

5 Percent Is for Small Fry!

Millions Spent by 'Legal' Lobbyists Is at New High

The to-do over the "five per centers"—corrupt as that racket is—is a tempest in a teapot compared with the oceans of muck which have not been raked by the muckrakers: namely, the NORMAL pressure operations of big business.

Coincident with the chill over the deep-freezer scandal, reports were being filed with Congress under the Lobby Regulation Act showing that the number of lobbyists now crawling over the capital is close to 2,000 and that lobby outfits are spending at least \$10 million a year. Both figures are all-time records.

Here are a few facts to tuck under your hatband:

Biggest industrial lobby filing so far is that of the power trust (National Association of Electrical Companies), with admitted expenditures of \$225,000 for the first HALF of 1949. It pays the highest salaried individual lobbyist, Purcell Smith (\$65,000 a year plus expenses). In addition, many of the biggest private utilities have their own lobbyists (for example, Pacific Gas & Electric has several at \$12,000 a year plus expenses).

This will probably be beat by the NAM, which has not yet filed for 1949. The NAM runs on a budget of \$5 million a year.

FASCISTS SHELL OUT

Biggest lobby in all categories is that of the American Medical Association, which has already spent over a half million this year and is scheduled to up that to \$3½ million. Its target is the assassination of the health-insurance bill before Congress.

Among the biggest lobbyists are three fascist, semi-fascist or near-fascist groups! These are:

(1) "Committee for Constitutional Government," headed by the notorious Frank Gannett, chain newspaper publisher. It is, in fact, No. 2 on the list, only below the AMA. It admits to shelling out \$306,000 for the first half of the year.

(2) "Tool Owners Union," whose top lobbyist is ex-Congressman Hartley (of Taft-Hartley odor). It was officially branded as "fascist" by a New York State board. Hartley gets over \$30,000 a year—the racket pays off.

(3) The National Economic Council, headed by Merwin K. Hart, backer of G. L. K. Smith and other would-be fuhrers. It spent over \$23,000 for the first half.

The real-estate lobby (divided into a variety of groups) and the railroad lobby are among the top names also.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS ARE WAY DOWN AT THE BOTTOM. The total for all of them for all activities affecting legislation runs to a little over only \$100,000 for the first six months of 1949. This figure, besides, inviting comparison with the millions being poured out by business, also happens to be exactly the same as another bit of statistics. It is no more than the yearly income of ONE of the highest paid lobbyists, Gerard D. Reilly, once solicitor for the Labor Department, former New Dealer, and now specialist in anti-labor lobbying in Washington.

Exactly where do these businessmen's millions go, and what do they go for? It's a safe bet that it doesn't cost that much merely to TALK to officials in the capital.

Five per cent is for the small fry.

That's a pretty dirty scandal they're ventilating in Washington—the five per center racket in sale of "influence" among government officials. Truman's own good right arm, General Vaughan, is involved. Two other army generals have been suspended.

The Washington wits say "Two down and Vaughan to go," but that "loyal" little man in the White House is sticking to Vaughan just as if his name were Pendergast—and a lot tighter than he's ever stuck to an election promise.

We're all for a bit of old-fashioned muckraking now and then, but the excitement about the deep freezers leaves us cold. After public indignation settles down over Mr. Hunt and his retail bribery, the muck will still be there. Just as deep.

The issue is undue business influence over government decisions and favoritism, isn't it? Well—

In the midst of the five per center scandal, President Truman announced his nomination of the man who is to supervise the spending of billions in the war-preparation program.

The new chairman of the Munitions Board is Carl A. Ilgenfritz, vice-president of U. S. Steel Corporation.

His predecessor on the job, Donald F. Carpenter, resigned the post in order to go back to his boss, DuPont.

Before Ilgenfritz went to U. S. Steel, he was an executive for Carnegie-Illinois Steel and for Republic Steel.

The Truman administration, like Roosevelt's before him, is crawling with representatives of the big corporations in official position.

When lower-echelon industrialists and medium-sized capitalists resort to direct buying of "influence" in Washington, they're illegal and a stink is raised.

U. S. Steel and DuPont don't have to buy influence with deep freezers and such. Truman puts their men into the "right" jobs. They're legal.

Ilgenfritz is no five per center. Five per cent is for small fry. In fact, if we were Ilgenfritz and his ilk, we'd be glad to have the public work off its indignation on the Hunts and Vaughans.

Ober Witchhunt Law is Declared Unconstitutional by Maryland Court

BALTIMORE, Aug. 15—Maryland's "anti-subversive" Ober law, which achieved national notoriety as the worst law of this kind passed in the country so far, was today declared unconstitutional in its first court test.

By direct implication, its sponsors who, like their similars in other states try to pass themselves off as defenders of democracy under the pretext of fighting "communism," were charged with trampling all over the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and elementary democratic liberties, in the decision handed down by Circuit Court Judge Sherbow.

The judge's decision was written in terms which undoubtedly made it applicable to a greater or lesser extent to many other state laws, including the New York Feinberg law. The question will go next to the Maryland Court of Appeals, and probably to the Supreme Court.

Sherbow's opinion clearly based the quashing of the witchhunt act primarily on its fundamentally anti-democratic character rather than on any secondary legal questions:

"The Supreme Court has made it clear that laws may punish acts and conduct which clearly, seriously and imminently threaten substantive evils. They may not intrude into the realm of ideas, religious or political beliefs and opinions. The law deals with overt acts, not thoughts. It may punish for acting, but not for thinking."

The law, said the court, "violates

the basic freedoms guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments, and due process under the Fifth Amendment." It cited a passage from an opinion by Justice Jackson: "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

The judge also made a direct attack upon that feature of the Ober law, shared by many others, which makes EVIDENCE unnecessary for action under it:

"What kind of standard is set up by 'reasonable grounds'? What may seem reasonable to one may seem extremely arbitrary and unreasonable to another. Hence the employer need not have evidence that a prospective employee is subversive. All he needs is reasonable grounds. No man may be convicted of a crime in Maryland except upon evidence; the court and jury must be convinced beyond a reasonable doubt. In civil cases it is the preponderance of the evidence. Under this statute one may be deprived of an opportunity to work for state, county or city upon no evidence at all, but merely upon 'reasonable grounds.'"

There can be no doubt that this opinion challenges the basic totalitarian thinking behind the current legislative drives for witchhunt legislation.

Shachtman, Brad Headline Education Side of SYL Summer Camp

The national summer camp of the Socialist Youth League, to be held in Southern Wisconsin during the week of September 11-18, will present a stimulating and extensive educational program, featuring Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, and Jack Brad, LABOR ACTION columnist and expert on Far Eastern affairs. Lectures and discussions led by them constitute a major part of the program which promises to be exciting, informative and of interest to all members and friends of the SYL.

Three important lectures by Jack Brad will deal with the background, meaning and the profound political importance of the recent events in China. His first talk, "The Post-War Revolutions in Asia," will contain a detailed analysis and comparison of the situations in China and India. The possibilities of Titoism, the prospects for Chinese Stalinism, the role of American imperialism and the State Department's White Paper will be dealt with in the second lecture, "Origin and Prospects for Chinese Stalinism." The concluding lecture in the series is on "The Politics and Sociology of Chinese Stalinism."

Max Shachtman will speak and lead a class, the full details of which will appear in a future issue of LABOR ACTION. Outlines of each session and suggested readings will be available shortly as part of a complete camp bulletin prepared by the SYL. Copies can be had by request.

The cost is only \$25 for the whole week. Requests for information and application blanks (see page 4) should be sent to: Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th Street, New York City 11. Applications should be accompanied by a \$5.00 deposit.

German Vote Rejects Both Western Occupation and CP

In the face of a bitter U. S.-sponsored hue-and-cry against "revived German nationalism," the people of the new German Federal Republic (West Germany) went to the polls on August 13 to register a next-to-unanimous vote for national independence from the Allied occupation powers.

In the first free election since Hitler took power, emerging from thirteen years of Nazi power during which time workers' organizations were destroyed and atomized, the overwhelming majority of the German workers cast their ballots for socialism, via the Social-Democratic Party. This party emerged as the second strongest party of the land, only 400,000 votes behind the Christian Democrats in a total vote of over 23 million.

In a country where the Communist Party's membership and vote had been in the millions just before Hitler, the CP today garnered only 6 per cent of the total vote—demonstrating beyond a doubt that the great mass of the West German people and of the West German working class want neither the Western capitalists nor their Russian rivals as their overlords.

This is the outstanding meaning of the election in West Germany.

Every dispatch to U. S. newspapers in the past two weeks has emphasized one fact: the occupation has not a single supporter among ANY responsible political spokesmen in West Germany. Indeed, all the leaders of all the political parties, from right to left, vied with each other in telling the occupation powers: GET OUT OF GERMANY!

U. S. government observers and newspaper writers carefully registered only official consternation and alarm over "German nationalism" in the face of this phenomenon. (The cry of "German nationalism" is considered in another column of this issue.) This might wash superficially if it were only one section of German opinion which was involved, whether left or right. But when even the Catholic Church's minion—the Christian Democratic Union—the Catholic Church's minion, "free enterprise" (i.e., capitalist) to the core and up to now the favored collaborators of the American Military Government—found it necessary to echo national-independence sentiments, it is hard for any thinking person to accept the newspaper cry at face value.

The fact is simply that the German people are expressing the aspiration common to all peoples without exception: they do not want a foreign conqueror on their land. In this desire for national independence, LABOR ACTION stands foursquare with the demand of the people.

