

**WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD!
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!**

LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

NOVEMBER 29, 1948

International Solidarity Of Maritime Workers Aids Longshore Strike

NEW YORK, Nov. 23—The East Coast Longshore strike is fourteen days old today and there are no indications that the end is in sight. The employers have thus far not offered the strikers anything other than what they offered prior to the revolt started on the Chelsea Docks two weeks ago.

To the amazement of almost everyone, Ryan, lifetime president and much disliked leader of the International Longshoremen's Union (AFL), is still leading the strike which originally started as a revolt against his acceptance of the offerings of the employers. This situation is really a classic example of the arguments often used by trade unionists and socialists that no matter how rotten a union leader can be, he can be forced to act by the ranks. This corrupt leadership that not only always "saw the bosses point of view," but served the employers by fighting all standard trade union proposals to better conditions on the east coast waterfront, had to give in to the will of the membership when this membership made its demands be heard.

The only explanation for the conduct of the ILA leadership in these last few weeks is that they know that an unsatisfactory settlement will mean their heads. No picket lines have been established, no scabs have been used so far and it is extremely unlikely that either will happen in the next few weeks.

COMPLETE TIE-UP

As we reported in last week's LABOR ACTION, the strike has the full support of the National Maritime Union (CIO) and the Seafarers International Union (AFL). The sailors have refused to move any ships out of an American port or do any of the work normally performed by longshoremen. This has resulted in a complete standstill. As a result of this policy, crews of incoming ships are being laid off on arrival in U. S. ports.

The thousands of seamen assembled in the various ports along the coast

are in full sympathy with the strikers and stand ready to grant them any assistance they may require.

The only serious challenge to the strike thus far has been the diversion of passenger ships to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Soon after the strike started the Longshore Local in Halifax announced that it would support the strike by refusing to handle any diverted ships. A few days later the leadership reversed its decision by announcing it could not carry through this action because of Canadian law. The British Cunard Line immediately announced that its liners the Elizabeth and the Mary would sail from England to Halifax. On sailing day the crew of the Elizabeth refused to take the ship out in full support of the dock strike. As a result of this the Cunard Line cancelled the sailing of the Elizabeth and the Mary. Today the Halifax longshore officials announced that (in spite of Canadian law) they would abide by the desires of ILA and no longer handle diverted ships.

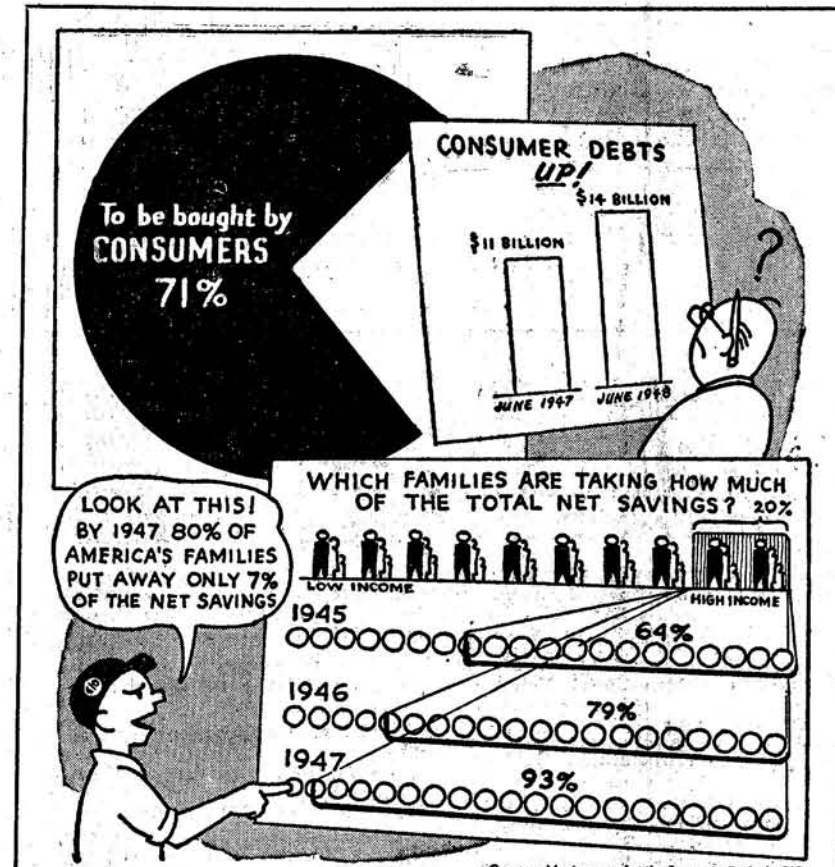
The stand taken by the seamen of the Elizabeth against both company threats and the pleadings of their corrupt union officials was welcomed enthusiastically by American maritime workers. Their stand will be well rewarded in the future. The longshoremen will not soon forget this act of solidarity.

Review Board Finding in Carner-Lewin Case a Blow at Civil Rights

By JOSEPH WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 21—The Industrial Employment Review Board has recently rendered its decision on the first of the Westinghouse "poor security risk" cases which have attracted wide attention in the labor movement. A letter dated November 3 from the U. S. Navy representative at the Essington plant of the corporation revealed to the appellant, Frank Carner, and the Local union, No. 107 of the United Electrical Workers, CIO, that the findings of the military tribunal were that the "suspension of the appellant was effected with sufficient cause."

In addition the letter directed the



WHAT IS HAPPENING TO SAVINGS: The chart above, reprinted from the October issue of the CIO Economic Outlook, reveals the decline of workers' savings since the end of the war in 1945. In 1947, 80 per cent of the people in low and medium income brackets, that is the overwhelming majority of the people, were able to save on 7 per cent of the total savings of that year. 20 per cent of upper income rich were able to save 93 per cent of all savings. What is more, millions are spending more than they earn so that war-time savings have been totally exhausted and 42 per cent of the people have savings under \$200. Consumers debts have risen to \$14 billions. The amount of national output allocated to consumers in a midyear report of the Council of Economic Advisors to the President, is 71 per cent of the total output. But with decline of real wages and mounting debts this minimum consumption may be out of reach of the workers, resulting in the threat of over-production, glut and crisis.

Labor Offensive Is Real Key to Gains In "New New Deal"

By JACK BRAD

There is much talk these days of a new New Deal, of a return to the "liberal revolution" of the early Roosevelt administration. These are days of wide and handsome speculation about the new times wrought by the elections and labor's undeniably key part in the Truman victory.

London Letter

by GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Leader

LONDON, Nov. 19—I do not see how it can be denied that Britain's Labour Government faces today a rising tide of unpopularity. It has, of course, always been unpopular with big business and the Conservative Party but now criticism of the Government is growing even in circles which ordinarily would be expected to be its closest and most understanding friends.

This growing sense of irritation toward the Government is the more significant in that it is of comparatively recent development. Up to a short time ago, as every by-election showed, the mass of the people were still solid in their support of the Labour Party even though they were prone to grumble about shortages and restrictions.

