

WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD;  
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

# LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 4, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## Berlin Crisis Spotlights Imperialist Wrangle

# "COLD WAR" FLARES AT UN SESSION!

## WP Scores Big Gain In Ballot Fight

NEW YORK—The Workers Party this week gained a signal victory in its fight to place its candidate, Emanuel Gelfman, on the ballot in New York's 19th Congressional District when attorneys for Rep. Arthur G. Klein withdrew their totally unsubstantiated charges against the nominating petitions of the Workers Party. Klein, the incumbent congressman who is running for re-election on the Democratic and American Labor Party (Stalinist) tickets, made his withdrawal known in a letter sent to Supreme Court Justice Cochran, who is ruling on the case.

Klein, who has built himself a reputation as a liberal, entered the case with the filing of an objection to the nominating petitions of the Workers Party on September 7. Since then, despite three requests made by his representatives on the Board of Elections and the Supreme Court for additional time in which to file specifications, none were filed. He thus failed to validate the claims against the petitions made in his original objection.

The Board of Elections voided the nominating petitions on September 7 and again voted to sustain its own decision on September 15. The board, acting on the admittedly "facetious" motion of Commissioner Costuma, ruled the Workers Party off the ballot on the ground that the name Workers Party might be confused with that of the "United Laborite Party," an electoral fabrication of Tammany created to confuse the ALP vote. Apart from the fact the board had not a shadow of legality behind its excuse, this obviously fraudulent ULP set-up has since been invalidated.

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## Vital Issues at Stake in Review Board Verdict on Carner, Lewin

PHILADELPHIA—Hearings are now being held before the Industrial Employment Review Board in Washington on the appeals of Frank Carner and Herb Lewin of Local 107, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO. These hearings are of great importance to all of labor.

Several months ago these union militants were branded by the navy as "poor security risks" and "a denial of consent" for access to classified material was issued. The individuals are requesting the Review Board to recall the "denial of consent" and to pay them for time lost as a result of the navy's action. The hearing on Carner's appeal was held on September 3 and Lewin's is scheduled for October 7.

The navy's action and that of the Westinghouse Corporation in placing the two men on an indefinite leave of absence without pay resulted in a sitdown strike on July 12 and 13 at the Lester plant of the corporation where Lewin and Carner had been employed in the aviation gas turbine division. As the result of this strike action by Local 107, UE, which charged the corporation and the military with violation of union contract and of civil rights, the men were soon returned to work on "non-classified" material with no loss of pay rate.

### PROTEST PROCEDURE

For nearly two months following the date on which Westinghouse and the navy took action there was no official statement of the reasons for the infringement of job and civil rights. One of the demands made of the Review Board was that specific "charges" be presented before the hearings dates. On September 1 the board informed both Carner and Lewin that the navy action had been based on available reports purporting to show that both men were members of the Socialist Workers Party, a group included in Attorney General Tom Clark's subversive list. Prior to Carner's hearing a meeting

Again We Ask the Attorney General:

## Who Are the Subversives?

By MAX SHACHTMAN  
National Chairman, Workers Party

Anyone who expected a change for the better in the revised list of "subversive organizations" issued by the Attorney General, Mr. Tom C. Clark, was deservedly doomed to disappointment when the new list was made public in Washington on September 25.

The revised list, issued by the Loyalty Review Board to all executive department agencies for their use in hunting and burning witches among government employes, designates a total of 123 organizations, some of them repeated in more than one of the six categories into which the list is divided. There are "totalitarian" organizations, "Fascist" organizations, "Communist" organizations, "subversive" organizations, organizations with a "policy of advocating, or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States," and, sixthly, organizations which "seek to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means."



Max Shachtman

The new list is more monstrous than the first one was, if that is possible.

The "totalitarian" list includes only Japanese organizations, the bulk of which never amounted to anything and most of which have been defunct since Pearl Harbor. The "Fascist" organizations are confined to German Nazi and Italian Fascist or pro-Fascist groups, and most of them have been out of commission since the United States entered the war. If they are included at all, it is for the purpose of creating an impression of impartiality. It is doubtful if one person in a hundred thousand has ever heard of the Military Virtue Society of Japan or the Mario Morgantini Circle, or that anyone, even Mr. Clark, shivers with terror today at the sound of their name. It is doubtful that the employes of the Navy Department are going to be sifted to discover if any of them belong to the Great Fujii Theater or Cherry Association, which is composed of veterans of the Russo-Japanese War (fought in 1904) but is nevertheless solemnly listed.

The real purpose of the list is to outlaw, or half-outlaw, the Stalinist and pro-Stalinist organizations, without a trial and by simple bureaucratic government edict, and under cover of that, to do the same thing against independent socialist working class organizations like the Workers Party, the Socialist Youth League, the Socialist Workers Party and others.

That is why in the long list of eighty-two organizations designated as "Communist" are included not only every conceivable Stalinist organization (you can now be thrown out of a government job if you are a member of the International Workers Order or even of the New York Photo League), but also the Workers Party, the Socialist Youth League which supports that party, the Socialist Workers Party and even the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

Anyone who pretends to the most primitive political equipment required for even considering such a list knows, and the Department of Justice knows, that the last-named are non-Stalinist or anti-Stalinist organizations. The Department knows—and if it doesn't know it ought to quit pretending—that our Workers Party, for example, has absolutely nothing in common with Stalinism and its adepts. It knows or ought to know that the ACEWR was set up and operates as a non-party organization to provide relief to European militants, Trotskyists and independent socialists, who are unable to get assistance from governmental agencies OR from any of the Stalinist agencies.

Anyone who so much as reads the press of the Workers Party knows not only its attitude toward the Stalinist parties but also toward the name Communist. By its historical aim and by the century-old tradition with which it

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The latest session of the United Nations opened last week in Paris and within a few days that organization was faced with the sharpest and most severe crisis in its brief career. The action of the Big Three, consisting of the United States, England and France, in breaking off negotiations with Russia over the issue of Berlin placed on the agenda of the Security Council not so much the problem of Berlin but the far broader problem of relations between East and West.

Pathetic failure of a "world peace" organization that it is, the UN has at least been able to maintain the claim that all important nations of the world are represented in it and that, in a fashion, it has acted as a world forum. Now the question of its continued existence even in this sense has been posed, and there are those who believe that actual discussion of the Berlin issue will end in a walkout from the UN of the Russian representatives.

## Unity of Sea Labor Blocked In Port Strike

NEW YORK, Sept. 28—The West Coast waterfront strike is now in its fourth week. As reported in last week's LABOR ACTION, the only ships that are being worked in West Coast ports are those that are contracted to carry army cargo. This is being done by union men dispatched out of the longshoremen's union hiring hall. The original government plan to hire scabs for this work, despite lots of newspaper publicity, resulted in dismal failure. When the army became convinced that organized labor and workers generally stood behind the strikers, it dropped its finky plans.

While West Coast labor gives 100 per cent support to the picket lines, it must be reported that picket lines around West Coast ships tied up on the East Coast have been crossed. Members of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL, were instructed by their leaders ("Finky Joe Ryan and Co.") not to respect the lines.

Of course, New York's "finest" (cops to you) and their well trained nags were there to see that no one who desired to work was deprived of that right. They were undoubtedly sent there by ex-cop Mayor O'Dwyer, Democrat and, in the past, a candidate of the Stalinist American Labor Party. Pickets placed at the piers where longshoremen shaped-up for work on the struck ships were driven off in a few cases by the police when they attempted to persuade the misled longshoremen not to go through.

### VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

The National Maritime Union and the Seafarers International Union both have pledged support to the striking unions. This means that transference of cargo to East Coast vessels will result in these ships being declared "hot," and will not be touched by NMU or SIU. Although some NMU seamen have volunteered and picketed with the strikers, no organized effort has been made to rally mass picket lines of East Coast seamen to aid this important struggle.

The NMU has been collecting money for the strikers at meetings and on incoming ships. A few meetings have been held at the union hall, whose purpose was to inform the membership of developments in the situation. One attempt by the army to transfer a cargo of wheat from a struck ship to an NMU scow was stopped dead when the ship's committee of that vessel told the brass hat in charge of the Brooklyn Army Base that the ship would be tied up immediately if this were done.

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## Fall of Tsinan Rocks China Regime

Chiang Government Faces New Disasters; Shows Inability to Cope with Rising Problems

By JACK BRAD

The fall of Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province in Northern China, brings to a head the military crisis of the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang had assumed full personal command and responsibility for the Northern defenses at the last session of the Legislative Assembly. He made exaggerated promises for new vigor and "defense unto death" in answer to the anxious speeches from the Northern delegates.

The uninterrupted defeats at the

hands of expanding Stalinist forces brought Chiang to the rim of disaster when the exasperated Assembly staged a prolonged revolt against his proposed vice-presidential state, thereby threatening Chiang's rule. With the fall of Tsinan, accusations are being renewed, this time spurred by anger and despair. For it is becoming clear to all that the Chiang regime is being squeezed out of all North China and Manchuria and that the division of China by a continental military split into two separate states is in the offing. It cannot be otherwise than that this eventuality will severely shake if not completely upset the Chiang-CC clique dictatorship.