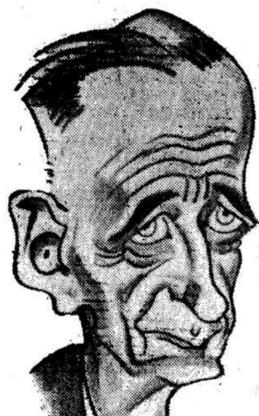
SOCIALIST VOTE STRONG

National independence for the new republic is not merely a matter of national feeling. Unstressed in the U. S. press but emphasized by the Social Democrats, for example, is the fact that as long as the Western occupiers maintain a stranglehold over German economy for their own purpose, including the dismantling of industrial plants, recovery both in Germany and Europe is retarded, unemployment is fostered, the standard of living cannot rise.

The dirty campaign of the AMG and by such leading newspapers as the N. Y. Times and Herald Tribune to simply EQUATE these desires of the German people—liberty and bread!—with Nazism and fascist expansionism is one of the most blatant.

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KURT SCHUMACHER
German Social-Democratic Leader

Huge Strike Demonstration in Buffalo Stops Bell Scabs Cold

By M. YOUNG

BUFFALO, Aug. 15—Approximately 5,000 shouting, singing and cheering CIO members and sympathizers demonstrated here for nearly four hours Friday morning, August 12, in front of the struck plant of the Bell Aircraft Corporation.

Representing nearly all of the 200 CIO locals in the Niagara Frontier area, union men and women from the auto, steel, electrical and ma-

chine, maritime and other industries staged one of the most impressive demonstrations of labor solidarity ever seen in this locality. The regional director of the CIO, Hugh Thompson, declared that it was the "biggest such demonstration in local labor history."

While the massed throngs of their sympathizers sang, "The CIO's behind us, we shall not be moved," members of striking UAW Local 501

continued their third month of picketing, despite increased company pressure. Growing ever more arrogant, the Bell Corporation has added the issuance of a call for "scabs" to its union-busting tactics, which have thus far included the obtaining of an injunction, personal letters, phone calls from the foremen to striking workers and the usual vicious press releases. The mass demonstration, planned on a short two-days' notice was the union's answer.

PERSUASION EFFECTIVE

By 7:30 a.m., a half hour before the plant opened, several thousand workers meeting in an open field in front of the tent being used for strike headquarters unanimously passed a resolution denouncing the use of injunctions for the purpose of union-busting. "In recent months," the resolution read, "encouraged by anti-labor legislation, corporations are again seeking to use injunctions and the courts against their employees. Labor in this community refuses to return to the days of the labor spy, the hired strikebreaker, the tear gas and bloodshed of open industrial war."

Limited by the injunction from enlarging the picket lines, the workers, carrying placards, wearing union buttons and hats, milled out on the highway approaching the plant and across the road from the plant itself. Those on the highway stopped the approaching cars and attempted to dissuade the office workers, foremen, supervisors, engineers, from entering the plant.

The 15 sheriff's deputies who were on the scene to "preserve law and order" were able to clear traffic only from time to time, being hopelessly outnumbered. Some recalcitrant office workers who insisted on entering the plant complained of flat tires. Several cars developed motor trouble, causing a traffic jam at times when the road seemed somewhat cleared.

(Continued on page 2)

Singer Strike Still Solid Despite Bid By Company Union to Break Ranks

By A. WINTERS

ELIZABETH, N. J., Aug. 11—The strikers at the Singer Sewing Machine plant here, now in the 15th week of their struggle, are remaining solid despite all kinds of blows.

The company remains adamant and arrogant, refusing to negotiate on any question unless Local 401 of the United Electrical Workers (CIO), representing the Singer workers, gives up all of its major demands.

Inside the union, the Stalinist leadership of the local has already given up two key demands, the 35-hour week and the elimination of standards. They are now for modifications within the incentive system.

This was done in their typically bureaucratic manner, without consulting the workers. The men were told at a meeting that the demands had already been given up, and the matter was not submitted to a democratic vote.

Two weeks ago the strikers beat an attempt by a group of "independents" to represent the Singer workers in negotiations—the vote was 4,000 to 2,500. The company openly intervened on the side of the "independents"; it sent out foremen to instruct workers to vote for the "independents" if they ever want to get back to work.

The company also sent out mountains of literature, some of which cleverly pointed out that the Stalinists were to blame for standards, since they were the ones who asked for it. (All this would have constituted company interference in the vote before the Taft-Hartley Law, but T-H has now made this sort of intimidation legal.) But despite it all, the militant core of the strikers remains intact in the main.

DISSENT STIFLED

Another interesting development has taken place. The local Stalinist leadership has agreed to sign non-Communist affidavits. At a mass meeting, President Albert Fitzgerald of the UE promised to do the same. Silent on the question, it is interesting to note, are Empsak and Matles, the CP's leading whips in the national union.

Twenty-three workers are now on

NOT FIT TO PRINT?

As we go to press, the N. Y. Times (August 17) carries a story on the Singer strike which starts off: "A STRIKE THAT NOBODY WANTS has been costing this industrial community of 110,000 persons \$500,000 a week . . ." etc.

The rest of the 20-inch report describes how the town merchants and businessmen are losing money because the strikers are not buying as usual.

There is not a line in the story which mentions that the "20 per cent of Elizabeth's working population" made up of the strikers are solid in wanting the strike. They're nobody.

There is not a line in the story which even hints that the company refuses to negotiate on the union's demands. But a "department store executive" is quoted as saying: "THE UNION AND THE COMPANY show no signs of giving in. That leaves the rest of us holding the bag."

And some people object to our habit of referring to these sources of public propaganda as the CAPITALIST press!

the union welfare rolls and the threat of being cut off the relief rolls has stifled many a militant who would otherwise protest the Stalinist conduct of the strike. The CPers have flooded the place with international organizers, etc., in order to keep a tight hold and to prevent anyone but themselves from participating in the running of the strike.

The Stalinists' main hope now to settle the strike is Governor Driscoll, a Republican with a liberal reputation. They have appealed to him to step in to make Singer negotiate. But the fact that they have deliberately isolated themselves from the rest of the CIO by their refusal previously to support the state CIO financially has given hope to the company that now is the time to smash the union.

The state CIO, however, has given full moral and financial assistance to the strikers—thus helping to expose their CP-controlled leadership.

U. S. Has ONE Friend in Germany!

As quotations in other columns of this issue show, the U. S. press has been lamenting to the skies that, without exception, ALL the political leaders and parties in the West German election denounced the occupation powers and demanded that they get out.

They are wrong. It's not ENTIRELY unanimous. American imperialism seems to have at least one friend in Germany.

He is Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial genius and former president of the Reichsbank under the Nazis, who pulled his Fuhrer through his economic scrapes for years before he finally dabbled in the anti-Hitler plot when the going got rougher.

Nazi Schacht wants a "Pax Americana" over Europe—that is, Washington's undisputed sway over the continent.

An interview with Schacht in the N. Y. Herald Tribune for August 13 reads:

"He said that America must recognize its modern role in history and take the leadership in economic affairs. There should be a 'Pax Americana' for this century, similar to the 'Pax Britannica' that prevailed in the era when Great Britain, by virtue of its trading and commercial supremacy, dominated world affairs, the financier asserted."

Wouldn't the U. S. be happy if all the German people were Schachts!

MORE
on the
Five Per Centers
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WhiteMan's Burden

U. S. generosity with Marshall Plan money doesn't extend to its own colonies. Washington's humanitarian impulses seem to come into play only when it's a question of buying off a continent as a bastion against its imperialist rival, Russia.

On August 8 a new public-school semester opened in Puerto Rico. About 400,000 children went to school.

About 290,000 Puerto Rican children did not. According to the island's Education Department, there are simply no educational facilities available for this FORTY-THREE PER CENT of the children.

U. S. has been in occupation of Puerto Rico for exactly half a century. Time enough?

Jim Crow AMA Makes 'Friendly' Gesture—But Negro Doctors Cool to Anti-Health-Bill Plea

By KATE LEONARD

The American Medical Association, the most powerful medical organization in the world, is currently engaged in an all-out campaign against the national health plan proposed by President Truman. Although action on this proposal for federal health insurance has been tabled by the 81st Congress, it is plain to see that the plan is gaining support and has the AMA worried.

The leadership of the AMA is a conservative, business leadership firmly entrenched at the head of this organization of 140,000 physicians which enjoys a considerable monopoly in the field of medicine in the U. S.

In January 1949 this conservative organization took the first concrete steps in its offensive against what it calls "compulsory health insurance." It hired the publicity team of Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter to handle a projected \$3,000,000 national education campaign to defeat any proposals for governmental direction in medicine. The significance of the hiring of Whitaker-Baxter is that this combination in 1946 successfully waged and won the California Medical Association's campaign against a health program proposed by Governor Earl Warren for the state of California.

The first fruit of this publicity campaign was the degrading of the famous picture, "The Doctor." This picture has been proudly cherished in the past and still dominates the waiting room of many a doctor in less sophisticated places than New York City. It is a symbol, and a very human one in spite of its Victorian aspect, of the physician's devotion to humanity. The Doctor now appears on billboards and on throwaways linked with the slogan, "Keep politics out of this picture!" This catch slogan, in plainer English, means: "Don't interfere with our revenue."

The AMA met in Atlantic City in the middle of June and showed that under the threat of losing much, it knows how to give a little. For one thing, it agreed to permit its members to participate in any voluntary health-insurance plan which meets its approval—a retreat if one remembers the bitterness which greeted the first health-insurance plans in the 1930s. For another thing, it dumped its official spokesman and editor for the last 27 years, Dr. Morris Fishbein, mainly because that good and faithful servant of its reactionary leadership had managed to make his name mud in the public eye; he was sacrificed for a new front.

