friday) the Bey had remained firm in rejecting all French blandishments to sell out. Now crowds of Tunisians have chanted in front of his palace: "Why did you do it?"

The premier installed as a puppet of the French, Mohammed Baccouche, is a wealthy and experienced quisling who has done the dirty job before, from 1943 to 1947. He has found it difficult. however, to find similars: by March 31 he had still been unable to form a cabinet and was reported ready to resign. But the French need a showcase cabinet as much as they needed a showcase premier, in order to exhibit before the UN if and when the question comes up.

PARIS SPLIT

The almost farcical crudity of the French methods is illustrated in this connection by the case of Hedi Nouira. Nouira, the deputy secretary-general of the Destour and reputed to be the right wing, was the only leader not picked up in the first arrests. A Times dispatch of March 31 reports that "was seized today after having thrice refused bids to enter the new cabinet over the weekend"

The outcome of the struggle depends entirely and exclusively on what the French bring themselves to offer in the way of reforms looking toward independence, or at least autonomy. French governmental opinion is by no means solid on this pont. Outside of the Socialist Party, which is no longer in the cabinet and which has denounced the new attack by Hauteclocque as "a fragrant contradiction" of French promises, elements look on Haute clocque's factics with grave "concern" as "rash."

PHONY REFORM

Although a Quai d'Orsay spokesman endorsed the residentgeneral's strong-arm policy as having been taken by agreement with the cabinet, the split at the Unless spontaneous outbreaks top (which is solely over whether occur outside of and in spite of it is still possible to maintain the

The FIGHT for SOCIALISM by Max Shachtman

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INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PRESS 114 W. 14th St. New York 11, N. Y. widened if the extension of the native struggle shows that it is not possible.

So far the French offer which is reported is certain to have little effect in satisfying even the rightwing "moderates" of the Destour. The proposal outlined by Foreign Minister Robert Schuman on Saturday is fairly transparent. Its "concessions" are:

(1) Election by popular suffrage to municipal councils. The French have consistently counterposed such municipal elections to real concessions on national sovereignty. The nationalists rejected the deal as long ago as last year. They also reject the proposal that the French residents have the right to vote. (These are French residents, largely consisting of the economic exploiters of the country, not French citizens of Tunisia.)

BY LARRY O'CONNOR

The Seafarers International

Union (AFL) is engaged in a

big campaign to alert the Ameri-

can people (and especially the

government) to a grave danger

which besets the nation. It seems

that the government has not in-

stituted sufficiently severe secur-

ity regulations with regard to

the crews of foreign ships which

"Serious weaknesses in the na-

tion's port security setup," says

the lead article in the Seafarers

Log for March 21, "detailed in a

copyrighted story in the last issue

of the Log, were pointed up

sharply last week through an in-

cident involving a Panamanian

ship stopping at Tampa. Only the

vigilance of the unions involved

made it possible to block one man,

reputed to be a Communist agi-

tator, from coming ashore in this

that "while American seamen and

dock workers have been rigidly

screened and subversives weeded

out, there is no such check on

alien seamen who come and go in

our major ports virtually with-

out restriction other than check

by the immigration authorities

manian ships, which are notori-

ously lax in their manning re-

quirements, could easily enter re-

stricted port areas and other in-

could serve as an outlet for sub-

The article points out that no

foreign country except Greece has

political restrictions on the issu-

those which exist in the United

States. In all other countries men

can make a living by following the

sea regardless of their political

views, although this is limited to

some degree by the unions which

disqualify known Stalinists from

membership. Finally, the article de-

scribes the port-security measures

and other restrictions placed on

seamen in ports behind the Iron

Curtain, and contrasts them to the

"laxity" displayed here. (The ar-

ticle specifically denies that it ad-

vocates an application of the Stal-

inist police rules in this country.)

this article. First is the apparent-

ly unreserved approval with

which the SIU regards the Amer-

ican security screening process

which has placed all American

seamen at the tender mercies of

Two things strike the eye in

ance of seamen's papers similar to

versives fleeing the country.'

U. S. CURTAIN

crewmen signing on Pana-

Further, these ships

The article goes on to explain

country.'

enter American harbors.

(2) Two national legislative bodies which would be purely consultative, without power. To make doubly sure, one of these bodies, which would concern itself with economic matters, would not be elected by popular suffrage at all, but would represent "economic, professional and labor " The French colonialists groups. are dominant in the kind of groups which the Residency would define in this category, since it is the French exploiters who control most of Tunisian agriculture, 90 per cent of industry and the great bulk of commerce. (For details on the considerable French economic stake in Tunisia, see LABOR ACTION for Feb. 4. It is this, with the elements who profit therefrom. which is behind the "hard" policy being followed by Hauteclocque

SIU COMPLAINS: TOO MUCH FREEDOM IN U. S. PORTS ...

whatever.

the Coast Guard. At least in this

article there is no criticism of it

The second thing is the fre-

quency with which references to

ships of Panamanian registry

crop up in the article. In fact,

this becomes so striking after a

while that one is led to wonder

whether the chief interest of the

union may not be to get Pana-

manian ships barred from dock-

ing at all "sensitive" security

The SIU and other seamen's

unions have been waging a run-

ning war against the trick of

Panamanian registry. This is a

method whereby American and

other owners have escaped the

necessity of paying crew members

the American union scale and

working them under union condi-

tions. American firms registering

their ships in Panama can hire

foreign crews and pay them mis-

erable wages. The unions have

not yet found an effective method

"Any port in a storm" is an old

saying, and it appears to us that

the SIU is using any argument

in its struggle against Pana-

manian ships, regardless of its

over-all effect on the rights of

seamen. Their strategy is, as we

see it, to raise a big row about

of permitting these ships to dock

here, with the hope that the re-

strictions put on them will be so

stringent as to either force them

ernment commuted their sen-

tences. . . ." Your article on Spain

A more serious complaint:

Walter Jason has not outlined the

role of the UAW leadership in

the Detroit witchhunt. What

about the officers of Local 600

dismissed ("purged") by the in-

ternational UAW brass? Is it a

coincidence that Reuther used the

present hysteria period to remove

his opposition, Stalinoid or not,

but also Stellato? Let's not white-

was fine, however.

hire American crews.

REACTIONARY MEANS

to stop this trend.

spots in American ports.



Hauteclocque may be the idiot

which French liberals like to call

him, but his policy of intimida-

tion through terror is the line of

powerful capitalist forces in

France-forces which were strong

UN action by the Security

Council depends largely on the

United States. The Arab-Asian

bloc, led by Pakistan, which is

pressing the Tunisians' case,

the council to put the matter on

the agenda. The U. S. has tor-

pedoed the Tunisians' appeal to

the UN twice before. As the press

carefully explains, it has to decide

whether to "antagonize" France

or the small nations. That this

is a dilemma is undoubted, but

no part of the dilemma seems to

The fight against the Pana-

manian-registry trick is necessary

but the SIU's means are reaction-

arv. We would be the last to denv

the possibility that some Stalinist

spy or saboteur might get sinto

the country via a ship of Pana-

manian registry. From all experi-

ence, however, he is just as likely

to walk off the first-class gang-

plank of one of the luxury liners

But if the American govern-

ment takes the SIU's campaign

seriously, it would have to place

restrictions on foreign seamen

very much like those which the

Log describes behind the Iron

Curtain. Or alternately, it would

have to insist that all foreign sea-

men who want to get short leave

in the United States must pass an

American security screening test.

From what we know of foreign

seamen, that would just about.

liminate all of them from the

ships. Very few of them could

deny some affiliation with or sym-

pathy for some socialist or Stal-

during their lives.

inist organization at some time

We are not experts on "secur-

SIU is either. That is the govern-

ment's business, and as far as we

can see, the governments ten-

dency is not at all to be too

careful with people's individual

rights. Generally they approach

tion of a man fishing for trout

with a stick of dynamite. There

must be some better way to fight

the problem of Panamanian reg-

and we doubt whether the

in some official capacity.

needs seven affirmative votes on

enough to make Schuman knuckle

under to them last year.

April 7, 1952

By GORDON HASKELL

The Kremlin has opened a new diplomatic-propaganda offensive in the cold war with its note of March 10 which proposes an early peace treaty with a "united, democratic, peace-loving" Germany.

alliance in Europe.

The Stalinist note proposed also that united Germany must have the right to trade freely with all powers. It also proposed that former Nazis and military leaders be restored to full political and civil rights, except for those who have been convicted of specific crimes.