But a process of deterioration began to set in after the Government, by action and debate, had made it clear to the world that it was intent upon following the traditional foreign policy of Britain to the extent of embarking on military measures, including a large-scale recruiting campaign, increased period of service for conscripts, and commitments with America for the defense of Western Europe. The people of Britain have been appraised of the horror and devastation which another war would unleash upon them and, whilst they are not unmindful of the fact that Britain's difficulties in the field of foreign affairs have been increased by the trickery and open aggression of Stalinist Russia, they are reluctant to support even a Labour Government if they feel that its policy is leading them along the road to wholesale slaughter.

HARASSING PROBLEMS FOR THE GOVERNMENT

Another source of irritation has been the rise in the cost of living and the apparent inability of the authorities to tackle the problem of housing in a realistic manner. The cost of living has soared to the point of imposing serious hardship on the lower income groups and unless there is swift and decisive action we are moving towards a situation which may prove disastrous for the Labour Party. The tight belt cannot be pulled any tighter!

It is true that the Labour Party won a formal victory, but at the price of moral defeat when, a week or so ago, in the Edmonton Parliamentary by-election (caused by the death of Mr. E. Durbin) it succeeded in retaining the seat. But it was the weakest, shakiest, and most disturbing by-election which Labour has won since 1945. It was generally expected that this typical working-class industrial suburb of London would return the Labour candidate with a smashing majority. There was a 19,000 majority for the Labour candidate at the General Election and the only other candidate in this by-election was a Conservative. Instead of which, Labour secured a mere 3,000 majority. It is a warning that the Government must heed and its redeeming feature is that it should contribute materially in the shattering of the complacency which has infected the Labour Party since 1945.

But the rudest shock to the British people has been the disclosures made at the Tribunal which is at present investigating alleged bribery and corruption on the part of some of the country's highest officials. It is expected that this Tribunal will sit for at least a month but already the names of prominent Labour Members are splashed throughout the Press. They are, Mr. John Belcher, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. Glenvil Hall, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Charles Key, Minister of Works, and Mr. George Gibson, Director of the Bank of England and former Chairman of the T.U.C.

All the witnesses heard by the Tribunal up to the moment of writing have been business men, football pools and sports promoters, and the allegations are that these persons paid handsome sums of money to certain Government officials for favours in the way of increased allocation of paper and import licenses. The evidence so far heard has not revealed whether there is any truth in the allegations but it is expected that the political dynamite said to be contained in the case will explode before very long.

Suffice to say that for the Labour Government it is exceedingly unfortunate that there should be any basis at all for these allegations, and that this incident has occurred so soon after the Garry Allighan case. It is to the Government's credit, however, that it has acted with alacrity in starting investigations whenever complaints against Ministers or ordinary members have justified such action.

Nevertheless, these allegations against prominent members of the Labour Government add to the growing acerbity and give a new sharpness to all sorts of trifling pin-pricks.

CAN ONLY SUSTAIN ITSELF ON POSITIVE PROGRAM

Out of the present confused situation in Britain, three conclusions emerge: first, that the Labour Government has, as yet, offered no full-scale constructive demonstration of promoting a positive political program on behalf of the working-class and as a counter to both Stalinism and Toryism; second, that by nurturing all manner of restrictions and undertaking "purges" of Government departments, they are driving sections of the people into the arms of the Stalinists; third, that the Government is courting disaster if it continues to ask for abstinence from the workers whilst allowing the fruits of abstinence to be reaped by private enterprise.

The Government cannot afford any further major blunders if it is to survive the next election. Its answer to the challenge of both Stalinism and Toryism can only be a positive program of socialist planning capable of satisfying the needs of the people.

Westinghouse Corporation to continue to deny Carner access to classified material. Furthermore, another request made at the appeal hearing on September 3 for reimbursement on lost pay was denied.

At the time of the release of the findings of the Review Board on the Carner case, a hearing was being held before the same board in Washington on the case of Herb Lewin, the other member of Local No. 107 facing the security charge. Reporting on the Lewin hearing in the local union newspaper, Business Agent Frank Bradley said:

"The hearing was held before a group of Army and Navy officers. . .

"The rules of the star-chamber hearing forbid any person present from revealing what took place at the hearing. . .

"For our part, we feel that we have done nothing to hide and would prefer a public hearing where the whole nation could witness a witchhunt in action. . .

"We are determined to protect the civil rights of all our members against this hysterical persecution. . ."

Lewin, like Carner, had been formally charged with suspected membership in the Socialist Workers Party, an organization on Attorney General Clark's "subversive" list. Local No. 107 has reiterated its decision "to fight these cases to the end in co-operation with top officials of both the UE and the CIO."

CAREY GOES UNANSWERED

Following the Navy's announcement of the findings of the Review Board, James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, brought up the Carner-Lewin cases before a Joint Orientation Conference called by the Secretary of Defense in Washington. What transpired is reported in a column by Marquis Childs as follows:

"From both security officials and Westinghouse vice chairman, George H. Bueher, present at the conference, Carey wanted to know what was behind the security charge. . . Carey is now convinced that under the guise of security, the very existence of the union is at stake." The Childs' article pointed out that Lewin and Carner were both active unionists and had consistently fought the Communist Party influence in the unions. Carey's questioning remained unanswered.

Other organizations have expressed interest in carrying on the fight in the Carner case. David Scribner, general counsel for the UE, stated to Carner, "We are presently considering further steps to be taken in this matter and will advise you and Local No. 107."

Mr. Clifford Forster, acting director of the American Civil Liberties Union stated in a letter addressed to the CIO:

"It would seem to us in view of the direct interest of both the CIO and the AF of L in this situation where a worker in private employ has even less rights than a government employee, that a strong move should be made to bring the Industrial Employment Review Board under some higher authority and to insist upon the establishment of fair procedures. I also venture to suggest that the Carner case be taken into the courts by the CIO. If you would regard this favorably the American Civil Liberties Union will be glad to collaborate in every way possible."

SCIENTISTS' STAND

The Federation of American Scientists
(Continued on page 2)

Purges Continue in Poland

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The deviation of Gomulka, ex-secretary-general of the Stalinist Party, has ended "peacefully" without any Moscow Trials or assassinations. Gomulka remains what his name indicates (Gomulka: piece of cheese), a man of . . . cheese. He admitted his errors, confessed his nationalist deviation before a meeting of PPR "activists," and his life was spared. On the other hand, tens of thousands of militants have been purged and expelled from the party. The faction of Gomulka, Kliszko, Kliszeko, Kawauski, Sokorski, etc., is under strict "vigilance."

Although Gomulka's schism slowed down the process of fusion between the PPR and the pseudo-PPS (Socialist Party), the MVD (GPU) is taking punitive measures against all the members of the shadow-parties who are considered "suspicious." Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister, docile instrument of the MVD, proclaimed a campaign against the partisans of the "third force" between the PPR (Stalinists) and the PSY (Mikolajczyk's party). Among those purged have been Hochfeld, because of the thesis he presented at the Wroclaw Congress of the pseudo-PPS, demanding more democracy than Stalin thinks necessary for Poland; Osobka and Schwalbe because they "slowed down Socialist construction in Poland"—poor Osobka served faithfully in installing the dictatorship and the Russian occupation of Poland, was "trusted" by the MVD and has now fallen into disgrace; Drobner and Wachowicz, also have been purged, the former a "Leftist" and ex-leader of the Independent Socialist Party in pre-war days.