Shantung Province is already organized into the Stalinist North China administrative area. The capture of Tsinan provides it with a substantial capital of a half million population, with control of the only railroad link to the two ports of the

Stalinist armies closed in, Wu made a deal and without even a by-your-leave switched to the CP. The CP welcomed his accession. This incident brings into sharp relief the low state of KMT fortunes. The militarists are selfish, predatory opportunists who like vultures can smell carrion from the distance. Wu saw a greater future in the CP.

Chiang has no explanation for the fall of Tsinan. The disaster has shaken his position. He will be forced simultaneously to withdraw southward and to fight battles that are already lost for the remaining cities in KMT hands. This can only bring new disasters and new disaffections. The physical and political base of KMT power is narrowing to a precipice point from which there will be no return unless the U. S. steps in with a more complete salvaging program. It may be that this is what U. S. diplomats are waiting for in their present China policy.

Chiang himself realizes this but is unable to effectuate real changes. He has taken several important steps. First among these was the reorganization of the currency. A new gold yuan was issued and the Chinese dollar was revalued to it. However, there is no indication that more than a very short respite was gained thereby. Inflation continues and the black market prospers. Local currencies continue to undermine the value of the national currency. The most unsettling factor is the obvious inability of the government to cope with its own finances. Thus the six month budget approved in July has been spent in two months and supplementary budgets are being submitted. Actually there is no budget when the imbalance is in the realm of 300

per cent in six months. Those who may have waited before giving up all hope in the currency reform are now given the green light by the government itself.

### HEIR APPARENT ENTERS

Economic gloom deepens into chronic disaster. Production continues to decline while the capacious KMT bureaucracy continues to suck the lifeblood out of trade and industry. Meanwhile the \$400 million American aid is dissipated in desperate measures to keep the country going. \$125 million goes to direct military purposes but this is hardly a trickle. General Ho, Minister of Defense, estimates the KMT's needs at \$500 million annually for several years for military purposes alone as minimal. Instead of demobilization, he proposes almost doubling the army to five million men. This means further expansion of the bureaucracy, a larger area for corrupt practices and a heavier drain on the faltering economy.

It is not certain whether the venal "court" around Chiang has given him this picture in toto. Nevertheless even he has heard the rumblings from inside his own National Assembly and elsewhere. That is why, with great fanfare and a gigantic publicity stunt, Chiang inaugurated his latest "new" political movement. With great cunning this move was inaugurated by Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, who spent many years in Moscow denouncing his father and repudiating the KMT. From Stalinist white hope to heir apparent has proved a short and easy step for this darling of China's Soong dynasty.

With the prestige of having been

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Can't Do Much



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

province and the only rail link from Nanking to Tientsin, largest Northern port in Kuomintang hands. Shantung Province is rich in cotton, soybeans and coal. It is a maritime province with good ports. So strategic and valuable is it that at one time the British and Germans both established spheres for its division. Chinese Stalinist power is reinforced now with large cities, access to the sea and raw materials.

### FACES NEW DISASTERS

The manner of the fall of Tsinan is illustrative of the transformed balance of political attraction. Part of the city's defenses were in the hands of General Wu with 20,000 men. Wu had been a Japanese puppet and a typical reactionary militarist. His 84th Division was, as is customary in China, his private preserve. When the

## NMU Members Vote Down Report on 5 Stalinists

Port of New York Rank and File Handles Issue in an Exemplary and Democratic Way

NEW YORK, Sept. 28—The membership of the National Maritime Union present at last night's regular Port of New York meeting voted to reject the findings of a rank and file trial committee against five Stalinists. With more than 1400 voting, the report was rejected by a mere 40 votes. Before the vote was taken, the chairman of the meeting, a prominent anti-Stalinist, called upon the CP to supply its own counters so that they could accompany the regular counters and make sure they weren't being "robbed." This the CP did and, before the vote was tallied, had no challenge to offer.

The five Stalinists had had charges placed against them by the New York Port agent for organizing and conducting an illegal meeting in the

NMU hall. The trial committee found them guilty on two of the four counts in the charges and recommended small fines in two cases, warnings in two others and six months' suspension in the last.

Both the extreme right wing and the CP hacks were outraged by the very sober presentation of the trial committee findings by its chairman. The extreme right wanted the five expelled. The hacks wanted even these small penalties thrown out. Had the committee brought in a recommendation for expulsion, the charges would undoubtedly have been voted down. Had they brought in a report of not guilty, that, too, would undoubtedly have been voted down by a large vote. It is generally felt that many right wingers voted for

rejection because they would like to see the expulsion of all Stalinists from the NMU, and that this gave the CP its victory last night.

Many NMUers were convinced into voting for rejection by the CPers who spoke. Their main point was the fact that all five were guilty of the same thing but different penalties were recommended. The trial committee felt that an obviously duped rank and file Stalinist, whom they let off with a warning, was not as guilty as one leading CP hack, Boutte, whom they suspended for six months, since he new enough to realize that his action was a deliberate attempt at sabotaging the functioning of the union.

By and large, the meeting indicated that the NMU was not entering a

period of witch-hunting. The membership will judge charges against those brought up, on their own merits. Any attempt to give a man the "bum's rush" simply because of his politics will not be tolerated. Again, if last night's meeting is an indication, and it seems to be, the membership will want to know what crime against the union has been committed and whether the punishment fits the crime before voting to accept the findings of any trial committee. The membership of the NMU should be complimented for the exemplary and democratic way it has handled the Stalinists whom they so detest. They have had the good judgment to use none of the methods the CP has tried to teach them in the ten years they were in power.

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Chapters From a New Pamphlet by Jack Ranger

# A Labor Party—A "Must" for American Workers

(Chapter 14 Continued from Last Week)

The people see many unions demanding higher wages without a thought for higher prices, without a thought of demanding of the corporations that they not raise prices. The people have learned to expect no consideration from the corporations and monopolies. They expected more from the unions.

The people can see, as can most union members, that it is stupid to seek wage raises without also demanding that prices not be increased. The people know that corporation profits almost reached the \$20 billion mark in 1947, that industry has been gouging the nation without mercy through high prices, that industry could well afford wage increases without price increases; yet it sees the unions ask only for higher wages, a demand which (if granted) is soon wiped out by price rises, to everyone's hurt.

The people are as sick of the Democratic-Republican sham battle as you are. But they see no other claimant to leadership.

Instead they see Philip Murray and William Green and A. L. Whitney proclaiming that Truman is a liberal, a friend of the people, a continuator of the New Deal (as though that were good), when everyone with half an eye can see that Truman is an incompetent and bewildered little man who is the helpless tool of big business, and that Truman's policies, both at home and abroad, are designed only to increase the profits of America's Sixty Families.

If labor continues on its present course, there is the danger that the people will not give a damn if Congress takes another swat at labor, and another swat, until the unions are seriously weakened. Think again!

## Paste This in Your Hat!

The whole drive of the national economy, of foreign policy and world affairs, the whole direction of old-party politics, spells increasing reaction in the United States, new repressions against labor, further weakening of the unions.

Either labor will break away from its cowardly political past and build its own labor party, begin to assume leadership and responsibility for the broad masses of the people—or labor leaves itself open to be hamstrung.

Here is a prediction that will come true as sure as night follows day. If the labor bureaucrats get away with their present policy of holding onto the coat tails of the old parties in the 1948 elections, the 81st Congress will pass new repressive laws against the union movement. It makes no difference who is elected to any office—Republican or Democrat, "friends of labor" and liberal promise-makers or reactionaries—this will be the outcome.

Until the day when labor's ranks force the leadership to break with company-union politics, labor's position will grow steadily worse—new legal weapons will be forged against us—new reactionary forms of taxation will be applied to us—militarization of the nation will increase—the First Atomic War will come closer—Washington's foreign policy will continue to be used against the interests of the masses on every continent—and American labor will steadily lose friends.

There is something else happening too. Let's take a look at one state, for example.

The St. Paul *Union Advocate* in Minnesota complains that a check has revealed that as many as 30 per cent of the membership of some unions are not qualified to vote by reason of failure to register. *Why hasn't this 30 per cent registered?* Because they see that their own leadership has driven them into the blind alley of company-union politics. Because they sense that labor has no stake in the success or failure of any capitalist political candidate. Because they believe that the present political course of the union leadership is hopeless.

All the pleadings and threats and fines that the leadership applies can't force the ranks to play the game of political company-unionism. They'll vote in their own way—by staying away from the polls and from a ballot that offers them only a choice of bad and almost-as-bad. They are right. The union leadership is wrong.

The same union paper, in a later issue, discussed its current campaign to defeat one of the former "friend of labor," Senator Joe Ball. Says the *Union Advocate*:

"There isn't a member outside of organized labor who gives two hoots in Hades what Joseph H. Ball would like to do to the basic liberties of every union man or woman in the nation. There isn't one farmer in a thousand who is offended at Ball's riding herd on labor. As a matter of fact, most farmers think he did a mighty smart amount of good by his efforts to crucify the trade-union movement on a cross of his own personal hatreds. Nor is the small, so-called independent businessman incensed over the fact that Ball is popularly associated with the crusade against trade unionism."

