The Independent Socialist League Fights for a Socialist Democracy!

## LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

WHO'S ON TOP?

TITO

STALIN

#### SEPTEMBER 5, 1949

#### FIVE CENTS

## O'Dwyer's Scabherding in Bus Strike 'Repays' Quill Support

NEW YORK, Aug. 30-Mayor William O'Dwyer is engaged in a strikebreaking squeeze on the union whose leader is one of his most active supporters in the city's labor movement. A few months ago, Michael J. Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union (CIO), was the labor representative in the Draft-O'Dwyer committee yelling for hizzoner's renomination at the time when the mayor was still playing hard to get. He made radio speeches for his candidate. As 'far as anyone knows, he

is still for him. Today Quill's union is on strike. on the Triboro bus lines in Queens, asking for the same rates and conditions as obtain on the Jamaica bus lines. With the first day of the strike, last Thursday, Mayor O'Dwyer jumped in to try to keep the bus lines operating with scabs, giving out with the time - honored line about protecting the interests of the "pub-

O'Dwyer's first move was to order bus coaches from other (city-owned) lines to move into the struck area and to commandeer members of the TWU to man them. The union, under the signature of Quill himself, informed the men that any one of them who ran such a bus was "scabbing." Quill has, however, said not a word to date about the would-be scabherder against whom this order was, directed.

The mayor's statement on this point was as polite and hypocritical as possible under the circumstances, carefully disclaiming any intention of strikebreaking in the same release that ordered the scab operation.

"While I recognize the right of the men to strike," he said, apparently to demonstrate that he is after all prolabor, "I am also conscious of the city's obligation to provide transpertation for its citizens . . . to alleviate the hardship thrust upon these people. As mayor of the city of New York, it is my duty to protect and serve the people of the city." This traditional routine was fol-

lowed by a second statement:

"These are simply temporary routes established for the emergency. This is not strikebreaking. There are not any of the company's buses nor he company owns involved. and there are not any strikers to be used to operate our buses. We are simply going to give public service." There is no explanation from O'Dwyer or any of his labor supporters on why the curse is taken off

strikebreaking if (1) it is only "for the emergency"-like all strikebreaking; (2) it proposes to use as scabs not the strikers themselves but "merely" members of the same union: (3) the city uses its own equipment for the job.

The city's plan to club TWU members into acting as scabs was scotched by the union's prohibition. O'Dwyer has been able to man his emergency buses only with supervisory personnel.

#### LEADERS ON SPOT

This bus strike is taking place in spite of Quill and the TWU leadership. The latter had accepted the company's original proposals but these were rejected by the men. Quill, squirming in embarrassment on his spot, is anxious to get it all over with as soon as possible and get back to his politicking. On Monday night, three hours after leaving a mediation meeting were, he admitted, negotiations had got "nowhere," he suddenly announced over a television program that he expected the strike to end in 24 hours. There was no indication that anything had happened in the interim.

This is the second strike in a month in which the incumbent city administration has employed strikebreaking tactics. Earlier case was that of a UAW-CIO strike in Brooklyn, in which O'Dwyer's police were mobilized to protect the entrance of scabs into the shop, leading to clashes in which several pickets were hurt and a UAW official arrested.

O'Dwyer is unlucky in that he has been compelled to show his hand in the midst of his drive for re-election. Unluckier are the leaders of the CIO and AFL who have come out for his candidacy, asserting among other things that his "labor record" is im-

peccable. A cleavage in the ranks of the Liberal Party over Newbold Morris versus O'Dwyer has been reported previously in LABOR ACTION. While the party decided for the Republican-Fusion candidate Morris for its own reasons, Luigi Antonini of the International Ladies Garment Workers Local 91 resigned his posts in the Liberal Party on that account, supporting O'Dwyer, as are the AFL and CIO tops in the city and the leadership of the Millinery Workers Union

**Robeson Meet Broken Up by** KKK, Vets; Cops Play 'Possum

A mob one thousand strong under the leadersip of the local branches of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Catholic War Veterans disrupted an openair concert of the CP-controlled Civil Rights Congress near Peekskill, N. Y., on Saturday evening, August 27. Paul Robeson had been scheduled to sing, but the mass fighting that broke out at the entrance to the picnic grounds compelled a cancellation of plans.

While the battling spread, burning crosses, emblem of the Ku Klux Klan, blazed up in the fields nearby. A na-"adjutant" of the Southern

mented: "They've got a good of veterans up there." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and

the local chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action have denounced the assault on the CRC picnic as an outrageous attack on civil liberties and the rights of free assembly, and have demanded an immediate investigation by Governor Dewey

#### CONSPIRACY INDICATED

As a by-product of the event, permission for Vito Marcantonio to speak at an American Labor Party

of minorities are threatened by fascistic hoodlum elements, the local and state police and the county officials were unable to summon up that zeal for law and order which they seem to reserve only for strike picket lines. Although news of the demonstration against the CRC was known long in advance, the Peekskill police waited three miles away, presumably expecting a special massage to be delivered by ox-cart via California. First Sergeant Johnson of the state police explains that he wasn't going to be tricked into sending a protective detail: "There was no need to

**U.S. Aid to Tito Grows; Cominform Heads Meet To Plan Counterattack** 

*Remote Control'Invites* Gougers to Lift Rents

#### By WILLIAM BARTON

The national Democratic administration has again found the 81st (Democratic) Congress a convenient target for buck-passing.

Rent controls, already seriously deficient because of the 1949 rent act and the accompanying rulings of Housing Expediter Tighe Woods, is now all but over in some areas, hardly noticeable in others. The "liberal" spokesmen are evasive about all that went before, as they pin all the blame upon the cut in appropriations for the housing expediter's office, which necessitated a one-third reduction in the personnel of that agency.

Many rent-control offices will, of course, have to be closed, which will mean that many communities will be without any effective controls. It is estimated that few cities or towns of less than 100,000 population, except for those directly within the metropolitan areas of large cities, will have any meaningful rent ceilings within a short time. As phrased by Senator Paul Douglas, "You can't protect tenants by remote control."

#### EASING OUT OF CONTROL

Since then, the national housing expeditor's office has reversed itself several times; with a variety of public statements only serving to confuse anxious tenants. The earliest releases declared that the need for economy would prevent open hearings and limit written appeals. Since then, the right of appeal has been formally re-established for both tenants and landlords through written briefs, with channels of further aptate groups as too stringent, but also attacked as too levient by a varied group of representatives of organizations as widely separated as the Jew-

ish War Veterans and the Stalinistdominated N. Y. Tenants Councils and American Labor Party for not "rolling back" rents to June, 1947. Also entering the fray at this point was Republican-Fusion-Liberal mayoralty candidate Newbold Morris,

who agreed with the rollback formula but remained silent when Democratic chieftains asked him why he had waited until this moment to speak up. Significantly supporting the Sharkey formula was the city CIO, pledged to support his party in the election campaign.

But even Sharkey's mild proposal may not be enforceable. Several legal experts have held that it is not possible for the city to have its own rent legislation as long as the federal statute is on the books. Some agree that action by the state legislature might clarify the city's powers, but the former gangbuster-turned-country-squire who sits in the governor's munsion shows no signs of calling a special legislative session.

some sort of help in fighting in-

creases. The legalisms are so in-

volved that they can not possibly do

it themselves. Furnishing the great-

est amount of such assistance should

On the political front, it is even

more important than ever that the

labor unions break their allegiance

to the national administration and

its various local cohorts and push for

legislation and administrative poli-

cies that will effectively keep this

basic ingredient of the cost of liv-

ing down to payable levels, particu-

larly at this time of growing unem-

ployment. The idea of a rollback to

June, 1947, is a good starting point.

Recently all enemies of the brand

of totalitarianism which goes under

the name of Jim Crow in the United

States were pleased to register a small

victory for our side when the legis-

lature of the state of Alabama passed

a law outlawing hooded mobs. This

law was supposed to be directed

against the Ku Klux Klan, white-

sheeted vanguard of anti-Negro ter-

Some may have missed this little

The first Alabamans arrested under

this law of June 28 were three NEG-

**ROES** accused of donning white sheets

alleged to be guilty of misconduct.

No wonder the states below the

Mason and Dixon line are so bitterly

opposed to federal laws against Jim

Crow, which would open the door to

know just how to enforce their own

Law and Order

rorism.

laws. . . .

item in the press:

be the labor movement.

#### JOB FOR LABOR

Thus far, not too many lower-income tenants have been seriously affected. But the change is beginning to occur. In New York, reports of large increases have up to now been followed by high-income addresses; now other and quite different parts of the city show tenants receiving notices of requests for flagrant raises. The attempted action of the City Council was thus mandatory in this neal open to the Washington office

sentially what it was last week, a drama in the dark. While the motivating 'reason for the flare-up at this time has become clearer and less speculative, the noises from the Russian-Cominform quarter of the stage indicate feverish planning and activity but there is as yet little light on what can be expected from that direction. The speculations go on.

AUGUST 31 - The Yugoslav-

Russian crisis still remains es-

By HAL DRAPER

The economic deal between Belgrade and Washington, which we pointed to last week as the source of the violent Russian reaction, has expanded publicly. Tito has applied for a loan of about \$25 million for the purchase of machinery, especially mining machinery, to be repaid through the export of its metals. particularly copper, lead and zinc. all strategic materials needed by the U. S. The fact that these metals are also needed by Russia and its satellites underlines the importance of the deal.

Hot on the heels of the announcement, indicating that the allocation of a \$3 million steel mill to Yugoslavia last week was not an isolated act, comes the news today that a \$1,800,000 shipment of copper and lead from Yugoslavia has already arrived in New York harbor. This shipment is twice the size of any previous consignment.

Will-Lissner of the N. Y. Times reports that "U. S. buyers have re-ceived assurance that Yugoslav shipments will continue in comparable quantities." All this means that the Tito government has been granted by the U.S. the main type of economic aid it has been seeking to outweigh the effect of the Cominform blockade-machinery. Secretary of State Acheson, it is publicly announced, is for the loan to Tito.

#### Going to the SYL Camp in Wisconsin?

Run by the Socialist Youth League, but they promise no discrimination against any adults or other minorities in the camp. In fact, many adults are planning to attend, especially for the weekend jamboree.

Fill out the coupon on page 3

### **SYL Summer School Schedules** Six Lectures by Max Shachtman

place.