To this list we can add the names of Kurylowicz, secretary of the railroad workers union, Topinski and Rusinek. In a word, all these groups

within the pseudo-Polish Socialist Party who have not submitted 100 per cent to the MVD, who have an opinion which differs by so much as a hair's breadth from the official Stalinist line, are being eliminated. This political liquidation is in obedience to the directives issued by the Kremlin to speed the fusion of the "workers' parties" into a single monolithic organization.

NOTHING HELPS

The same process is taking place in the peasant camp, which includes the pro-Stalinist SL, and the remnants of the PSL (Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party), which has been "adapted" to "popular democracy." It seems that the Stalinization of the SL was not sufficient, it being necessary to expel from the party Putek and Wrone, old peasant demagogues and opportunists.

Both, in the period of the Pilsudski dictatorship, supported the government, betraying their party; afterwards they offered their services to Moscow. But one mild criticism by Putek of the servile Stalinist parliament sufficed to bring about their expulsion from the party. Until then, Putek had held the Postal ministry in the Warsaw cabinet.

From the PSL (formerly Mikolajczyk's party) Kiernik has been expelled. He is an ex-minister in the government of 1923, who ordered the slaughter of the Cracow workers. Representative of the Peasant Right, tending toward an alliance with the Right, Kiernik betrayed Mikolajczyk and offered his services to Moscow. The Stalinists utilized his services and are now "liquidating" him as a dirty, worn-out rag.

The pro-government Catholics have also been attacked. The priests, Kacyzinski and Pivowarczyk having been arrested, and the Catholic pub-

lications suspended. The regime increases its offensive under pressure from Moscow.

BASIS OF PURGES

The inquisitorial action is headed by the "President of Poland" himself, Bierut, a Stalinist Trotskyist. Catherine II had less cynicism and more pleasure in installing her ex-lover Poniatowski as King of Poland, than Stalin had when he named as president of a "People's Poland" his ex-policeman, ex-hangman of the Polish section of the GPU, the informer and assassin of his own comrades, Bierut. For Bierut is an old agent of the Russian secret police, of Stalin's "Okhrana," a hangman of the proletarian vanguard of Poland. Now this police "leader" is instructing the "workers' parties" in the interpretation of "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism."

"The transition between popular democracy and Socialism is not a spontaneous but a directed process," according to the policeman, Bierut. . . "It is directed by the proletarian party and the apparatus of the popular state." In a word, we are marching toward the illustrious kingdom of bureaucratic despotism. "The future united party of the proletariat must be based unshakably on a single revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism . . . which is directed and enriched by the great world leader of the proletariat, Generalissimo Stalin. . ."

Now we know everything, toward what the purges of the shadow-parties are leading. Admitted for some time, their purpose is to disarm and destroy the national underground resistance in Poland. All roads, therefore, lead to Moscow. The process of incorporation has profound economic roots, based on the imperialist expansion of Russian Stalinism.

A new crop of bright young men is off to Washington. With Humphrey of Minnesota comes a coterie from the Farmer-Labor Democratic Party of that state. There is talk of the return of Wilson Wyatt. ADA circles have moved into the outskirts of the upper echelons.

The labor leadership has accepted the accolade of victory, acknowledged its achievements and in general reflects great confidence. The masses of working people are also imbued with a great sense of political achievement. But theirs is more of a sense of caution and wait-and-see in the ranks. Too experienced for simple faith, the ranks await some solid achievements.

These sentiments are in marked contrast with expressions in business and conservative circles. Such eminent respectable organs as the New York Herald Tribune and U. S. News & World Report, after cautiously weighing the results, seem to have concluded that not very radical changes impend and that basic trends of the recent period will not be reversed.

MYTH AND REALITY

This careful reasoning by conservative organs should give pause to the new myth-makers of the new New Deal. Myths created in advance perish even more quickly than posthumous ones. A sober evaluation of most probable expectations offers very little reason for rejoicing indeed and it is the function of socialists to forewarn of the probabilities. Labor has indeed achieved a remarkable political success, but it must remain on constant guard and struggle for the fruits of victory, for these will not be handed out for the asking. Labor has already cashed its 1948 political check. It must fight for a full return.

What can be expected? Why is it unlikely that a new period of vast social legislation is now opening? Why is it unlikely that labor's wishes and the profound needs of the people will be fulfilled?

Certain measures which labor has demanded will be achieved. It is clear that the Taft-Hartley law as it was passed by the 80th Congress will go. It is unlikely, however, that the more liberal Wagner Act will replace it. Many of the worst provisions of the Taft-Hartley law will be retained unless the labor movement at this time intensifies its political campaign and, in its own congress assembled, specifies a program of legislative and economic demands and outlines a course of struggle for them.

The closed shop ban will probably be ended. Many employers have deplored it as a hindrance to both unions and corporations. Also likely to be abolished outright is the discriminatory ban on political contributions by unions; in the 1948 election labor

(Continued on page 4)

LABOR ACTION
Will Carry Full Coverage
of

**THE CIO
CONVENTION**

From Its
Special Correspondent
Gordon Haskell

Watch for His Article in
Coming Issues of
LABOR ACTION

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Board Findings on Carner-Lewin

(Continued from page 1) tists has set up a new committee which has indicated to Mr. Carner the continued support of the Federation. Mr. Irving Panzer who was co-counsel and representative of the FAS at the Carner hearings has made a procedural report to the new committee, the Scientists Committee on Loyalty Problems. This committee is to provide information and legal advice to scientists whose loyalty is questioned. Its prospectus stated: "In nearly all cases, the doctrine of guilt by association seems to have been carried to absurd lengths. And it is significant

that 'associations' have been the principal, or perhaps the entire basis for loyalty action." In reply to the Navy's letter transmitting the findings of the Review Board Carner wrote to the Board Chairman, Lt. Col. Farr: "Since these findings do not mitigate any of the losses of income, reputation, and professional status which have resulted from the 'denial of consent,' I am investigating means of further protest against the actions of the Navy." In a further letter to a number of newspapers which carried the afore-

mentioned article by Marquis Childs. Mr. Carner asked the editors of these papers to publicize these security risk cases. Copies of this letter were also sent to a number of socialist publications with a similar request. Specifically mentioned in the letter was the charge that three rights had been violated; the right of union contract, civil rights, and job rights. Regarding the latter Carner stated: "I advocate a change in the social and economic system through action. I believe the interests of the nation would be best served through social ownership of the basic industries and democratic control of those industries and government by the people. . . . I oppose all totalitarian forms, both fascist and Russian dictatorship and any moves by any government including my own, to adopt similar methods. Such a philosophy, in my opinion, should not be a barrier to employment in any position for which the individual is qualified."