AFRAID OF UNITY

The Russian note caused quite

ISL FUND DRIVE By ALBERT GATES

Fund Drive Director Receipts for the past week to-

taled only \$630.50, leaving the fund drive still about \$500 short of the half-way mark. This was possible only because New York City, which has been far behind its schedule of a year ago, turned in \$420 this week; and though its total is still less than half the 62.4 per cent. Of the sizable quoquota of \$4000 assigned to it, the tas, the SYL has done the best

Pittsburgh

Newark

St. Louis

Cleveland

New York

Buffalo

Detcoit

Oakland

Chicago

General

Los, Angeles

Philadelphia

Youngstown

Baltimore

Seattle

Reading

Akron



Otherwise, no complaints. The

our reader were covered on the front page of the following issue, March 24. They were not omissions; for whom it may concern. let it be noted here that LA must be locked up on the Wednesday before the Monday publication date; field correspondents have to send their stories in earlier. Heck. we ourselves know a lot more faults than that !--- Ed.

Readers Take the Floor To the Editor:

paper has more merits than faults. Keep up the good work. B. A. J.

Los Angeles

Both "omissions" mentioned by

Your March 17 issue fails to mention a March 14 AP dispatch which said: "A firing squad executed five Spanish trade-union leaders. . . . Six others had been condemned to die also but the gov-



the danger to American security ' the matter with the discrimina-

Moscow's Change of Line on German Arms Is New Maneuver to Put West on the Spot

This note signalized a radical turn in Stalinist policy on one question. Up to March 10 the Kremlin as well as the Stalinist parties in all countries opposed the rearmament of Germany as a matter of "principle." With typical Stalinist demagoguery the party line on this question tended to identify Western Germany with Nazi Germany and to insist that to permit Germany to rearm is to re-create an aggressive, imperialist force in the center of Europe.

renewed hopes for an early uni-

Just what are the probable objec-

tives and intentions of the Rus-

sian government? What is the

American government and its al-

lies going to do to meet them?

And finally, how is the new situ-

ation created by the Russian note

likely to affect internal political

Of course, all answers to these

questions have to be speculative.

We have no pipeline either to the

Kremlin or to the councils of the

government in Washington. We

have to proceed by the method of

evaluating the basic interests of

the governments involved as well

as the way these interests have

shown themselves in their politi-

cal practice in the past and to

seek-to deduce from this what

they are likely to do in the future.

The creation of a united and

really independent Germany is not

of itself an objective of either the

Russian or the American govern-

ments. Both seek to unite Germany

under their own control; or to put

the matter differently, to tear

from the enemy the portion of Ger-

many which he now controls. But

by one means or another, each

seeks to ensure that Germany shall

be solidly and irrevocably tied

into its own camp.

developments in Germany?

The important questions are:

fication of the country.

The note of March 10 made a complete turn on this question. It proposed that a united Germany be permitted to have an army suitable for defense and an armament industry large enough to arequip it. In addition, however, the note laid down the condition that the united and rearmed Germany shall be prohibited from joining any alliance directed at any power which had fought Germany during the last war. This is obviously directed against the efforts of the

United States to integrate a rearmed Germany into its military

a stir in American government circles, as well as in Germany itself. In the former it is seen as a blow to the plans of integrating Western Germany into the Western Alliance with all possible speed. In the latter it has aroused democratic unity above all, and real independence from either occupying power as a close second. In Western Germany they have an active, politically organized force to speak for them on this. The Social-Democratic Party has taken a stand against remilitarization if this stands in the way of unity, and for unity only under conditions which will guarantee democracy in Germany.

TRUMP CARDS

In Eastern Germany, where the people don't have the right to express themselves freely politically, their sentiments are nevertheless well enough known to the Stalinists so that these can be quite certain that a free election in the whole of Germany would render a telling blow to Stalinism. For the Russians to permit Germany to be united through a really free and democratic election would mean to lose their hold on Eastern Germany. Not only would their puppets be driven from power, but a regime hostile to Stalinism would establish itself over this whole rich and potentially powerful country.

And in the long run, unless the Stalinists were able to stage a tremendous comeback in the whole territory, the united Germany could tend, on the one hand, to gravitate toward the Western capitalist camp; and, on the other, the only possibility of maintaining Germany as a "neutral" between the two imperialist camps would be under a Social-Democratic government which had adopted a vigorous and aggressive Third Camp political line. But such a perspective would hardly be more appetizing to the Russians than a united Germany completely integrated into the capitalist camp.

This puts a trump card in the hands of the American negotiators. The most important sec- treaty to enter into associations

But the German people want a tion of their reply to the note of compatible with the March 10 placed a democratic election in the whole of Germany as a pre-requisite to any negotiations about the withdrawal of occupation troops or other measures proposed by the Russians. They are banking on the inabliity of the Russians to accept this condition, and on the further fact that neither the Social-Democrats nor the right-wing parties in Western-Germany favor unity except on the basis of free elections.

CROSS-MANEUVERS

Reports indicate that although the Americans have some confidence in their trump, they are frightened by one possibility. What if the Russians should really call their hand? That is, what if the Russians should not be bluffing about their willingness to have Germany united, and after some negotiations should actually agree to a democratic election? What would the Americans do then?

Under such circumstances, the Russian proposals would have a very strong appeal for large sections of the German people. An armed Germany, not committed in advance to either side in the cold war, permitted to trade freely in all the markets of the world . . . this would be a tempting plum indeed. There is great resistance inside Germany to the Adenauer policy of linking the country irrevocably to the American war camp. This resistance would mount a hundredfold if it appeared that the Russian proposal was being made in good faith, for whatever devious reasons of the Kremlin.

The American reply to the Russian note seeks to forestall such an eventuality. It proposes that The all-German government should be free both before and after the conclusion of a peace

and purposes of the United Nations." This, of course, includes both NATO and the projected European army.

Page Three

This proposal is, on the face of it, more democratic than the Russian insistence on German neutrality. No country is truly independent unless it has the right to form alliances as its government sees fit. Yet in the concrete circumstances it is quite probable that if this issue, rather than the method of achieving unity should become the chief area of conflict which appears to stand in the way of uniting the country, the Allies would find it impossible to impose the military integration of Germany into their camp.

GERMANS WILL STIFFEN

Is there any real possibility that the Russians might be willing to permit the democratic unification of the country?

The immediate reason for the Russian note is an obvious attempt to slow up and perhaps block the military integration of Western Germany into the Allied camp. Is this objective so important to the Kremlin that it would be willing to sacrifice its hold on Eastern Germany in the hope of achieving it?

That is the kind of question which cannot be answered at the moment. Their proposal has already thrown consternation into the ranks of the Stalinist movements in both halves of Europe. These will now have to cease opposing the rearmament of Ger-. many under certain conditions. This effect of their proposal was no doubt discounted by the Kremlin strategists in advance. But to actually lose a whole rich and populous territory on the longshot chance that the Stalinists will be able, in due course, to gain power there by political means . . . that is not the usual behavior of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Whether or not they are willing to gamble their power in Eastern Germany in order to slow up the integration of Western Germany into the American camp remains to be seen. But they have already achieved a degree of success by their new policy. As their new approach revives hopes of a united Germany, it will no doubt stiffen opposition to Adenauer's policy of integration. Even Adenguer himself may find it easier to win points in his bargaining with the Americans and their allies.

The gesture toward the ex-Nazis and the generals contained in the Russian note may be counted on to swing at least some of these people in the direction of a Russian orientation, or at least to make them cool toward a Western one. The Russians have long been wooing the ex-Nazis and extreme ring-wing elements in both Germanies.

There can be little doubt that the propaganda struggle over Germany will take on new intensity. The Social-Democratic Party has an excellent opportunity to exploit this struggle for its own purposes. It can raise the banner of a free, democratic, united Germany without any advance commitments to either side in the cold war, and without any reservations. It can continue to advocate policies which are actually designed to bring this about (such as free elections), and it can continue to oppose and expose the maneuvers by which both sides in the cold war seek to maintain and even extend their control over the German nation.

The Test Is Ahead in the Last Lap of Drive

showing is better than i for several weeks. Indiana made its quota and other sums came in ton, Detroit, Philadelphi

Socialist Youth League The SYL campaign h down a bit in recent we is slowly climbing up and now has \$936 of its \$1500 quota, or

ar. We ok on a hey are igs still he lead, rd from rst week the way o \$358; New York \$244.50; Berkeley \$111; Detroit \$62; Northwest \$37.50 (125 per cent of its unit quota); Madison \$10; St. Louis \$25; New Haven \$20; Buffalo

We are now in the last lap of the campaign. This is the real test on whether we are going to make our total quota. Much depends on those areas that are now far behind in the standings. If we do not show an appreciable improvement it will be tough going afterward. There are a lot of fingersepointing. They pick out: (1) General: The National Office is certain to make its quota, but it is taking some time doing it, being presently over \$700 behind schedule. (2) Chicago: pretty quiet for some time. It is over \$1200 behind and dragging badly. (3) New York: Despite a good week, it has over \$2000 to go to reach its quota. (4) Los Angeles: \$400 in arrears. (5) Detroit: \$500 to go. (6) and (7) Philadelphia and Seattle. Doing very poorly on nodest quotas.