Assuming that the *Union Advocate* knows what it is talking about, this is a horrible indictment of the political policies which organized labor has been following.

If it is true that today in Minnesota no one outside of organized labor, or not one farmer in a thousand,

gives a damn about the fate of the union movement, the blame can be placed on the capitalist-minded leaders of the unions.

Fifteen years ago, Minnesota labor had hundreds of thousands of friends outside the union movement. It is a verifiable fact that in the heyday of the Farmer-Labor movement, from 1930 to 1936, when the movement was furthest to the left, when Governor Floyd Olson was proclaiming "I am not a liberal, I am a radical," the farmers went down the line with the unions at the polls.

In those days, the union ranks were on the march and shoved aside the objections of conservative officials, and built an independent labor party and gave it a radical program—and the farmers and "little people" of the towns and cities loved it.

Then Governor Benson and the Stalinists, from one side, and the leading state AFL officials from their side, tore the Farmer-Labor Party to shreds, drove it into a merger with the Democrats, and in place of independent labor politics hired a press agent who writes nice advertisements to be placed in papers like the *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, to tell businessmen that labor in Minnesota is housebroken and docile and won't some capitalists come to that state and exploit its workers and its resources.

And now the conservative union leaders complain that labor hasn't any friends in Minnesota today, and that the union ranks aren't interested in registering and voting. This situation in Minnesota, once the stamping ground of a vital farmer-labor movement, reflects what has taken place in the other forty-seven states also.

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

### Discusses Issues Facing the Miners' Convention

By GERRY McDERMOTT

The United Mine Workers of America, meeting for their constitutional convention a few days from now at Cincinnati, can look back on a period of solid accomplishments. Since the last convention, wages have been raised to a new all-time high, welfare payments have begun, and recently, retirement pensions have started.

As the convention opens October 5, however, every delegate—and every member—must ask the question, "What is ahead, and how can we best prepare for it?"

By and large, part of the future can be predicted. In the months ahead, the UMW will be attacked by the government every time it tries to move forward. This prediction is not hard to make, after the past several years of fines piled on injunctions. Whether the Republicans, who wrote the Taft-Hartley law, get in, or the Democrats, who applied it, are elected, the T-H law will remain as dangerous to miners as bad top over a gas pocket.

The struggles of the past several years have not been with the operators directly. For the first time, the UMW has become strong enough to shut down the pits without the real need for a single picket. The operators are now powerless by themselves. The operators' government, however, is not.

#### POLITICAL STRUGGLE

For this reason, everyone recognizes that the main struggle in the future is political. The officers of the international have shown that they

know this by running cartoons and editorials in the UMW Journal month after month, urging labor to register and vote. The Journal has called for the defeat of all who voted for the T-H law.

Local unions have also recognized the need for politics. In the absence of this late date of any national political organization of the UMW, local leaders in many areas are calling meetings and forming committees to get out the vote. Local unions for months have been carefully listening to various political candidates invited to speak to their meetings.

However, the UMW Journal is backing Dewey in a roundabout way; the Journal attacks the Truman administration, but is silent about Mr. Dewey, which actually amounts to supporting him. Most local unions and county-wide committees, on the other hand, are backing the Democrats. Politics has always been one field where the miners do not go along with Lewis.

Unfortunately, the present kind of politics is not enough. The problems the miners face today require a SPECIAL kind of politics, just as the problems of an earlier day required a special kind of union—the nationwide, industrial-structure UMW.

This special politics must be LABOR politics and it must be INDEPENDENT politics. That means good-bye to the Republicans and Democrats—men who wish to fight for labor being in a party that is labor's. Not only do the miners need a new party, all of labor would welcome such a move. One miner in Congress would be far better than

ten lawyers who are "friends of labor" at election time. And there is no reason why there shouldn't be ten miners or other workers for every ten stooges of big business now "representing" the people.

#### HOUSING PROBLEM

There are other problems the miners face at this convention. Housing is one of them. More and more company houses are being sold by the operators. Most of these houses are now so old and run-down that repairs on them cost the companies more than the rent brings in. Therefore, the operators are unloading the houses at a time when real estate prices are at an all-time high.

Bad as these houses are, most miners have no other place to move. Therefore, the unions should demand that in every case these houses should be offered for sale first to the miners who live in them before they are offered to banks and real estate sharks, as they have been in many places recently. In addition, the prices of houses and conditions of sale should be made a subject of collective bargaining under the contract, the same as any dispute on the job.

Another weak spot is the seniority question. There is no specific seniority provision in the present contract. This condition must be corrected.

#### OTHER ISSUES

A further strengthening in the union would come about with the establishment of an educational department within the International.

The UMW as a whole is one of the strongest unions in the world, but individually many of the locals are very weak. Only the training of many new leaders will change this. And the membership as a whole would benefit from such a program, especially younger miners who did not live through the early battles of the union. Such a program could include posters, speakers, movies, articles in the Journal, short training courses, and so on. For one thing, the anti-union evil of race prejudice must be constantly exposed to every member as the cancer that it really is.

The long-range security of miners has been partially protected by the retirement plan. This will care for old miners. However, mechanization is becoming more and more of a threat to the jobs of men not eligible for retirement. The continuous mining machine is now only a few years off, at most. Increased use of conveyors, new tipples and improved machinery is a direct threat of coming unemployment in the mine fields. For this reason, the convention would do well to consider the demand for a six-hour day, thus passing on the benefit of increased productivity to the men.

As the convention meets, it is a certainty that the occasion will be an excuse for new attacks on the UMW and its leaders by the big business press, the radio commentators and many politicians. If the miners take the high road to political action, the taunts of the labor-haters will turn to cries of fear, and the miners will continue to march forward.

## WP Gains in Ballot Fight --

(Continued from page 1)

dated, so that even it does not exist as a pretext for keeping the Workers Party off the ballot.

Nevertheless, the original action of the board stands up to this moment. With Klein's objection out of the way, the Board of Elections is the sole opponent facing the WP. Through its attorney, Joseph G. Glass, the Workers Party has filed a show-cause order in the New York Supreme Court against the Board of Elections. Decision from Judge Cohalan is awaited on this point.

There is reason to believe that the board is not overly anxious to pursue the matter strenuously. The counsel for the board has offered no motions, nor has he given any reason for the board's action. At last Friday's hearing he claimed to be completely unacquainted with the board's action, quoting Commissioner Costuma's instructions as having been to "leave it to the judge."

When Attorney Glass, who has been doing an excellent job in handling the case, charged that the board had acted "facetiously," the board's counsel offered no defense whatsoever. Yet this is what remains as a threat to the WP's right to a place on the ballot, and it now depends on Judge Cohalan's decision.

#### KLEIN "EXPLAINS"

Rep. Klein decided to withdraw after several conversations with Attorney Glass. He was in addition informed of plans for a picket line around his headquarters and that time was being arranged on Station WEVD to expose his "liberalism."

On Friday, September 24, after conclusion of the hearing before Judge Cohalan, Klein was reached by phone. Klein retreated to the dodge that he had filed an objection by

"mistake," that is, that he had thought the Workers Party was the same kind of fake as the ULP thing set up by his own party. Since in the school of Tammany politics, nobody trusts nobody, he filed an objection.

Subsequently, he explained, he discovered that the WP was a bona fide organization which had been on the ballot previously. However, he then had a "SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT" in developing a case against the WP—lawyers' fees, photostats, research, things which come high at Tammany rates. It was pointed out to him that since the WP had every intention of fighting the case through

## Port Strike --

(Continued from page 1)

To date the strike committee of the West Coast unions has not consulted with the East Coast unions. There has been no call issued for physical support. All support that has been forthcoming has been voluntary. There has been no publicity given to the fact that Ryan has once again ordered his men to scab on other workers. An appeal issued to American labor by the strike committee to bring pressure to bear on the ILA would have a tremendous effect. A conference with the leaders of the NMU could easily formulate plans for a 1,000-man picket line at every point the line has been cracked. Ryan and his henchmen wouldn't dare order anyone through it.

#### CP BLOCKS UNITY

Why has this NOT been done? Why has Bridges found time to dash out to Chicago to address a Wallace rally and confer with Henry when he has not seen fit to confer with maritime labor which has expressed a desire to confer with him? There is only one explanation. The Stalinists control the strike committee by virtue of their control of the ILWU and the Marine Cooks Union. The policy of the committee is dictated to it by the CP. The CP has denounced the leadership of the East Coast unions as "reactionary," "fascist," "company," etc.

Now, the CP knows this is a lie and simply says these things because it cannot control these outfits. It wants to extend the myth that only it has a progressive policy. It is afraid that joint action on the picket lines will prove to the members of the unions it controls that perhaps the CP leadership has been feeding them a lot of hog wash. So it meets with no one but itself (and Wallace).

Longshoremen and seamen may have to be on strike longer than necessary because of this treacherous game the Stalinists are playing. But what do they care, so long as Bridges and Bryson run the show! The time is over-ripe for the memberships of the ILWU and the MCS to boot their leaderships, as did the NMU its CP hacks. This should be done as soon after the strike as possible.