The national summer camp of the Socialist Youth League, to be held in Wisconsin September 11-18, announces that the principal feature of its educational program will be a series of six lectures by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, on the following topics:

(1) Marxism and National Wars

- (2) Theory of Modern Imperialism (3) The First World War and the Split in the Second International
- (4) Fascism and the Second World War
- (5) The Question of Stalinist Imperialism
- (6) Imperialism Today and the Third World War

In addition there will be several symposiums on a variety of subjects, led principally by prominent trade unionists.

The crowning feature of the encampment will be the final weekend jamboree, to which invitations will be sent out to all ISL and SYL branches and units in the Midwest. The jamboree is planned especially

Knights of the KKK, now conducting an organizing drive in New York State, said that as far as he knew the KKK was not involved, but com-

(Hot) Air Record

New laugh about the Russians' pen-

chant for claiming firsts in discover-

ing or doing anything at all comes

from a Moscow Radio commentator's

claim, in the latter part of July, that

the Russian pilot Nesterov had al-

tained "world priority" by fighting

Somebody must have forgotten that

it takes two to make a battle. Unless

Nesterov was shadow-boxing, a Ger-

man pilot must have shared the

"world priority" with him-if Nes-

terov was there at all in the first

the first air battle in August, 1914.

tional

Mohegan Colony was revoked by its directors. The CRC at a mass meeting announced plans for a mass protest march on Albany.

As usual in cases where the rights

On top of the news that the Amer-

ican Medical Association, "doctors'

trust" now engaged in a vicious fight

against health insurance, is the best-

heeled lobby in the country, comes

now the exposure of an unprecedent-

ed press-bribing deal by the Medical

Involved is a secret deal between

Association in Minnesota.

Medical Trust Finds 'It Pays to

Advertise' in Press-Bribing Deal

he there in advance. We don't play into the hands of the Communists. rally later this week at the nearby We went in when we found a crime had been committed."

The hoodlum demonstration and fighting continued for the two hours (Continued on page 3)

reached on what the bulletin calls

"a reciprocal arrangement."

about open hearings, except for a promise made by Woods' chief assistant. Burnham Diggie, to the chairman of the New York City Tenants Assistance Committee of Americans for Democratic Action. that they will be permitted to tenants in all cases in that city.

Nothing definite has been stated

The drive is obviously on to ease the nation out of rent control. The 1949 legislation, which provided for state decontrol and set various limits on the prerogative of control officials to maintain ceilings, was the first step.

States as populous as Texas and It's give and take: on the one hand, Wisconsin have already been deconthe newspapers will be opening their trolled. Then came the housing exnews and editorial columns to propapeditor's ruling which fixed the forganda against health insurance. In mula for rent increases to permit return, the publishers insisted, "the landlords a "fair net operating inphysicians, as leading citizens in come." Some reports indicate outtheir home communities, have a relandish increases of several hundred sponsibility to alleviate the financial per cent; though these have been burden connected with the publishfew and extreme, they indicate the possible use of that formula.

#### WANT ROLLBACK IN NEW YORK

Most dramatic has been the situation in New York City, which is reputed to have one-eighth of all the rental dwelling units in the country. This is an election year in New York and the various political rivals know that their success rests with the type of voters who are the low-rent paying tenants, most drastically affected by increases

Democratic City Council Vice-Chairman Sharkey is proposing a bill which would tend to maintain the levels of last March, prevent any increases of more than 15 per cent, and remove the possibility of summary eviction. At a public hearing last week, this mild piece of proposed legislation was attacked by real-es-



BARKING AT THE ELEPHANT The immediate need of tenants is

This confirms the fact that the Yugoslavs have scored their greatest success since their break with the Cominform, and are at least on the way to plugging up the main hole through which Russia has been trying to strike down its maverick satellite, namely, through economic strangulation.

The latest Russian note, published today, indicates that the Russians fully understand that Tito has a right to feel cocky at the moment. The note, repetitively describing the Titoists as "deserters," "malicious deserters," and "wild fascists," bitterly adds that these "deserters" somehow feel like "heroes." and says: "Just like Krylov's fable where 'the puppy is feeling so big that she's barking at an elephant."

The threat of military action by Russia in open or disguised form still is the central subject of journalistic guesswork but seems no more probable than before, in spite of the well-publicized presence of three Russian mechanized divisions on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, and two more in Rumania, the presence of Russian and satellite uniforms in Sofia coincident with what is described as a "Cominform meeting," and the rumor of a Russian gunboat in the Danube (the latter rumor denied by the Yugoslavs).

Correspondents' reports from Yugoslavia (where they have adequate freedom of movement to find out) to scare some girls of their own race show no sign of counter-activity, and it must be kept in mind that Tito still notoriously has highly-placed and reliable sources of information with regard to the intentions of his neighbors. If a military attack comes in spite of all, apparently it will be as federal enforcement. In Alabama they great a surprise to Belgrade as to outside observers.

#### WHAT RUSSIA CAN DO

The big question mark is what Russia can do "short of war." This means, as we emphasized last week, what it can do not only to undermine Tito but more immediately to counteract the effect of Tito's success upon his envious neighbors. There has been no doubt that, in spite of their ritualistic denunciations, significant sections of the new Stalinist bureaucracies in the satellites would have liked to follow Tito's line if they had as much independent power to do so.

Short of open war, the following (Continued on page 2)

unable to take the whole week off to attend the camp itself. The program is as follows: Friday evening (Sept. 16): Max Shachtman, "Report on Europe"

to accommodate those people who are

(whence he has just returned). Saturday morning: Max Shachtman conducts class on "American Imperialism and the Third World War."

Saturday p.m.: Harry Chester, "The Rise of Fascism in Austria" (based on personal experience). Sports. Saturday evening: Little Theater, SYL Troubadours, square dancing. Sunday morning: Grudge baseball game (youth versus age).

Sunday afternoon: Symposium, "Political Perspectives of the American Labor Movement."

Prices for all this, including restful housing and fine meals and all recreational facilities of this modern camp, are suited for workers' pocketbooks: \$7.50 per person-Friday eve-

ning through Sunday afternoon. \$6.50 per person-Saturday after breakfast through Sunday afternoon. \$3.80 per child-Saturday after breakfast through Sunday afternoon.

no medicine for the poor.

#### While there is no reason to believe

that this deal is peculiar to Minnesota, the secret leaked out in that state when the Committee for the Nation's Health, a leading force in the fight for health insurance, obtained a copy of a bulletin-marked "CONFIDENTIAL" in big letterssent out to its member newspapers by the Minnesota Editorial Associa-

the details August 20.

what it calls "the most significant item we have ever carried."

A "history-making" conference was held in April, the bulletin said, between newspaper publishers and the officers of the Minnesota Medical Association. There agreement was

the reactionary doctors' organization and newspapers in that state aimed at using medical advertising to buy a "correct" attitude by the press on health insurance. It is not the press-bribing that is unprecedented but the fact that the medicos are discarding their generations-old code that it is unethical for

doctors to advertise. The Medical Association is allowing nothing to stand in the way of its desperate efforts to preserve intact their "free enterprise" medicine-which means

INVITATION TO A BRIBE

tion, publishers' organization. The railroad unions' weekly, Labor, gave

A jubilant headline in the bulletin proclaims: "Medical Profession Eases Ethical Restrictions on Advertising." And the bulletin goes on to report kles-a Report by Your Family Doc-

by an expensive full-page ad in the St. Cloud Daily Times signed by 68 doctors in the area. It is a violent attack on health insurance under the head: "Liberty or Collectivist Shac-

tor."

This precious doubletalk simply means that the doctors were invited to bribe the publishers and the doctors accepted the invitation.

ing of local newspapers."

#### "WITH PROFIT . . ."

As a result of the undercover confab, the doctors' state convention adopted a resolution calling upon individual physicians and local medical societies, either alone or in cooperation with other organizations to advertise, because of "frequent criticism from the press that the medical profession expects the press to maintain the entire burden of indirect publicity from the doctor to the publisher without remuneration." A subsequent letter to doctors referred to this as a "new era of medical-press relations" and advised county medical societies to "devise ethical advertising programs along the lines suggested."

What the "lines suggested" for

The medical association says this

ad is a "model" and "should be re-

produced in sizable display form in

practically every newspaper in Min-

nesota, with profit to the publishers

and the medical profession."

"ethical" advertising are, is shown

#### Page 2

LABOR ACTION

## **UAW Workers Give GM Fisher Body Bosses a Lesson in Labor Solidarity**

#### By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Aug. 28-In a splendid demonstration of union solidarity, 4700 workers at Fisher Body No. 1 plant in Cleveland shut down the factory on Thursday, August 25. The issue causing this stoppage was the suspension of Charles Beckman, president of Local 45, United Auto Workers (CIO), for being in a fight with another worker, and the company's subsequent refusal to allow Beckman to continue functioning as chairman of the shop committee.

With production completely halted, management of this General Motors subsidiary was forced to compromise on disciplinary action. It agreed to the return of all employees to work with no penalty for advocating or participating in a wildcat strike.

That the shutdown was absolutely effective could not be denied by the Cleveland newspapers, but they did their best to confuse the issues and make it appear that the whole factory lost a day's pay just because one union officer got into a fish fight. The facts were better understood by the shop workers and their actions proved this.

#### HOW IT STARTED

The real story behind the incident is as follows: Wednesday afternoon of each week the union shop committee meets with management to discuss local issues. Such a meeting was in session on August 24 when Leonard Collins, a Trim Department committeeman, and Gus Hartman, a cutter with a bad name of a job-killer who was quitting in a week to join the police force, were brought to Labor Relations by their foremen for being engaged in a heated argument. Collins asked for Beckman as his committeeman and Beckman was then called out of the meeting with management. Beckman serves as chairman of the shop committee besides being local president.

Beckman and Hartman got into an argument and agreed to go outside and fight. On the way out, while still in the Labor Relations office, they started scuffling. The foreman and several shop committeemen also got into the scrap. The men were separated, and then Hartman kicked Beckman in the stomach and Beckman struck back. Management then stated that Beckman was "suspended," a term not usually used in this plant's discipline.

When the shop committee meeting resumed, management barred Beckman because of his suspension and told the committee to select a new chairman before proceeding. The union tried to discuss both the suspension and the barring of their chairman, but the company would not discuss these points, and the committee walked out.

The union hastily put out a leaflet on the situation, catching the second shift coming in. No action was asked for at this time. Later that day, a stewards' meeting was called. The union officers explained that according to the Taft-Hartley Law the contract with the company, and the union constitution, no strike could be called. In the discussion it was pointed out that since Beckman was barred from shop committee meetings, and the committee would not meet or even work under these conditions, then in effect there was no union representation in the factory. No strike vote was or could be taken. but it was agreed to come back at 6 a.m., Thursday, to distribute leaflets explaining the situation.