The AMA has been the strongest opposition to the proposal that a national Welfare Department be established, with a secretary of cabinet rank. Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, a strong advocate of the federal health plan, is the most likely appointee for this cabinet post. The plan also recommends that health services now under the security division be transferred to the Welfare Department. At this writing the outcome for this proposal has not yet been determined.

It is only about eight weeks since the meeting of the AMA but already there have been two significant developments in which the AMA has had an active finger.

The AMA has been the strongest opposition to the proposal that a national Welfare Department be established, with a secretary of cabinet rank. Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, a strong advocate of the federal health plan, is the most likely appointee for this cabinet post. The plan also recommends that health services now under the security division be transferred to the Welfare Department. At this writing the outcome for this proposal has not yet been determined.

NEGRO GROUP WOODED

The second significant development is the appearance at the convention of the National Medical Association in Detroit, meeting from August 3 through 12, of a plenipotentiary from the AMA. The NMA is the professional association of the Negro physicians, and also covers Negro dentists and druggists. The NMA came into existence because of the Jim Crow line in medicine.

The AMA has refused to modify its membership rules, as has the American Nurses Association, providing for a direct national membership to circumvent the outlawing of qualified personnel who are excluded from membership in a local county or state association. Seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia deny membership to Negro physicians. This is only a surface indication of the Jim Crow line in medicine. It extends all the way from the barring of Negro physicians from the staffs of hospitals all over the country, to Negro accident victims dying in the streets because they are refused admission to the lily-white hospital which is the only one in many parts of the Land of Jim Crow.

The AMA's emissary to the NMA meeting was Dr. George F. Lull, secretary and general manager of the AMA. It is evident that there have been negotiations between the AMA and a section of the NMA for an alliance against the federal health-insurance plan. Dr. Lull did not have to go "hat in hand." He got there because he was invited. But it is also evident that he met with no unanimous reception.

Dr. Lull invited the members of the NMA to attend clinical sessions of the AMA at its next meeting, handsomely saying, "Your membership card in the NMA will admit you to all clinical sessions and will be honored on the same basis as a fellowship card in the AMA."

TICKLING UNDER CHIN

Recently the New York Medical Association elected Dr. Peter M. Murray, an outstanding gynecologist and obstetrician, as its delegate to the AMA House of Delegates. Dr. Murray will be seated in June 1950, thereby becoming the first Negro physician to serve in this capacity. Dr. Lull referred to this appointment as follows: "This action will serve notice to the socializers who are attempting to be smirch American medicine for purposes of political gain that medicine recognizes no boundaries except the scientific skill and abilities of those who are admitted to its practice. Dr. Murray is a magnificent example of what a physician can achieve under our present system of free enterprise, despite its admitted imperfections and injustices."

When Dr. W. Montague Cobb of the NAACP's national medical committee went to school, this was called "tickling under the chin," and he

promptly said so, accusing the AMA of making political capital out of Dr. Murray's appointment.

Dr. Lull, accredited diplomat from the AMA, was partially sensitive to his surroundings and stressed that the "voluntary way" in health insurance is one answer to the needs of those who required budget-basis medical care. His other answer did not concede so much. Said he: "Many of our patients spend more for tobacco, motion pictures and alcoholic beverages than they would have to spend for important medical care in any one year." White folks, too, must "pay for what they want, and beg for what they need."

The NMA was split on the question, but not because of Dr. Lull's plea. The same force that has thrown up a business leadership in the AMA operates, but to a much less powerful extent, among Negro physicians. The convention refused to act on a motion opposing a federal health-insurance plan, but neither did it endorse it. It delayed action until its next meeting a year hence.

Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, the incoming president of the organization, expressed the opinion of the socially-minded Negro physician: "If you support the American Medical Association on this, you'll get a pat on the back. But if you reject it you'll receive the commendation of 10,000,000 Negroes backed up by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

The NAACP has had a consistently correct position on the medical picture as it affects the Negro doctor and the Negro patient. The National Medical Association has been out in front of the AMA in the last decade. A vested interest must not be permitted to spoil this record. In the next year the Negro physician whose first interest is in the scientific, the physician who has a social point of view and the physician who wants to practice medicine (not grow fat on misery and discrimination) should rally to the program given them by the NAACP.

"With Liberty and Justice for All"

Racism and ignorance are second cousins, if not more closely related. Here are a couple of figures about education in the 17 Southern states whose laws make separate Negro and white schools mandatory, just released by Dr. R. L. Caliver of the U. S. Office of Education:

In cotton-staff rural districts, teachers' salaries range as low as \$8.50 a week for Negro grade teachers. And—

"Salaries of white teachers, while 44 per cent higher than those paid Negroes, are likewise too low to secure the type of teacher needed to maintain desired standards." (The highly discriminatory differential of 44 per cent still brings even white teachers to only \$12.24 a week at the bottom range.)

More than five times as much money is spent on white schools as on Negro schools. An average of \$104.66 was spent per white pupil as against \$7.37 per Negro pupil (during 1946).

After all, how can the state governments of the Talmages and Rankins afford to provide equal facilities for Negro and white children? Equality in educational and other opportunities might wind up by proving that the theory of "white supremacy" is as stupid as Hitler's Herrenvolk psychosis. . . .

LABOR SCOPE

Big Steel Flouts Steel Workers' Demands; Murray Depends on Fair Deal

By L. SHIELDS

In the background of the current struggle between the United Steel Workers of America and Big Steel lies the fact that, until recently, no sector of the American economy has been in such a strong position as that of the steel industry. Although more steel was produced in the U. S. in 1948 (nearly 89 million tons) than in any year since 1944, so great was the bottleneck created by the backlog of orders for steel that Truman threatened the industry with government construction of steel plants as a spur to its own reluctant program of expansion.

It was because of this unexampled demand for its product that the steel workers confidently expected to act as the spearhead in the drive for the fourth round of wage increases.

That Philip Murray did not anticipate the stubborn resistance of Big Steel, its refusal to make even the slightest concession, or at least that he depended to a large extent upon the administration to fight his battle in case of necessity, is shown by the fact that until the very last moment practically nothing was done to arouse the membership to the importance, or even the justice, of its demands. No special publicity was issued, the local meetings continued to be attended by a pitifully small fraction of the membership, etc.

STEEL MARKET DOWN

Recently, however, the economic position of the steel industry has changed drastically. This is most clearly shown in its international relations.

In 1946 Western Europe produced 28,500,000 tons; by 1948 the figure had reached 43,000,000 tons, and it was again competing in the Latin American market. Steel exports fell from 6,500,000 tons in 1947 to 4,350,000 tons in '48 and to the rate of 1,200,000 tons per year during the first quarter of '49. (The principal reason for this, however, is not the increased production of Europe so much as the lack of dollars with which to buy the steel it still needs from America.)

Domestically there has been a decrease in orders in practically all fields other than the automotive industry.

Since the beginning of the year, consequently, there has been very little overtime work in the industry. Then, several months ago, another cut was instituted: most of the men in production now work only four days a week. The attitude of management in the shops has become visibly tougher.

In the absence of any union counter-propaganda, the mood of many men became doubtful and there developed a fear of going out on strike at this time. This, of course, was well known to the management. Its adamant attitude in the negotiations indicates that it decided that this was the time to force the issue and if possible weaken the union. U. S. Steel refused to admit that the question of pensions could be discussed; it flatly rejected the demand for a wage raise; and it offered to pay two cents an hour for insurance.

On July 6 negotiations were broken off and a strike was set for July 16. Truman intervened through John Steelman's proposal that work continue for another 60 days until a fact-finding board investigated the dispute and brought in recommendations. This, however, was not acceptable to the Big Three; they insisted upon the T-H procedure which would prohibit the workers from striking while the board investigated the facts, but would also prevent the board from making any recommendations.

But the steel magnates have overstepped themselves in this arrogance behind the open issue of wages looms the hidden and dangerous question as to which class is to control America. The corporations would be in a difficult public position if they insisted on flouting the president openly. Ten hours before the deadline, U. S. Steel capitulated, with much emphasis upon the fact that the recommendations would not be binding.

Given the previous lack of prepara-

tion and reliance upon the administration, this 60-day respite turned out to be a necessity for the union.

It has permitted the report of the CIO economist, Robert Nathan, to gain wide publicity. This report points out, among other things, that the price of steel had been raised higher than necessary to offset the previous increases in wages; that "material and labor costs have fallen almost 15 per cent in the last six months, yet bar steel prices have remained virtually unchanged," and that "in 1948 wages and salaries in leading steel companies totaled less than 35 per cent of sales, whereas in 1946 they had been 41 per cent of sales."

THEY CAN AFFORD IT

He was able to conclude that the corporation could grant the 30 cents an hour "package" demand, cut their prices, and still have left "excellent profits by any historical standards." As if to prove his contention, the semi-annual report of U. S. Steel, published July 27, showed that its sales in the first half of the year were the highest of any six-month period in history, and that its net income had jumped to \$94,052,265 from the \$53,599,018 of the equivalent period in 1948.

At the same time the union officials have at last realized the necessity for a more militant attitude. Dues inspections have been carried out at the gates of several plants in the Chicago area and resulted in the signing of quite a few new members. Although such actions are probably necessary at this stage, it is unfortunate that the method of carrying them out has been typically bureaucratic—with hardly any previous publicity or campaign to convince the workers of the necessity to join.

No one knows, of course, what recommendations the fact-finding board will make. We may expect, however, that at least some concessions to the workers will be made. As for the corporations, their attitude will depend in large measure upon the mood manifested by the workers between now and September 16.

Bell Strike —

(Continued from page 1)

One person was arrested for "blocking traffic."

The cars that managed to evade the persuasive unionists had great difficulty getting through the actual picket lines which were held to the maximum of 15 allowed by the injunction. The throngs gathered across the street, together with the pickets and a union loudspeaker car, made life very uncomfortable for those attempting to get through the gates.