It is the duty of the East Coast seamen and longshoremen to organize mass picket support even without being invited to do so by ILWU and MCS piecarts. This would be the best answer to the Stalinist lies and slander and assure an early victory for the West Coast strike.

to the Court of Appeals, his investment would have to be quadrupled.

The WP is now raising funds for its defense counsel and for a possible appeal. Assurances have been received from the Workers Defense League of support in the event of an appeal. As pointed out in previous issues, and as proved by Klein's action, those who are responsible for trying to deny the ballot to the WP calculated on the high cost of defense as being outside the range of a workers' group.

The only way to meet them, and to pursue the case to its successful finish, is to have the necessary resources. The WP has therefore called upon its friends and the readers of LABOR ACTION to contribute to the defense fund by sending contributions to the Workers Party at 114 W. 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

## NEGRO FREED FROM LEGAL LYNCH THREAT

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Sept. 26—Ira Newton Coston, 45-year-old Negro farmer from Hendersonville, N. C., was finally freed in Cleveland despite continued efforts of Carolina authorities to return him to the South to face trumped-up rape charges—and certain death.

As reported in the September 20 issue of LABOR ACTION, Coston was once turned over to a North Carolina deputy in complete disregard of extradition procedure. He was dramatically saved from a legal lynching right at the Ohio border. Last week an Ohio judge ruled that extradition is not justified when the accused man is indicted for an offense based purely on "information and belief." If such a procedure were allowed, the judge indicated, anyone could be charged with a crime merely on the basis of rumors.

At the hearing it was also revealed that while Coston was accused of rape after conversing with a white girl near his farm, feeling was running high against him in his county because he refused to sell his land to a neighbor and because he served as an agent providing farm help at harvest time—a function reserved for whites in the eyes of the reactionary overlords of the Southern farm system. In other words, Coston had overstepped the boundaries set on him by Southern society and this frame-up was to make an example of him as a warning to other ambitious or independent Negroes. A cruder bit of capitalist democratic hypocrisy would be hard to find.

## Settle Fisher Body Cafeteria Strike

The four-month-old strike of cafeteria and wagon workers at Fisher Body, Cleveland, has just been settled. The Prophet Co., which has the lunchroom concession in the plant, finally agreed to an 18-cent increase, plus paid holidays and vacation concessions. This increase is not as much as it appears to be, as it covers both the second and third round pay raises won by other workers.

## Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

### We Should Have Thought of It

Editor:

I am surprised at the lack of perception of your editorial board. The similarity between the names "Workers Party" and "United Laborite Party" is evident. They both contain the word "Party."

Fraternally,  
JOE COHAN, Phila.

### UAW Truman Stand a Disgrace

Editor:

I am surprised to find no comment in LABOR ACTION on the statement of policy of the United Automobile Workers Executive Board in endorsing Truman and Barkley for President and Vice-President which was issued to the press for release on September 13.

Some time ago this same executive board went on record for the formation of a labor party in 1949 on the ground that neither of the existing major parties represents the work-

ing people. At that time LABOR ACTION hailed this statement of intentions, though criticizing certain weaknesses in it, and especially the fact that the UAW leadership is taking no action to organize such a party now.

It seems to me that in view of the position already taken by the Executive Board of the UAW, their whole-hearted endorsement of Truman, following in the path of the national CIO leadership, requires the sharpest criticism and condemnation from socialists.

The endorsement is bad enough. The completely uncritical and downright misleading manner in which it is made by the UAW leadership must be openly condemned by all those who favor a labor party, and particularly by socialist partisans of such an independent political organization of labor.

At the very least, a leadership which is supposedly committed to a labor party could have made a statement to the effect that in view of the impossibility of organizing such a body for the 1948 elections (for which the leadership must take its share of responsibility), it has no

alternative but to endorse Truman as the lesser of two evils. Although socialists can't accept such a short-sighted policy, at least it would be understandable to many workers in the UAW who are very uneasy about voting for one strikebreaker against another.

But the UAW leadership does nothing of the kind. Its statement reads, in part, as follows: "The lines between people and privilege have been clearly defined. The CIO supports an administration and a Congress which will roll back prices, which will assure homes at prices people can pay, which will move forward to achieve the President's proposals on civil liberties for all citizens and economic security for every family, and will continue to seek peace without appeasement among nations so that the freedom of all men everywhere may be achieved."

More lies about a possible Democratic Party administration could hardly be condensed in so short a statement. The editor of LABOR ACTION as well as every worker who has given two minutes' thought to the political realities in America knows damned well that a Democratic ad-

ministration would not accomplish any one of these promises any more than a Republican administration will. The UAW Executive Board is kidding no one except, perhaps, Phil Murray, for whose benefit this statement was probably written.

I am confident that this matter having been called to your attention, LABOR ACTION will condemn in fitting manner the political misleadership which the UAW Executive Board is giving the workers in this election.

Comradely yours,  
GORDON HASKELL

We are entirely in agreement with Comrade Haskell and plead guilty to negligence in failing to make special mention of the UAW's September 13 statement. We have written so often and at such length about the attitude of the labor leaders, including the UAW leaders, on the elections and political action, that we mistakenly passed by the September 13 statement as just another one of those things which we have, unfortunately, come to expect from the labor leadership. We have frequently com-

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# Editorials

## Who Are the Subversives? . . .

(Continued from page 1)

proudly associates itself, the Workers Party is communist, as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were communists. If we call ourselves Marxists and socialists and refuse to call ourselves "communists" today, as we do refuse, it is because this once great name has been befouled and degraded by the Stalinist butchers in Russia. If the U. S. authorities now place us in the same category with the Stalinists, it is with the hope of discrediting our movement which never compromised in its struggle against Stalinism, which never made an alliance with Stalinism. Can these authorities, the same ones who did make a long imperialist alliance with Stalinist Russia and which tried to sell the Stalinist regime to this country as a "democracy" run by peace-loving democrats, make the same claim? Why doesn't this paragon of the Texas Democracy at least include a seventh category, "Allies of the Communists," and list the Roosevelt Administration as the first and foremost of many others? Mr. Clark is amply supplied with brass but he is in short supply of courage and consistency.

### WHO VIOLATES THE CONSTITUTION?

The Workers Party is listed with the Stalinist organizations not only in the "Communist" category but in those of the "subversives" and the "unconstitutionalists."

LABOR ACTION has already dealt with "Who Are the Subversives?" in its editorial last December, when the first list was issued by Mr. Clark. There is no need to add anything now to what it said then. But a few words are in order now on the new category into which we have been placed—seeking "to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

Mr. Clark is short on shame and prudence, too. He comes from the Great Democratic State of Texas. He is a figure in the Democratic Party of Texas and the South in general. He is even something of a figure in the national Democratic Party. Does Mr. Clark know of a single Democratic Party victory in a Southern state during his life-time and for decades before then that was won by anything but unconstitutional methods? Or to put it more exactly: won by anything but the most open, flagrant, cynical, publicly avowed and defended violation of the Constitution of the United States?

Has the enforcer of the Constitution ever read the document? If he has, can he tell us how many Southern Senators are now unconstitutionally and illegally occupying their seats because they were not elected by the people of their respective states, as provided by Article XVII, but only by the vote of a limited group of people arbitrarily and unconstitutionally selected because they seem to have white skins?

Can he tell us the name of the political party whose regime in the Southern states has systematically and shamelessly flouted Article XV of the Constitution which prohibits the denial or abridgment of the right of all U. S. citizens to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude? And why isn't the name of this political party, to which Mr. Clark belongs, included in the sixth category of his list, or in a special category set aside for such a special abomination? And what has Mr. Clark's department, which is actually called "Department of Justice," done during his incumbency to enforce the Constitution which is so coolly violated in the South?

It was very imprudent of Mr. Clark to so much as let the word "Constitution" appear in any list issued over his name. And it is shameful to use his office to place in a sort of public pillory those who have devoted their lives to wiping out the abomination of Mr. Clark's Democratic South and all other social abominations.

### THE METHOD OF TOTALITARIANISM

Not the least of these abominations is the list itself, the very concept of such a list. Mr. Clark's office, Mr. Clark's government, Mr. Clark's President and Mr. Clark's party (like Mr. Dewey's), are now making a great parade of their passion for democracy and their loathing for totalitarianism and despotism of all kinds. Like the list itself, this parade is election-year poppycock, and where it isn't that, it is part and parcel of the muddling and twisting of people's minds for the purpose of working up enthusiasm for the third world slaughter which is being so systematically prepared.

But where did these "democrats" get the idea for their "list"? It is the method of the infamous Czarist regime. It did not rule by law but by imperial edict, by ukase. That is how it placed outside the law those organizations which it was

unable to combat by honest political methods. It is the method of Hitler, who also issued "lists." It is the method of Stalin, and all the picaresque Stalinists in Eastern Europe.