Here are the branches which are in higher standings but from whom nothing has been heard for a number of weeks: Buffalo, Oakland, Cleveland.

We are waiting to hear from all of these areas. The only talk that means anything in a Fund Drive is your cash contributions:

CONTRIBUTE to the ISL FUND DRIVE! Independent Socialist League 114 West 14.Street New York 11, N.Y. Enclosed is \$.. as my contribution to the ISL's 1952 Fund Drive. NAME ADDRESS CITY STATE (Make checks payable to Albert Gates.)



Subscribe to LABOR ACTION

t has been	job in the campaign so f know that the youth too
this week from Bos- a and the	tough assignment, but th doing splendidly. Standin show the Chicago unit in t but nothing has been hear
nas slowed eks, but it	the South Side since the fir of the campaign. Here is it they line up now: Chicag

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

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

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

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





Weighing Marx by Footnotes—Avoirdupois By CARL DARTON

The confusion, or cynicism and subservience in the guise of "scientific objectivity," which exists among social scientists in the academic world often brings forth bizarre results. Illustrative is an article entitled "Karl Marx and the Social Scientists" by Margaret T. Hodgen, an associate professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions at the University of California, Berkeley, which appeared in a recent issue of Scientific Monthly.

Dr. Hodgen starts her discussion with a condemnation of the loyalty oaths and describes the manner in which professors are intimidated to discontinue all references to Marxist theories in the classroom. But her alarm over this development is motivated not by concern over the curtailment of academic freedom but by fear that college graduates, who will later assume positions of political power and responsibility, will have little knowledge of the culture and ideology of nearly half of the world which is now "Marxist."

Dr. Hodgen should be demanding that Marxism should be presented with scientific impartiality. Instead she is only concerned that Americans should not be ignorant of the habits and ways of thinking of their opponents. Could even the Stalinists be more arbitrary in the choice of material and motive?

Furthermore, competent "social scientists" should feel free, she argues, to give adequate courses in Marxist theory which stress the fallacy and unscientific aspects of Communist doctrines. Students will then be strengthened in their belief in the American way of life and graduate as good citizens and administrators. The alternative to such critical analysis of Marxism will be that our youth will be subject off the campus to the devices of "skillful extramural propagandists," and since "voung people are idealistic and . . . without criticism, the easy certainties of Marxism can be made to appeal to their passionate desire for social betterment."

Despite the persuasiveness of Dr. Hodgen's appeal, there is little evidence that the college regents will change their policy and open up the classroom to Marxist theory as taught by social scientists, competent or otherwise.

Nevertheless, Dr. Hodgen is determined to present the evidence for the scientific weaknesses of Marxism and most of her article is an effort to substantiate this viewpoint.

New Criterion for Science

The fundamental social theory upon which the Marxist interpretation of history is based, according to Dr. Hodgen, is the Idea of Progress, an "antiquated" social theory which flourished during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries but is no longer tenable. The mistake of Marx was in swallowing this "myth" of a.more favored age, that progressive change for the better of mankind is not only possible but (and this is a sad commentary on her knowledge of Marxism) inevitable. Most readers of this column will recognize such a fatalistic theory of the "inevitability of socialism" as a notorious straw man of the critics of Marx. The manner in which Marx dedicated his life to the class struggle should be evidence that he realized that only a victorious working class makes possible progress after capitalism.

Dr. Hodgen continues her obvious misunderstanding of Marx by assuming that he was attempting to prove, in his Capital, his materialistic and economic interpretation of history. She fails to realize that Marx developed his historical theory long before he wrote Capital, which was limited to a scientific analysis of the mode of production in a single society, capitalism.

Nevertheless she glibly rates Capital as unscientific in comparison with Toynbee's Study of History because Marx makes historic references on only 55 pages of his work while Toynbee fills 13 volumes with references to 21 civilized societies and over 650 primitive societies. Dr. Hodgen apparently belongs to the "footnote and quotation" school of scientists. According to this, Velikovsky's Worlds in Collision would be the outstanding scientific work of the 20th century rather than the mess of pseudo-scientific fantasy which trained astronomers know it to be.

Dr. Hodgen's greatest error, however, is in assuming that the proper criterion for the scientific validity of a method is the "truth' or number of facts cited in its behalf rather than its value in predicting and controlling the course of events. Thus the validity of Marxism is not to be judged by the same standards as the physical sciences but by the degree to which it provides a proper guide for social action of a significant segment of society and shows the way out from the contradictions of a decadent capitalism.

We suspect that the dominant class interests in American life continuing to discourage the teaching of Marxism in our colleges because they have little confidence in the ability of "social scientists" to disprove its tenets. Rather, they are more afraid that the spark of hope which exists in the youth of America may be kindled by exposure to the illuminating insights which Marxism gives to history and the understanding of capitalism.



READING from LEFT to RIGHT

LABOR ACTION

FRIGHTENED AMERICA, by William O. Douglas.-The Progressive, April.

Justice Douglas' recent address at Brandeis University did not receive as much currency as his article in the New York Times Magazine but, made available by the Progressive, it was an even more cogent assault on the new American climate of fear and on the military emphasis of American foreign policy.

Noteworthy is his section on what has happened to the youth of the nation:

"Fear has driven more and more men and women in all walks of life either to silence or to the folds of the orthodox. Fear has mountedfear of losing one's job, fear of being investigated, fear of being pilloried. . . . This fear has even entered universities, great citadels of our spiritual strength, and corrupted them. We have the spectacle of university officials lending themselves to one of the worst kinds of witchhunts we have seen since early days.

"This fear his affected the youngsters. Youth has played a very important role in our national affairs. It has usually been the oncoming generation-full of enthusiasm. full of idealism. full of energy-that has challenged its elders and the status quo. It is from this young group that the country has received much of its moral power. They have always been prone to question the stewardship of their fathers, to doubt the wisdom of traditional practices, to explode cliches, to quarrel with the management of public affairs.

"Youth-like the opposition party in a parliamentary system-has served a powerful role. It has cast doubts on our policies, challenged our inarticulate major premises, put the light on our prejudices, and exposed our inconsistencies. Youth has made each generation indulge in selfexamination. Its criticisms have been searching and productive. Changes have been propelled by the opinion which they have generated. They have until now felt free to discuss, to argue, to

campaign, to embrace radical ideas, and to harass the orthodox school with a barrage of deas.

"But a great change has taken place. Youth is still rebellious; but it is largely holding its tongue. There is the fear of being labeled a 'subversive' if one departs from the orthodox party line. That charge-if leveled against a young man or young woman-may have profound effects. It may ruin a youngster's business or professional career. No one wants a Communist, nor anyone who is suspect, in his organization.

"And so the lips of the younger generation have become more and more sealed. Repression of ideas has taken the place of debate. There may not be a swelling crowd of converts to the orthodox, military view. But the voice of the opposition is more and more stilled: and youth. the mainstay in early days of the revolt against orthodoxy, is largely immobilized."

Said Douglas: "There probably has not been period of greater intolerance than we witness today," and he follows with his indictment, as he has made it before both from the Supreme Court bench and as a citizen: "It means that the philosophy of strength through free speech is being forsaken for the philosophy of fear through repression." He links the direction of the "drift" up with Russian totalitarianism. The cause of it all, he thinks is that "we carried over to the days of peace the military approach to world affairs," but he does not discuss, in turn, why this happened. He is strong in describing the consequences, not only at home but particularly in Asia, where "it has brought-us the lowest prestige in our existence. . . . Today in Asia we are identified not with ideas of freedom, but with guns," while at the same time "we see that Soviet imperialism continues to expand and that the expansion proceeds without the Soviets firing a shot." It becomes apparent, he says, "that military policy alone will end in political bankruptcy and futility."

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Bolivian Trotskyists Cuddle Up Closer to Peronist Groups

By JUAN REY

SANTIAGO, March 18-Our last article reported the initiative taken by the central committee of the Trotskyist POR (affiliated with the Fourth International) in publishing an open letter to the government, demanding that power be handed over to the Nationalist MNR without a new election. The grounds were the 1950 elections, when the Nationalists, who were supported by the POR, won a majority of the votes.

Now the "dynamic" general secretary of the POR has published a new open letter in which he again demands support for the MNR and for the "united front against imperialism." In this move, the "strategists" of the POR are backing the Peronist Congress of Workers Unions; this outfit was orby Peron's Asuncion, Paraguay, with the aim of winning the support of Latin American workers to Peron, not only against "Yanqui imperialism" but also against his own Argentine opposition, that is, the workers' opposition in Argentina.