Those who walked through were not prevented, but were greeted with a hail of uncomplimentary shouts. The loudspeaker would spotlight individuals: "Well there goes that foreman again! He's known as Jack America—if that's HIS name, we'd better change the name of our country . . ." etc.

GIVING 'EM THE BUSINESS

The press reported "beatings" and "violence" from unnamed sources. Actually the only real violence was done to a striker, who was struck in the leg by a car attempting to rush through the line.

A mass parade across from the plant climaxed the demonstration.

The 5,000 workers marched slowly across the road from the truck plant singing "Solidarity Forever," cheering the pickets and denouncing those who crossed the lines. Overhead circled a helicopter, given as a "gift" to the sheriff of Erie County by the Bell Corporation. Those office workers who had crossed the lines looked out the plant windows at the demonstrators. Every now and then the loudspeaker blared a ditty written especially for the strike and sung to the tune of "Reuben, Reuben":

"Larry used to like to pose as Just a worker in the ranks; Now he jumps when Wall Street whistles, Just a clerk for Wall Street banks. "Julius says they lost some business; That, of course, will never do! So we'll see that he gets the business Sure enough, before we're through!" After the demonstration, President of Local 501 Robert Seigler told the press: "Not a single one of the local's 1700 workers reported for work today." The demonstration was singularly successful, both in defeating the company's strikebreaking attempt and in maintaining the high morale of the Bell workers.

OHIO LABOR NOTES

Fawick Pickets Jailed; Negro P.O. Workers' Protest Gains Support

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Aug. 15—Four more Cleveland Airflex strikers have been convicted of contempt of court and jailed by Common Pleas Judge Harry A. Hanna for picketing at the company's plant in defiance of a court order. Maximum sentences and fines were given to each and the judge also found that the union was again guilty of contempt of court. He levied a security bond of \$10,000 against the union, to be forfeited in event of future violation of court orders pertaining to the strike.

Three of the four were each given \$500 fines and ten days in jail while the fourth was given a total of \$1,500 fine and 30 days in jail. The four were jailed despite their attorneys' plea for bail.

The convictions of the men and the union mark the end in court of a test case which the union had demanded at a public meeting on June 28. At that meeting a union official stated they would send pickets to the Fawick plant to test the legality of Judge Connell's order, issued April 12, under which about 30 union leaders and members have been jailed and fined. All in all, it is as reprehensible a case of judicial strike-breaking as can be seen anywhere.

It seems that the Stalinists (who controlled the union and the strike) hoped by this test to stir widespread sympathy and support for their ill-fated strike and to revenge themselves upon the court for the brutal treatment handed them in previous trials. If this was their hope, they were sadly disappointed. No support was forthcoming and they faced the issue alone. The fact is that Stalinist prestige in Cleveland is at a very low point, the lowest in many years.

P. O. PURGE PROTESTED

At an indignation meeting held recently at St. James E. M. E. Church, speakers charged that the loyalty probe at the Cleveland Post Office was a camouflage to cover up "a stinking mess" of racial discrimination in the local post office. Thirteen

of the 20 suspended clerks were loudly applauded at the meeting. A collection of \$312.83 was taken to help carry on the defense work.

The whole matter is receiving widespread publicity and support from Cleveland workers as well as liberals and others. As is usual in such cases, different political groups are trying to make capital out of it. Paul W. Walter, a Cleveland attorney and a Taft supporter, spoke at the meeting and said he has gained a promise from Taft that he will investigate the matter; and that he (Taft) is "quite interested."

Charles H. Loeb, news editor of the Cleveland Call and Post, read an excerpt from Time magazine, stating that 91 federal employees have been discharged for disloyalty and asking why 20 of that number should be found in one city. He also pointed out that government red tape would keep the suspended men jobless for at least a year even if they are as guiltless as a baby, and that the government setup means asking "the same people who convicted you to exonerate you."

Charles G. Lucas, executive secretary of the Cleveland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urged that Taft, if he agrees to Walters' request, should not approach the disloyalty matter "as he did the FEPC in Ohio, with his tongue in his cheek."

Of course the Stalinists are trying to get their finger into the pie. At a meeting of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council (CIO) which was held on August 10, a resolution was passed calling upon President Truman and Postmaster Donaldson to "have an investigation conducted immediately to determine the status of the dismissed employees and to see they are given a fair hearing in which they can face their accusers."

Remarks of Stalinist delegates which aimed to claim a prior interest in the affair and to move a \$25 contribution to an unidentified defense committee brought a sharp rejoinder from S. Booker of the Newspaper Guild, who had introduced the original resolution.

By EUGENE KELLER

In reference to William Barton's article, "Toward a Socialist Program on Britain's Economic Squeeze" (LABOR ACTION, Aug. 1), it is difficult for me to see how his proposals for a program to overcome the recurring British crises face up to either the economic or the political complexities involved.

Barton states correctly that Britain, having lost much or most of the revenue derived from foreign investments which in the past covered its trade deficits, is now faced with the question how to narrow the gap between imports and exports and at the same time allow its living standard to rise.

The answer cannot possibly lie within the national confines of the United Kingdom, yet it is there that Barton attempts to put it. Indeed, it is the British workers who are compelled to struggle for the few basic comforts without which their daily labors must appear useless and aimless to them; but their struggle MUST become broadened by a consciousness of international involvements if it is not to remain localized and deprived of historical meaning.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The reduction of Britain's national debt, and even such a "radical" step as the cancellation of the bonds indemnifying the former owners of the

nationalized industries (as proposed by Barton), cannot be considered more than temporary relief measures of doubtful effect upon Britain's competitive position on the world market. Similarly, a reduction in Britain's outlay for its military forces would most certainly be worthwhile insofar as it redounds to the benefit of its hard-pressed working people; but I fail to see where it could have an important effect upon the basic predicament.

Further, Barton proposes greater worker participation in industrial production, management, etc., to increase sorely needed industrial efficiency. Obviously, no socialist can object to the idea of workers' participation in industry in a situation either where a socialist state already exists or where the struggle for such a state has reached acute forms. But Barton relates the idea to a context in which it becomes the clever device of an ambitious labor bureaucrat. Moreover, it seems to me illusory, to say the least, to expect from workers' participation in industry such a substantial improvement of industrial efficiency as will affect Britain's position in the world market. No causal relationship exists between workers' participation in, or control of, industry and industrial efficiency.

Barton's naiveté is topped, however, by his proposal that England

Readers Take the Floor . . .

On Spellman

To the Editor:

The emergence of Francis Cardinal Spellman as a headline grabber is not a simple accident. Close on the heels of the celebrated Mindzenty case, which was inflated beyond recognizable proportions, and concurrently with the Beran case, which the Catholic Church is logrolling for all it is worth, Spellman decided that the people who had been literally bombarded with atrocity tales were ripe for plucking. He thought that on the rebound, the people would open-handedly endorse his bid for federal aid to parochial schools. . . .

Not only will Spellman not argue the case on the only grounds upon which it should primarily be based—that of constitutionality, the separation of church and state—but he brings in bogus arguments having no relevance; and to cap the climax he cries "bigot" at Mrs. Roosevelt. Like any totalitarianism, Catholicism screams "bigot" where Stalinism screams fascist and where fascism screams Red. The latitude in all cases is very wide and depends upon the

circumstances in which the cry is made.

Spellman wonders, if Mrs. Roosevelt couldn't find it in her heart to come to the moral assistance of Cardinal "Martyr" Mindzenty (Spellman's quotes). The church, when need be, turns out martyrs like Ford turns out automobiles. When the cardinal says that boys and girls, simply because they were born into the Catholic faith, would become tantamount to second-class citizens and be deprived of equal educational facilities, he is simply talking through his red hat. The church and its holdings are tax-exempt. It owns untold fortune and manipulates that fortune like any common stockholder on the market; there is little morality here. If Spellman is so interested in educating his young, let the church divert some of these funds for education instead of building and maintaining Babylonian palaces which are used for worship.

The Vatican's use of excommunication of those working with Communists, the Tiso, Stepanec, Mindzenty and Beran cases, and the cardinal's latest forays are all warp and woof of the same fabric. The church, like

capitalism, is on the wane; whatever influence it has, it no longer can strike terror into the hearts of its communicants. . . . The ersatz-communism which it is fighting is the common rallying point of both decadent capitalism and declining Catholicism.

Spellman does not see, or at best refuses to admit, that his church never was committed to use the threat of excommunication on its adherent in Spain, Germany, Italy or any number of fascist regimes. Franco is still being hailed as the savior of Christian (read Catholic) Spain, where there is persecution of non-Catholic faiths.

There is no moral issue involved in Spellman's denunciation of Mrs. Roosevelt; Catholic morals are universally adaptable. The drying force behind the hypocritical façade of Spellman's strictures is the quest for power. Shorn of its influence in a constricting band of libertarianism, the church in the U. S. aligns itself with the last bastion of capitalism. Spellman would like to hope that capitalism needs his church as much as the church needs capitalism. . . .

Norman JOHNSTONE

PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

uring its future independence. It appears to me from what information I am able to obtain that the creation of a Western Union should be one of the two major objectives of the struggle of the British workers (the other being the continuing nationalization of British industries). If there is no recognition of this necessity among the working classes, they are either doomed to become the victims of a declining and stagnating economy, unable to defend themselves against a life- and thought-stifling bureaucratism of whatever nationality; or else a federation of West European state may be created by the native capitalists with the aid of the Americans and that, too, spells ever stricter "austerity" imposed by the progressive militarization of the economy as well as of thought and life.