With a mere handful of union activists at each gate, with no picketing or other show of strength, the first shift, due to start at 7, stayed outside the plant. With 2300 workers on this shift, it was established that no women came into the trim shop,

prosecutes, or aids the prosecution

of, the Russian saber-rattlers at

there is no possible third ground.

is being prepared at the present mo-

ment which could serve the purpose.

Laszlo Rajk, top Hungarian leader

who was recently purged, is awaiting

trial in Budapest, accused among

things of

(6) A staged confession trial. One

## Tito vs. Stalin—

#### (Continued from page 1)

possibilities seem to lie before Moscow. The first three have been given emphasis in the press.

(1) Intimidation by military threat. It is absurd to suppose that this is intended to intimidate Tito and his government. If anything, it is a fist-shaking pressure upon the broader strata of his bureaucracy, to whom the Russians have been appealing primarily up to now.

(2) Industrial sabotage. On August 22, a high Yugoslav official publicly

stopped.

#### SHUTDOWN COMPLETE

six men reported to the press room,

the tool room and a handful elsewhere. Production was completely many.

Management had set a meeting for 1 p.m., Thursday, to impose a more

specific punishment on Beckman. Actually the shop committee, two international union representatives and management started meeting at 2. The GM executives stalled a lot, hoping the second shift might come in, but the second shift responded as well as the first.

#### UNION STRENGTHENED

Seeing this, the company decided to talk things over, and a compromise was worked out. Beckman received a week's disciplinary layoff, which was to coincide more or less with a vacation he had planned. The real tough problem was in getting the company to agree to take back all employees with no attempt to discipline anyone for leading the walkout. This was finally agreed to at 7 p.m., and the third shift was told to report for work. Next day everything was back to normal.

The significant thing about this stoppage is that the workers responded unanimously, without any attempt physically to block entrance to the plant. Since the six-month strike of 1945-46, there has been no kind of work stoppage here. The company has been arrogant, especially in regard to job rates on piecework. The union has not appeared very effective in combating the company, but this incident will surely strengthen the union's hand in future discussion of local issues.

Undoubtedly one factor in the unanimous nature of the "holiday" was indeed a holiday spirit. This factory has been working very steadily for over six months, with many jobs running nine and ten hours daily and

#### Anti-Marxist Dept.

Under the subhead "UAW Is Not Marxist," in the UAW-CIO's magazine Ammunition for July, the editors write: "You can easily see how much of

Marx UAW workers reject by looking at the Communist Manifesto:-" -And the article then proceeds, to

Lake Success, the Cominform will quote a passage which comes from utilize this for all-out propaganda. Volume I of Marx's Capital. Their line has been: any break with One gathers that "UAW workers" Russia automatically means an algo so far as to reject even the proper liance with Western imperialism; titles for Marx's books. Sounds like

a bit of extremism to us.

During a delay in the proceedings, three to metal assembly, twelve to with lots of Saturday and Sunday work. The holiday was welcome to

#### IN SPITE OF STALINISM ....

What their reaction would have been to an extended walkout might be another story. Management, in turn, was not anxious to lose production. It pushes to get every auto body or panel possible out of the factory. After work was resumed, the whole force worked Saturday and many jobs ran Sunday.

Even granted these circumstances, a demonstration was given to show that the workers were behind their union, and that there was a limit to what provocation they would take. The local's leadership, which for some time has been under Stalinist domination, carried this situation off in a pretty good manner, it must be said. They have already done some factional ax-grinding in the stoppage, and will mostly likely use it as proof of their militancy and their support by the rank and file. All, that can he said is that when Stalinist leadership and good unionism happen to coincide, any real union man is obliged to give his support, and not shy away from the CP touch. That is what the Fisher Body workers did in

#### For Free Riders

this case.

Down in Texas, W. L. McMahon, field rep for the CIO Packinghouse Workers, thought of a bright idea to deal with the "free riders"-the guys who don't want to pay dues to a union but are glad enough to grab up the benefits it brings. When a worker refused to sign a union card, McMahon handed him a Free Rider card. It read:

"I am opposed to all unions. Therefore I am opposed to all benefits that unions have won through the years: paid vacations, paid holidays, sick leave, seniority rights, wage increases, shorter hours, pension and insurance plans, safety laws, social security, time and a half for overtime after eight hours, unemployment benefits and job security.

"I refuse to accept any wage increase that will be won by union negotiations with Co. and I hereby authorize and direct the company to withhold the amount of the union wage increase from my pay check each week and to donate it to charity."



#### By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Aug. 27-An entirely new conception of American justice is being written into governmental procedure in the prosecution of disloyalty cases against some 20 Cleveland postal employees.

The accused men face charges by witnesses they have never been able to face in court or even to identify. The accusers have been protected by the Post Office Department and kept anonymous. The accused have never had their day in court before a jury of their peers.

Now they are to be given an opportunity for defense before the postmaster general, BUT-

They are to be limited to one hour each for this defense against they know not what. This hearing, as an earlier one in Cleveland, will be secret. They must pay their own way to Washington, these men who were suspended from their jobs months ago. If they wish legal council, they must also provide that.

Robert Stafford, a reporter for the Scripps-Howard papers, received the following information on the cases from Lawrence Meloy, executive secretary of the Civil Service Lovalty Review Board, the final reviewing authority:

"The accused employees will never know the full information gathered by the FBI. First, the law does not require this to be released. Second, the FBI reports are confidential. Third, the review board lacks authority to subpoena witnesses and pay them for time and expenses. Likewise the employees cannot subpoena witnesses. One of our agents is available at review board hearings to answer questions. He can attest to the veracity of our sources."

Meloy admitted that this procedure placed the FBI in the position of being the judge of the reliability of its information. He explained:

"We must accent the statements of the FBI. The FBI is specifically designated as the agency which must investigate the loyalty cases. Neither the board nor any federal department has the power to make investigations. The board must decide whether reasonable grounds exist for belief that you are disloyal to the government. That is all that is necessary for the board to decide. The board is not required to prove anything at all, except to itself."

But there is more to these cases

there is a very interesting background to the whole thing. Robert Stafford, the above mentioned reporter, recently interviewed Michael F. O'Donnell, former Cleveland postmaster, who said he recalled that some of the 20 suspended employees frequently led grievance cases when he was in office. O'Donnell recalled also that while in office he had been accused by members of the AFL Federation of Postal Clerks of racial discrimination, which resulted in an investigation by the regional wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission.

#### VICTIMS OF RACISM

PRESS MANAGER'S

view is the expression of the view-

point of La Ligue Syndicaliste, which

William McKnight, Cleveland attorney, who was regional director of FEPC, confirmed the charges against O'Donnell. Said McKnight: "When I saw the names of the employees now charged with disloyalty

By JOE ROAN We are pleased to announce that from now on we will have the French magazine "La Révolution Prolétarienne." On hand at the moment is the July issue containing articles by A. Rosmer, F. Làurent and R. Hagnauer. This revolutionary trade-union re-

#### PROOF NOT NEEDED

numbers Pierre Monatte among its leaders. Copies may be ordered from Labor Action Book Service for 20 cents each, 5 cents each in bundles

of three or more. Reader T. G. in Canada writes as follows: "I subscribed to your paper, LABOR ACTION, some weeks ago but to date I have not received it In my opinion it is held by in His Majesty's mails in Canada. However, I shall wait and see. No doubt you have already sent it out. When I receive the paper I will then subscribe

to The New International."

than appears on the surface. In fact I recognized some of them as being among the 25 or 30 who filed charges of racial discrimination against O'Donnell in 1943. I held discussions with the postmaster for about six months. Finally I told O'Donnell I would have to order a public hearing on"the charges. In about ten days he sent me a letter in which he announced that out of five new supervisors he had just appointed, three were Negroes. After that I closed the FEPC case as satisfactorily adjusted." O'Donnell retired June 30, 1943, upon reaching the age of 65. This was shortly after the charges were filed against him.

A few facts stand out clearly in this whole matter. Nearly all the accused are either Negroes or Jews. Racial discrimination forced them into militant action through their union. The present cases against them are a direct result of this past action of theirs.

PRESS ACTION

Thanks for the letter, T. G. We'll see what we can do about your failure to receive the paper. One way or another, we guarantee delivery. Have any other Canadian readers had difficulty in receiving the paper regularly? If so, please let us know.

Since our last summary, subs have come in from Detroit, Kalamazoo, New Haven, New York, St. Louis, Akron, Denver, Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Alameda, Streator and Medina.

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spoke of the possibility of such an attack; less than a week later, the largest oil refinery in the country was set ablaze. But it would be useful to remember that from here on in, anything untoward that happens in Yugoslavia can be conveniently assigned by the regime to Cominform machinations; the Russian Stalinists set the pattern for this themselves in the days when every breakdown of a worn-out locomotive was ascribed to "Trotskyite train wreckers."

(3) Guerrilla warfare. We discussed last week the prediction by the Times' Sulzberger that the Greek Stalinist partisans may be reconverted to anti-Tito guerrillas. There is, however, the possibility of the establishment of a guerrilla operation, not by any popular masses (which, in our opinion, can be recruited by the Cominform neither from the Yugoslav people nor from the Greek partisans) but by comparatively small cadres of Russiansupplied and Russian-armed commandos.

Such an operation would not by itself be a threat to the Tito regime but might conceivably (a) be an economic drain upon Yugoslav resources, and (b) set up a center of disaffection from the outside as a nucleus for anyone drawn into opposition to the regime as the result of other anti-Tito measures.

(4) A new Yugoslav CP. On July 22, the Prague radio announced: "It is clear that a new Marxist-Leninist Party should be formed in Yugoslavia from loyal Communists, who could spread their propaganda by means of illegal duplicators. They can obtain material for their work from the broadcasts of Moscow and the people's democracies."

Hitherto the Cominform Stalinists have been talking in terms of "reforming" the existing CPY through an upheaval from within.