To give him his due, Mr. Clark has made something of an improvement on Stalin. Stalin at least tells you what are the charges against the movements he wants to suppress. The charges are trumped-up, to be sure, but he tells you what he claims they are. Stalin at least goes through a pretense of presenting evidence against the movements he wants to suppress. The evidence is fraudulent, it is forged, it is preposterous, it is ignoble from any standpoint, but at least he makes a pretense at presenting some evidence. Mr. Clark, being a Democrat and, what is more, a Southern Democrat, does not find it necessary to go through any such folderol. He puts an organization on the List of the Damned without telling it what are the charges against it, who presented the charges, where and when they were presented; he does not invite it to be present when the charges are made; he does not tell it what evidence, if any, has been adduced against it. By this unique improvement on Stalinist procedure, Mr. Clark saves himself from embarrassment and his name from an otherwise certain and well-merited oblivion.

### AN IMPROVEMENT IN TECHNIQUE

This may sound to some a little like exaggeration. Unfortunately, it is not. The readers of LABOR ACTION know that on July 20, 1948, the National Chairman of the Workers Party, Max Shachtman, wrote the Attorney General asking for a hearing at his office on the classification of the party as "subversive." In reply, Mr. Clark's office consented to arrange an appointment with a representative of the Workers Party.

Max Shachtman thereupon wrote the Attorney General's office to point out that such an appointment would make little sense unless the Workers Party representative were first provided with the charges against the party and given some idea of the "evidence" upon which they were sustained, so that the WP might have the opportunity of countering the charges and the evidence with the appropriate documentary material and corroborating witnesses. An elementary request. It was granted to the Reichstag fire trial defendants by the Hitler-Goering court without question. But Mr. Clark's office is full of improvements on such techniques.

Here is the reply to Shachtman sent on August 16, 1948, by Mr. Alex Campbell, the Assistant Attorney General:

"Dear Mr. Shachtman:

"The Department is in receipt of your letter of August 3, 1948, in further reference to your request for a hearing in connection with the designation of your organization under Executive Order 9835. "As Mr. Quinn's successor and in conformity with the Attorney General's direction, I shall be glad to meet with you or your representative at your convenience and to receive and consider any statement or material which you may wish to submit relevant to the factual or legal validity of the designation. The Department, however, does not contemplate holding a formal hearing in the matter, since the Executive Order contains no provision therefore, nor can there be at the time disclosure of the evidence upon which the designation was based. I regret it exceedingly if you have misconstrued or been misinformed as to the Department's position."

Marvel of marvels! Czar Nicholas Romanoff never did as well and could not have done better! Send your representative! We shall be glad to meet with him! He can say anything he wants to because, since we are Democrats, we are for a certain amount of free speech! But do not misconstrue us: We cannot tell you what are the charges against you because you may not want to answer them but be able to answer them. That's unconstitutional. And we cannot tell you what is the evidence against you because you may not want to refute it but be able to refute it. That's subversive — and besides how would we look?

Greetings, envious greetings to you, Mr. Clark, from the State Procurator of His Imperial Majesty, Czar Nicholas, Autocrat of all the Russias; from the President of the People's Courts of Adolf Hitler, Fuehrer of the Third Reich; from Andrei Vyshinsky, Prosecutor-in-Chief of the Sun of Suns, Marshal Joseph Stalin, Vozhd of all the Peoples! You've still got a lot to learn from them, it is true. But they could have learned a thing or two from you, too!

## Self-Stalinization of the Palestine MAPAM Reaches Alarming Proportions

By ED FINDLEY

The voluntary, self-Stalinization of Mapam (United Workers Party), Israel's second largest party, is assuming alarming proportions.

Operating with naive and dangerous illusions about the political role of Stalinism and Russia in the Near East, the representatives of this party in the Israeli government are working hard to bring the Stalinist Arab League for National Liberation to power in the Arab areas of Palestine.

Shortly after the Israeli capture of Nazareth, the Arab League for National Liberation—pseudonym of the Arab Communist Party—emerged from underground and assumed the direction of the town's Employment Bureau in conjunction with the Israeli Ministry of Labor. (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, July 26, 1948.)

The initiative in this grant of authority to the Arab Stalinists belonged to the Ministry of Labor headed by Mordecai Bentov, a leading member of the Mapam, and was engineered without the approval of the Arab Department of the General Federation of Labor or the Ministry for Minorities.

Under the present war circumstances, in which the Israeli government is the major, if not the sole source of employment for Arabs in Israel occupied territory, the transfer of the Employment Bureau management to the Arab League for National Liberation is tantamount to placing the Arab workers under the thumb of Arab Stalinists.

Amazingly enough, this appears to be the planned objective of the Mapam. Open avowal of this line was formulated as early as July 30, 1948 in a policy article by J. Israeli, in the Yiddish organ of the Mapam—Nywelt, Tel Aviv, No. 49.

In laying down the new line this writer informs his readers that there exists a "healthy nucleus for Arab democracy," namely the Arab League for National Liberation. After specifying whom he considers to be the progressive democratic Arabs he concludes, "It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we take the initiative that

(Continued in last column)

# WORLD POLITICS

## OFF LIMITS By James M. Fenwick

### DANGEROUS TIMES, MATE

These are dangerous times we live in, mate. Even the most casual act can be fraught with peril. The other day, for instance, we dropped into the five and ten to buy a comb. There amid the combs made of various new plastics was one group labeled "GUARANTEED NON-EXPLOSIVE!" We bought one quickly and got the hell out before a chain reaction let go at the notions counter.

"Concrete plans," says the Times, "for a military 'Atlantic Pact' that in event of war would pool the global resources of the United States and Canada with those of Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg have made rapid progress here in the last few weeks. . . . Plans covered were: 'the over-all coordination of strategy, plans for the standardization of arms, plans for common supply of material and plans for joint use of overseas bases. . . .'"

Using the excuse of "military security" (a phrase which at the present rate of utilization is going to serve as the epitaph of civilization) the sessions were shrouded in secrecy from the very people who will pay for the war in the dearest sense. The leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties, however, were informed as to what took place—after the fact, of course. On the question of the slaughter of the peoples the Democratic and Republican party find it very easy to compose their differences.

The dispatch pointedly notes that no public announcement of the pact will be made until after the November elections. This is being done so as not to furnish propaganda material to Wallace, who is trading upon the war fears of millions of people in order to further his program of appeasement of Russian imperialism.

This plan, says the dispatch, consists of "defense arrangements" and will be taken out of the blueprint stage only "in the event of war."

It's a promise.

## UN Session - -

(Continued from page 1)

over Berlin will itself lead to war, we are sure that it has begun a new period of increased tension, that a way out of it will be more difficult than ever to find and that its net result will be to deepen the gulf between East and West.

### REVEALING DOCUMENTS

The published material and documents on the Berlin and German crisis, dealing with the lengthy negotiations between the Big Four should be read and studied by all. In next week's LABOR ACTION we hope to go into them in more detail.

What a vicious and miserable story of horse-dealing and double-crossing is revealed here! Behind the backs of the 65 million German people, that barbaric crew of Kremlin swine known as the Politburo—with swine-in-chief Stalin at their head—discussed what to do about Germany with an equally barbaric crew of Western imperialist spokesmen.

Why was no agreement reached? Because neither group was prepared at the moment to concede sufficiently to the desires of the other. Russia's major objectives are clearly to gain partial control over Ruhr production and to halt the founding of a Western German government. Berlin is a secondary issue for them. But this price was too high for the American spokesmen, who hid their rejection of it behind hypocritical phrases about their sacred obligations to the Berlin population.

It is a well-known fact that the Allies would withdraw tomorrow from Berlin and leave its population to the Russian mercy, provided that so much more was not at stake. The negotiations failed because each side, at the moment, has worked itself into such a position it cannot concede anything. Thus, an impasse has resulted. It should not, however, be believed that this impasse will remain forever. We predict that when all the heat and fury of the present crisis has calmed down, new negotiations will be begun (in secrecy, of course) and new efforts made to solve the Berlin crisis.

Thus the Great Powers play loose and fast with the issues of war and peace, while the European continent in particular and the entire world in general, wait in fear and anxiety. So long as the world remains divided between and under the control of these rival imperialist blocs, so long will this situation exist.

## The Mapam - -

(Continued from 2nd column)

the truly progressive Arabs should become the organizing center for their peaceful brothers." (My emphasis—E. F.)

Entirely consistent with this orientation is the report current in New York Labor Zionist circles that the Mapam introduced an amendment to the political resolution of the Zionist Action Committee, which recently had a plenary session in Jerusalem, that would, in effect, commit the Zionist movement and the Israeli government to help the Arab League for National Liberation to come to power in the Arab part of Palestine. Unfortunately, the resolutions have not, as yet, been published and this correspondent has not, therefore, been able to establish the wording of the Mapam amendment which, parenthetically, was overwhelmingly rejected by this top committee of world Zionism.

It is the Mapam's delusion that Russia is, for ideological reasons, permanently committed to support of Israel. This leads it to back up Russian attempts to throw up hedgehogs of power in the Near East as energetically as, but more effectively than, the CP of Palestine.

It leads paradoxically enough to political sponsorship of a party, like the Arab League for National Liberation, which only yesterday accepted the anti-Israeli discipline of the Muffi-controlled Arab Higher Committee, opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine and backed the anti-Jewish boycott.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the Mapam's insistence upon an exclusive pro-Russian orientation engenders reckless and disloyal gambling with the national independence and social freedom of the Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine.