Next-A Labor Party!

by Jack Ranger
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Movie Review

'The Fountain Head'; Fascist Theme in a Miserable Film

By HAL DRAPER

The Fountain Head deserves a review in spite of the fact that it is as blooming a stinkeroo as ever came out of a Hollywood studio. But since this dim view of its merits as a film has no necessary connection with the reason it invites discussion, we skip the bill of particulars. If you blunder into it looking for an evening's entertainment, let the consequences be on your own head.

The Fountain Head is a "social message." The message is not incidental to the film nor does it have to be clamped out of the plot by a hypercritical class-angler. It is almost the sole content of the picture as planned; even the psychotic "love story" is subordinated to it rigorously.

We have no doubt that its producers and Ayn Rand, its author, thought of it as a morality play AGAINST the totalitarian idea. That's what makes it interesting, because it is in fact written around a thesis which is totalitarian to the core.

SUPERMAN THEME

The hero is an architect who, in the face of ridicule, poverty, slander and public opinion, courageously refuses to compromise with his integrity as an artist. He holds fast to an ideal of modernism in architecture and declines to pander to lower tastes for the sake of orders and monetary reward. And gradually he does manage to make his way without compromising his art.

But this laudable theme of the precious individual integrity of the artist is NOT the theme of the film. In fact, if the hero were merely an artist, the plot wouldn't work. The hero is an architect; an artist, indeed, but an artist whose product is not merely an object of esthetic pleasure but an economically necessary commodity—houses, for example—in the production of which a host of other people are necessarily involved, not to speak of the people who are to live in them.

It is this role of the architect which makes possible the shift (which goes by unnoticed in a script otherwise filled with talky-talky exposition) from individualism in art to individualism as a social philosophy. The result is the projection of a Nietzschean "superman" as the paladin of . . . democracy.

The climactic episode of the film (flat as a pancake in execution but climactic in conception) is Miss Rand's own proposal for a test of her philosophy. A low-cost housing project is planned, but no architect has solved the problem of how to keep it low-cost. Our hero cannot compete because he is persona non grata. The problem attracts him, not because it will mean low-cost housing for people who need it, but simply because it is an interesting problem to be solved. (This attitude is carefully and belligerently explained as a necessary attribute of the creative mind.) He solves the problem; a fellow architect is permitted to submit the design in his own name on the condition that not a single change be made in it.

The design is adopted and the project is built, but despite the standard's objections, the housing directors incorporate changes which modify the severely modernistic style. Recourse to the courts would be futile (the scenario informs us). What shall the Genius do about this defilement of his brainchild?

In the dead of night he blows the

whole housing project sky-high with dynamite.

According to Miss Rand's thesis, now put forward in its full flower, there is no alternative for him. Gary Cooper (who, we forgot to say for understandable reasons, plays the Genius) dots the i's in a courtroom speech in which he defends his action.

Even at this point, if the defense were conducted on the ground of upholding ARTISTIC integrity, one might still have to comment on the subject of the SOCIAL responsibility even of an artist—when what is involved is not the consignment of a poem to the wastebasket but of a housing project to dynamite.

But in this key speech, the issue is not posed in terms of art at all. Explicitly and in so many words, the issue is defined as "the Individual versus the Collective" in all of society.

The dynamiting is put in the context of the struggle against totalitarianism in the modern world; the architect is made a symbol of the individual's right to refuse to be regimented by "the Collective" (this word is used for society because it is supposed to evoke an image of COLLECTIVISM, which is simply assumed to be equivalent to statism and totalitarianism). If any reader finds this as madly far-fetched as does the reviewer, it must be said on the other side that at least the jury is convinced.

PHILOSOPHY FOR FASCISM

The test case deliberately picked by the author is far-fetched, but the philosophy is not. It is very old.

The architect, being the prototype of the Creative Ones of the world, from whom alone all good has come (this is demonstrated in three minutes of the defense speech), has a right to act as a law unto himself. Crucial to the argument as given, and to the philosophy, is the fact that he has this right NOT because he is an individual but because he is a Great Man, a Creator, NOT an ordinary human being.

The workmen on the housing project naturally have to do exactly what they're told to do; the people who are to live in the houses have to live in the houses which are exactly such as the Genius has planned for them. Nothing of Miss Rand's philosophy has any relevance to them; the problem is not one of the relationship between man and man in society, but of the relationship between the Great Man on the one hand and society on the other.

If a totalitarian dictator needs a personal rationalization for his use of the whip (or of dynamite), it is of course this philosophy of the supra-social rights of the Superman. More important—since dictators themselves often do not worry about rationalizing their roles to themselves—it is equally the rationale for acceptance of a fuhrer and contempt for the democratic will of the people.

People—including ourselves—would probably get more stirred up by a film which glorified strike-breaking, let us say. Because it deals with concepts of social philosophy in abstract fashion (the concretization in plot is so fantastic that the sit-and-run customer may excusably miss the point), the Fountain Head will doubtless not arouse the hisses it deserves. But it is surely the most fascist-minded film I can easily recall at the moment—fascist-MINDED precisely.

WORLD POLITICS

Just How Free Are the "Free Elections" in Austria Going to Be?

By GEORGE MARANZ

VIENNA—On October 9, the people of Austria will be asked to elect their new representatives to the National Assembly, who will then rule the country for a period of four years.

The first general election after the liberation took place on November 25, 1945, and brought 85 Conservatives, 76 Socialists and four Communists as members of the Austrian Parliament. Much has happened since then and accordingly all three major parties look with a certain uneasiness toward the important day of October 9.

At the last election the Conservatives got 1,610,227 votes, the Socialists 1,434,678 and the Communist Party 173,257. Since then the number of electors has increased by about 1,120,000. Some 450,000 of them are "small-fry Nazis" who were not allowed to vote in 1945 but who have been granted civil rights since.

There are about 450,000 repatriated prisoners of war who couldn't vote in 1945 but will vote this time and about 200,000 Austrians more have reached the age of voting, which was 21 years in 1945 but which has now been reduced to 20 years.

Finally there is a small group of about 20,000 "Volksdeutsche" who have received Austrian nationality since 1945 and will vote for the first time on October 9.

How will these new electors vote? All three major parties are fighting for the votes of the "small-fry Nazis" but it is to be expected that the Conservative "Volkspartei" will get them. As only the three existing parties have been recognized so far by the Allies, everyone who disliked "red" voted for the "Volkspartei."

Big industry and peasants, small shopkeepers and Catholic clergymen, anti-Catholic "nationalists" and old Austrian fascists were forced to gather within this party where everybody disagreed with everybody and had nothing in common with the other party members except a deep hatred of progress.

NEW PARTIES BANNED

Should only three parties be again allowed to participate in the general election, the Socialists have every reason to be alarmed. They may recruit a few votes from the Communist Party, they will get their fair share of the votes of the youth and of the repatriated prisoners of war, but they haven't the shadow of a chance of coming out of the election as the largest party of Austria, which is their main aim. Just the opposite. One can expect the Conservatives to gain. No wonder the Socialists are

trying their utmost to induce the Allies to grant to every Austrian the right to form new parties.

Should this permission be granted by the Allies one may expect at least ten parties to go to the polls and the present Conservative Party would break up.

The Nazis within the Conservative Party would vote for at least three different "independent" blocks headed by their former heroes. The liberal wing of the "Volkspartei" would vote for the "Democratic Union," a new group headed by Professor Dobretsberger, a devout Catholic who is known for his strong opposition to the Nazis and for his slight socialist tendencies. Even the peasants may be expected to form one or two parties of their own, neither of them large enough to become a power, but each of them important enough to make the conservatives shiver.

The Communist Party and the Socialists, on the other hand, need not be afraid of any competition from new parties. The small group of Communists will lose a certain number of votes to the Socialists, but the party-liners will remain party-liners faithful to the rulers of the Kremlin.

The Socialists, it is true, would lose a very small and unimportant wing to the fellow-traveler party of a certain Scharf, who left the Socialist Party about one year ago and who has come closer and closer to the Communist Party ever since. He can count on a few thousand votes, but the Socialists have no reason to be afraid of him.

U. S. "DEMOCRACY" ABROAD

All this shows that the Austrians will vote but that the real decision of the future of their country is out of their hands. Should the Allies allow new parties, the Socialists will be the rulers; should the Allies prohibit them, the unity of reaction will remain preserved and the hands of the Socialists will remain firmly tied within a new government of coalition.

For this reason the whole future of Austria is in the hands of the Allies and it is up to them to decide which way Austria shall go.

The British and the Russians wholeheartedly support the Socialist demand that the general election should be held in a really democratic manner. The French have not made up their minds, but it is generally expected that sooner or later they will join the British-Russian camp.

The Americans, however, defend their reactionary pets. If not for them and their categoric opposition to any new parties, the Conservatives would

be lost. This shows once more, if any proof is needed, that the Wall-Streeters consider to be a democracy and what kind of a democracy they wish to see preserved in Austria.

Despite all the Yankee efforts on their behalf, the "Volkspartei" don't trust their guardian angels and take every precaution to make the formation of new parties impossible even if the Allies should allow them.

They have started secret negotiations with the Nazi leaders, promising them a few seats provided that they should abstain from participating at the general election with their own lists. If not for a leakage and the exposure of the plot, agreement would have been reached.

Now it is impossible and has resulted only in a few liberals leaving the "Volkspartei" in complete disgust. In other cases where nothing could be achieved with promises the method of direct threats was used, and Professor Dobretsberger, whom I knew well in Turkey and Palestine, where he stayed as a refugee during the war years, made some interesting revelations to me on how this method works.

"FREE" ELECTIONS?

When his intention to form a new liberal anti-Nazi party became known he was immediately asked by the Conservative State Secretary of the Interior, Herr Graf, to call on him. Dobretsberger accepted this unfriendly invitation and confirmed in his talk with Graf his intention to participate at the election with a party of his own.