#### NEW SHOW TRIAL?

(5) Compromising the Titoists in the eyes of their East European sympathizers, through "proving" the Russian claims that they are simply agents of Western imperialism. Tito is, in fact, faced with the question whether he should take his struggle with Stalin to the UN in any form. The British have officially asked him what he would do if the subject is brought up in UN channels. If the Yugoslav UN delegation (which now includes the two top leaders just below Tito himself, Kardelj and Djilas)

friendly The weekly East Europe (August 11) reported: "Well informed quarters in Budapest say that L. Rajk is proving very stubborn, and is still far from 'ready' for public trial; that the Inspector-General of the army, General Palfi-Osterreicher, and the assistant secretary general of the Workers Party [CP], Marosan, have been arrested for their complicity in the Rajk affair; that all members of the government are still being screened for signs of deviationism; that 200 members of the ministry of the Interior have been sacked.

We may yet read that Rajk (or another) has obligingly "confessed" that he personally acted as go-between for Tito's dealings with the Ustashi (Croatian fascists), whose name is the local equivalent of the devil. . . . Or that, "as is well known," Tito has been Winston Churchill's personal valet since before either of them was born.

(7) The meeting in Sofia, which has been advertised in the U.S. press as a gathering of the top Cominform leaders-that is, a political conference, announced itself to be a meeting of the East Europe Economic Council. It may well have been just that, at least in part.

For if the Russians are going to make any effective appeal for disaffection within the ranks of the Yugoslav Bureaucracy, they are going to have to offer more than saberrattling at this stage. Tito's strength derives from the desire in Yugoslavia for a tempo of industrialization which was turned down by Moscow, which tried to keep the country agrarianized, a supplier of raw materials to the industrialized sectors of its empire. Tito's economic deal with the U.S. is a smashing success for him because it makes this perspective possible.

Stalin will not now offer any concessions to Tito, but (whether sincere or not) promises of economic concessions to an anti-Tito Yugoslav rebellion is another matter. It would be up to the Economic Council to decide what is to be dangled in front of any anti-Tito camarilla.

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#### SWP Retails Stalinist Line in Pittsburgh UE, Slandering Rank-File Group

#### To the Editor

The election of national convention delegates at Local 601 of the United Electrical Workers (CIO) here at the East Pittsburgh plant of Westinghouse, has attracted nation-wide attention. I intend to report the situation at length for LABOR ACTION. In the meantime attention must be drawn to the factually inaccurate and politically incorrect position of The Militant on this important event. The Militant expresses the view of the Cannonite Socialist Workers Party. In commenting on the struggle between the so-called "left" and "right" wings in Local 601-that is, the Stalinist machine and its anti-CP opposition-the Pittsburgh correspondent of The Militant has fallen into a uangerous trap. Apparently rather unfamiliar with the situation, he has swallowed the Stalinist line, lock, stock and barrel. The result was a story (in the issue of August 22) which could have appeared in the Daily Worker itself with only one change-where The Militant says "Stalinist," the Daily Worker would say "Progressive." In addition to this fatal political line, there are serious errors in fact.

The general theme of The Militant article is that the anti-CP opposition. organized as the Rank and File Caucus, is completely reactionary. On the other hand, The Militant prints NO criticism whatsoever-we repeat, not a SINGLE word-of the Stalinists. In fact, it pays the Stalinists a compliment that has no business appearing in a self-styled Trotskyist paper. Here is the entire Militant description of the Stalinist caucus: "The pro-Stalinist caucus cam-

paigned for support of the national UE leadership and the democratic rights of all members, in this district where the Stalinists are an opposition, to participate in union activity."

SWALLOW CP LIE In the first place, the Stalinists "in this district" are by no means

"in opposition." They are in complete control of the district office of District 6, and also have won a big majority of the delegates from the district.

ment, in a paper which for weeks has been very effectively exposing the rotten policy of the Stalinists on civil rights, is the statement that the Stalinists are campaigning for "the democratic rights of all members . . . to participate in union activity." To reprint this Stalinist lie is to act, however, unwillingly, as attorney for the Stalinists. The Militant correspondent con-

cludes by reporting that "the majority of the militants in the plant" are in the Stalinist camp. Here we have the same deadly error as was made by the SWP in the UAW, and abandoned only when the position became completely untenable.

Having examined the short description of the Staffnists, let us turn to The Militant's treatment of the Rank and File Group. The Militant says: (1) "This caucus is led by the

ACTU [Association of Catholic Trade Unionists] and Father Rice."

(2) "The whole program of the right-wing caucus was built around the slogan to 'kick the Commies out' and the government will give Westinghouse war work."

(3) ". . . the House Un-American [Activities] Committee . . . heard stoolpigeon testimony from a number of local union officials."

(4) "The climax of the local administration's campaign was the parade of veterans from the strikebreaking, anti-labor American Legion with jingoistic and red-baiting slogans."

There are three things to be said about this description of the anti-Stalinists:

(1) It is exactly the picture that the Stalinists try to paint of their opponents.

(2) At the same time, it is exactly the picture that the bourgeois press of Pittsburgh tries to paint of the unions rank and file. What could delight the editors of the reactionary press more than a picture of Patriotic American Workers, bent on "kicking out the Commies," getting war work, cooperating with the House Un-American Activities Committee, and being led by a Catholic priest and the American Legion? (3) The third point to be made

But the really astounding state- about this description is that it is almost completely untrue.

#### ACTU FLOPPED

(a) The Rank and File Group, is NOT led by the ACTU or Father Rice despite the continued shouts of the Stalinists. As a matter of fact, the ACTU has almost no religious base at Westinghouse-until the war Westinghouse discriminated against Catholics in hiring, and at present the plant is only about 15 per cent Catholic. Many Catholic workers are among Father Rice's bitterest opponents.

Father Rice, a leading figure in the drive of the ACTU to harness the labor movement to the reactionary social program of the Catholic hierarchy, is a "slick operator"-a professor of economics and member of the Americans for Democratic Action. To a few anti-Stalinists, he appeared as a willing, influential, educated and "smart" ally in the fight against a huge and well-oiled Stalinist machine. His "assistance" has proved to be disastrous and what influence he ever had is about at an end.

The Rank and File Group WOULD -like to "kick the Commies out"-out of office! They have NEVER, as one might imagine from reading The Militant article, so much as hinted at kicking the Stalinists out of the UNION or depriving them of their democratic rights: And "the whole program" of the Rank and File Caucus is much more than this-pensions improved hospitalization insurance. wage 'increases, contract improvements and the six-hour day, among other things.

(c) Four Stalinists and four anti-CP leaders of the union were subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Rank and File administration was also ordered to produce the union books, although it very correctly did not comply. The sudden intervention of the House committee was directly instigated by Father Rice and illustrates ACTU strategy notonly in "fighting" the Stalinists (it actually helped them) but in embarrassing anti-Stalinists who advocate fighting the CP without redbaiting.

Group played no part in initiating the hearings. As a matter of fact, the hearings took them out of town and away from the campaign on the very eve of the elections and seriously hampered their campaign work, as well as giving the CP a fine campaign issue.

#### NO STOOLPIGEONS

The hearing showed what the entire history of the 601 fight has shown. The anti-Stalinist leaders, drawn from rank and file unionists in the shop, are not highly "political" trade unionists. They did not answer the committee's attorneys in the way that more experienced militants from, say, the UAW or the URW, would. But the witchhunters did not get the answers they wanted; there was nothing said comparable to the performance of a Budenz or similar creatures recently. In fact, one of the pro-Stalinist witnesses, apparently confused, gave more testimony than any of the anti-CP leaders.

Two of the top Stalinist leaders were identified as having been members of the CP and possibly are still members, a fact that the two men involved have boasted to hundreds of people. One witness estimated the strength of the left-wing caucus in the local, a piece of evidence so commonplace that the Daily Worker prints it publicly and casually.

That is about the sum and substance of the "stoolpigeon" job of the Rank and File leaders. We should be opposed even to the above, and for the same reason that we are opposed to ANY intervention of the House Un-American Activities Committee in union affairs. This is CIO national policy as well. This witchhunting, red - baiting, union - hating committee, made up of the most reactionary representatives of big business in both old parties, intervenes in the labor movement ONLY to try to ruin it. We should be opposed to giving it the tiniest scrap of information about the union, even information that the committee has anyway. We are opposed to the committee in principle.

At the same time, LABOR AC-TION is opposed to the Stalinist trick of pasting a name like "stoolpigeon" on well-meaning workers'

The leaders of the Rank and File leaders who do an occasionally incorrect thing while pursuing a generally correct course.

(d) Lastly, the story about the 'right-wing" inspired American Legion parade on the day of the election must be dealt with. This item in The Militant story reveals a very saddening thing. The Militant writer got all his information from the capitalist Pittsburgh Post - Gazette. No such demonstration ever took place, although the Post-Gazette reported such an affair in an early story. Both Stalinist and anti-Stalinist leaders were mystified by the report. Perhaps the Legion (there was a state Legion convention in town that day) planned such an affair and then backed down, leaving their newspaper friends out on a limb. Perhaps one or two of the usual Legion drunks wandered by. At any rate, the story was quickly dropped and even the Daily Worker, which would never neglect such an angle, made no mention of an event that simply did not take place. The report was complete fiction, and everyone but The Militant correspondent knows it.

This completes the review of The Militant article. It was regrettably inaccurate with regard to fact; it offered the workers of 601 a choice only between Father Rice and the Stalinists with regard to line. It is to be hoped that such lapses into objectively Stalinist propaganda are only temporary.

However, one question remains. On the national scale, what does The Militant have to say to the Electrical Workers as the most important convention in UE history approaches? The Militant is in the camp of the pro-Stalinists in Pittsburgh and appears to be in the camp of the anti-Stalinists in Philadelphia, as Militant stories from that city seem to indicate. That is hardly a position. The readers and supporters of The Militant have the right to know where it stands if the SWP is to continue to consider itself a socialist current in the living labor movement.

The SWP seems to be repeating its disastrous policy in the UAW, where it ended up in the Stalinist camp, doing their dirty work and slandering and vilifying honest anti-Stalinists. The next few weeks will tell.

Gerald McDERMOTT Pittsburgh, Pa.

September 5, 1949

## YOUTH and Student CORNER By JULIUS FALK, National Secretary SYL

#### **CP Sets Up New Youth Front After YPA's Demise**

The Communist Party has launched another youth organization, one which is bound to have as little success as the declining Young Progressives or the late unlamented American Youth for Democracy. The new outfit, still in its provisional stage, is the National Organizing Conference for a Labor Youth League (LYL).

This recent Stalinist concoction was launched at a two-day conference (May 28-29) in Chicago with no pretenses as to where it stems from and what its real purpose will be.