We begin herewith a series of articles by Comrade Henry Judd which will discuss various aspects of the situation in Europe, notably in France and Germany. Comrade Judd recently returned from a stay of several months in Europe. Insofar as possible these articles will appear in successive issues of LABOR ACTION in this column.

### Europe, 1948

The danger of unwarranted generalities and baseless assumptions make it difficult to write on the broad subject of Europe, particularly after only a brief trip to parts of western Europe. The flood of American tourists was so great this year that it is clear that innumerable and varied opinions about the Old Continent must now be circulating far and wide in the United States. All the more reason why one must be careful and cautious in stating his observations, based partly upon comparison with previous years and partly upon discussion with various socialist and political people.

To begin with, the physical and economic upbuilding within the last year is obvious everywhere in Western Europe. There is productivity and activity on a large scale such as has not been seen since the end of the war. In writing further accounts of France and Germany in particular we shall give more details of this. But traveling throughout Europe today has none of the difficulties compared with previous post-war years. From the rebuilt dock and harbor works in the bombed ports, from the smooth and efficient running railroad systems in England and France (with improvements even in Germany!), from the general rebuilding and reconstruction work (bridges, roads, homes, buildings, etc.) there is an undeniable picture of a Western Europe which has, at least, gotten off of its back and struggled up to its knees.

To outward appearances, this same process of recovery has taken place for the average European worker and citizen who looks far better physically and so far as his dress is concerned, than he did last year, or certainly the year after the war. Closer investigation reveals that in continental Europe (including Germany) he is eating much better than before, and has been able to buy some clothes (even those who live most modestly and poorly). With the exception of Italy, there is no unemployment in Western Europe. Thus, together with the mass of importations under the Marshall Plan which are now flowing into Western Europe, there is a genuine supply of available commodities. Naturally, available at a price. In the stores of European cities (to a surprising extent in Western Germany also) practically every possible product is available—all types of canned foods, radios, automobiles, cigarettes, American vacuum cleaners, etc. Unlike last year, these things can actually be bought—not merely looked at. Clothing is likewise available and largely unrationed, with the exception of England.

### BUT THE ECONOMIES ARE UNBALANCED

These random facts indicate that, given its natural resources and labor power, and together with the undoubted stimulus provided by the sheer volume of Marshall Plan goods and materials, general European economic and productive recovery has advanced to a surprising state in view of the deeply deteriorated political and social situation. And that, it seems to us, is the only real observation that one can make about Europe as a whole now. Economically and productively it has advanced tremendously; politically and ideologically it has sunk much deeper into the hole dug for it by the Russian-American conflict. The split of Europe into east and west exerts overwhelming influence in all phases of life, and the area of European political and social independence has correspondingly narrowed.

Even our remarks on economic recovery must be

qualified and measured. To begin with, we are describing facts in comparison with previous conditions. Living, eating, housing and clothing standards are still far below that of American averages, although pre-war standards are now definitely being approached. And the basic economic difficulty of all is that of the apparently incurable divorce between this price of things and workers' wages as well as middle-class salaries. With respect to this fundamental problem of purchasing power, the general European situation has definitely worsened and there seems to be no immediate halt in sight for the familiar spiral. In France, workers' wages are now 10 times that of 1938, but prices of food and other necessities are 17 times higher! Even in Germany, where the new D-Mark had an actual purchasing value after the brutal devaluation, the same tendency toward runaway prices is observable.

We shall give further details of this in separate articles on Germany and France, but our point for now is that while certain basic needs are being met, the malfunctioning and unbalance of European capitalist economy is clearer than ever. If Europe, a few years ago, was so low and stagnant that the only question one could pose was whether the corpse still breathed, still had a heart beat, it is a somewhat different matter now. The old continent is definitely alive, but all its organs are infected and functioning most badly. Production there is, but class privilege, reactionary distribution and social distinction are more powerful than ever.

### STATE OF SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

With the exception of Germany—where the struggle for the saving of Berlin, together with the definite economic revival now going on as a result of Marshall Plan expenditures have brought about a marked change in the former political atmosphere and morale of the people—with this sole exception it is clear that socialist and independent class politics is at the lowest moment of its history. There are many reasons for this, above all the failure of the Western European masses to develop independent political forces.

While it is true that Stalinism is in serious decline in all countries where normal means (such as elections) can be used to judge and test their strength, it is also true that revolutionary socialist politics is likewise weaker than ever. The so-called Trotskyist Fourth International has disappeared and can be found nowhere except by those possessing the infinite patience needed to track them down to their latest address. With the exception of the RDR (Democratic Revolutionary Regroupment) in France, there is no new or important political tendency of the left, and there is added confusion and a striving for new understanding among most left intellectuals and supporters. This, of course, is largely due to the marked turning away from Stalinism and is a welcome event.

The official Fourth Internationalist program is entirely without attraction to these people who, unfortunately, largely founder about. Again, with the exception of Berlin and Germany, the spirit of apathy and "disgust with politics" is widespread among proletarian ranks. Even the ranks of the Italian CP have cooled considerably toward their party after its fiasco of the General Strike. Simultaneously, there is a definite strengthening of the neo-reactionary forces; those who offer a "bold solution" and "leadership." Most notorious of all events, of course, is the revival and new forward spurt of General de Gaulle's movement in France. There is little doubt that the reactionary political tendencies in Western Europe—if we isolate Europe from the general world situation—have the upper hand at the moment, thanks to solid American backing and support, as well as the apathy of the masses.

In future articles we hope to give more material describing some of these generalizations, perhaps indicating the possible tendencies within the more important countries of Western Europe.

HENRY JUDD

## Chiang Regime in China . . .

(Continued from page 1)

a "leftist" and armed with the authority of his father's name, the young Chiang descended on Shanghai several weeks ago. In this comprador capital he proceeded to arrest 100 leading bankers and other wealthy worthies who had been considered on the KMT protected list of insiders. Several were summarily executed, others threatened. Factory owners were threatened with reprisal if they ceased production. The most violent speeches since 1927 issued from the mouth of this "crusader."

"Our own economic policy is a socialist revolutionary movement. The rich man's enjoyment of worldly comfort is actually drawn from the white bones of the poor who work to their death, oppressed by the city's colony of rich." "Shanghai will undergo a thorough change," he promised when he became economic dictator of the city. He then mobilized the KMT "Youth Army" for his support.

Several days after these dramatic events in Shanghai, Chiang announced his "new" ten-point program which contains the usual empty verbiage so characteristic of his pronouncements: "1. Work hard for national reconstruction. 2. Be punctual and orderly. 3. Eradicate inefficiency and corruption," etc. The heart of the program is a popular mobilization of all resources for the civil war: "Everything for the front."

### UNDERSCORE WEAKNESS

This program is remarkable in that it does not offer a single relief in the concrete from the multifarious oppressions which burden the masses. Not once-cent off taxes, no rent reduction, no curb on landlord power or reduction of "requisitioning" of men from the villages for the army, or right to form associations for workers. It is an appeal to the people. That is something new in KMT policy, but it offers nothing around which a popular response can gather. It is a program of austerity and greater burdens without relaxation of the dictatorship. No wonder it was answered with apathy. The younger Chiang's attacks on the Shanghai compradors lifted the

curtain on this call for support. It was meant as an assurance, as a down payment, on the new program. It is interesting that the KMT and the regime were specifically excluded from arrest and all blame. In the disaster that haunts China important scapegoats had to be found. But the finger was pointed exclusively at the rich while the magic circle retained the immunity of the KMT itself.

This points to one of the new disintegrating tendencies. For the alienation of the bourgeoisie, especially the compradors, grows daily. The rich of the coastal cities no longer have faith in Chiang, his armies, or his currency. They are squeezed by his ubiquitous bureaucracy. Chiang, in desperation, has now deepened this

mutual distrust, thereby also weakening his own support. He has gained nothing from the masses in compensation. Like every decadent regime hurtling toward its demise, these latest steps of Chiang's only underscore his palpable weakness. What seems on the surface to be new departures are not such and help nobody but only exacerbate the situation. The fall of Tsinan only a week after the launching of the "new movement" dooms the movement to failure even if nothing else did. It is already tainted by defeat. The question of the day is how long can Chiang continue to rule? It is only the lack of an alternative which gives him his unearned respite.

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**Emanuel Geltman**  
Editor of Labor Action

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HOW TO CAST YOUR VOTE: A PAGE ADDRESSED TO ILLINOIS LABOR

Back Independent Krueger Campaign in Chicago

By SAUL BERG

CHICAGO—Maynard Krueger is out to win election to Congress from the Second District, on Chicago's South Side, as the standard bearer of independent political action.

The campaign should thereby help to reinforce the decision of the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers, the largest, most democratic and most militant trade union in the country, to initiate such a party after the November elections.

Throughout the country millions of people feel bitter and frustrated at the situation that confronts them this November when the Democratic Party offers them "Injunction Harry," while the aspiring third party of Wallace shows itself a front for Russian foreign policy.

INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN

In the Second Congressional District of Illinois the people are being given this opportunity and they are responding with a vengeance. Contributions have poured in to make possible a flood of publicity—on street cars, on elevated platforms, in store windows, that matches what the old parties, with their well-oiled machines, can produce.