"You won't," said Graf. "I shall do as I please," Dobretsberger replied with indignation.

"No, you won't," Graf repeated quietly and firmly. "As soon as you try and form a party of your own, I shall have you arrested. Believe me, I shall find a reason in no time."

Despite these threats, Dobretsberger has just announced the formation of his party. Graf repeated his threats and Dobretsberger is now being shadowed by Graf's secret cops. We had a good laugh at that time when we met the other day, remembering the good old times when we were shadowed by the Gestapo in Istanbul and had to escape from them every time we wished to meet.

Yes, reaction wears many masks. Nazis come and go but reaction seems to be eternal. The names are different but the methods are the same. The Austrians are supposed to elect their parliament in a free general election. How "free" this election will be becomes clearer every day.

5 Percenters: It Takes Two to Make a Deal

By GORDON HASKELL

For the past few weeks the papers have been full of stories about the "five percenters," men who exercise undue influence on government officials to procure contracts or other favors for businessmen from the government.

So far, two army generals have been relieved of their duties pending further investigation of their relations with men who were doing business with their departments. It is expected that much more will come out before all the dirty linen has been washed.

Recently the comptroller general issued a statement that his office has found evidence of fraud in government contracts during and since the war amounting to many millions of dollars. He stated that in several instances it is evident that these frauds involved collusion between businessmen and men who were either military or civilian employees of the government.

In one case it appears that two men who were in charge of negotiating a contract for the government received thousands of dollars' worth of a certain company's stocks and that in other instances former government employees were given highly paid offices in private companies after having negotiated extremely profitable contracts with them on behalf of the government.

IT TAKES TWO

The facts which are being brought to light now have little to do with the great corporations which made their billions of blood-money in a "legal" manner. That aspect of the war is taken for granted, like the saturation bombing of great cities. The current exposures have to do with a small and insignificant group of capitalists who either couldn't get on the gravy train legally, or who were so greedy that they resorted to the crassest type of book-rigging and outright bribery to satisfy their consuming hunger for profits.

Of course, we all know that it takes two to make a corrupt govern-

ment official. One, the official himself, and two, the private businessman who offers to corrupt him. And yet the finger of shame, and of the law is pointed more at the government employee who permitted himself to be bribed than at the businessman who did the bribing.

After all, the profit motive is accepted in America as the power which makes business go. To drive a sharp bargain, to make a slick deal, to enrich oneself at the expense of consumers and competitors—these are virtues which distinguish the able businessman from the failure. And if success is good and failure is bad, just where is one to draw the line?

Just when does "legitimate" exaggeration in advertising shade into outright misrepresentation of a product? Just at what point does charging all the traffic will bear turn into outright price-gouging, or when government is the customer, into bilking the public treasury?

Why should it be good business practice for a parts manufacturer to get a contract from a private firm by lavishing parties and gifts and even, some cold cash on the firm's buyer, and immoral to get a contract from the government by doing the same for a government official?

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

For people who accept our system of private business, these questions are hard to answer. So when fraud and corruption are found, they direct their fire primarily at the government official who's caught.

For some strange reason, people expect government officials to have a moral code quite different from that of the business world. They are expected to be public servants who put all thought of self aside and serve the public honestly and incorruptibly and solely for the salary which the government pays them.

We've no wish, of course, to apologize for the government official who yields to "pressure," "influence" or outright and open corruption. Yet I do want to point out that the men who are caught are, by and large,

simply the over-greedy or the less careful of their type.

This means simply that very few competent government bureaucrats can consider their jobs as their goal in life. In the code of values of our system, the successful man is the wealthy man. Poverty or even average means is regarded as proof of mediocrity or failure. No poor man can ever hope to be considered as a candidate for an ambassadorship or a cabinet post.

And yet most government posts don't pay salaries which by themselves can make a man rich. Even if to you five or ten thousand dollars a year may seem a pretty fair amount on which to get by, men who receive such salaries certainly can't consider that they have "arrived" in a world in which to be "worth" something means to own at least a few tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars.

"LEGAL" CORRUPTION

Thus the great majority of government officials—who, by selection, accept and praise exactly these values—regard their posts as mere stepping-stones to something bigger and better. That something has to be in the world of private business.

The government job gives the official the chance to make contacts, to impress the businessmen with whom he deals with his ability and, even more important, with the fact that he shares their values, their interests, their point of view. And if in doing so he can pass a few favors their way, he greatly increases his chance to be considered for some executive post in their organization.

In the great majority of cases, this simply leads to BENDING government programs and expenditures to the interest of this or that great corporation, which can be done perfectly legally. In the few exceptional cases in which the public official really puts the interests of the country ahead of the interests of himself or his class, it usually means that in due course he is relieved of his post as a fanatic who can't adjust himself to the realities of life.

"Nobody Knows..."

DeANGELIS PAMPHLET BLASTS JIM CROW IN ARMED SERVICES

"NOBODY KNOWS..." by Gabriel DeAngelis, education director of Region 9, United Auto Workers (CIO). Published by Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C., 1949. 25 cents per copy (less in quantity). Cartoons by Bill Mauldin and Bernard Seaman; introduction by Al Capp; edited by Margaret Halsey.

A broadside blast against Jim Crow in the armed services has been fired by the A. Philip Randolph-Grant Reynolds Committee Against Jim Crow, and its presentation carries a punch. The text is brief but informative, the cartoons are striking, the pamphlet as a whole is well gotten-up.

Like the committee, the booklet implies throughout that America's participation in imperialist wars and its imposition of conscription might be all right if it were not for the blemish of racism, but apart from this the tone is not patriotic—on the contrary. And the facts speak for themselves.

"We cannot, in good faith, point with pride to our achievements; we cannot, with honesty, pose as model to other nations in the world; we cannot, as a nation, hope to lead that world along the road to peace and prosperity and good will so long as we have a single Negro who cannot be served in any restaurant, so long as we have one single soldier who must live in a Jim Crow barracks."

So writes DeAngelis for the committee, and it is true; though it would be still more true that Jim Crow is only one part of the reason why the U. S.'s pretensions to world tutelage is hypocrisy. It is, however, a part that sticks out like a sore thumb. The pamphlet hits some of the high spots: "Alton Levy, a white army sergeant, who was court-martialed in 1943 for opposing Jim Crow, painted a vivid picture of Negro soldiers forced to walk two miles to the mess hall at Lincoln, Neb., air base; he told how white soldiers could get passes nightly while Negro passes were restricted to 52 out of a total Negro population of 300 at the field."

"He told of inadequately stocked PXs for Negroes, of how Negro soldiers had to sleep on canvas cots with one blanket, while white GIs had regular army cots with enough covers to keep warm. And he told how at the Adjutant's School of Advanced Army Administration, not a single Negro had ever been enrolled, although many qualified. . . ."

Navy Forbade Fraternization

"And Alton Levy's evidence was repeated over and over again by other witnesses and observers of the harsh inequality meted out to Negroes in the American armed forces [at the Commission of Inquiry hearings held by the committee earlier in 1949]. In the navy the Negro had a virtual—and unthought—monopoly on messman's jobs, the most menial in that branch of service. The war's end found only a handful of Negroes who had been promoted to ensign."

"That Negro and white could work together and play together without damage to efficiency and without friction was brought out by Loyd Haddock of the CIO Maritime Committee. Mr. Haddock testified before the Commission of Inquiry that on wartime merchant ships the navy gun crews were exclusively white. He stated that these crewmen mixed freely with the civilian seamen on the merchant vessels—although an average of 17 per cent of these merchant seamen were Negroes. Yet, rather than do the sensible thing and send mixed gun crews onto these vessels, the navy issued strict orders against further fraternization. . . ."

"At a time when the army desperately needed 10,000 meteorologists, all qualified Negroes were rejected. The Marine Corps imposed written barriers to promotion of Negroes: letters signed by the commandant and marked confidential said that under no circumstances should colored non-commissioned officers outnumber or outrank white non-commissioned officers."

"The experimental UMT [universal military training] camp at Fort Knox—hailed by brass hats as a chance to 'unify' and educate youth—excluded Negroes. Testimony demonstrated that the air force Jim-Crowed Negro pilots and that the army often has gone out of its way to recognize and cater to the degrading Jim Crow laws of Southern communities. In Camp Lee, Va., in 1941, the only army prophylactic station was 'off limits' for Negro troops. And—supreme irony!—Negro soldiers were barred from eating in restaurants which served Nazi prisoners of war."

Says Cold War Can't Afford Jim Crow

"Is it any wonder that Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr., then veterans' affairs secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made the following statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee: 'We gain little if now and in the future the military protects us from Hitler's brand of racism, yet itself exemplifies, and by its own organization, impresses upon the minds of our young men a domestic brand of racism equally at variance with democratic ideals.'"

Strongly emphasized as a motivation for opposing Jim Crow is the "internationalist" one which is, in fact, becoming more and more a driving force behind government civil-rights action: Jim Crow impedes the cold war against Russia and Stalinism. Far from implying an anti-war approach, this does in fact go along with what are conceived as the real interests of American imperialism.

And it is this patriotic reason, rather than any considerations of democracy and humanitarianism, which accounts for whatever partial successes have been chalked up for the fight against Jim Crow. The pamphlet puts it this way:

"Another philosophy of government—and a very strenuous and energetic one—is competing with us for the loyalty of the world's population. From a 'realistic' point of view, the simple and liberal truth is that we can no longer afford Jim Crow in the army and navy."

And it quotes William Walton, former Time and Life war correspondent, before the Commission of Inquiry:

"In Czechoslovakia, which was then occupied by the Red Army, the Russians had been able to make absolutely magnificent propaganda out of our treatment of Negro troops. Every Czech who wanted to be pro-West would come to you for an argument and say, 'What can we say in reply to this?' There was no rational answer that any of us could give them. . . . We can always be accused of hypocrisy because we are hypocritical."