The Bolivian "official-Trotskyists" uncritically support the move by the Peronistas and greet it as the "process of the unification of the Latin American workers"; they assert that it is breaking out of the "narrow aims of the Peronist bureaucrats" and that it is at bottom an "anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist movement." It is very difficult to think of a clearer case of political blindness. Therefore it is that in Bolivia one hears the opprobrious term "Nazi-Trotskyism" and the student press calls the POR the "left hand of the MNR."

FOR COALITION

It is a fact that the POR has consistently backed all the Nationalists' adventures, such as its "coup d'état," has helped to organize the miners to support the MNR, and supported the Nation- Democratic Action in Venezuela." alists in the 1950 election. This

policy was confirmed by the last congress of the Fourth International and its "Latin American bureau.

In the Internal Bulletin of the Fourth International Secretariat, we read a proud confirmation of the Bolivian POR's policy of supporting the Nationalists and Peronism. One of the old militants of the POR told us, likewise with pride, that the MNR has offered two ministries to the POR. Internal Bulletin stated that the POR will proclaim the "creation of the workers' and peasants' government formed by the two parties [the MNR and POR], based on the aforesaid program [of the POR] and supported by the workers' committees, peasants' committees and the revolutionary elements of the pettybourgeoisie of the cities." (Octo-

ber 1951 bulletin. Montevideo.) This pro-Nationalist reformism is served up to the Bolivian workers as a revolutionary Marxist program. This is the "revolutionary policy" of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International: coalition government with the MNR, which was formed in the Nazi school and with Nazi officers.

HUNGRY FOR POWER

Behind this policy is its corresponding "theory": "The program of the revolutionary party," the Internal Bulletin says, "must be built by a combination of the anti-imperialists, anti-capitalists, and democratic and Nationalist spokesmen," and "this broad conception of the program must be manifested practically by participation and activity, without any sectarianism, in all organizations and all movements of the masses which can express, even if indirectly, the aspirations and feelings of the masses, including, for example, the Peronist workers' unions, the MNR in Bolivia. the Peruvian APRA, Vargas' Laborite movement in Brazil or the (Bulletin, page 9.)

Marxism in the United States **By LEON TROTSKY** 35 Cents Order from Independent Socialist Press 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

government with the totalitari-



For these people there is no important distinction between the Peron, Vargas and Bolivian MNR movements on the one hand and on the other APRA in Peru or Democratic Action in Venezuela. But everyone knows that Peron, Vargas and the MNR are totaliratarian, while APRA and Democratic Action are petty-bourgeois radical organizations of a reform-

On the theoretical plane, in our view, the mistakes of the Latin American official-Trotskyists are based on the mistaken concept of the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" in Latin America. But this day is past in the whole world, and today only the working class can carry through such a revolution, which would be a proletarian socialist revolution, with bourgeois-democratic tasks in some countries.

But outside of theoretical errors and a lack of Marxist culture, the "Fourthist" radicals have a great hunger for power and, filled with pride by the MNR's offers, are anxious to make all haste toward a coalition

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Stanford Prexy Thought This One Up All by Himself

By HAROLD WEST

The campus is not only subjected to a vast unofficial policing for heretical ideas but educators themselves are in some instances going out of their way to ensure intellectual conformity. Countless examples of this "self-policing" of the campus are provided in many reports of rulings, investigations, suspensions of campus papers and editors, firings of teachers, censorship, and outlawing of suspect student groups. The Chicago Maroon case and the UC Daily Californian censorship affair are only two of the more recent examples. The barring of certain prominent speakers from a number of campuses across the nation is another symptom that academic freedom is becoming a special victim of the drive for conformity.

More than two years ago, when the University of California introduced the special loyalty oath, democratic sentiment was shocked. Since then there have been so many infringements of traditional American liberties on the campus throughout the nation that even some of the most prominent liberals are becoming inured to the assaults. The conception that ideas must be sifted by self-appointed guardians of "democracy" before they can be presented to adult students is rapidly becoming a solid part of the new American ideology.

New Leader-style liberals, instead of fighting this anti-democratic trend, are doing all they can in their not-too-modest way to encourage any sort of uniformity orientation, even if it means censorship, dismissals of teachers, etc., and general suppression of freedom, so long as it seems to contribute to the fight against Stalinism. Although some of them still claim to be "socialists" of a sort, they are only too happy to welcome such partisans of reaction as Max Eastman and Harry Gideonse into their camp of ex-radicals and pseudo-liberals. Anti-Stalinism and Stalinophobia are not synonymous.

It was Professor Sidney Hook, the ex-Marxist, who set himself up as the theoretician of that school which singled out the Stalinists as being ipso facto incompetent to teach. Norman Thomas has been another liberal (self-styled socialist) recruit to the essential position of this camp.

Their latest recruit now comes from Leland Stanford, that elite of universities. Its president, Dr. Wallace Stirling (according to the Los Angeles Daily News for March 24) has declared that "there must be freedom in teaching, or else a university denies the purpose of its own existence. But freedom does not mean license to incubate ideological philosophies." (Our emphasis.)

It might be fruitless to ask Dr. Stirling what he means by "ideological philosophies," and what philosophies in his opinion are non-ideologi cal. It is hardly likely that he has done more than put two words together in forceful union. In any case, he is against "license" and for 'freedom"—and who can possibly be FOR license as distinct from freedom? It takes the president of a great university to make such aweinspiring contributions to the obfuscation of thought.

We too are critical of those who use the classroom for the purpose of "indoctrinating" students. This should mean, if one follows Dr. Stirling all the way through, that one should propose the dismissal of those teachers who incubate the ideologies of the NAM, the American Legion, the Catholic hierarchy's medieval views on church and state, education, divorce and birth control, Franco, and a gigantic assortment of special propagandists for special "ideological philosophies."

It would seem, however, that the only "ideological philosophy" with which Dr. Stirling is acquainted is that of Stalinism-assuming that he does not extend his condemnation more widely to include genuine radicalism and socialism as distinct from Stalinism-for we have not heard him proposing the exclusion of teachers of other "ideological" persuasions. This in itself would seem to be an "ideological philosophy" on the part of Dr. Stirling, one which, however, he has the right to teach because it is eminently satisfactory to his board of trustees

The Daily News, reporting Stanford's 20th anniversary alumni conference, also presents Stirling as saying that "American colleges and universities must continue to have freedom of education but should not tolerate Communists on their faculties." He "pointed out the preservation of freedom demands certain restrictions, the first of which, he said, is 'this matter of Communism.'"

That freedom demands restrictions is fairly well known, especially since a great jurist pointed out that the right of a man to swing his fist ends where the other fellow's nose begins. The case is somewhat different when the analogy concerns IDEAS, as distinct from overt acts. is in Russia that the right of man to swing ideas around ends where the state's ideas begin, and the state's ideas covers a wide territory. Dr. Stirling hasn't got there yet, but "ideological philosophies" cover a pretty wide area themselves.

Dr. Stirling is not the most valuable recruit for Hook's theory about preserving freedom by putting it in wraps, but at least he is toeing the line.

AMERICAN TRAGEDY: "We Are No Longer Capable of Terrible Indignation

From speech by James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of CIO, to anti-Franco rally at Freedom House, New York City, March 25:

One of the most frightening tragedies that has overtaken man in this second half of the 20th century is his growing inability to respond to tragedy.

We are slowly becoming men whose senses are blunted. We can no longer feel heart-sick—as once we could—at outraged justice. We are no longer sensitive—as once we were—to individual human suffering, persecution and the deliberate taking of life.

We are no longer capable of terrible indignation when human dignity is trampled on; we are no longer able to weep tears of pity and wrath over tyranny and torture.

We have become-or we are in danger of becoming-men whose minds are dulled by mass slaughter. Our intellects, our senses cannot grasp the meaning of the 22,000,000 human beings killed in World War II. The wounding of 34,000,000 others in the same war is too vast, too horrifying for us to comprehend. The coldly planned extermination of 7,000,000 Jews is so enormous and unbelievable a tragedy that it can hardly make an impact on us. The enslavement of 15,000,000 laborers by Soviet Russia's bloody tyrants leaves us numbed and with ng of something unreal

We are threatened with a return to barbarism-not simply because man has devised means for the mass slaughter of his fellow men, but

Readers Take the Gloor.

To the Editor:

In regard to the article concerning Bob Munger and his "MacArthur Club" group, which appeared in the February 18 edition of LABOR ACTION, I can only say "Amen." I know this Munger person very well because I am also a student at the school which he attends, Pepperdine College.