Before the last national elections the Communist Party had great hopes of developing a broad Wallaceite youth movement which would provide the party with a steady flow of new members. The CP was so certain of this that at its 1948 national convention it passed several resolutions on ways and means of directing the expected mass membership of the Wallaceite youth into the party. The main method adopted by this convention was the proposed organization of a young "Marxist" educational league which would not have formal ties with the Communist Party, but would have "fraternal relations" with it and educationally prepare the league members for the party.

But the young Wallaceites, organized into the Young Progressives, did not develop according to plan. The crushing defeat of the Wallace movement at the polls, combined with the flimsy human material of YPA, upset all Stalinist calculations. Instead of growing into a mass youth movement, YPA was scaled down in one chapter after another to the hardened core of Statinist hacks. With this setback was dissipated any well-grounded Stalinist hopes of drawing recruits through a new "Marxist" youth organization.

In a democratic organization with a necessary maximum of flexibility, tactics predicated on certain events would normally change if the events in their unfolding contradicted the predictions. But the Stalinist expectation of a mass YPA, proven incorrect by reality, did not alter their course one whit. It is this which is most interesting about the initiation of the Labor Youth League.

#### Why Another Venture?

The LYL has absolutely no chance for success. It has no mass base from which to draw future members for the Communist Party, and the YPA which was to provide that mass base, has no<sub>1</sub>chance for revival. The organization of LYL can only further weaken YPA by drawing away the already limited Stalinist cadres of YPA to itself. Also, LYL will be an expensive operation: an investment which will bear no return.

If the organization of LYL is probably a mistake from the Stalinist point of view, why then did not the Communist Party attempt a graceful retreat? The answer is not to be found in either "accident" or political line. This kind of organizational error has its roots in the bureaucratic nature of the Communist Party.

In any totalitarian party or state, goals must always be met and the leadership must be infallible. In totalitarian Russia, production norms are invariably met—at least on the books—or the responsible bureaucrats may be physically liquidated. This terror technique has its parallel in totalitarian parties, which cannot punish mistakes by death sentences and exile without holding state power, but which hold the threat of social ostracism, loss of prestige and loss of income over its paid functionaries. This threat, in turn, seriously hampers the party administration from making intelligent re-evaluations and thus warding off costly errors.

The American Communist Party is no exception to this totalitarian rule of conduct. The leadership of the Communist Party was evidently too intimidated to admit fully their errors of judgment concerning the future of the Wallace movement and incapable therefore of re-examining the CP convention structure that set it to work building a now meaningless Labor Youth League.

#### "Confession" of a Young Intellectual

There is another recent incident out of the youth movement worth reporting which also reflects the similarities in methods of operation between totalitarian parties with state power and those which are as yet only aspiring toward that goal.

The Russian "confession" has become an ironic and tragic farce to all who recognize these fraudulent "confessions" as the only form of discussion behind the Iron Curtain. But this confession method of preserving bureaucratic omniscience is not limited to Russian-controlled states. It is the universal characteristic of Stalinist parties and front organizations. LABOR ACTION



#### After the German Elections: Who Will Seize the Initiative?

The German elections of August 14 were used by the German populace primarily to express a profound desire to exist as a free and sovereign people. Considering that 80 per cent of the electorate voted, this is practically irrefutable.

The parties through which the voters expressed this desire are organizations, tools, of class and sectional interests; and an analysis of the voters' choice in this respect is, of course far from secondary in importance.

As is known, the "popular" vote went to the Social Democrats (SDP) and the Christian Democrats (CDU). The slight plurality received by the CDU as against the SDP has enabled the former to set up a regime of its own and to draw the necessary support from other right-wing parties.

The seriousness of this situation lies in the strength gained by the extreme right-wing parties with the election—a strength indicated not only by the 10 per cent of all the votes cast which they received, but also by their ability to organize themselves with such manifest success. It further lies in the general reactionary character of the new regime, which, of course, represents the CDU ranks to only a limited degree.

#### WINGS OF THE CDU

The CDU, as an organization, is as heterogenous as its counterparts in France and Italy. It counts in its ranks such excellent people as Eugen Kogon, author of "The SS State"; it contains fractions such as its delegation to the Hessen constituent assembly in 1947, which advocated the socialization of key industries under workers' control. It has a large following among the industrial workers in the North Rhine and Ruhr districts who, in pre-Hitler times, accepted the "Christian Socialism" preached by sectors of the Catholic Center Party. In some sections it is supported by refugees from the Sudeten although the policies of its rural representatives in other sections is viciously anti-refugee.

In Berlin and other urban centers it has a considerable Protestant middle-class following which is strongly opposed to the cultural and educational policies of its catholic sectors. It has a wide basis among the peasants and, in Bavaria, is associated with particularist tendencies. In some local groups there are neo-fascists in control. On the whole, then, the CDU is a "popular," a center party.

This heterogeneity obviously plays into the hands of those who really wield social and economic power in Germany. The Adenauer regime, to a degree, represents German philistine provincialism with all its cultural backwardness and narrowness, authoritarian paternalism, deceitfulness and obsequiousness. Politically, rural interests will continue their attempt to pit themselves against those of the urban population and their industrial base.

The "federalism" successfully advocated by the CDU at Bonn is designed to allow greater freedom of action to the provincial governments which are more responsive to the pressures of the small town and rural property owners than a centralized government would be; and it also gives the Catholic Church a more direct access to positions of cultural power.

#### OCCUPATION REBUILT BOURGEOISIE

All this, however, has been more true in the recent past than it will be in the future; it could not have but transient validity. For all these socially retrogressive elements were able to come to the fore only so long as; on the one hand, the German working class had not recuperated, and, on the other, the German bourgeoisie, bankrupt in every sense of the word, was unable to reassume its wonted positions of power and influence.

It is, of course, well known that the American, French and British occupation powers have left intact and reinforced the property relationships in Germany; and that their denazification decrees affected the industrialists, etc., to only a minor degree. In a sense, the German bourgeoisie is a "colonial" bourgeoisie, which the Western powers, at the end of the war, had to raise from the dust and strengthen, if they were to have an effective social base for their rule. fair showing at the polls, considering their past record of big words and little action, their failure of leadership and their fairly close association with the CDU in many provinces. (In five out of the eleven provinces of Western Germany, Social-Democrats are minister-presidents; in the other states they retain cabinet positions in coalition with the CDU and thus act, together with the latter, as tools of the occupation power.) The SDP was, to be sure, opposed by elements traditionally hostile to the working class. But such an argument loses much of its force when one recalls the Berlin City Council elections of last December.

That election was of manifestly international as well as national significance. It expressed a powerful anti-Stalinist as well as a generalized anti-occupation sentiment. This sentiment was expressed, however, not through the CDU but through the Social-Democrats, who received 66 per cent of the total vote from an electorate of which 85 per cent went to the polls. The vote indicated the confidence of the city's population in the Social-Democratic leadership, which had shown unwonted courage and political sense during the period of the blockade.

Significantly, not only the city's working class but a considerable section of its middle class had voted for them. The election results could thus be clearly construed as a mandate to assume the leadership in Germany's national struggle.

Thus the vote received by the SDP in the recent election has far less meaning than that given the CDU and especially the right-wing parties. If the workers voted for it in a solid block there is no merit attached to this in itself: who else were they to vote for? The degree of confidence the workers have in the SDP may possibly be measured by the returns in the various factory council elections, in which large percentages go to independents and mere pluralities to the SDP. The very fact that the SDP represented mainly the working class is by no means a salutary factor under the conditions of Germany's national struggle.

#### WHO WILL TAKE THE INITIATIVE?

It is as yet too early to say with whom the initiative in the struggle for the national liberation of Germany will rest. One hundred years ago, the unification and centralization of the country was clearly the historical task of the liberal bourgeoisie; the latter's ineptitude enabled the East Elbian aristocracy, under Bismarck's leadership, to seize the initiative and accomplish the task, putting its own stamp on the future course of German history. Today centralization and unification are once more the conditions for Germany's existence as a national and cultural entity.

If a reconstituted and conservative German government is allowed (or compelled) to realize this, the German masses will have to pay for their failure to seize the initiative themselves even more heavily than in the past.

The intermittent negotiations between high functionaries of the CDU, etc., with Nadolny, former ambassador to Russia, and other "partisans of an Eastern orientation"; the activities of the "Bad Nauheim circle" which advocates a "neutral" Germany, and is sponsored by highly placed Germans; as well as Russian policy during the past nine months (possibly even prior to this; one need only recall the place of high German officers in Russo-German politics since and even prior to the end of the war; the continued existence of the multiparty system in the Soviet zone of Germany; the demise of the "People's Congress" which was to become the governing body of an East German state, etc., etc.)-all these factors, which cannot be presented in detail here, do not in the least exclude the re-establishment of a conservative German government, "neutral," assuming the role of broker between the major powers. Certainly, such a development is not unfavorable for the Russians. has obvious advantages for the German bourgeoisie, and

can hardly be stemmed by the Anglo-Americans. This would not and could not end the struggle of

the German workers. But such a course of events would

be a tremendous and tragic setback for them, more far-

reaching in its consequences even than the failure of the

European working classes to seize power in their coun-

tries after the collapse of the German occupation. To

seize the initiative in the struggle for national liberation

is the great chance the German workers have to assert

themselves for what they are: the sole truly constructive

and progressive social force in Germany today. And this

thought should define the actvities of all socialist mil-

Eugene KELLER

NEATH

#### **Stalina zism**

#### LATIN AMERICAN CPS AIM AT COALITION WITH NATIVE NAZIS

Page 3

#### By JUAN REY

LIMA, Peru—Santiago de Chile has been the scene of serious street riots which have left in their wake eight dead and many wounded. The immediate cause of the disturbance was an increase in bus fares instituted by the transport companies, from \$1.40 to \$1.60 (Chilean). The crowds seized the buses and burned them, resisting the police with arms. The students were especially active. They proclaimed a strike the following day that was supported by a partial strike in the nitrate mines.

Gonzales Videla's government accused the Stalinists of having instigated the disturbance for "subversive" purposes, and took extraordinary police measures to suppress the movement. Many leaders of the Stalinist party and of the unions controlled by it were seized by the government.

The Santiaguino events reveal an unrest in Latin America whose content expresses the post-war crisis. In Chile, as well as in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Peru, there is inflation, which reduces the living standards of the middle and working classes. The native industries that thrived and multiplied during the war in Brazil, Chile and Argentina are now enmeshed in serious difficulties, mainly because of lack of raw materials and machinery which they must import principally from the United States and cannot obtain due to lack of dollars.