WP Offers Sub to Bulletin

The Workers Party Bulletin, containing discussion articles and other interesting material, can now be bought on a subscription basis. Though the Bulletin was always available to those who wished to buy copies, it has sometimes been difficult for people who lacked direct contact with WP branches to get a copy. With the subscription, interested readers can arrange for the mail delivery of ten issues of the Bulletin, which normally appears once a month but which will probably appear more frequently for the next few months. Because of the high cost of producing the Bulletin, it is impossible to offer a reduced rate per copy in the subscription. However, there will be no additional cost for mailing. A sub for 10 issues will therefore cost \$1.50 and can be ordered from the Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Coming issues of the Bulletin will be especially interesting inasmuch as they will contain the pre-convention discussion articles. Subscribers who wish can start their sub with any already published issue, to the extent that copies of these are still available. One special Bulletin, for which a special charge will be made, will soon appear, and can now be ordered. It will contain the statement written by Ernest Erber explaining his resignation from the Workers Party and a reply to it by Max Shachtman. Because of its exceptional size (it will run to 60 pages or more), the charge for that Bulletin will be 25 cents.

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

(Continued from last week) Last week we began the discussion of Norman Thomas and his foreign policy in this column. Using as our source material of an important election speech outlining foreign policy made by the Socialist Party leader, we quoted and commented on (1) his peace proposals and (2) his views on the American occupation of Japan. In this week's column we will quote at length from the same speech made by the Socialist Party's leading spokesman in a continued attempt to see just what Thomas and his party's "socialism" actually consists of.

Certainly, not the Russians. In the event of a Russian military intervention, whom does Thomas propose to stop the Kremlin hordes. The Americans? We suspect that Thomas would not be disinclined to give this question an affirmative answer. Thomas speaks of the possibility of direct or indirect Russian intervention. But isn't the Chinese Stalinist Army, at the very least, the indirect agent of Russia? If that is so, and we doubt that even Thomas would deny it, doesn't that raise the practical problem for him of suggesting a military force to oppose this intervention? Does Thomas propose that a third world war is in order, in defense of the Chinese Government against this indirect Russian intervention.

3. THOMAS ON PALESTINE "In the Middle East, where Truman's characteristic blundering in tactics has impaired American leadership, the best hope of ending a hopeless and tragic situation is through support of action by the United Nations along the lines of Count Bernadotte's recommendations subject to further consideration of the different problems of boundaries. To de jure recognition of Israel, I would add a willingness to loan money to a peaceful Israel. Yes, to its peaceful Arab neighbors." (Emphasis in original text.)

5. MAN ABOVE CLASSES In last week's column we maintained that Thomas has no real class point of view. That is, that he prefers to think of himself as advisor to the American Nation and not as an exponent of the American working class. Just one quote from the Cleveland oration should indicate the truth of this charge: "I am still aware how terribly we Americans impair our championship of democracy by our racial discrimination and economic injustices at home, by a militarism and imperialism not altogether latent and by the grave defects of our policies in Latin America and Asia." (Emphasis ours.)

Perhaps Norman Thomas has some constructive proposals to make to Washington on how best it can avoid "characteristic blundering" and thereby guarantee "American leadership" which is being impaired by Truman's blundering tactics? We'd like to hear them if they exist. As for us of the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League, we have no proposals to make on how to best secure "American leadership" in the Middle East. We recognize the objective of any "American leadership" today for what it is and must be in the Middle East: imperialist penetration and/or control of the destinies of small nations. However, we do make an appeal! An appeal to the oppressed people against "American leadership" — or that of any other imperialist power—and for the establishment of their own independent national state.

Where is the socialist speaking here? It is not "we Americans" impairing "our championship," as Thomas would have us believe, but it is the American capitalist class; and this capitalist class cannot impair its championship of democracy, especially in foreign policy, because it has never been its champion except in the hollow phrases of politicians and in the receptive, and equally hollow mentality of professed "socialists." On the contrary the American government as backed and continues to back the most reactionary governments in all parts of the globe. Witness Chinese government, its backing of the Greek monarcho-fascist regime, its failure to denazify its zone in Germany, its aggressive policy in Latin America. . . . Isn't this the tradition, not of "we Americans," but of the American bourgeoisie in foreign affairs since it became a world power? Not according to Thomas. To him, it only illustrates Truman's "characteristic blundering" and an imperialism "not altogether latent" in "our policies. . . ."

Thomas seriously considers the United Nations and the Bernadotte recommendations as instruments for "ending a hopeless and tragic situation" in Palestine. Thomas may be serious, but that, of course, does not mean that we should take him seriously. At least we are happy to note that the armies of Israel fighting for national freedom have paid little heed to the vicious and reactionary policies of the United Nations. It should be crystal clear even to a man with Thomas' political short-sightedness that for the Jews to have depended on the United Nations would have prevented a successful culmination to their national aspirations.

Reams could be written in criticism of this one speech by Thomas. But everything has a limit, including the length of this column and our patience in wading through and deciphering Thomas' maze-like proclamations. As indicated in last week's column, these remarks are intended especially for those who joined the Student-for-Thomas movement for the valid reason of building up a socialist protest vote, and are now faced with the problem of joining a political party in order to play an active role in socialist politics.

The last part of this quote is the most revealing. Thomas generously proclaims himself in favor of a money-loan to a "peaceful Israel" and "to its peaceful Arab neighbors." But what about Palestine today? Neither the Israelis or the Arabs are peaceful. Does Thomas advocate assistance to the Israelis at war? To the Arabs at war? Not to non-existent peaceful states, but to one or the other warring powers. To our minds, clearly implicit in the emphasized qualification he places on financial aid to a peaceful Israel, is not only a loss of contact with the real world, but an unwillingness to give loans to a warring Israel, fighting for its national rights.

These students might well say to us: "We agree that Thomas is not our idea of a real socialist, but is the Socialist Party responsible for Norman Thomas?" Our answer to this would be the following: First, any socialist party which is a democratic organization would never tolerate its leading spokesman to make one chauvinist speech after another, if the party itself is a militant socialist organization. It would hold the leader of the party responsible to the democratically decided upon viewpoint of the party, not permit him to act like a free agent, who is actually committing his party to his own point of view. The fact of the matter is that in the Socialist Party the leader dictates the public policy of the party.

4. THOMAS ON CHINA. "I should want to do all that could be done economically to aid a peaceful China, and by persuasion in economic aid to stay the march of communism. But in a military sense the best that I or anyone else could do would be to try to use all possible power and influence to keep out direct or indirect Russian or other foreign military intervention. . . ." What is the "other foreign military intervention"? It is not Italy, or Belgium, or Zanzibar. Obviously, the only other possible intervention is American. Thomas understands this too. Then why doesn't he say so? We'll provide the answer: because he is afraid of offending the sensibilities of American imperialism by too blunt an attack upon it.

Second, the program of the Socialist Party as adopted at convention, traditionally says so little, and so ambiguously and so much of it wrong from a socialist point of view, that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether Thomas' speeches are consistent with party platform or not. The Socialist Party platform can mean all things to all people. However, there have been times when Thomas' public position has been in contradiction with his party's program and yet we find no disavowal of these statements by the party in its rather paltry press.