Capitalism will be willing to ameliorate Jim Crow only in order to make more loyal cannon fodder out of the Negro people. This is no reason to be backward about pressing the fight, but it is certainly no reason for illusions about a blossoming of democracy in this decaying system.

Footnote on the White Man's Burden

There were headlines all over the place when it was announced that Ruth Williams, a London typist, was going to marry the nephew and heir of the Bamangwato tribal regent in Bechuanaland, Seretse Khama. The headlines, of course, were excited primarily by the mixed-marriage element, American "democracy" not being used to the idea.

But as a side-glance, readers may be interested in what Seretse was doing in England when he met his girl—or rather, why he was there in the first place. There's a moral in it somewhere about the myth of "white superiority." George Padmore tells it:

"Like his father, Tshekedi Khama, Seretse's uncle has the reputation of being a wise and able statesman. He was born a Christian and educated at the South African Native College at Fort Hare in the Cape. During his term of regency, he introduced a number of economic and social reforms especially in the fields of agriculture and education."

"In 1933, he gained world-wide notoriety when he tried a white trader before his court and ordered him to be flogged for corrupting the morals of Bamangwato boys and girls by selling them intoxicating liquor."

"Ever since the days of the old Khama the consumption of alcohol has been totally prohibited and drunkenness is considered the most serious offense among the Bamangwato."

"When the news of Tshekedi's action reached the Cape, the then British High Commissioner, Admiral Evans of the Zroke, marched into Bechuanaland at the head of a contingent of marines and removed the chief from office. He was later reinstated, but made to apologize and promise never again to try a white man before his court."

"However, when his father signed the treaty with Queen Victoria's representative in 1885, placing his country under the protection of the Imperial Government, he reserved not only the ownership of the land, but the right to decide all cases arising among his people by customary law and to maintain existing legislation against intoxicating liquor."

"To avoid a repetition of conflict with the British authorities which nearly lost Tshekedi his position, the tribal council decided to send Seretse to England to study the white man's legal system. It was during his student days at Oxford that the young ruler met Miss Williams."

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U. S. Press Screams About 'Revival of Nationalism' but— Who's Fostering Pro-Nazism in Germany?

While the U. S. press has been denouncing the German political leaders who have unanimously demanded the end of the occupation, and while it has been hurling the epithet "nationalist" at them in complete abandon, the current news simultaneously was indicating the Western powers' real attitude toward the REAL reactionary nationalism and pro-Nazism which has been raising its head in Germany.

Rated for a half inch of space in the main newspapers, if it appeared at all, was the open charge by Kurt Schumacher, leader of the Social Democrats, that the Allies had relied mainly on former Nazis to run German affairs.

At the same time, in the midst of the press furor about German nationalism, little notice was given to the fact that—

"It is noticeable that the Socialists' slogan, 'For Germany in Europe,' is taken seriously here by the people, who believe that if this part of Germany is to regain any part of its old prosperity it must have political as well as economic ties with the remainder of Western Europe."

This is written in passing by the same Times correspondent who has done most of the screaming about "nationalism," Drew Middleton. While sentiment for Western European federation is strong in Europe, it was Churchill who made clear at the Council of Europe that Germany would be admitted even into that as-

sociation ONLY if its new government is sufficiently "cooperative"; this was generally interpreted to be a plug for a Christian Democratic victory.

AMG USES NAZIS

In the very same dispatch (August 13) on Bavaria in which the alarmist cry of "nationalism" is repeated at length, Drew Middleton writes:

"This tendency to use Nazis is not limited to the Bavarian government [one of the most rightist in West Germany—Ed.]. Working in the democratization branch of the United States Military Government for Bavaria is a former Nazi newspaper man who did undercover work for the Nazis in London before the war."

The use of Nazis by the AMG has been as notorious a scandal as Dr. Schumacher charged. And it is the employers of these Nazis who unleash the hue-and-cry about the Germans' reversion to Nazi-like nationalism!

LABOR ACTION carried last week the information on the AMG's use of its licensing power to permit the publication of an openly pro-Nazi book, supporting Hitler's invasions.

The Jewish demonstration against anti-Semitism in Munich, which took place during the last week of the campaign, highlighted the role of the AMG also. A Munich newspaper, the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, published a letter which was not only anti-Semitic—if it were merely that, the editors' subsequent mumbling about the let-

ter column being an open forum would at least not pass understanding—but which actually proclaimed that the only thing wrong with Hitler's anti-Jewish policy was that not ALL the Jews were gassed.

In the subsequent demonstration, several Jews were shot and clubbed by the police. The statement by the Jewish Central Committee of the city declared that it was the Americans who were responsible for the upsurge of neo-fascism in Germany.

EVEN THOMAS MANN

And these Jewish representatives are not less but MORE inclined than other Germans to be pro-American! They are quoted (in a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch dated August 12) as also saying: "We would rather be clubbed on the head by American military policemen than be

kicked on the cheek by German policemen." (Incidentally, this crawling statement indicates that they were clubbed not only by the German police but by the AMG police as well—a fact which cannot be found in the press reports here.)

And for comparison with the hell raised over the "strident nationalism" of the German election campaign: the publication of this Gas Chamber Letter, signed Adolf Bleibtreu (Adolf Remains True), was reproved by U. S. High Commissioner J. J. McCloy in the following word: "Unfortunate."

Even Thomas Mann, the novelist, notorious during the entire war and even now as a sycophantic admirer of Western capitalists, said on August 12: The Western democracies, including the U. S., "are not supporting the honest democratic forces in their struggle against nationalism

and militarism." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, August 13.)

U. S. News and World Report for July 29, in an article entitled "Old Hands Run Germany Again," cites names in detail and makes no bones about the fact that this is the Allied policy. Its prefatory summary of the article reads: "Comeback of German bankers, industrialists is under way. Men who ran the pre-war business empire for Hitler are taking over. Big names are missing. But old-line managers are bossing the coal mines, steel mills, other plants, under Allied control."

We have here brought together only as much evidence as appeared DURING THE VERY PERIOD WHEN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WAS TAKING PLACE and while the dogs of the press were snapping at "German nationalism."

AMG-Press Campaign on German Vote Counsels People to Bow the Head

"The leitmotif of the [German election] campaign was a strident nationalism. It was a theme that had strong appeal among the Germans, whose pride has been rekindled and who are dreaming of what they consider their place in the sun."

This is how the New York Times summarized the election campaign in West Germany on August 14. It is only typical of the reams of print that have been spread on the subject in the past two weeks.

The Germans "are dreaming of . . . their place in the sun." The Times uses this expression deliberately and maliciously in order to convey the impression that the anti-occupation feelings of the German people, voiced with amazing unanimity by all their parties, is somehow a hang-over of Nazism. It is used in order to raise an image of German EXPANSIONISM AND AGGRESSION.

And it is used when the "place in the sun" which the German people are demanding is actually merely . . . THEIR OWN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, free from the expansionist control of AMERICAN power!

"LIBERAL" SLANDER
There has indeed been a rebirth of neo-Nazi, pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic and reactionary-nationalist sentiment in Germany under the Allies. (See story on this elsewhere in this issue.) These elements have not been fought by the Western occupation powers but have been cradled by them. More important, these elements sought to use the LEGITIMATE aspirations of the people for national independence in order to make their way. One of the greatest inadequacies of, for example, the Social-Democratic Party up

to now has been precisely the fact that, steeped in pro-Americanism, it did not raise the banner of national independence and a vigorous struggle to end the occupation, leaving this issue to be the plaything of the reaction.

Going even the Times and the press associations one better on the "nationalism" theme was the "liberal" columnist Frank Kingdon, once a leading Wallaceite and now a leading ADA man. This self-styled spokesman for the "Left" reached the heights in his August 12 column.

He wails that it was a mistake to let the Germans elect their own government. He thunders that "not only will 'democracy' ultimately fail, but the new German government will immediately disturb, confuse and betray the Western powers in Europe." And this is so because "the scapegoat of every party has been the Allied military government."

And Kingdon writes a paragraph which is simply monstrous in its slander: "There is not a single party in Germany which has analyzed and attacked the men or institutions responsible there for the rise of Nazism. There is not one which has come into the open against the men and organizations that have grown out of Nazism and are operating in Germany today. Essentially the German social system is what it was when Hitler came to power, and no political leader or party has taken a position opposing it."

THEY AREN'T BROKEN!
It is difficult, if not downright impossible, to believe that this passage could be the result of either ignorance or stupidity or even a combina-

tion of both. The German social system, which is indeed "essentially" the same now as when Hitler came to power, is the very capitalist system which the U. S. is dedicated to preserve in Germany—the vote for the Christian Democrats is hailed in the U. S. because it will preserve this social system "essentially"—while the Social-Democratic Party campaigned on a program of socialization of economy.

The same note—wrapping the Germans' desire for national independence into the same package with Hitlerism—was struck OFFICIALLY by the American Military Government in Germany, for the U. S., in a radio speech by an official spokesman. A UP dispatch dated August 11 quotes this broadcast in Germany as follows, with reference to the fact that the election campaign had become an "anti-Allied movement":

"One is forced to make comparisons with the past and to look with some anxiety to a future which is to be entrusted to such forgetful nationalistic people."

The Times, Kingdon, the AMG—three examples—counsel the Germans: Bow the head to the Allied occupation, accept the overrunning of your country by foreign troops, do not desire national independence, cringe before the conqueror.

If the mass of the German people were really to listen to such counsel, THEN indeed one would be justified in giving up hope for the future of such a spineless, dehumanized, covering, spirit-broken nation, and justified in concluding that Hitlerism had succeeded in smashing them completely. The election campaign has proved to all that this is not so.