The mining industry in Chile and Bolivia also feels the decline in prices (Chilean copper) and the insecurity of the North American market (Bolivian tin, lead, antimony, etc.) The Peronist policy, which has been striving to conquer a certain autonomy within the Yankee economic domain in the Americas, has failed because of the decline of Argentina's grains, meat, and other agricultural products. The new Argentine industry, a product of the wartime conjuncture in the form of high prices for Argentina's meat and grains and unchallenged access to the domestic market, also faces difficulty. The seven fat years of Peronism are finished with and the seven lean years have begun.

#### **Depression Spurs Military Coups**

It is an undeniable fact that economic depression has come to South America. The United States needs neither its minerals nor its raw materials to the extent it did during the war.

Argentina is the example. Faced with Yankee and Canadian competition today, she can no longer sell her products at the fabulous prices which provided the fragile base for the economic expansion of Peronism. In brief, the crisis of imperialism, the economic backwardness of the Latin American countries, and their vicious economic and social structure are the causes of the present malady which grips the continent.

The South American peoples are in rebellion against the economic misery and prostration of their respective countries. Their political and social reactions are determined by their political and economic class interests. They are opposed to the traditional rule of the feudo-bourgeoisie which submits to foreign imperialism. The most active and perhaps the most miserable sector of the middle class, the petty bourgeoisie, supplies the leading cadres of this movement, which by and large inclines toward Nazi and nationalist currents and follows the traditional pattern of uprisings and military revolts to "come to power" and conquer "economic independence."

The big feudo-bourgeoisie at times considers it advantageous, and at times is compelled by force of circumstance, to permit these nationalist forces to act, since they constitute an excellent ally against the working class. Thus were born the reactionary coups in Peru, Venezuela, the Nazi regime that ruled Bolivia before 1946, the barracks uprisings in Paraguay, the disturbances in Chile, and the conspiratorial preparations of the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) in Bolivia.

#### Stalin-Nazi Pacts to the South

The other important tendency in this whole movement of rebellion is Stalinism, which in many countries succeeded in winning control over the young South American proletariat. Under present conditions, Stalinism, directed by Moscow, is attempting to arrive at an agreement and form an alliance at any price with the Nazi currents in South America.

The Stalinist parties have supported Peronism in Argentina, the defeated dictator, Getulio Vargas, in Brazil, the reactionary military dictatorship in Peru, and the conservative right in Bolivia and Chile. Now they are proposing a "grand front of national liberation" in Latin America, in alliance principally with the Nazis of various shades and whatever reactionaries come to hand:

The defender's of Stalin's "great discovery" of "socialism in one country" have found an affinity with the "national-socialists" of the small colonial republics. The fundamental theory of this alliance is the "bourgeois-democratic revolution," whose chief aim is "national liberation" from the Yankee yoke. Nevertheless, the sheepskin cannot conceal the wolf's head of Stalinist reaction, seeking to chain the South American proletariat to its chariot of modern barbarism and Asiatic despotism. It must be recognized, however, that this policy can chalk up various outstanding successes. Not merely because the nationalist middle class follows such slogans, but also because the proletariat allows itself to be dragged along by petty-bourgeois and Stalinist nationalism. (From certain aspects, the Stalinist tactic in South America surprisingly enough recalls the Stalinist support to German nationalism and Hitlerism.) In South America various sectors of the "Fourth International" allow themselves to be carried along by this nationalist current; especially is this true of the "Argentine Trotskyist" group and the "Poristas" (Revolutionary Workers Party) in Bolivia.

The American CP has its list of recanters too. In a sense, the American

Stalinist who confesses and recants is more of an enigma than his Russian prototype. The Russian who is forced to admit his non-existent crimes has to undergo severe psychological and/or physical torture, always under the threat of more extreme punishment, including exile and death. But in the United States, where Stalinism is as yet a small force and cannot exercise the same "persuasive" influences, the moral weakness of the Stalinist recanter becomes perhaps more difficult to understand.

The case history we have in mind is of one Jack Kroner, a member of the editorial board of the Stalinist student publication New Foundations. Jack Kroner is interested in literature and as such contributed an article to a recent issue of New Foundations, on William Faulkner. His review of Faulkner was not an inspiring one but at least it showed some signs of a critical faculty on the part of the author and was a decided departure from the party line on literature.

In the following issue poor Kroner was subjected to a cavalcade of abuse by his "fellow editors." He was denounced as a white chauvinist who maliciously covered up the alleged reactionary Jim Crowism of that arch-reactionary, bourgeois decadent writer, William Faulkner. Kroner's name was no longer on the list of editorial board members of that issue!

#### **The Victim Crawls**

In the latest issue of New Foundations (Summer 1949) there is, surprisingly enough, an article listed in the table of contents by our friend Kroner called "Reply to Criticism." But the reply turns out to be a most pathetic and grovelling confession in the Russian Stalinist tradition. His reply admits to everything: "I neglected clearly to indicate the implications of his [Faulkner's] position. . . I unconsciously adopted some of his conceptions. . . " A little further on, our unmasked saboteur writes: "Many [how interesting—J. F.] have condemned the directness and 'harshness' of the criticism of my article. In this regard I want to publicly express my appreciation to my fellow editors of the NF board and those who brought the issue to our attention. I have learned a great deal from the discussions which have since taken place. . . It has enhanced my understanding of literature immensely."

And so on and so forth-Kroner goes on in an almost intentional parody of the confessions of the victims of the Moscow frame-up trials.

What can be the power of this Stalinist movement which can so brutally subvert the will, crush the intelligence and desensitize a young intellectual who steps out of line? But occasionally the omnipotent party is generous; at the end of Kroner's confession there is the following editor's footnote:

"Because, as indicated by this article, Kroner has shown a willingness and ability to struggle against white chauvinism, he has been reinstated on the editorial board."

Thus ends the literary career of one Jack Kroner.

#### NATIONAL SYL CAMP SEPTEMBER 11-18

Socialist Youth League	
114 West 14th Street	
New York 11, N. Y.	
I'll be seeing you at the SY	L camp in September.
Name	Age
Address	
City	Zone State
\$5.00 deposit	enclosed

Thus, today's strength of the German bourgeoisie derives largely from the occupation powers.

An indication of the growth of this strength and the growth of its own confidence is the unexpectedly large vote its party received at the recent election. It is once more on its way to becoming an *independent* factor in national and international politics. And this development constitutes a serious setback to the Social-Democrats and the German workers.

The Social Democrats may be said to have made a

**Robeson Meeting**-

#### (Continued from page 1)

from 8 to 10 p.m. while two state troopers busied themselves directing traffic. Finally four state police arrived at the scene. Apparently the state police waited for the local police to act while the local boys waited. But they may rest easy, knowing that this is not the sort of jurisdictional dispute punishable under the Taft-Hartley Law. The facts point to a planned con-

spiracy by officials of the county with reactionary veteran outfits to put over the anti-democratic demonstration. County Clerk Robert J. Field was an active leader of the demonstration. He admits participating but claims to have gone home before the fighting started. His effort to escape responsibility for the lawless violence is as feeble as that of the commanders of the American Legion and Catholic War Veterans—who saw no fighting, they say, although they-admit being on the scene until 9 p.m., one hour after the battle began.

District Attorney George M. Fanelli speedily concluded on the basis of conveniently supplied "facts" (by whom, he does not say) that the violence was provoked by those who came to hear Robeson! Lack of imagination alone must restrain him from claiming that the Stalinists broke up their own picnic.

Only the legal mind of a district attorney would ignore the plain statement of provocation of Milton Flynt, commander of Peekskill Post 274 of the Legion: "Our objective was to prevent the Paul Robeson concert and I think our objective was reached."

In this case, we see clearly how the loyalty witchhunts, the drive to outlaw the Communist Party and the hysteria of the cold war quickly spill over into a type of fascistic violence that threatens the civil

itants in Germany.

#### Not "National Revolution"

Although the Stalinists, with the duplicity they have learned from their "great teacher," deny their alliance with the native Nazis, the facts prove it. Without this criminal alliance the military counter-revolution could not have occurred in Peru, nor the general strike in defense of the Nazi leaders in Bolivia, nor the victory of Peronism in Argentina, nor the defeat of the APRA in Peru and the "Democratic Alliance" in Venezuela.

The government of Gonzales Videla in Chile is, of all the governments on the continent, the one most hated by the Stalinists, since Gonzales was the electoral candidate of Stalinism and the leader of the "Chilean Popular Front" for many years. His overthrow would open wide breaches for the Nazi-Stalinist totalitarian advance throughout the continent.

The independent workers' movement and Marxist theory must remain firm before the Nazi-Stalinist offensive. The bourgeois revolution in Latin America took place during the war of American independence and was partially realized by Simon Bolivar and San Martin. The economic dependence of South America has a modern character within the framework of contemporary imperialism, and can only be done away with by the American and world socialist revolution. "National liberation," therefore, is a Nazi-Stalinist fraud, empty and without revolutionary content.

Only the victorious American proletariat can conquer the feudal and semi-colonial backwardness of the South American continent. The fate of the feeble South American bourgeoisie is bound up with the fate of imperialism and is opposed to any democratic revolution. The modern character of South America's economic dependency cannot be erased in one country alone.

Consequently, the conscious proletariat must free itself as much from the feudo-bourgeois influence as from the "radical" Nazi-Stalinist, pettybourgeois influence and take the road of socialist emancipation of the whole American continent, shoulder to shoulder with the North American proletariat. The fate of the peoples of Latin America is linked to the fate and future of socialism and the North American proletariat.

August 1949.

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#### Page 4

18 Mar 1

## Republic Boss Would Rather See Strike than Pay Pension to Workers-**Issue in Steel Hearing: Profits vs. Needs**

#### By SUSAN GREEN

""I think that labor has got to be just as big as industry in seeing that the right results are reached. If labor is not big enough, then we have got to fight the thing out. That is the way'I look at bargaining. If they think we are wrong, they strike us, see? That is the way this thing should work. It is a hell of a good way to work it."

Every rough - and - ready word of the above came from the lips of C. W. White, president of Republic Steel Company, testifying before the factfinding board in the steel wage hearings.

This is not the first time we have heard the upper-bracket executives of the capitalist system call for "bigness" from the \$50 - a - week wage worker. In this there is nothing new. But for a capitalist executive to utter words of approval of strikes is something for the books. For strikes, be it remembered, are the fighting weapons of the worker against this very capitalist executive.