Now, the question is, if Thomas is in favor of using military force only in the event of "direct or indirect Russian or other foreign intervention," who is to provide the military force to oppose the interventionists? Not a United Nations police force. None exists. In the event of American intervention who does Thomas propose to stop the General Sherman tanks?

We do not feel that such a party, a party without a militant socialist program, without real democracy and without a healthy political-intellectual life, can provide answers to current political problems and can offer a way out of the present crisis in mankind.

YPSL ON DEBATE About six weeks ago an open letter was sent to the national organizer of the Young People's Socialist (Continued on page 4)

Bazaar Support Essential ACEWR Relief Funds

NEW YORK—As has been announced in the two previous issues of LABOR ACTION, the American Committee for European Workers Relief is holding a bazaar on December 10 and 11 at its New York headquarters, 130 W. 23rd St. The proceeds of this bazaar will constitute the major part of the funds needed for the operation of the Committee. The independent socialists and trade union militants in Europe whom the Committee aids do not, for obvious reasons, have any access to the relief afforded by the agencies of the Social Democratic or Stalinist parties. They are therefore greatly dependent upon the ACEWR for some of their food, clothing and medicine. These they could not get in Europe without sacrificing so much time and effort as to reduce their lives to an animal-like existence, constantly working and scheming to earn the large sums necessary for these goods.

dependent anti-fascists generally who choose from the stock of foods and clothing on hand. While practically all the clothing is donated, foods are purchased by the Committee, and their high cost makes it particularly difficult to ship the needed quantities to European friends. This holds even more true for medicines. For streptomycin (a drug used in cases of tubercular infections) alone, the ACEWR has spent so far \$577, and that covered but four cases. It has also had to send vitamin shipments to a number of former concentration camp inmates suffering from severe nutritional diseases. In addition to special shipments of food, the Committee is purchasing CARE packages at \$10 each; it can easily be seen to what large sums the food bill thus amounts.

The Committee, on the other hand, must depend for support upon individual workers in the U. S. who are aware of the importance of sustaining their independent socialist brothers in Europe. Contributions of clothing, of volunteer services and a minor part of its funds come from them. The greatest part of the funds, as stated above, are raised at the annually held Christmas Bazaar. The Committee has no wealthy sponsors; it has no paid personnel and carries on its task despite great financial difficulties. While much of the clothing, food and medicines contributed by the Committee goes directly to individuals and their families in France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Greece, etc., always with a view to meeting individual needs, a large part of its aid goes to distribution centers, such as the Solidarite Internationale Ouvriere in Paris. The latter is open on specified days and is visited by socialists, Spanish Republicans and in-

Added to these absolutely necessary expenses are the postage fees, large costs of wrapping materials, rent, etc. The former come to 10 cents per pound, amounting to \$2.20 per 22 pound package, the average weight of each relief package, plus 25 cents average cost of packaging materials. The Committee continues to need YOUR help, because the need for its aid has continued without abatement. Prices for daily necessities (insofar as these are available) in France, for example, are 8 per cent ahead of the workers' wages; in Germany 10 per cent, and wages cover but the barest needs. YOU can help sustain the struggle of the independent socialist and trade union militants of Europe like no one living anywhere else in the world can. The ACEWR depends upon YOUR support at its forthcoming bazaar, at which you will find many fine gifts to buy for your family and friends for Christmas. Also, if you have suitable objects (jewelry, books, lamps, crockery, objects d'art, etc.) to contribute for sale at the bazaar, call: WA 4-4222 or CH 2-5884, and they will be picked up.

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SOCIALISM VS. CATHOLICISM: THE DEBATE HELD IN PITTSBURGH BETWEEN

Max Shachtman — Father Rice
as recorded at the time with the questions and answers of both speakers.
These recordings will be replayed next Saturday, December 5, at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 St., 3rd Floor. Dancing, Refreshments

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Political Opinion And "Security"

The letter that appears below is a copy of a letter sent to the New York Post-Home News. We assume that the Post will publish the letter in whole or in part (more likely the latter), but publish it here because of its special interest to LABOR ACTION readers who have followed the Carner-Lewin case, the sit-down at Westinghouse, and other events flowing from the case.—Ed.

Editor of the New York Post: I am one of the participants in the security cases mentioned in Marquis Childs' column of Nov. 11 which dealt with the "Joint Orientation Conference" held recently in Washington by the Department of National Defense. These "poor security risk" cases of Herb Lewin and mine at the Lester plant of the Westinghouse Corporation reveal in startling detail the drive being conducted against organized labor and political radicals under the guise of security measures.

violation of contract. The second issue is the violation of civil rights. The Navy's letter of June 24th did not list any reasons for its "denial of consent" to access to classified work. It was not until September 1st, two days before my appeal hearing with the Industrial Employment Review Board that I or any interested party was informed that the original action had been taken because there were reports purporting to show that I was a member of an organization appearing on Attorney General Clark's subversive list. More than two months after the hearing I was informed by the U. S. Navy that the findings of the Board had upheld the Navy's action and rejected my appeal for the withdrawal of the "denial of consent." There exists no formal means of further appeal. This procedure of closed hearings before a military tribunal has been protested by the UEW, the CIO, the Federation of American Scientists and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The remaining fundamental issue involved concerns the job rights of individuals with unorthodox philoso-

phy. I advocate a change in the social and economic system through political action. I believe the interests of the nation would be best served through social ownership of the basic industries and democratic control of the industries and government by the people. Because I am serious about the problem of social improvement, I have naturally favored those organizations which have a general socialist orientation, particularly the Workers Party because of its constructive attitude on the union movement, its determination to work for social change, and its uncompromising struggle against Stalinism. I oppose all totalitarian political forms, both fascist and the Russian dictatorship and any moves by any government, including my own, to adopt similar methods. Such a philosophy, in my opinion, should not be a barrier to employment in any position for which the individual is qualified.

Labor unions and socialist groups insist that fair and open hearings be held in designated courts of justice. The unions and others object to: subversive lists, loyalty purges,

denial of bargaining rights, thought control, and guilt by association. The American labor movement recognizes the danger of the Communist Party's influence and leadership and is rejecting both by democratic methods within the unions. The task is not always an easy one. Those who follow the Stalinist line include experts in misleading and confusing the working people. All I have said here, all that James B. Carey said to the Orientation Conference in behalf of the CIO, is well known to Defense officials. Nevertheless, our government continues to attack the labor unions and socialist groups which have proven to be the most consistent fighters against both fascism and Stalinism.

Very truly yours, FRANCIS E. CARNER November 19, 1948

Says if Truman Could, We Can Too

Editor: Let us as socialists take heart at one aspect of the recent elections.

Harry Truman with only guts as a weapon battled his way back into the White House.

Today the cause of socialism is at a desperately low pitch (a la Truman's chances pre-election) but the battle is not over. If Truman can win the confidence of the workers the Workers Party CAN duplicate. As builders, as creators of a new order of society, our vitality will dominate. Is our will, comrades, of a lesser nature than that of a Harry Truman? Fraternally Robert FROST, Calif.