These workers, 420 of them, one for every precinct in the district, are doing out of devotion to principle what the Republican and Democratic precinct workers do for favors and job patronage.

Readers of LABOR ACTION know that we are not pure and simple advocates of an independent labor party. We of the Workers Party are socialists and we want to advance a socialist program that goes much

Draper Tour Will Feature WP Pre-Election Activity

A feature of socialist pre-election activity in Chicago this month will be a whirlwind tour by Hal Draper, editor of the New Internationalist. The highlight event will be a debate between Draper and Professor Curtis MacDougall, Wallaceite candidate for U. S. Senator from Illinois, on the question, "Should progressives support Henry Wallace?"

Two days later, the South Side branch of the Workers Party is sponsoring a talk by Comrade Draper on "America and the Crisis in Europe," to be followed by a social evening with refreshments.

Final details have not yet been arranged for a talk by Draper at Roosevelt College under the auspices of its Socialist Club. It is hoped that a debate can also be arranged there.

further than the mere entrance of the workers into independent political action. But a declaration of political independence by the working class of the United States is the most important step that can be taken today.

Many points in the Krueger platform are essential points in the platform of any independent labor party and some go still further in the direction that we would like to see such a party move.

GREAT OPPORTUNITY

Likewise the platform takes a strong stand in defense of civil rights, calling for the abolition of the Thomas-Rankin witch-hunt committee, and proposing effective legislation for fair employment practices, and against lynching and the poll-tax.

Recovery Program on the basis that it shall not be used to thwart free determination of economic policy by the nations aided and with safeguards against its militarization, which is typical of the position taken by the Socialist Party.

A campaign for this platform, whether won or lost, will make the campaigners, in effect, the founders of a new party in the district. It will mean that the UAW and its allies will find 420 active workers and thousands of voters committed in advance to strengthening such a party.

The great political "strategists" of PAC collided with the Boss Hagues and Jake Arveys and Southern white-supremacists outside the door of this four-star general. He snubbed their pleas to save the Democratic Party in 1948.

More than a month after the Democratic Party convention these great politicians summoned up the courage—the courage of political stupidity—to endorse Harry Truman, the candidate they had been running away from.

In this situation every voter in the Second Congressional District has an obligation to turn out and vote for Krueger. This unparalleled opportunity to replace one of the most reactionary Republicans in Congress with a man devoted to independent political action must not be missed.

PAC Policy Remains Hopeless Trap

CIO Ranks Apathetic as Leaders Pursue "Lesser Evil" Will-of-the-Wisp

By KEN HILLYER

CHICAGO, Sept. 23—The Chicago CIO leadership is all excited about the November elections. "This is the real thing! We've got to win or it's ruin for the labor movement!"

They have succeeded in exciting themselves alone. Outside of a few districts, there is no PAC work at all. The rank and file is apathetic. Their half-hearted apologies for the Democratic slate have excited no one but themselves.

PAC policy this year is the same old run-around. "This guy is preferred over that guy. Sure, he's not our man—but . . . he has pledged to go right down the line for our program."

UAW'S INTERVENTION

Even in the United Automobile Workers, where there are many who believe in the necessity of a labor party, the secondary leadership has been sold this year's election campaign. The organizational prestige of Reuther is being exerted on every local to do something this year.

The argument that "You've got to be practical, you've got to back the man who has a chance to beat the anti-labor Republicans," was the rationalization used by Chicago PAC in deciding to back Barrett O'Hara for Congress in the Second Congressional District over Maynard Krueger, socialist independent candidate.

cession to independent political action. On top of this, Chicago PAC's endorsement of O'Hara was accomplished in a most disgraceful, bureaucratic manner.

The excitement of the leadership around this campaign brings up the question of sincerity on the UAW pledge for a new party based upon workers and farmers. The argument today is that Democratic Party candidates must now be supported as "lesser evils." Won't their always be "lesser evils"? Is the real essence of the new party idea to be the completely unacceptable concept that CIO can capture the Democratic Party?

Anyone who wants to continue supporting the Democratic Party at any time (and especially when the party is collapsing) is committing a crime against the best interests of the labor movement. Recently we had the spectacle of CIO leaders (Stalinists included at that time) endorsing and pledging CIO support for Mr. Kennelly, who was then running for mayor of Chicago. He was a real

independent liberal, the kind of Democrat worth supporting. Or so labor was told.

Mayor Kennelly wasted no time in proving otherwise. He complimented the notorious Captain Barnes (remember when he was a sergeant?) for the great job done by the police department and the industrial squad during the nation-wide packinghouse strike last spring. He whitewashed the role of Barnes and the police when they ordered trucks to move into the plants. Such an action led to the murdering of an Armour picket. Such is the most recent experience of supporting the lesser evil.

Whether or not PAC succeeds in electing a few Democratic so-called "friends of labor" is immaterial. These people that CIO elects will turn their backs on the workers the first opportunity they get. The primary need for labor is its OWN party, its OWN program, and its OWN people to run for public office. Until this is done the unions will be fighting with one hand tied behind their backs. A LABOR PARTY IS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY!

U OF C POLITICS CLUB SCHEDULES FORUMS; AUTUMN "STUDENT PARTISAN" PUBLISHED

CHICAGO—Hal Draper, editor of The New Internationalist, will debate Curtis MacDougall, the Progressive Party candidate for the United States Senate from Illinois, before University of Chicago students, on Thursday evening, October 21. Draper will defend the socialist position on the question "Should Progressives Support Wallace?"

On November 11, Jerzy Glicksman, author of the book, "Tell the West," will speak at a public mass meeting of the Politics and Socialist Clubs in Mandel Hall. His talk will be entitled "I Was a Prisoner in Stalin's Slave Labor Camps." The chairman of the meeting will be Professor An-

ton J. Carlson, a man who for many years has associated himself with the struggle against totalitarianism.

The autumn issue of the Politics Club's journal, Student Partisan, which contains numerous articles of social and political interest, is now on sale. The magazine is highlighted by a lengthy editorial dealing with the November elections. Copies can be obtained for 15 cents each or 12 cents each in bundles of five or more by writing to the Politics Club, care of Reynolds Club, U. of Chicago.

Tickets for the Draper-MacDougall debate and additional information about the Politics Club can be obtained through the above address.

Vote Socialist in November!

By MAX HOLMAN

In one of the most crucial periods of our history, the labor movement of the United States faces a national election without candidates, or political party of its own. While American capitalism puts the screws to the workers of the country the leaders of the labor movement once again put forward a policy that is as bankrupt as was Samuel Insull after the crash of 1929.

Again the labor leaders tell their rank and file to choose the lesser evil. Labor has been butting its head against a stone wall year after year with this policy. The labor leaders are determined to support the lesser evil—no matter how evil it is.

Again and again the leaders of the union movement advise their memberships to "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This formula has led the labor movement into the political blind alley in which it finds itself.

END OF A FRANTIC SEARCH: TRUMAN

Following this line, their position in the 1948 elections is more ludicrous than ever before. Before the national convention of the Democratic Party the labor big-wigs were searching frantically for what they considered a suitable candidate. They felt it impossible to support Truman because of his anti-labor actions.

None of them stopped to think about what Eisenhower stood for. He had never expressed himself on political issues for the record. Nobody knew if he was a Republican or Democrat. He had never expressed his views on labor or any other social question—except that he supported the draft, universal military training, and wanted to maintain a Jim Crow army.

The great political "strategists" of PAC collided with the Boss Hagues and Jake Arveys and Southern white-supremacists outside the door of this four-star general. He snubbed their pleas to save the Democratic Party in 1948.

More than a month after the Democratic Party convention these great politicians summoned up the courage—the courage of political stupidity—to endorse Harry Truman, the candidate they had been running away from. It was not Truman that caught up with them. It was their fossilized policy of company unionism in politics that caught up with them.

The continuation of the blind strategy of supporting the candidates of the capitalist parties is a crime against the labor movement—a crime that is laid bare by the Wallace candidacy and the organization of the Progressive Party. In spite of the fact that Wallace is an avowed defender of capitalism, that the Wallace Party was created, developed and controlled by the Communist Party, his support will run into the millions. Here is a party which reeks of Stalinism, which does not have the support of the great unions of the country—on the contrary has the bitter opposition of almost every union leader in the country—daily making the headlines and winning non-Stalinist people to its support.

MIGHTY FORCES FOR A LABOR PARTY

Just imagine what a mighty organization could be created if the CIO, AFL, RR Brotherhoods, and Independent unions would join hands to give birth to a genuine political party of labor completely independent of the Republicrats. Compared to it the Wallace movement would be a stunted midget.

Such a party, a Party of Labor, a party of our OWN—would not have to grovel before the door of a General who never opened his mouth on an important political question, to lead it out of a blind alley.

Such a party would not have to apologize for its candidates because its candidates would come from and be controlled by the ranks of Labor.

Such a party would give new hope to all the millions of men and women who toil in the factories, in the mines, in the mills and on the land.

Such a party would be capable of expressing and defending the interests of all the little people of the country because it would be based on the mightiest labor movement in the world with no ties to the DuPonts or Rockefeller or Stalinists or Arveys or Hagues or Prendergasts or Rankins.