Mr. White had even more to say in praise of strikes: "I have never been in one that did not come to an end-and there are worse things than a strike. Everybody gets a lot of things off their chests. They say a lot of dirty things and they seem to feel awfully good after it is all over and they are back to work." Now we have heard everything.

#### **PREFERS BULLETS?**

For everything there is a reason. Perhaps we can guess at the why and wherefore of the opinion of the president of Republic Steel that "there are worse things than strikes" from his own and his company's point of view.

The Republic Steel Company's infamous strike record is well known. During the Little Steel strike of May. 1937, when the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee was fighting desperately to establish itself in the Little Steel, companies, the scandalous Memorial Day massacre of strikers occurred at the Republic Steel's South Chicago plant.

Does White prefer breaking a strike by getting a few "things" such as bullets into workers' backs, as against trying to convince the factfinding board and the public that the billion-dollar steel company profits tired without any pensions at all.

are untouchable? Are the "worse things than a strike" that White talks about, explained by his present merciless position in claiming before the board that "neither employees' needs nor the ability of the employer to pay are proper criteria for fixing wages"?

Another highlight in the testimony of the steel companies before the fact-finding board was afforded by Ender's M. Voorhees, chairman of the finance committee of United States Steel. Brazenly he asserted that the issues in the dispute arise from the rivalry between labor leaders. Obviously referring to the successes of John L. Lewis in the field of pensions and other demands, Voorhees claimed that these successes "arouse other union leaders' envy and goad them to seek equal or greater goals. . Hence the origin of the pension demand here made upon us. . . . It is a prime instance of the effect of the

#### **COMPANY DODGES AIRED**

virus of big unionism."

In his rebuttal, steel union and CIO President Philip Murray lashed back: "This attack is vicious and insulting. It is not only an insult to me. It is an insult to those who make Mr. Voorhees' steel and those who mine his coal. There is a real human need for the benefits we have asked. What is Mr. Voorhees in favor of? He has only one recommendation for this board-a wage cut for the workers in the industry. Thank God for the existence of this union. It prevents Mr. Voorhees from giving effect to this recommendation, and it will win its own just demands."

Murray also dropped the tidbit that during 1949 Voorhees had gotten a "wage" increase of \$21,567; Fairless, president of the company, enjoyed a raise of \$20,165; and Olds, chairman of the board of directors, was boosted \$22,367. Did we hear something about \$50-a-week workers being "big"?

Also in rebuttal to the claim of United States Steel that its workers get an average pension of \$44 a month, the union's pension expert, Murray Latimer, stuck to his claim that \$5 is the average worker retirement payment. He showed up the company's trick in arriving at its figure by including the overstuffed pensions of executives and by omitting the many workers who are re-

board, the crucial point arose whether bumper profits afford a criterion for wages. The union, of course, holds that the needs of the workers must be fulfilled out of profits. The companies, on the other hand, as was

the system is a strate to the state

White of Republic, were adamant in insisting that profits are none of the workers' business, in spite of their human needs, because profits must be used for reinvestment in plants and tools AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF DIVIDENDS. Thus this hearing has posed the

\$64 question-the question of the basic conflict between capital and labor. The steel companies have affirmed the ironbound law of capitalist accumulation, against the needs of living people. Socialists believe this conflict in the longer run cannot a pension settlement, it is predicted

Again and again, throughout this be resolved and production cannot testimony before the fact-finding be freed to serve human needs unless the profit system is ended. though as socialists we are 100 per cent for the demands of the steel workers.

> At this writing the union spokesmen have completed their rebuttal and the company representatives are still to be heard from in rebuttal. Then the board will deliberate and issue its recommendations. The levelheaded United States News & World Report states that a settlement hinges on the pension issue. This businessmen's sheet expects that the board will recommend a small wage increase of from five to ten per cent, which the companies will at first resist but will finally accept.

But if the board should recommend

the companies will be against it and will not yield. Thus strike will again be the issue. On the other hand, if the board should not recommend a pension settlement, strike will also be on the agenda. Of course, Taft-Hartculations of "private enterprise."

lev is still the law of the land and President Truman can still enjoin a strike for eighty days under that law. The steel industry, which has been getting red in the face shouting "totalitarianism" and "statism," does not bother about being consistent. It insists on postponing the pension issue until next year because it feels that it will be in a stronger position then to resist the union's demands. Why? Because Congress is expected to increase retirement benefits under the Social Security Act. So "New Dealism" and "statism" and "totalitarianism" do have their place in the cal-

**Plunder in South Africa Hit By WDL Slave-Labor Hearing** 

#### By SAM FELIKS

NEW YORK, Aug. 24-In a continuation of its investigation into forced and slave labor, the Commission of Inquiry Into Forced Labor today held a hearing on the condition of labor in the Union of South Africa, at Freedom House. The Commission of Inquiry was initiated by the Workers Defense League as part of its work

of defending the legal and social rights of labor and socialist groups. The Commission of Inquiry, while looking toward the UN, that debating society of imperialist politicians,

for an investigation into forced labor, has been forced to carry out the work by itself. In the UN, an investigation was outrightly blocked by Russia and the Union of South Africa: it was demagogically supported by the United States for the sake of exposing its imperialist rival, Rus-

sia. Great Britain, recognizing the responsibility it bears for the semislavery that exists in South Africa, refused support unless Russia agreed also. Britain was not going to expose its dirty linen unless Russia did the same. And so the imperialists sit in their comfortable chairs at the UN and continue to hurl charges and counter-charges at one another.

#### CAPITALISM INDICTED The witness before the commission

At 11:25 on July 22 the Associated David Lawrence, columnist and Press reported Governor Dewey of editor of the U. S. News, labels himwas the Rev. Michael Scott, who is New York had appointed a seven- self a "conservative liberal" and re-, appearing before the UN in behalf cites the creed.

Man of Distinction

"The conservative liberal sees no

distinction between lynchings in the

South and lynchings outside the fac-

tory gates in the North when those

engaged in mass picketing overturn

cars, intimidate workers and commit

other misdemeanors to which local

One of the strange things about this

breed, however, is that-while seeing

"no distinction"-they pass all kinds

of laws to stop legitimate labor ac-

tivity and kill all kinds of laws to

stop lynchings. Or is that distinction

police are indifferent [sic]."

more of twelve pieces of paper, which he may be unable to read. The passes regulate his work, housing, education and mobility from one

place to another. And then, 'above all, a pass is necessary to show that he is not required to hold a pass. Failure to be sufficiently or correctly documented results in arrests and fine and imprisonment. This, because of the extreme poverty of the natives, results, more than likely, in the offender being sent to a farm to work off the conviction. And when there is a shortage of labor, "pick-up vans" tour the urban area to pick up "offenders." This means a conviction. for "any competent prosecutor will have no difficulty whatever in find-

be charged." The gold mines, the largest and most important section of industry, obtain their labor predominantly through recruiting agents who sign the natives to a contract for a period of about a year. They then go to work in the mines 6,000 feet below the surface at the miserable pittance of about 50 cents a day and are forced to live in compounds under guard. A South African native representative described the 350,000 gold mine workers as "prisoners in the same legal sense as if they are going to jail for the next nine or twelve. months."

14

reserve, he is forced to carry one or This setup, in turn, excluded parliamentary reforms.

#### **OLD ROMAN CUSTOM**

The Industrial Conciliation Act virtually prohibits any non-European from joining a white trade union. On the other hand, administrative measures preventing gatherings, of natives have the practical effect of restricting native trade unions from developing. However, illegal trade unions' have been, formed.

During the hearing, there was shown an excellent documentary film, "Civilization on Trial in South Africa." Aside from the portrayal of squalor in which the non-Europeans live, it was notable for its scenes of gladiatorial combat among the non-Europeans at Pretoria. This throwing some offense with which he could back to ancient slave society indicates the full brutality and violence committed against these people. They were forced to fight not only for the enjoyment of the whites, but for a much more important reason. The justification given is: If we do not let them fight among themselves. they will fight against us, or rape our women.

Following World War I, with the rapid growth of industry, a growing competition began between the urban and rural areas over the available source of cheap native labor. Rather than revolutionize agricultural technique, the farmers continued to look toward cheap African labor. Aided by the government in the past ten

#### **The Wetbacks**

#### MEXICAN LABOR IN U. S. EXPLOITED BY YELLOW-DOG PEONAGE SYSTEM

The following is a section of the official report to the board of directors of the National Sharecroppers Fund by its executive secretary, Hazel Whitman, on "The Conditions of Farm Workers in 1948." It deals with one of America's least known and most disgraceful systems of labor exploitation and minority oppression. Confined to the Southwest, it has never received the attention it deserves from either the labor movement or the general liberal and socialist movement.-Ed. .

A problem which became acute in 1948 was the importation of illegal and legal Mexican farm workers to insure a "controlled labor force." Mexican workers may be divided into three groups; first, those who are settled here permanently and have been here for as long as 300 years, antedating "American" settlement; second, those workers brought

here temporarily under a contract between the Mexican and U.S. governments: third, illegal Mexicans or "wetbacks" (so called because they get wet crossing the Rio Grande).

#### **Promises Draw Them**

The contract workers are temporary residents who have been brought here to relieve an alleged labor shortage. About 35,000 of these workers were here during the past year. Contract workers are induced to come by their own low standard of living and by the glowing promises made to them by U. S. growers.

Once here, they are forbidden to leave a job for higher wages or better working conditions under threat of deportation. Usually they are isolated on large ranches and this, plus their language difficulty, renders them helpless.

On September 22, 1948, H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, charged the Mexican government with 22 violations of its constitution and labor code in connection with the contract and further charged that enforcement was non-existent. The charges received wide publicity in the Mexican press and President Aleman sent a special

investigator to the U.S. A border incident on October 19, 1948, brought the situation to a head. On that day, U. S. immigration authorities opened the Texas border and allowed 15,000 Mexicans to enter this country illegally without work permits. The illegals were met at the border by cattle trucks and carried off to work on ranches: In one instance, 4500 Mexicans were kept in a bull-pen for three days with little to eat and then released to rush des-

perately across the Rio Grande. News of this incident was received with consternation in Mexico City.

tifies that there is an actual labor shortage in the area; and (2) if such By agreement, the Mexican and U.S. a shortage exists, a tripartite wage governments were controlling agricultural immigration through the committee consisting of representatives of 'government, growers and unions shall fix the wage. The proposed contract also deals with such grievances as housing standards, medical facilities, dangerous transportation, etc.