Bob Munger is a sincere, convinced neo-fascist. His group of hangers-on expect him to do big things. Munger himself seriously considers running for Congress as soon as he reaches the age requirements. And it is quite possible he will achieve his goal.

He may achieve his goal for two reasons. One: He is well integrated with the higher-ups in the extreme rightist faction of the Republican Party (due partly

to the aid of his mother, who is well known in political circles in Indiana); and two: because he is an effective speaker of the Gerald L. K. Smith type.

It goes without saying that Bob has become one of the strongest collegiate political figures to appear on the scene in quite a time. But it is also clear that there are many thinking students who do not want Communism nor do they want "Mungerism." Both of these extremist groups promise nothing but destruction. And if the recent elections at my college are any indication (a slate of Munger's hangers,-on were thoroughly trounced), the students will have nothing to do with this young racist or his ideology.

D. E.

Los Angeles

because he no longer feels the meaning of that slaughter. The miracle of human life no longer seems miraculous. The preciousness of the individual and the inviolability of his God-endowed

rights belong increasingly to the past. We accept much of this loss without being conscious of our losing it. We tend to a contagious fatalism which implies that tragedy on a world scale is inevitable.

Our newspapers can preoccupy us day after day with loud, streaming headlines reporting the battle against nature of a single man on a broken ship 100 miles off England. But death sentences imposedwithout trial, without justice-on nine freedom-loving men in Spain receive no headlines, no columns of newsprint.

And yet the future of our world, the dwindling promise of peace and sanity and of all human values depend on our hearing the voices of such men as these condemned to death in Spain. Even more, the survival of human decency and dignity depend on the voices of such men—in prisons, in death cells, in slave labor camps wherever they exist in the worldreaching the millions who are still free.

For our own survival, for the right of men to walk again with their heads high, for the freedom of our children and the generations to come we must not only hear those voices; we must recapture the capacity to be aroused by them. We must again become canable of deep pity and profound anger. We must restore to the word "brotherood" the emotional meanings that make us deep inside our "brother's seeper.

Nine men in a cell in Spain, condemned to death-nine obscure men, as obscure as Sacco and Vanzetti were-they are our brothersmore intimately than any mortal kinship could make them. They were convicted, as the CIO declared early this month, "on the charge of devotion to democracy."

The time has come to be done with symbols. We've had too many of them and they have become fleshless. These men were not just symbols of lofty ideals and principles. They were our brothers of bone and blood and sinew who lived and struggled and suffered for the very liberties that we take for granted today. They had their joys and sorrows in common with all men. They loved and were loved; they had hopes and aspirations; they wanted contentment and the small pleasures that each of us want. And they knew the terrible agony of feeling abandoned, forgotten by the world, as they waited for March 14 and a 20-man firing squad at 6:30 in the morning.

But the five of the nine men who were executed were convicted of more than "devotion to democracy." They were condemned to death because Dictator Franco feared them, as dictatorship must always fear men-no matter how obscure-who want a portion of the freedom for which God created them. Tyranny at any time, at any place has had only one guiding principle-fear; fear of just such men as Dictator Franco put to death.

Fear, terrorism and death must continue to be the foundations of Franco's oppression, just as they must be the foundations of all other oppressions in the world today. And because Franco must continue throttling the voices and spilling the blood of other men "devoted to democracy" we have gathered here tonight.

We are here because we intend that these voices that Dictator Franco thought he had stilled shall be heard by millions who never heard them while they lived. Not as symbols but as brothers who died that we might know better how to live—that is what we want their legacy to be.

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LABOR ACTION

Los Angeles Rallies to Defend **Victims of Jim Crow Terror Bombs**

By GEORGE CARVER

LOS ANGELES. March 23-The Negro people and all democratic enemies of racist terrorism and segregation will not lightly dismiss the recent bombings designed to intimidate Negroes and those who sell or rent housing to Negroes, it was indicated today at a protest meeting.

In spite of the daily press's miserable lack of space, after the early headlines and the competition of the current policebrutality hearings and less important happenings, the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and supporting groups managed to hold a sizable rally this afternoon with about 700 in the Second Baptist Church.

The larger rally at which Walter White officiated a few weeks ago got much better publicity. That meeting was to protest the bombings and terrorism in Florida and other places far removed from California. Today's meeting dealt almost exclusively with the actions of hoodlums in Los Angeles; understandably, therefore, the conservative press wishes to play down the acts of terrorism in its own city.

There have been hints in the press that "the Commies" themselves may be behind" this latest outrage. This sort of propaganda is reminiscent of the FBI agent's statement in Florida that he was considering a police chief's theory that "Communists" are implicated.

The people at today's rally showed that they are not to be taken in by such subterfuge. They know too well the record of racehaters and fascist hoodlums in Los Angeles, and they know that the reactionaries wish to divert attention from Jim-Crowism on all levels, including the big realty interests who practice restrictive covenants illegally, in order to focus attention on the Stalinists whose leaders are now on trial here.

SINISTER APPEAL

Of course, the Stalinists are trying to make political capital cut of this bombing case, but they are not the only sinister elements in this endeavor. The "Small Property Owners League" of Los Angeles distributed a leaflet in front of today's rally which cleverly and insidiously attempts to link public housing with racism. Here is a reproduction of the leaflet and its spelling:

"Negroe's home bomed! Don't be scared into voting for Public Housing! RENT: BUY: LIVE anywhere in this city you choose. If you move into 'interracial' public housing you will find that YOU have put yourself in a 'Little Harlem' or 'For Negroes Only Project.' Give your Children a break, and live anywhere you desire under our free enterprise system of housing. KILL ALL PUBLIC HOUSING ON OUR JUNE BALLOT. It's for YOUR

Some people may swallow this nasty pill. But fortunately you can't sell it to those who understand the ABCs of business propaganda or who have an elementary knowledge of history, particularly those Negroes who experienced the Jim Crow policies of the realtor's "gentlemen's agreement's" or those- who are now fighting to preserve their low-rent public housing community, genuinely interracial, in Rodger Young Village here against the assaults of councilmen and newspapers who speak for the "free enterprise" real-estate interests.

CP REJECTED

The Stalinists, wishing to prove they are very much alive and trying to give their badly shaken ranks a morale-building shot in the arm, acted promptly when the bombings occurred a week ago. Within a few hours after the explosions they had organized a picket line around the scene of the two damaged houses to show their "solidarity" with the victims and their determination to

"drive the hoodlums out" should they show up again. The chief victim of the bombing attack, William Bailey, a young Negro school teacher, wanted none of the Stalinist's "protection" nor any part of their program for defending civil liberties. Like the NAACP and supporting organizations of today's rally, he repudiated support by the Stalinist party and its front groups, including the

Stalinist-dominated Civil Rights

Congress which tried to get publicity as the militant civil-rights group. The Stalinists, however, are not completely dismayed by the turn of events. Their press and other publicity outlets are stressing the fact that they were rejected as part of a broad united-front campaign for action against hooliganism, for pressure against the mayor, city council, police department and state authorities for adequate protection of Negroes who rent or buy housing in socalled Caucasian areas and for punishment of the guilty terrorists. Among the minority people they can reach, who are considerable in number, the Stalinists-will have a good thing in pointing to themselves as the friends of the underdog, IF events prove that the traditional civil-liberties and liberal groups are ineffective in remedying the racist malady that is raging in Los Angeles.

NEGROES FED UP

If the police and FBI fail to arrest the terrorists, fail to make comprehensive investigation and try to let the whole thing blow over, and if the various liberal groups, especially the NAA-CP as the organization most vitally concerned, merely soothe their consciences with a few speeches and pleas to the authorities, the Stalinists will be able to attract many disillusioned Negroes and other minorities who otherwise would not even listen to a word from this source.

The rank-and-file Negroes who suffer from Jim-Crowism the most, in all of its sinister manifestations, are fed up with mere promises of investigations, arrests, police protection, the break-up of existing (though illegal) restrictive covenants, and full rights as citizens of a supposedly free country.

Furthermore, these victims of Jim Crow want effective action campaigns from their own organizations and the liberal supporting groups. This means principally the NAACP, which is the genuine mass civil-liberties organization dealing chiefly with Negro problems and which the great mass of Negroes and their friends must appeal to in cases where rampant jim - Crowism brings vicious infringements of human rights.

UNITED FRONT

Today's meeting was supported by the following organizations:

American Jewish Congress, Japanese-American Citizens League, CIO, AFL, UAW, American Veterans Committee, American' Civil Liberties Union, Anti-Defamation League, CSO (the local Community Service Organization made up largely of Mexican-Americans and other minorities, which fights for complete civil rights for all racial groups), several churches and civic groups.