German Vote—

(Continued from page 1)

tant examples in recent times of State Department-coordinated journalism for purposes of American imperialism.

The press's treatment of the election results has also been suspiciously similar. The impression is broadly given that the election signified a turn to the right in Europe, or in some sense a bad defeat for the socialists. To be sure, the Social-Democratic Party did not come out as the strongest party (AMG predictions a week ago indicated this also) but the implied conclusion can only be considered absurd.

The near seven million who voted socialist—and they were not so much voting for the Social-Democratic Party as they were voting for socialism—did so in spite of the fact that Hitler's thirteen years of rule had done its best to root out any and all working-class, radical and socialist thinking, tradition and organization.

These seven million voted socialist in spite of the fact that everybody knew that the Allies would be more considerate and kind to the new republic if a capitalist government were installed.

These seven million voted socialist in spite of widespread fears that anyone tying up with the SDP would get it in the neck first just in case

the Stalinists ever came to power through Russian might. (It was expressed as fear of a future kind of "denazification" by the Russians, only with socialists in the place of the Nazis.)

NEW BEGINNING POSSIBLE

We said that these seven million were not so much casting a ballot for the Social-Democratic Party as they were voting for socialism. This spirit it was true in relation to all of the parties. From all reports it is clear that no one has much faith in any of the parties as such.

The Social-Democratic Party leadership is just as right-wing and reformist as in the pre-Hitler days, but it does not have the solidly bureaucratic hold over its masses that it had then. With the partial exception of Schumacher, its leaders command little prestige and weight with their workers. As in the case of the Christian Democrats also, the SD leaders had to make a quick run, on the question of the occupation, in order to stay at the head of its supporters.

When the U. S. press cries "demagoguery" at the anti-occupation denunciations of the SD leaders and the Christian Democrat, Adenauer, there is much more than a kernel of truth in the charge. First and foremost, the West German people wished to

SPARKS in the NEWS

Horatio Alger Touch

The N. Y. Times news item describing the background of G. G. Gabrielson, new national chairman of the GOP, includes the following:

"Polished and urbane, Mr. Gabrielson today looks and acts just like what he is—a highly successful lawyer and industrialist who, if not a millionaire, certainly has no worries about 'take home' pay. . . ."

"Mr. Gabrielson's clubs are: Bankers, Harvard, Union League, Downtown Association, the Essex at Newark and the Somerset Hills Country Club. . ." (August 5.)

And the head over this item reads as follows: "New GOP Chairman, Lawyer-Industrialist, Described as 'Farm Boy Who Made Good.'" The copy editor who wrote that one had his eye strictly on the hayseeds.

B for Bureaucracy

Wages and salaries for all in government service, civilian and military, for the years 1950, will total \$9,242,000,000 on the basis of present spending plans.

That is about as large as the whole cost of the federal government in a year of peak spending under the New Deal. (Those were the days when they asked: "Where's the money going to come from?" when a few paltry million or so were demanded for more adequate relief.)

This 9 1/4 billion is for employees alone. The bureaucratization of capitalism proceeds apace.

Passage to Barbarism

The famous novelist E. M. Forster ("A Passage to India") has come before the American Academy of Arts and Letters to opine that maybe the best way to get world peace is "through apathy, uninventiveness and inertia." A vigorous humanity has thus far fought innumerable wars, hence a tired one might achieve peace. "Universal exhaustion would certainly be a new experience. The human race has never undergone it, and is still too perky to admit that it may be coming, and might result in a sprouting of new growth through decay."

Far be it from us to advise novelists to be sparing of political advice (on the contrary, in spite of the terrible example of Rebecca West and others), but we beg Mr. Forster to give us the name of the last novel he succeeded in writing through "apathy, uninventiveness and inertia." If it was a good one, we'll buy his recipe.

Strictly from Hunger

Dr. Jennie Rowntree of the University of Washington has solved the high-cost-of-living problem. She told the annual meeting of the American Home Economic Association:

"Food is eaten for enjoyment, for emotional release, for social prestige, for attention, adverse or otherwise. Food is refused because of unconscious emotions for the pleasure of paining others, and to show self-assertion."

If you think there's any other reason for eating, better see a psychiatrist. Your unconscious emotions are running away with you.

Perfectly Frank

A reporter for the Canadian Financial Post visited the country's finance minister and then wrote (July 23):

"I asked him [Finance Minister Abbott] to tell me about the Canadian election and he was perfectly frank and forthcoming. Now that I am writing these notes, prepared to reveal everything he said, I cannot recall a single word. Either he is a perfect host or a perfect diplomat—perhaps both."

And above all—a Statesman.

Working Both Ends

Argues Pat McCarran, Democratic senator from Nevada and chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee:

"It seems to me that before we throw the gates wide open [to DPS] we should give some consideration to conditions in this country. There is a good deal of unemployment. We haven't been able to provide enough housing even for our veterans—the boys who fought for us in World War II."

You see how it works: First they give the veterans a raw deal and then—having done so—use this as an excuse for giving the DPS a beating.

Grave Subject

Robert J. Alexander, a regular contributor to the Socialist Party's paper, the Socialist Call, writes for the British magazine "Left" and—

"... raises the question of the possibility of converting the Democratic Party into something which would at least remotely resemble a socialist party. . . . Certainly if the Democratic Party becomes the spokesman in a real sense of labor and socialist elements in the United States it will be a development which will make old Eugene V. Debs and other early socialist leaders not only turn over but jump up and down in their graves." (Left, July, 1949.)

... And do a jig, to boot. Everybody who wants to wait for that rather macabre event will please line up (on the Right) to join Mr. Alexander's SP.

Means the Same Thing

Rough-spoken people sometimes talk about the "kept press" and Upton Sinclair took the "brass check" of houses of prostitution as the symbol of the venal capitalist newspaper world, but there is also a gentlemanly way to put it. A Royal Commission of investigation into the British press recently published its findings, among which was the following example of polite understatement:

"So long as newspapers do not pay without advertising revenue, a newspaper may think twice before it adopts any policy which is likely to reduce advertisers' demands for its space. . . ."

U. S. Court of Appeals Minority Says Subversive List is 'Defamatory'

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11—A majority of two out of three members of the U. S. Court of Appeals today uttered a classic formula of judicial hypocrisy in a decision upholding the constitutionality of the attorney general's right publicly to brand groups "subversive" on his say-so.

Arguing that the government has the right to debar individuals from holding government jobs without infringing on the right of free thought and speech, they argued that, by its "subversive" listing, "freedom of speech and assembly is denied to no one. Freedom of thought and belief is not impaired. Anyone is free to join the committee [the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, group appealing the listing] and give it his support and encouragement."

In reply, the minority member of the court, Judge Edgerton, hit the nail on the head, as far as this legal-

istic defense is concerned, in his dissent. He said: "The right to hire and fire [by the government] is not the right to broadcast statements that the appellant and also the members who compose it are criminals or that they are subversive." He added that the accusation of "subversive" is "highly defamatory" and denied that the loyalty program is a mere matter of government management of its internal affairs.

The fact is—as everybody knows, including the two judicial Pecksniffs of the court majority—the Department of Justice subversive listing is used and was promulgated in order to be used for the public branding of groups and individuals, mobilizing public opinion against them and encouraging others to follow the federal government's example, thereby supplying the pattern for a nationwide purge atmosphere and the whooping up of a witchhunt.

'Japanese Spy' Scare Was a Fake

Here's a post-mortem glance at hysterical spy scares and "subversive" purges.

If there was one thing most people thought they were sure of after Pearl Harbor, it was that "Japanese spies" and "subversives" among the Hawaiian population kept Japan supplied with information about U. S. strength and installations in the islands.

As a result, even U. S.-born Japanese in California were considered so rife with potential spies that they all had to be moved en masse out of their homes—one of the war crimes of World War II.

The facts? Garrett Underhill, wartime chief editor of the Military Intelligence Service, reveals (N. Y. Herald Tribune, August 14) that at

the time of the Pearl Harbor attack—

(1) The Japanese weren't even sure the U. S. fleet was in the harbor.

(2) They were unaware of the existence of Bellows Field, a fighter-plane base well known to island tourists for years.

(3) They did not know there was radar on top of Opana Hill.

(4) They did not follow up their success because they believed the other islands were chock-full of U. S. planes.

(5) They did not know the U. S. carriers were away at sea.

Moral: don't get steamed up by a spy scare and don't get whipped up by a witchhunt. It's more often the witches and sons-of-witches who are doing the hunting.

PRESS ACTION

By JOSEPH ROAN

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE has on hand a single copy of the Russian-printed two-volume edition of the Selected Works of Lenin—in English, of course. The two volumes are attractively bound in strong blue leatherette, with silk bookmarks and insert frontispiece photographs of Lenin.

The set contains all the important brief writings of Lenin covering his entire lifetime, including some items that are not found in any of the American editions. These fat books have nearly 1600 pages. They are a real buy at \$7.00 for the set. Since we only have one left, the first order we receive (date of postmark) gets it.

We also have in stock a few volumes of the British edition of the Selected Works of Lenin. These are identical in text with the American edition, but without reference notes at the end. They are printed in England on thin paper and are bound in orange buckram.

The following are available: Vol. 4: The Years of Reaction and the New Revival (1908-1914), which contains among other things "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination"; Vol. 5: Imperialism and Imperialist War (1914-1917); Vol. 6: From the Bourgeois Revolution to the Proletarian Revolution (1917); Vol. 8: The Period of War Communism (1918-1920); Vol. 12: Theory of the Agrarian Question. The cost is only \$1.50 per volume and, as before, first come—first served.

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