Farm Labor Union wants to channel migration within this country to the places where workers are needed; to inform migrants fully on need, wages. hours, housing, and working conditions in all areas where migrants are needed: to formulate and enforce minimum standards of wages, hours, housing and working conditions on farms using migratory labor. Wetbacks' Victimized The third group of Mexicans, the illegals, or "wetbacks," are completely helpless. Between two and three hundred thousand came across

tract, a very dangerous precedent is

being set both by bringing in work-

ers under such discriminatory terms

and by bringing in workers at all

when most responsible authorities

agree that there is no general farm

labor shortage but only occasional

shortages in specific areas. To han-

dle these shortages, the National

the border in 1948. Such an enormous illegal immigration means, at best, that immigration officials are looking the other way and, at worst, are actually conniving at illegal immigration.

The illegals do not speak English and. any complaint which they make is met by deportation. They are generally isolated on large ranches. It is a fairly common occurrence for them to be put out on the country road for deportation when the grower has no more need of them.

The presence of such a large group of helpless illegals inevitably depresses the wages and working conditions of U.S. farm workers, including those of Mexican extraction. They regularly displace thousands of U.S. workers, adding to the already indescribable confusion in migration. Out of no narrow nationalism, but out of human consideration both for Mexican and U. S. workers, this illegal immigration must be stopped. There is no question that the large majority of U.S. growers who employ illegals do so knowingly, as part of a deliberate effort to have available a "controlled labor force."

#### NFLU on Job

At the instance of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers, representatives of the National Farm Labor Union and the National Proletarian Confederation of Mexico met at Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico, on October 17-18, 1948, to work out a joint plan for protection of farm workers on both sides of the border.

The unions agreed to press their respective governments for an agreement whose most important provision would be: (1) an American grower's request for Mexican nationals shall not be granted unless the NFLU cer-

4

man commission "in view of the fact that we have a business recession."

At 11:37 the same day the Associated Press carried a Department of Commerce report showing cash dividends paid by corporations in May, 1949 were 14 per cent higher than in May, 1948.

That seven - man commission sure must have worked fast in the intervening twelve minutes.

#### **Bad Taste**

**Fast Work** 

On July 21 an article in the Hungarian CP daily Szabad Nep, entitled "Statistics Must Serve Socialism." blasted the 1946-47 yearbook of the country on the ground that it was "un-Marxist-Leninist," was put together in a "chauvinist spirit" and was in bad taste.

In the bill of particulars was the charge that the statistics gave the "impression" that the proportion of policemen to the total population had gone up.

#### **News Fit to Print**

"The Atlantic Pact is a straight invitation to another war."

That statement wasn't exactly blazoned forth by the nation's press even though it was made by a man whose name is news-General Wainwright, "hero of Bataan," addressing the Disabled American Veterans, of which he is president.

You will, however, be able to find it with a reading glass in the N.Y. Times for July 24.

Our "free 'American press" uses a certain kind of judgment about news values, doesn't it?

#### It Takes Genius

"When will we businessmen get over our Queensbury-rules upbringing and start demanding a 30-cent cut when the union demands a 30cent increase? Then a mediator could suggest splitting the difference at zero and the union leaders could have won a great victory by making the employer retreat by 30 cents from the latter's original demand?"-Lemuel Boulware, vice-president of General Electric, in a newsletter.

We doubt that it's the Queensbury rules preventing businessmen from executing this brilliant idea now. Some unionists are almost as smart as GE vice-presidents. . . .

**Rights and Things** Neil Chamberlain of the Yale Labor and Management Center, writing

important?

**SPARKS** in the **NEWS** 

in Fortune magazine, tells industry that its yowls about "management right" versus "labor dictation" is a fake. He argues: "That is to say, the trouble with

property ownership as a conferrer of authority is that it gives command only over things. . . . When business enterprise requires the cooperation of large numbers of people, control over things ceases to be sufficient."

The professor's argument is OKexcept that he doesn't understand that, to capital, a worker IS a "thing." That's inherent in the system where the man is the appendage of the machine and both are instruments of profit.

## **Books Received**

From the New American Library, publishers of pocket-size Mentor and Signet books:

BALLET: The Emergence of an American Art, by George Amberg. Published August 24, 224 pages, 35 cents. A Mentor Book.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT, by Fyodor Dostoyevsky. "A popular condensation." Published August 24, 224 pages, 25 cents. A Signet Book.

MEET THE GIRLS, by James T. Farrell. Published August 24, 168 pages. 25 cents. A Signet Book.

THE SURE HAND OF GOD, by Erskine Caldwell, Published September 1, 168 pages. 25 cents. A Signet Book.

> the street is a Viensh rease

of the Herero tribe in South Africa. It is one of the more pathetic ironies to witness the faith with which these colonial people look toward the UN

and to see the cynical disregard with which they are received. The story and documents unfolded by the Rev. Mr. Scott in the course of his testimony serve to illustrate the inability of capitalist imperialism to solve the problems of catastrophic backwardness and poverty, and to develop the tremendous human and industrial resources of a country.

South Africa is an example of a backward capitalist country caught in the stranglehold of a declining capitalism, unable to compete with the advanced capitalist countries for markets and unable to develop a domestic market. For with the raising of the standard of living of the non-European section of the population would come the development of a modern urban proletariat to challenge the ruling class.

The picture of South Africa is to be seen against the background of the virtual dispossession of the non-European population from the land. Non-Europeans, constituting 80 per cent of the population, own only about 13 per cent of the land. This "concentration of the native population into limited and inadequate reserves has brought about overpopulation and overstocking and rapid degeneration of the soil. So that over the years increasing numbers of African laborers are forced out of the reserves to look for work in the white man's mines, industries and farms.'

#### RECRUITING SLAVES This forced migration of the na-

tive peoples arises from the various laws designed to provide a large permanent body of labor available for exploitation and, at the same time, to prevent their transformation into a stable urban proletariat class or peasantry.

Against this background developed the legislation imposing racial segregation in the skilled trades, the Pass Laws limiting the movements of the natives and channelizing labor to the farms and mines, and the excessive penalties for breach of contract.

The Pass Laws, one of the ingeniously vicious pieces of legislation, tie the Africa native in a mass of legal red tape from which there is virtually no hope of escape. From the time that the native is forced off the ONE STEP FROM SLAVERY

The conditions under which the natives live, whether it be on the farm or in the mine compounds, the rural reserves or the squatters' areas outside of the white towns, rival each other in poverty, squalor, congestion, disease and degradation. (The infant mortality rate in any native area never goes below 150 per 1000. and goes as high as 600 per 1000.)

The exploitation of the laborer is so "ruthless .... that his health is permanently impaired." The natives live in shantytowns outside of the cities, forbidden to buy or lease land, even if they could afford to, by the Urban Areas Act. Entire families live in a single room, and the streets are used as latrines. Education and technical training are denied them so as to maintain the cheap source of migratory labor.

In an evaluation of the farm compounds, the Rev. Mr. Scott concluded (and all quotes are from his statement): "This compound system has undoubtedly led to abuses which can only be compared to the early days of the industrial revolution, when labor was unprotected by unions and was only one stage removed from slavery, if it was not actually in a worse condition than under the slave system."

The African natives are virtually politically dispossessed. In a parliament of 150 representatives, there are three white delegates for the non-European population. Recently the Malan government has threatened to abolish this in the face of increased agitation for greater native rights.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED

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years, there has been increasing restriction against the movement of the African population. But this has not helped; the urban migration continues. Increasingly the government has been aiding the farmers in obtaining indentured labor beyond the borders of the Union from British protectorate areas.

Thus these employment relationships and conditions of labor are being extended to "the whole southern half of the African continent." "This migratory labor system uproots millions of Africans' from the land and transforms them into a perpetually shifting mass of landless, voiceless people trekking from country to town and town to country" The role that South Africa plays in

the British sterling area is well known. South African gold is needed increasingly to help in the Sisyphean effort to close the dollar gap in the sterling area. American capital looks longingly at South Africa as a rich potential field for investment. Already millions of dollars have been entering as exploratory investments, and strategic minerals like chrome are available. Truman's Point Four plan looks toward considerable investment in South Africa.

These developments, encouraged by the Malan government, mean increasing antagonism between the towns and the farms for labor. It means the continuation of the South African system that breaks up the native tribal society to create vast pools of cheap migratory labor "with no alternative to their present culture and institutions being provided."

contract system. A strong protest was made by the Mexican Foreign Minister who charged the United States with violating the Good Neighbor Policy. As a result of this incident, Mexico abrogated the contract.

#### Yellow-Dog Pact

A new agreement is now being negotiated by the Mexican and U.S. governments. The final terms of this agreement are not yet available. But the proposed terms are hardly an improvement.

As before, there is no protection for either Mexican or U. S. workers, and enforcement machinery is entirely inadequate. Two provisions give an idea of the general tone of the proposed agreement. The United States Employment Service would be the agent of the employer and is also authorized to use its good offices to settle differences between the employer and the Mexican national.

It also provides that the Mexican national is forbidden to join an American trade union or to be represented by any outside agency other than the government. Strong protests have been made by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

While a relatively small number of workers is imported under con-

The two unions agreed that members of the Mexican union or its designated affiliates will become members of the National Farm Labor Union with full membership privileges while in this country. This is an important step forward in the U.S. labor movement and is particularly significant because Mexican and U.S. workers have so often been set against each other. The meeting set up a joint committee to meet regularly along the border and to exchange information.

The situation of Mexican farm labor in this country is of tremendous importance in working out a more orderly and humane approach to farm labor in general. It is fortunate that the National Farm Labor Union. with its long history of non-discrimination and of successful integration of minority groups into its organization, is taking the lead in this matter. As the result of its efforts, and of the efforts of other interested organizations and persons, the problem of Mexican farm workers is starting to be known and considered on a na-

Warmats !! isto

tional level.

#### "FORUM" **Discussion and Information Bulletin** of the Independent Socialist League

has replaced the former "Bulletin of the Workers Party." Like its predecessor "FORUM" is mimeographed. It will also carry informational articles and material on socialist and Marxist movements abroad.

While primarily intended as a bulletin for discussion within the Independent Socialist movement and its sympathetic circles, "FORUM" is also available to the general public. Price per copy is 15 cents. Since it is published as contributions make necessary and at no stated intervals, readers who wish to be sure to obtain copies as they appear may subscribe at the rate of \$1.50 for 10 issues. Send sub to: Independent Socialist League, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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