Excluded from the list of supporting groups were all socialist and radical organizations. The climate of conformity, fear and witchhunts today causes the liberal custodians of civil liberties to avoid official cooperation with any group which appears to be remotely connected with doctrines highly critical of the status quo. In this respect they are trying to swim with the stream while hoping to slow down the current or alter its course occasionally.

The master of ceremonies and principal speaker today was Loren Miller, present editor and publisher of the California Eagle, a fairly militant Negro paper, and also a member of the national legal committee of the NAACP. Miller's presentation of the problem and the course he recommends ensured a more vigorous plea for unity among organizations and individuals who wish to combat effectively all forms of discrimination against racial minorities or ethnic groups. Miller asked that all participating organizations contribute funds to the NAACP for its publicity, investigations, legal battles, and for the relief of victims of ter-Torism

BAILEY'S SPEECH

Miller echoed the thoughts and feelings of most of the audience when he asserted that "if this recent case is not solved quickly" with the punishment of the perpetrators as a deterrent to other hoodlums, then "we will surely have future cases of racist terror in this city" because the hoodlums and those who think like them will be encouraged to do all the damage they wish against Negro homes and commit all kinds of attacks on persons."

Unlike the speeches at the recent meeting for Walter White here, there was practically no emphasis today on the hackneved slogan that discrimination is bad because it "plays into the hands" of Stalinists at home and abroad. Only one speaker asserted that Stalinism could not ask for a cheaper victory than was provided for by the bombings. This new trend, even if only a local one, is encouraging, for it is a rather clear indication that these liberal speakers and their organizations are beginning to recognize that discrimination must be fought principally because of the damage done to its victims.

William Bailey, one of the bombing-attempt victims, took the speaker's rostrum and told of his reaction the night of the attack. Bailey, acclaimed for his courage in deciding to stay in his new home, said, "I'm no hero. I-was really scared when the explosion came off and when I realized what it was. I'm no braver than most of you. I just know that I have to stay, bombings or no bombings. This thing is bigger than me. Your home could be next. I've got no choice. I must stay. And the people responsible for the bombings must be made to realize that their acts cannot scare us away from living where we please." Bailey has a wife and child.

BOWRON ON SPOT

Loren Miller used strong language in criticism of the Police Department:

"Two years ago a minority home was flooded. The police The National Urban League, promised full investigation and

arrests. This was in Leimert Park. Last July there were two other bombings on Dunsmuir. Again Chief Parker promised a thorough investigation and arrests. Two years ago a cross was burned on a family's lawn. Again the police promises. But no arrests. There have been many acts of violence and threats against minorities in this city. Of course arrests alone are not all that we desire. For behind the hoodlums' acts are bigger, more respectable people. There have been many years of fertile agitation for this sort of thing. Those who enforced restrictive covenants from 1918 to 1948 until they were ruled unconstitutional are guilty of having sown the seeds of race hate.'

A young Negro woman asked Mayor Bowron in a meeting with residents of the neighborhood after the recent bombing: "We Negroes want to know whether we can eat, live, sleep, work wherever we want in the United States and n your city, Los Angeles, Mr. Mayor. Will you make a statement giving us that assurance?"

According to the California Eagle, March 20, the mayor, flanked by Chief Parker and a member of the Police Commission, 'implied that at least some members of the group were Communists. . . . Heckling began, protest following protest. The mayor pointed out that he had already made a statement, that he wasn't going to be pressured, but said that yes, he would issue a statement to the press, but in his own words and at a time of his own choosing.'

MEANWHILE, A WOMAN RECEIVED A PHONE THREAT: "GET OUT IN 90 DAYS OR GET BOMBED!"

NEIGHBORS HELP

A number of groups and persons were on the job as soon as they heard of the bombings. Dr. E. I. Robinson, official of the NAACP, was at the scene within an hour after the blast. The CIO wired the FBI in Washington to make a full investigation. Michael Straight, AVC head, and New Republic editor, asked for federal intervention and federal protection for Negroes in Los Angeles if local and state authorities are unwilling or incapable of doing the job.

But the most encouraging news came from the vicinity of the blast. Carpenters offered to work on the damaged property without charge, and residents, determined to combat any new attacks, formed defense guards around the scene of the crime.

of attraction at the protest meetand the aroused citizens would members are free human beings, the problem. The most tremen- or creed.

dous and prolonged however, came when Anthony Rios, head of the CSO, and a recent vicitm of police brutality. was introduced. The CSO, although a young organization. holds its own public hearings on discrimination and other vital community problems, and it has a core of militant defenders of human rights. For the CSO, police brutality and police ineptness in tracking down racist hoodlums are related aspects of the same problem

Of course, no one at the meeting today tackled the problem in its over-all national and world context. No one hinted that the increase in terrorism and the spread of Jim-Crowism was in any way related to the kind of atmosphere created by governmental assaults on the rights of minority political groups through Truman's "subversive list" criteria for public jobs, congressional witchhunts and smear attacks, increasing official and private attacks on academic freedom, and all of the nation-wide drives to-ward uniformity of ideas in order to prepare the people for the necessary discipline to sustain a gigantic, inflationary war economy and eventually war itself.

NO LET-UP

The reticence about the connection between racism, which is encouraged by national trends and national chauvinism, and the preparation for a showdown between American capitalist imperialism and Stalinist totalitarianism is not surprising. Few liberals are willing to recognize publicly the broader ramifications of contemporary events.

The problem of terrorism does not end with the arrests of a few hoodlums. But the immediate step is such arrests and vigorous prosecution. Restrictive covenants secretly upheld by so-called respectable businessmen must be smashed. Pressure on authorities must never relax. FEPC must be enacted on a national scale and enforced. All of these things are problems for liberals, labor and socialists.

The unions especially must not forget their duties and their potential strength. They must be willing to take up the challenge and carry out the tasks assigned them by their role in the national and historical contexts. Secondary leaders and democratic militants in the unions must educate the members and prod the union leaders. The point must be driven home that white supremacy and Jim-Crowism are weapons of reactionary politicians and the big The forceful speeches by Miller corporations. Labor is weakened and Bailey made them the centers if it is artificially divided among itself. Labor is strengthened to ing. One felt that the NAACP battle for its own rights if all its really do their utmost to tackle united regardless of race, color,

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victed.

By DAVE BERN expected to produce the desired hate and frenzy.

or almost enough. The head of the committee Vernon Kilpatrick (Dem., L. A.) is a liberal who only recently had to narry charges of "pro-Communist sympathy" by the reactionaries and to disavow connections with the Stalinoid groups he once cooperated with, including the Independent Progressive Party.

writer salesman who served the

April 7, 1952

The Fight Against Thugs-in-Uniform — —

(Continued from page 1)

forced to sit and be exhibited to zpolicemen they had never seen before who were told that "these men [Rios, Ulloa and the witness] had hit a cop and were to be given trouble if ever seen again." After hours of this and similar intimidations, Rios and Ulloa were booked on suspicion of interfering with a police officer; the witness was booked on suspicion of drunkenness. Shortly thereafter all were freed on bail. A week later the witness was con-

The trial of Rios and Ulloa was set for a later date. That this trial would have a different outcome than those arising from similar arrests in the past was a foregone conclusion; for these men, unlike others, were in a position to courageously stand up against the fear of reprisals and fight the case through. The community and political strength of CSO, plus its close association with organized labor and liberal movements in the city, assured this. A chain reaction of backfires in the face of the police department had been set off.

Prior to the Rios-Ulloa case, as we have mentioned, not many victims of police brutality dared to press charges against the po-

licemen involved. The general public knew little of the encroachment upon the rights of their fellow citizens. According to an East Los Angeles community leader, "victims who formally complained

Bureau of Internal Affairs. In most cases the investigators from the bureau somehow managed to convince the beaten one that he or she should forget it."

VICTIMS SPEAK UP

In the testimony given by Tony Rios, a sample of one of the techniques used comes to light. Police officers were lined up and a seargent pointed to each of them and stated, "You see these officers. They all look alike. They all dress alike. They all wear the same badge. There are 4100 of us and we will get you sooner or later if you try to go through with this."

The efficacy of such intimidation was lost when the size and strength of the forces working on behalf of Rios and Ulloa were made public. Previously silent victims came forth to tell their stories to various civil-liberties agencies and, in some cases, to finally press formal charge against the police. Some who had been intimidated to the point of "hiding out" through fear of reprisals found the courage to come forth and be heard

This reaction was not at all surprising. What was unusual was the situation that made it possible for the working class and iberal forces to create a defense machine of such strength in this, the city that as late as 1939 was open-shop stronghold where the reactionary forces could write their own ticket. Shortly after the arrest of

received a visit from the Police who had been elected through the taking a terrific beating from the efforts of CSO and who in a sense is the political arm of the Mexican-American minority, appeared before the City Council with reports of 50 cases of police brutality that had occurred in the last three months. He had no trouble in getting these reports, for persons with civil-liberties cases appear at every CSO meeting to ask for aid and advice. With this ammunition Roybal asked for an investigation of the Police Department and its meth-

> Roybal and Rios are members of the County Democratic Party Committee, and within days the local leadership of the party demanded that the attorney general of California make an investigation. The CIO, AFL, Anti-Defamation League, ADA, NAACP and other organizations lent their forces to the fight through the County Conference of Community Relations.