Of Mice and Stocks

The very, very latest in economic theory which attempts to explain the cause of capitalist crisis is this one revealed by the Baltimore Sun: Statistics show a close correlation between sudden sharp declines in the mouse population of the world and stock market price falls. Another correspondent informs us, however, that a correlation has also been established between economic crises and a sharp increase in the population of rats. While we are not yet in a position to check on these conclusions, we are hindered in our researches by methodological ignorance. So we are forced to ask our statistical colleagues how they made these investigations.

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Editorials

AFL in Politics

The AFL convention is still in session in Cincinnati as we write. It is therefore too early to attempt an overall summary of its achievements. However, one thing is clearly noticeable. This AFL convention appears to be more of a political convention than any other we can recall. So far as we were able to see in the press reports (we were unfortunately unable to have a representative of our own at the convention; we will at the CIO convention), economic issues commanded small attention. Though that means overlooking, or giving inadequate or wrong attention to many vital issues that face the AFL membership (new wage increases and the like), it is a sign of progress for the AFL to concern itself with political matters. Of course, little good can be said of some of this political concentration which, from the address of Max Eastman, pleading for a policy of aggressive imperialism, to the address of Junior Kingfish Long, pleading for labor support in Louisiana, can hardly be said to serve labor's interest.

We are, however, most interested in the decisions on political action taken by the convention. Except insofar as they establish that the AFL is in politics to stay, they are a far cry from the pledge made by William Green, AFL president, several weeks before the convention, to support a resolution which would not only keep the AFL in politics but which would also encourage the formation of a national, independent party based on labor. High officials in the AFL, of course, denied that Green meant anything like what he was reported as saying immediately after he made the statement. And there was little hope (even if Truman had not won!), that Green would actually push action on his pledge.

We noted at the time that it, the statement, might have been made with no other purpose than to buttress Truman's campaign ("Vote for Truman today, we'll give you something better next time.") However, Green did come out for a new political formation, and certainly militants in the ranks of the unions at least hoped that Green would stick by his statement. That he did not is not surprising, if disappointing, especially in view of the Truman victory.

To be sure, Truman seems to have gone out of his way to make it clear to the AFL conferences that he is not a "labor president." His message to the convention was less than the AFL leaders had expected in tone or content. And there have been other indications that the AFL leaders are a little irked by Harry's coolness. Nevertheless, the elections did give the labor leadership an excuse on which to peg its attachment to the Democratic Party. Democratic Party chairman McGrath was there, conferring with the leaders. The latter didn't get all the promises they would have liked to have gotten out of McGrath, but, then, McGrath, didn't have to offer them much to keep their support. For their only alternative would have been to take steps to initiate a new political party and that they will not do—not yet anyway, not before a lot more pressure is brought to bear upon them.

What the convention did was to decide to:

1. Continue Labor's League for Political Education, the machinery the AFL had set up for the election campaign, on a permanent basis, nationally and locally.

2. Collect \$700,000 for "educational" purposes over the next fourteen months. (Dan Tobin of the teamsters, in a tough spot because he backed Dewey after years as the head of the Democratic Party's labor campaign in elections rushed in with the first contribution.)

3. Organize political teams in the country's 110,000 rural and urban precincts with a political trade union steward heading a group of voluntary political workers.

It can be immediately observed that this is by no means a labor party, or an independent party program. At least, not in intention. The intention is clearly enough to remain within the Democratic Party, serving its campaigns. McGrath was evidently pleased by the program. He obviously does not take too seriously the talk about the labor leaders taking over the Democratic Party, and converting it into something it is not. Others may be fooled, but McGrath knows that labor leaders who will not back a labor party are not likely to want to attempt the "equivalent" by capturing the Democratic Party, and that,

even should they so want, there is mighty little chance of their getting anywhere trying it. No, this way of "staying in politics" is hardly what is required. But we do not wish to argue with it extensively for the moment. It cannot take the place of an independent political party, and the ranks will, we think, see it in time.

The decision does mark a step forward for the AFL from the days when it would make no kind of political commitment, or take any kind of political stand on the grounds that political affairs were not the business of a union (only of the union leaders in selling one or another of the two capitalist parties to labor.) And, more than that, this "staying in politics" can be converted to the use of labor.

Regardless of its intention or current application, it does set up an organizational machinery which could be the embryo of greater political advances. We are all for these precinct organizations. We may oppose their specific objectives at this or another time. Nevertheless, we hope that the AFL is successful in achieving its nationwide precinct organization. For as we see it, these precinct teams could, in collaboration with CIO and independent unions, be the nucleus of labor party formations.

They will be an excellent place for the ranks to oppose lickspittling after the Democratic Party, and to demand further steps in political organization. And, in conclusion, we think it would augur well for the future if the demands were heard from the day that the precinct groups start operating.

First Test

The first test of labor's ability to cash in on its electoral success will take place before the legislative session actually opens. It will occur over the organization of the Congress itself. For the committees of Congress are extremely powerful and are often in a position to jettison or table indefinitely bills and proposals presented by members of Congress.

The entire legislative program of the trade unions, which includes Taft-Hartley repeal, re-enactment of the Wagner Act, extension of rent control, extensive federally-financed home construction, restoration of price-ceiling and anti-discrimination laws, to mention just a few, depends in the first instance on who sits on the committee which plans these bills and who composes the steering committees of both houses. This is test number one because if the union leadership is unable to determine these preliminaries then its entire program is in jeopardy.

It is the primary test in another sense. The strategy of the labor leadership's dependence on the Democratic Party is based on the assumption that it can achieve its goals through this particular capitalist political party. This leadership must now form the groundwork for its legislative proposals or face the prospect of the defeat of its entire strategy, because if the Democratic majorities in both houses organize anti-labor committees, then the most that can be expected is running guerrilla warfare between the factions of the Democratic Party.

The New York Times describes the present line-up as follows: "Conservative, old-line Senators and Representatives . . . will for the most part rule over the new Congress. . . . Ten of the top chairmanships are slated to go to Southerners. They are mostly conservative former chairmen of a decade ago who took the lead in side-tracking many of the late President Roosevelt's 'new deal' policies."

The key congressional post is that of Senate majority leader. Key man in line for this job is Senator Scott Lucas who has a consistent anti-labor record. He voted for the Smith-Connolly Anti-Strike Act, the Case Bill, Truman's labor draft bill, and of course, like a majority of the Democrats, for the Taft-Hartley Act.

The most powerful committee in the House is the Rules Committee. This committee determines the order of the bills, time allotments for discussion, right of amendment. In line for chairmanship or at least decisive control of this committee are representatives Gene Cox and Howard Smith, both arch reactionaries.

Without control of funds and appropriations many proposals, even if carried, can be chipped away, or reduced to nothing. The Finance and Taxes Committee can cripple the functioning of government bureaus as it did the Bureau of Labor Statistics two years ago. The seniority rule gives this chairmanship to race-baiting Walter George in the Senate and conservative representative Doughton, 84 years old, from North Carolina, in the House; Tennessee's Kenneth MacKeller, up to now an errand boy for the Crump machine, will head Senate appropriations.