Such a party would capture the imagination and support of the millions of people outside the labor movement who would look to it for leadership.

It is a sad fact that no such party is in the field today. But a party of this kind can and must be organized tomorrow. It is the main task before the labor movement. No other task exceeds it in importance.

But the fact remains that we cannot vote for a party that will be organized after the elections. How shall we vote?

ONLY ONE WAY TO VOTE

Under the circumstances the only vote that has any significance whatsoever is a SOCIALIST VOTE. A vote for socialists is a protest vote that has some meaning.

A vote for Dewey or Truman is a vote for the status-quo. It is a vote for continued reaction. Such a vote is a vote for keeping the Republicrats in power. It is a vote for Taft-Hartley. It is a vote for a rich man's tax law. It is a vote for a do-nothing policy on housing. It is a vote for Jim Crow. It is a vote for the draft—for universal military training. It is a vote for the war which is being prepared in Washington today. In short it is a vote for CAPITALISM!

Should we cast our votes for Wallace? NO! Though many people will be voting for Wallace as a protest against the old parties it will be a one-sided protest vote. One sided because it is against the interests of the imperialists at home but FOR the imperialists of Moscow.

No matter how much noise they make about Jim Crow, the most important feature of the Wallace program is its appeasement-of-Russia policy. A vote for Wallace is therefore only a one-sided protest vote and not a REAL protest vote. A large vote for Wallace will strengthen the hand of Stalin's imperialism and add another weight on the backs of the people living under the Kremlin whip.

The kind of protest vote we need is one that will bring joy to neither Wall Street's Dewey and Truman or to the despots in Moscow.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW! The only protest vote in '48 is a SOCIALIST VOTE!

VOTING SOCIALIST IN ILLINOIS

In Illinois there will be two Socialist presidential candidates on the ballot. Norman Thomas is the candidate of the Socialist Party and Edward Teichert heads the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

We do not single out either of these two candidates for your support. We are interested in as large a SOCIALIST vote as is possible in this election. A vote for either of these candidates can be considered a Socialist vote. The total vote for both candidates will be the socialist vote for the State of Illinois.

Both of these parties, like all the socialist groups in the U. S., are small and do not yet represent any mass workers' movement. This will be wondered at only by those who do not understand that the absence of a party that is labor's own is an indication of the political backwardness of American labor.

We do not endorse the programs or parties of either of these candidates. We present their names without preference because neither of these candidates or their parties are so superior to the other that ONE can be singled out for support.

However, we may differ with the pink, milk-toast socialism of the Socialist Party, and with many of its policies which we hold to be non-socialist in character, or the hopeless sectarianism of the Socialist Labor Party, nevertheless the total vote for Thomas and Teichert will be the Socialist vote in this state.

No matter how important, our differences with these parties will not be at stake in the elections. The important thing is:

VOTE AGAINST THE OLD CAPITALIST PARTIES!

VOTE AGAINST THE WALLACE-STALINIST PARTY!

VOTE FOR A SOCIALIST CANDIDATE! CAST A SOCIALIST PROTEST VOTE!

There Is Nothing to Be Gained From Dewey, Truman or Wallace

By JACK RANGER

Thanks largely to the absence of a national labor party in the field, the 1948 Presidential campaign has to date been one of the most insipid and uninteresting in the nation's history. Local columnists throughout the nation report that popular interest in the elections is at a low ebb. The only incidents that provoke much discussion are those involving the violence against Henry Wallace by Ku Klux elements in the South, the stoning of Progressive Party candidates in Illinois, and the crooked deals by both Democratic and Republican machines to keep the minor parties off the ballot.

Among the masses of voters there is little enthusiasm for either Dewey or Truman. Neither of the two candidates, in their current speaking tours, has indicated that he would behave any differently in the White House in the next four years than he has always behaved throughout his political career. Neither has indicated that the people have anything more to hope for from the government after the elections than continued war-mongering, continued higher taxes, an intensified crack-down on labor, more red-baiting, nothing new on housing.

The only true words spoken by either candidate were those uttered by Governor Dewey aboard his campaign train that "beginning next January 20 we will have the biggest, toughest, most successful unsmiling, unrelenting house cleaning that our government ever got."

NOT KIDDING ABOUT ONE THING

For the American people, THAT will be the end result of the campaign. All the energies of the Republican Party are devoted to replacing the Democratic Party's control of the executive branch of the government, while in other respects leaving matters exactly as they were. The whole sham campaign aims at the substitution of one clique of the ruling class for another.

Dewey wasn't kidding when he promised to clean house. Republican camp-followers have been out of office for 16 years, and they all have their tongues out, panting for the jobs of incumbent Democrats. And they'll get many of those jobs. Democratic office-holders who think they are protected by civil service had best prepare for some shocks. A Republican, Rees of Kansas, is head of the House civil service committee, and Rees' party will find all sorts of ways to get rid of government employees suspected of partisanship to the rival party.

Dewey has shown himself to be even more plattitudinous than one would suspect. Here is a sample of his recent discussion of domestic issues delivered in Illinois:

"As a nation we are troubled today by many things and we must remove many fears. We are troubled by high prices and we must end the maladjustments which cause them. We need more opportunities for our youth. We must increase the security of our older people. We must protect our enterprise system from monopoly while encouraging free and fuller production for the benefit of all our citizens," etc., etc.

TRUMAN DOES NO BETTER

Such empty generalities are downright comic. Truman does no better. Like Roosevelt before him, he holds up the scarecrow figure of Herbert Hoover in a high stiff collar, shakes it in front of the nation, and warns that a Republican victory will bring another economic crash.

Both the AFL and CIO like to wear a politically neutral tint. In principle, the high officials of these federations hold in horror all definiteness in respect to the union officialdom rejects with loathing the idea of a labor party.

These people, you see, are "practical." But they are not even smart at practical politics. It must be clear to every reader that Dewey is to be the next President, and that he will clinch to office a Republican majority of Congress. A really practical politician would string carry into office a Republican majority of Congress. A really practical politician would string along with the New York governor.

But not the AFL nor the CIO. The AFL after adjournment of its recent executive board meeting in Chicago, reconstituted itself as a committee to re-elect Truman. The CIO officialdom too is behind Truman. In Illinois, the CIO Political Action Committee has issued a list of endorsed candidates which with but two exceptions were the Democratic

national, state and Congressional tickets. Presumably the CIO in other sections is doing the same thing.

The PAC says that the Taft-Hartley law is the key test—conveniently overlooking the fact that that measure became law with the active support of a MAJORITY of the Democrats in Congress.

The Republican Senator from Illinois, Brooks, slyly observed the other day that Truman's attacks on the Taft-Hartley act "constitute an indictment of the 126 Democrats whose votes for the bill made possible its enactment. . . . When the 80th Congress enacted the measure into law, we Republicans were joined by 20 Democratic senators and 106 Democratic representatives," Brooks said. "Without them, the Republican bloc in both branches of Congress could not have passed the bill over the Presidential veto. . . . The President is only embarrassing a great many of his own party members."

STOP THIS SHAM BATTLE

It is clear that the margin of difference between the Republican and Democratic parties is narrower than at any time in history. It is likewise clear that labor's influence with both wings of the Big Business-political machine is declining to the vanishing point.

This explains the widespread apathy surrounding the 1948 elections. Voters generally reject Wallace because of the Stalinists controlling his movement. Voters feel they have no place to go.

The United States will never be as ripe for the building of a labor party as it will be in the coming months and years. It will require such a labor party to bring meaning into the nation's politics, and to bring hope to the people, whose apathy will turn to anger once they see that a Republican administration offers them nothing more than 16 years of Democratic rule.

Today, the American workers constitute the largest and mightiest organization in the country, an army of more than 15,000,000 union members. Why should they be without a political party of their own, a program of their own?

The old capitalist parties have not protected labor. They have united to shackle the unions, to deny the people decent housing, to send prices sky-high, to involve the nation in war and warlike skirmishes. Labor must protect itself politically, and this requires that labor build its own party.

Clark Will Discuss Case With Kutcher

NEWARK, Sept. 28 (KCRG)—James Kutcher, Newark Purple Heart veteran who lost both his legs in action in Italy and now faces the loss of his clerical job in the Veterans Administration because of his political views, today announced that Attorney General Tom C. Clark had agreed to meet him to discuss his case in Washington Thursday afternoon, September 30.

Kutcher revealed that the conference had been arranged through the intervention of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt just before she sailed to attend the current General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris. He said that "Mrs. Roosevelt had questioned Mr. Clark about the dismissal action, with the result that he offered to meet with me in person."

The veteran declined, in advance of the conference in Washington, to discuss what he would say there. "But naturally," he declared, "I am going to point out that if my political views did not disqualify me from employment by the government in the Army for 4½ years during the war, they should not disqualify me from employment by the government in the VA today."

The 35-year-old Newarker is being defended by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a non-partisan citizens group headed by Harold Russell, the armless veteran. Kutcher does not deny membership in the Socialist Workers Party, which was placed on the "subversive" blacklist by Attorney General Clark last November. But both he and his party deny the subversive charge and are protesting such a designation in the absence of a public hearing at which they can defend themselves.