> Church groups and individual trade-union locals added their voice to the protest as well. It should be added here that Rios and other CSO members are organizers for various local trade unions. Lastly, individuals gave their support through a "Help Your Neighbor" Drive put on by the Daily News.

Past cases of brutality came to light in almost direct proportion to the growth of the forces protesting the brutality. A Los Angeles soldier died in an army camp from a brain hemorrhage and his mother told the press of police here. He had talked back to some policemen.

Another victim took his case to court and was awarded \$500 by the judge, but the officer who beat him could not be touched because the case was over a year old. (The statute of limitations for citizens is three years.)

XMAS ORGY

A motorcycle officer fired a bullet through the car of a Mexican-American who was going 63 miles an hour on the Hollywood speedway. This man happened to be a doctor on an emergency case, hurrying to a sick child. Even after learning this the officer ransacked the doctor's car and even his instrument case, thus holding him up for twenty minutes before writing out a citation, using abusive language during the entire

The most shocking case came to light in the testimony of six youths who were brought to trial for batery and disturbing the peace last Christmas Eve. Some were taken from the bar where the incident of which they were accused took place, driven into the hills and beaten. Those who got home were dragged from their homes and were beaten in the presence of their families and en route to the station.

The youths, most of whom are Mexican-Americans, told that an orgy of beating took place once they arrived at the station. As many as eighteen "drunken" po-Rios, City Councilman Ed Roybal, how he had never been well since lice took part in the beating and

the floor became slippery with blood. Some, "were fighting each other for a chance to participate." When they were finally released they had to be taken to the General Hospital where one was treated for a punctured kidney; another for a broken cheek bone and nose: all had very severe cuts and abrasions, black eyes and split lips.

The youths were so fearful of reprisals that they left the General Hospital for private hospitals. Some left town and went into hiding. Others moved themselves and their families out of the city and into the county where the police have a somewhat different attitude. Before their trial came to an end one or two were still planning to move completely, out of the state.

When called to the witness stand the police who were on duty when the beating occurred stated that they "used only the necessary force" to take the youths in and that they saw "nothing unusual" happen at the station on Christmas night. (One of the youths who was most severely beaten, Danny Rodela, weighs 114 pounds.) In the face of the testimony of the defense witnesses and the photographs that the youths' lawyer was alert enough to have taken when they were still hospitalized, few took the testimony of the police officers in question too seriously. The accumulated weight of this together with all the other cases now had the Police Department on the defensive.

(Continued next week)



LOS ANGELES, Mar. 27-Unable to produce concrete, coherent testimony by its paid informerwitnesses to prove the government's charges against the California Stalinist leadership, the prosecution has had to rely on sensation - mongering, legalistic semantic gymnastics and special press treatment of the trial. Now the prosecution has support from other quarters which seek to implicate the Stalinist party in just about every social evil one can imagine. If the prosecution can successfully invoke such "red" nightmares, then it will suffice to substitute "red" or "Communist" for "boo" and the reaction can be

The weird drama of the Stalinist trial is matched by the sudden vast array of allegations about "Communist" responsibility for the big problems that face the authorities. The yellow press and certain city officials see a "Communist" behind such troublesome issues as the Los Angeles race bombings, the complaints about police brutality, and now the Assembly in vith the trite slogan that "Commies are mixed up in this narcotics traffic." The Los Angeles Mirror, March

26, headlines a report by the Assembly Social Welfare Subcommittee on drug rings: "COMMU-NIST PLOT TO SPREAD DOPE TOLD BY SOLONS." The news story underneath, however, simply states that an "amazing story" too confidential to be made public left the committee with a "strong suspicion that subversive groups were implicated." Today, a suspicion is enough, it seems,

STOOLIE COLLAPSES

The Los Angeles trial entered a new phase today when a new witness was to be called after the collapse of Stephen Wereb, type-

FBI as a spy in CP ranks from 1944 until 1947.

Wereb's collapse was due to the grueling cross-examination by the defense, it was claimed. Wereb, who "broke down after hours of intensive questioning," is to be called back later, after the new witness has had his say and after he recuperates from his "heart condition." Assistant" U. S. Attorney Norman Neukom told the court: "He had told me he had heart attacks but he didn't want me to mention it in court." However, no one can say that Wereb's collapse was entirely of a physical nature.

The News stated that Margolis, a defense attorney, used the error Wereb made in identifying Carl Lambert as Albert Lima, another defendant, to ask this guestion: "You recognized Lima with the same recollection or guess with which you recalled statements of the defendants, didn't you?"

"Don't you know better than to ask such a question?" Judge Mathes broke in sharply. "No, I don't," replied the attorney. Margolis then asked the court to instruct the jury to disregard the judge's remark about whether

'knew better." The judge agreed. Margolis then attacked Wereb's testimony about the "revolutionary nature of the teaching at Communist indoctrination schools in Los Angeles." Wereb lashed back by claiming that "Marxian philosophy was all green cabbage to me and still is." Yet Wereb had spoken in an authoritative manner in previous testimony, if not about "Marxism" (i.e., Stalinist distortions of Marxism), then at least about the Stalinist movement.

QUOTES CPer

The Mirror, March 25, said that Wereb quoted Loretta Stack, one of the 15 CP leaders on trial here, to the effect that "American workers will be the gravediggers of United States capitalists.' Wereb may not know Marxism, as he states, but he vouched for his knowledge of the party line when, during the same day, he quoted Dorothy Healey, Los Angeles County leader of the CP. about Stalinist strategy and tactics. She is alleged to have said: "The future of our party will

be militant. We urge mass demonstrations at the City Hall, Communist meetings on street corners. We urge shop gate meetings and the re-education of our members in Marxism. We urge picketing of the homes of congressmen who don't vote in favor of measures we sponsor. And we must recruit in the basic industriesaviation, steel, shipping, transportation, and electricity. . . Trade-union leaders must be Marxists. All strikes in basic industries should be Communistled. The county board (of the CP) should be consulted from time to time as to its progress on strikes."

Wereb quoted William Schneiderman, CP state chairman and alleged real leader of the party nationally: "This government of the United States had better consider its position, knowing of Communist successes in Yugoslavia [presumably before Tito's break-D. B.], Czechoslovakia, Burma, China, France, and the Socialist gains in Britain. There is a great question if the United States would get any allies from them."

NO "REVELATIONS"

Wereb also quoted Elizabeth Glenn, a CP functionary, on the Negro policy of the CP: "The Communist party should reinstitute its groups through the South, enlist Negroes for manpower, separate some states from the North and form a Negro nation." But Judge Mathes objected to this testimony, which deals with an embarrassing issue of racism, even though the CP's tactical "solution" is a demagogic slogan, divorced from the fundamental problems that confront Negroes and incapable of realization. "I'll entertain a motion to strike that testimony," announced Mathes.

Finally, Wereb quoted William Kellas of the Hawthorne CP Club: "This is a cadre class. These Marxist classes are to teach leadership-at least five deep. If the FBI should arrest the top leadership, the second leadership group could be qualified to step in. If the police took the sec end group, the party could still function as a revolutionary party to the fifth depth."

Preceding Wereb as government witness was Timothy Evans, an Oakland carpenter, described in the press "as the only plausible witness," who told about the CP work among Negroes. Most of his testimony was of matters generally known to students of the Stalinist movement. Not even this witness added anything to the "revelation" promised at the beginning of the trial about the "conspiracy to advocate violent revolution."

CIO INVOLVED

Today, Carl Brant, business agent of Local 1421, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, denied Wereb's contention the other day that he (Brant) had told a party caucus in 1946: "The strike at U. S. Motors is unfair because the court has limited the number of pickets. This fascist position will not stand. . . . Bring all the husky manpower you can -we'll have the longshoremenas they want to beat hell out of the police." Brant denied the remark about beating "hell out of the police."

Philip (Slim) Connelly, a defendant, an editor of the People's World, and in 1946 secretary of the CIO Council here before the national CIO purge of Stalinists, was mentioned by Wereh as the leader of the strike at U.S. Motors, for which he served 60 days in jail for "inciting to riot." Judge Mathes agreed to strike this part of the testimony since Mathes "made it plain that as a CIO official, Connelly had a right to be on the picket line." He upheld the other aspects of this testimony.