If the labor leadership fails to clear this hurdle, it can expect very bitter returns indeed on its great pre-election activity.

Reactionary control of Congress is a normal consequence of the Democratic Party's victory, for it is this group which occupies key positions by right of seniority. In this party, seniority rule is the rule for committee chairmanships; it is not a law; it is a Congressional practice. But its absoluteness is even greater than the force of law. It is not deviated from.

The Bazaar

Elsewhere in this issue, and in the last two issues of LABOR ACTION, we have advertised and published accounts of a Bazaar being organized by the American Committee for European Workers Relief. We should like now to add our editorial plug for what you can read in the ad and in the news stories.

The work of the ACEWR is a worthy cause, an elementary act of solidarity between workers, between socialists. Though it lacks the funds to operate on a grand scale, what it does do is vital to those who receive its aid. And what it does can be improved by more funds, more resources.

Annually the ACEWR holds Bazaars in various cities, of which the principal one is that held in the New York City. There would be little profit in the Bazaar if the ACEWR had to buy the merchandise that will be sold. It therefore appeals, and we urge you to heed its appeal, for the contribution of articles that can be put on sale.

Beyond that, however, we urge your presence at the bazaar itself. You will profit, ACEWR will profit, and European socialists who depend upon it will profit. If you live in New York City or plan to visit it on the week-end of December 10 and 11, put the Bazaar on your list. You will enjoy it. And you will be the gainer if you make a purchase.

WORLD POLITICS

The Ruhr:

In northwestern Germany, stretched along the banks of a muddy river, lies one of the world's great natural resources and industrial centers—the famous Ruhr district. This area of great coal supplies, combined with massive iron and steel works, has long been Europe's industrial heart. Thanks to the intense bombing of the last war, its cities are masses of rubble and its great factories are largely twisted wrecks of buildings. But underground lies the coal, still easily attainable, and in the cities of Düsseldorf, Essen, Wuppertal, Renscheid, Duisburg, Dortmund etc. great source of manpower—hundreds of thousands of skilled miners, iron and steel workers—are available. The war halted Ruhr productivity, but did not destroy it. The Ruhr is back at work again, and the chronic struggle for its riches and a share of its products has broken out all over again.

That the Ruhr produces again is easy to prove. Coal volume is soaring and will reach 80 million tons this year. Next year's production will be almost that of the pre-war period. Already, the Ruhr produces its one-fifth proportion of Europe's total coal; the same as before the war. Steel production is now at 5 million tons a year, still far below the 13 million record of 1937, but climbing steadily if permitted to do so.

The present struggle over the Ruhr is primarily one between United States and French imperialism, although other factors are involved. Russia, for example, would clearly settle the Berlin question in five minutes time flat if it could receive a share of Ruhr production, a word in its management, and veto power over the distribution of its products. In the new Ruhr battle, one of the major concentration points of Stalinist propaganda in France will be the fight against the new, proposed American-British plan for the Ruhr. Here again French Stalinism will find de Gaulle as its tactic ally.

THE NEW UNITED STATES PLAN

The Ruhr issue has drifted on for three years and now America proposes to settle it clearly and once for all. Since the United States leans more heavily on a revival of western Germany as part of its whole Marshall Plan strategy, it is natural that it should be most anxious to set the Ruhr going again at full capacity and speed, within limits set by America. Western Germany is conceived of, more and more, as being a powerful economic buffer between America and Russia, particularly under the impress of the sensational economic recovery now going on in that country. Coal and steel are the heart of this recovery, and America wants mounting production. Therefore, the new plan which the French so bitterly oppose.

What is this plan? Until now, the military governments of the occupying powers (with Russia excluded) have held possession of the Ruhr and its resources and operated them with German-appointed officials. An international body was created last year in London, with the United States, England and their German appointees having a voting majority, to apportion the coal, coke and steel produced to the various Marshall Plan nations. This body was the formal management, but the question of ownership was not settled at that time.

The new proposal, in essence, is that the power of this international body is to be liquidated, except insofar as general supervision and overseeing is concerned, and the ownership and management of the Ruhr is to be placed in the hands of German "trustees" until a formal German government—now in process of creation at Bonn—shall decide what to do. In other words, what appears to be proposed is a return of the Ruhr mines and factories to German control.

This announcement of the British and Americans provoked a violent French reaction, particularly on the part of France's would-be dictator, General de Gaulle. The spectre of a revived militarist-Hitler Germany is

flaunted, and de Gaulle's interview with the press emphasized his deep conflict with American imperialism so far as French foreign policy is concerned. The French claim their "interests" are being double-crossed; that western Germany is favored in the Marshall Plan as against France; that the Germans are not the ones to settle the ultimate ownership of the Ruhr etc. They demand that the London board control management at least, and not alone distribution in the future. "The International Authority for the Ruhr," said M. Alphonse, French delegate to the new London conference, "should exercise detailed control over the policy of the Ruhr coal, coke and steel industries for an indefinite period after the end of the occupation of Germany." It is quite clear that French economic and imperialist policies have been badly trampled upon by the United States, and that a source of serious conflict (long foreseen by Moscow) has begun.

WHAT IT WILL MEAN

We are not much interested in the French protests and complaints. They fit into the general pattern of imperialist rivalries and conflicts within the so-called Western bloc, and will be solved by various makeshift concessions and the like. France is hardly in a position to back up its complaints with action, and will be forced—after the formalities are over—to accept what has been decided by the others. He who has the economic whip-hand (the United States) cannot be deterred by the pipsqueak complaints of a Vincent Auriol, or the squawks of a de Gaulle. The strategy of the U. S. is to set western Germany on its feet, and that means the Ruhr.

Of real importance is this: precisely what does the U. S. intend to do with the Ruhr, under their new proposition? Is this great productive area to be used for the reconstruction of Germany, the rebuilding of its cities and industries? Or shall it fit into the plans of American imperialism? The key to that question, of course, is who shall own, manage, control and regulate the products of the Ruhr. Under the American plan, the answer is clear. German trustees will be appointed by the Military Government which shall remain in supervision until an ultimate decision has been made. Who will these "trustees" be? No indication has yet been given, but it will certainly be from among the old, "denazified" group of former magnates, managers and capitalists. Union representatives are not to be included among the "trustees." Properties held by Western allies (such as the ex-Stinnes works) are exempted from trusteeship.

The British-begun process of "decentralization" is to be halted. A vague statement against "concentration" has been made, but the steel mills will be reorganized so that they can regain control over coal and iron ore holdings—that is, the familiar American "vertical integration" technique is planned. An American official has stated that, "Under the British operation the former giant combines have been broken up too much. . . ." The new tendency will be towards restoration of the old monopolist structure within limits set by America.