Brant said today that the strike "had the support of the entire CIO and many of the present leaders of the CIO in Los Angeles were on the picket line the day the police attacked the peaceful pickets with tear gas and clubs. A possible attempt to add antiunion propaganda to the trial atmosphere was exploded by the judge's decision to strike the picketing role of Connelly and by Brant's reference to the present CIO leadership of Los Angeles. Witness Wereb's Waterloo to-

day came when Margolis, an old party-line attorney for the CP, answered Wereb's assertion that "all non-Communists are fascists

ticle from the People's World which supported Roosevelt and Truman in 1944 and Helen Douglas for re-election.

"INSIDE DOPE"

"Do you mean to say all these people were members of the Communist party?" asked Margolis with typical sophistry, avoiding any mention of the CP line on Roosevelt as a "social-fascist" before the "popular front" days. Wereb replied that Douglas agreed with some of the things the CP stood for. Margolis then asked Wereb if he was against everything the CP stood for, and Wereb replied, "Not exactly."

Wereb was asked what he was taught in the Stalinist schools. The witness, who reported regularly to the FBI even after he left the CP and drew his pay for "expenses," replied, "With apologies to you, Mr. Margolis, I don't know anything about Marxism-Leninism and I pray to God that I never do." "Your prayer will probably be answered," replied Margolis.

At this point the witness broke down. "I feel ill," he said. An FBI man ushered him from the room. and his attorney revealed that he had long suffered from a heart ailment but wished to keep it confidential and unknown to the court. So the seventh witness is to be heard and undoubtedly he too will be an informer for the FBI who can furnish similar "inside dope" on the "Red conspiracy.'





April 7, 1952

era they might have had to wait twenty years for another war expansion.

BIGGER STAKES

But Wilson insisted: no wage increase without a price increase. It was not only a question of dollars and cents; it was not only a pocketbook philosophy; Wilson was pursuing an important social and political objective. He sought to convince the American people that the unions were responsible for inflation; it was an economic and propaganda war against organized labor.

But this time, unlike the days of the big post-war strikes of 1945-6, the steel union categorically rejected support, open or Truman and his party are inconcealed, to a steel price increase.

Wilson's resignation is impelled by political and social objectives that go far beyond the steel neactiations. And as the steel magnates meet to map out their proaram of action, we may be sure that these representatives of the decisive industry of American capitalism will be motivated not only by price tags and profits but by their desires to determine the future destinies of the United States. They own the factories and have the power to force the steel workers out on strike by the simple

They may have already decided for a battle. If so, they have chosen to hold on to their profit millions; but more, they will have decided to push Truman and his Democratic Party against the wall: by forcing it to apply the Taft-Hartley Law and face a split with labor, or to hesitate and face a split in its own party.

PUSHING TO THE RIGHT

David J. McDonald, secretarytreasurer of the United States Steelworkers Union, is convinced that labor has "a very friendly gentleman in the White House.' The United Mine Workers could offer other testimony. At any rate, the steel companies know that capable of following a clear and decisive policy in the event of a strike. To help foster the conditions for a defeat of a leaderless and policyless Democratic Party in 1952, the steel companies may have decided for a strike.

Or perhaps they will avoid a costly strike now, confident and secure in the belief that the Truman - Democratic administration is already so thoroughly discredited that its defeat is certain in any case and they need only wait in cheerful anticipation of the funeral rites in November. Then when a regime less susceptible to expedient of repeating one word labor pressure is installed, it will in every strike.

be time to make up for lost onportunities.

Truman and his party allow a steady drift to the right in U.S. politics. On all the big questions, the wheel slowly turns in the direction of big business. But the big capitalists are not satisfied; they want quicker action, especially since the labor movement itself might at any moment get somewhat more militant and would have to be dealt with by stronger meas-

The Truman regime is dependent upon the organized labor movement and consequently feels and reflects the pressure of the unions. To usher in a new period of counter-reform and deepened conservatism, the big capitalists, with the steel companies at their head, would eradicate the remnants of Trumanism and Fair Dealism.

Labor now faces the crisis of steel powerfully organized but without an effective political program of its own. Will it continue to place great hopes with Truman? But he and his party do not have the will and ability to rally the American people behind great social causes. They try to appear to satisfy everyone, big business and labor. They are unable to take a courageous stand; they are quick to desert labor, above all in time of need. And more and more, these political questions intrude

Union's Pressure Won – – The companies, however, have (Continued from page 1)

ommended that the present North-South differential be reduced from ten cents to five cents; that vacation pay be improved; that premium pay for afternoon and evening shifts be increased; that the union receive six paid holidays a year, and that time and a quarter be paid for Sunday work.

These fringe benefits amount to about 51/2 cents an hour, making the total wage settlement 23 cents an hour. The WSB also recommended that the industry grant the union shop. Other issues, such as the incentive pay question and the guaranteed annual wage, were referred back to the parties for further bargaining

TRIAL BALLOONS

The WSB also recommended an 18-month contract postdated to January 1. It has been feared in union circles that Murray would follow Reuther in signing a longer contract. The industry may yet demand this.

The WSB package can be considered a good settlement. It is not all that the workers deserve, by a long shot. But it does probably represent, more or less, what the union is strong enough to win at the moment through ordinary collective bargaining.

However, if the government gives steel a price increase, the gains will not only be wiped away eventually, but the union movement will also lose ground politically. The big corporations, with the help of their politicians and newspapers, have been selling the false and vicious idea that labor is responsible for inflation.

The size of the WSB recomniendations-which were higher than the union at first expectedcan be attributed to the firmness of the union while the case was being considered. During the considerations, various proposed settlement figures were "leaked" to the public. They were all lower than the final recommendations. These "leaked" figures were undoubtedly trial balloons to test the union's reactions.

The union replied by hastening the preparation of strike machinery and by refusing a further strike postponement until it saw the final package. Local strike, picketing and relief machinery is at present oiled and ready to go at a moment's notice.

not accepted the WSB package as this is written. The industry wants a price increase first. They are asking a \$12-a-ton price increase. The WSB says \$4 a ton would be more than enough. Murray maintains that the \$2 that the industry has coming to it under the Capehart amendment would cover the wage boost.

PROFITS ARE JUICY

Actually, the industry could pay the whole cost out of profits and still get along. Last year, U. S. Steel profits ran at a little over 6 per cent. Since the corporation split its shares three for one several years ago, however, that means the profit rate is over 18 per cent a year. And in addition, huge profits have been put into various corporation funds without even being distributed to the stockholder. The union maintains that 40 per cent of the present capitalization of the company represents undistributed profits. And U. S. Steel issued watered stock in the first place. Thus the actual rate of profit is something over 30 per cent a year, and on watered stock at that! Since much of it is hidden, it is not even subject to excess-profits taxes.

Behind the quarrel over a price increase, a very interesting figh is going on within the top circles of the administration. A good deal has come to light and more lies beneath the surface. Actually, the class struggle is having its effect reflected* within the administration

The WSB was originally directly under big-businessman Wilson in his capacity as mobilization director. In protest against this, labor walked off of the WSB and the mobilization boards last year and denounced the whole setup very effectively. To woo labor back, Truman made theWSB under its chairman. Nathan Feinsinger, independent of any control by Wilson.

LEFT FACE

Now that the WSB has made decision half-way favorable to labor, Wilson has tried to override the WSB by blasting its settlement. He tried to regain, in effect, his lost veto over the WSB by calling for further conferences of the steel industry and union in his office. Murray quite properly refused and told Wilson off.

The professional Democratic Party politicians in the mobilization program-Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall and Economic Stabilizer Roger Putnam-have to cppose Wilson. Arnall and Putnam, like their fellow Democratic officeholders, are far from being pro-labor. But they do not want to risk having labor walk out of the mobilization program again.

This is especially true in an election year. Truman and the Fair Deal wing of the party would like to render a "pro-labor" decision in this case in order to give the labor leadership some sort of a talking point in whipping up support for the Democrats among an apathetic rank and file. The Truman administration can be expected more and more to try to put on a "left face" between now and November, just as it did in 1948.

Wilson won't go along, however. With the WSB and the mobilization director feuding and working independently of each other, Truman has found himself in the same dilemma which so often plagued Roosevelt. Roosevelt was always creating warring agencies under the control of warring economic interests, only to find that he had to choose between them in some way.

As this is written, it is reportthat Wilson has sole ident on giving the industry price increases on a staggered system. a little at a time, and mostly after the election. This rumor, too. may be a trial balloon to test the reactions of Murray and the labor movement. Murray has denounced price increases again and again. but he has done that before and then folded up after he has won his wage increases.

[This trial balloon, if such it was, collapsed soon also. See other article on Wilson's resignation-Ed.]

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