The meaning of this, of course, is that America is leading a powerful hand toward resurrecting, in a form suitable to it, the old German capitalist class. A new western Germany is now being shaped, by the United States and England, and the image is almost entirely to American liking so far. In this new Germany, America must have its representatives and supporters who have fundamental social and economic ties with this country. Part of them, so Truman intends, shall be a newly-revived group of Ruhr magnates, managers and capitalists. Certainly not the former gang of mighty monopolists (Stinnes, Krupp et al.), but a new version—a post-war model—of this crew of warmakers and imperialists.

In next week's LABOR ACTION we shall continue and conclude this discussion of the Ruhr problem, taking up the attitude of European socialists and their proposals.

Henry JUDD



WOBBLY, by Ralph Chaplin. The University of Chicago Press, 1948, 427 pages.

Aside from P. F. Brissenden's book, no one has attempted a thorough and serious study of that distinctly American rebel movement, the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW, or the "Wobblies" as they were alternately called with hatred and affection, was a short-lived movement. But in its meteoric rise during the years of the First World War it set patterns of labor struggle which have left their mark on the subsequent development of the American labor movement.

When one thinks of the IWW, one first recalls its brave struggles, the persecution and lynching of so many of its leaders and the hopeless odds the new movement of revolutionary industrial unionism faced in their battle against the powerful, ruthless and murderous gang of monopolists and their government. But the Wobblies did succeed in organizing thousands of workers, lumberjacks, harvest hands, textile workers, miners and scores of migratory workers. The class-struggle preamble of the IWW reflected the socialist and Marxist influence on a movement that tried desperately to be non-political (its chief ideological weakness) while it fought endless political battles. And—though it embraced a select and small section of the conscious proletariat of this country—the movement was indeed the most militant we had come to know in the United States.

When the announcement was made that Ralph Chaplin was writing *Wobbly*, one had a right to expect an invaluable contribution to the great history of this heroic movement. Chaplin, the poet of the IWW, the author of "Solidarity Forever," was for many years a leader of the IWW. He played an important and intimate part in its development. Those who knew him well, and even those who were merely chance ac-

quaintances were always favorably impressed by this poetic person of fine manners and consistent activity in behalf of victims of class warfare and class justice. And though one wondered in recent years what had become of this man, no one doubted that he remained a steadfast rebel to the end.

The book, therefore, comes as a shock to memories which go back some years and recall the old Chaplin. He has not written a history of the IWW; he has not written even a full and accomplished story of the movement. His book is his life story—from proletarian rebel and poet of the class struggle to American patriot, a man who has embraced Christ and Christianity in his waning years.

The story of the IWW thus becomes a lean portion of the book. Although there are some fine chapters on Joe Hill, on the early struggles of the American working class against what is possibly the most vicious and murderous capitalist class we have known in modern times, and some fine sketches of Bill Haywood, Frank Little, Gene Debs and Vincent St. John, the book is a terrible disappointment. Throughout the story Chaplin interweaves his own doubts, ideological procrustations, and periodic revulsion to the struggle. He reveals that he is a typical victim of poisoning by the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the principles and practices of Stalinism.

Chaplin explains his slowly paced travel away from socialism on grounds that are quite familiar these days. Equating socialism and Stalinism, he regards the abolition of capitalism fearfully because a working class triumph would produce "a new ruling class, just as arrogant, just as merciless, and just as predatory as its predecessor." Lacking pertinent theoretical or, rather, ideological conceptions, he is exceedingly and unfavorably impressed by the fact that Stalinists sing his song "Solid-

arity Forever," a song which he no longer looks upon fondly.

He has discovered the "new" factor of life. Thus, he writes, "Freeing my faculties of the Socialist notion of materialistic monism had given me an awareness of the moral factor." You can almost guess at what is coming next. It appears in interrogatory form:

"Who else but Christ had ever linked humankind with the purpose of universal law? Who else had by his own message and example, ever proved himself worthy of world leadership? Who else had ever stated the mechanics of unlearning hatred and learning love? Who else had called the attention of all men to the terrible responsibilities and immeasurable reward of freedom?"

And so? Ralph Chaplin joined the First Congregational Church of Tacoma. The man who went to jail for his opposition to the First World War, worked for the Red Cross, the USO and the War Chest during the slaughter just past. And he ends the book with his message:

"I do not wish to finish my story by appending any glib panacea for the ills of the world. Someone smarter than I will have to come up with the ultimate answers. About all I have been able to salvage from many and varied contacts with the realities of American life is a certain awareness of growth and becoming based on the general principles of collaboration with God's universal law instead of collaboration with Chaos. But with this as chart and compass, I am no longer wandering in strange fields."

Some are only just starting out on the multiple roads that lead from socialism, the one hope of humanity. Others are far along these same, according to their lights. Ralph Chaplin is one who has already arrived at the inglorious impasse that is the reward of such travel.

Albert GATES

OFF LIMITS
By
James M. Fenwick

PRICES: THEY'RE OFF!

We would like to call the attention of C. Wright Mills and the rest of the sociology people to an event of sympathetic importance. We refer, of course, to the recent opening in Newark, New Jersey, of the Man-o'-War Horsemeat Market ("The Fastest Steaks in Northern New Jersey").

Not knowing much about horseflesh, except for certain parts of the anatomy which we have on occasion been identified with, we dropped into the market the other day to see how things were going.

"What'll it be, pal?" asked the butcher as we entered.

"I'd like something in a nice, two-pound steak," we replied.

"You want to eat it today or tomorrow, pal?"

"Why?"

"The paper says rain for tomorrow, pal."

"What's the gimmick? Pal."

"Well, if you want it for tomorrow, pal, I'll give you this piece here. It's from a great mudder."

"YUK, YUK, YUK!" we both screamed.

Having, as we sociologists say, established ourselves on the same—if low—level of abstraction, we got down to more serious matters.

BUSINESS IS BOOMING

"How's business," we asked, "pal?"

"Booming, pal. We're going to open two more stores—the Gallant Fox Horsemeat Market, and the High Strung Horsemeat Market."

"How do you account for your success?"

"It's economics, pal—that old high cost of living. People can't afford to buy regular meat."

"How does the future look to you?"

"Rosy, pal, rosy."

"How do you figure?"

"Look, pal, the day when you could run a business on—it's a gag, pal—horse sense is over. You gotta be an analyst."

"Analyst? Psychoanalyst?"

"BUSINESS analyst, pal—like this Jack Ranger. Boy, what a horsemeat market he could run!"

IT MEANS . . . MORE HORSEMEAT!

"How do you work it?"

"Look, pal, it's like I'm reading in this quotation from Leon H. Keyserling in an article by Fritz Sternberg in the *Nation*: 'Among families with incomes under \$2,000 a full quarter suffered actual decreases of income during this period'—since 1946—and an additional 40 per cent of these families received no increase in income. . . . real earnings of all wage earners have declined about 10 per cent since June, 1946! You know what that means, pal?"

"What?"

"Horsemeat, pal, horsemeat. Or listen to this by Sternberg: 'Radical measures to combat inflation are not to be expected. The power of the big corporations has been so increased that they are able to block any serious anti-inflationary measure.' You know what that means, pal?"

"Horsemeat?"

"No, pal, MORE horsemeat, MORE horsemeat. If you'd like a gander a little farther into the future, listen to this by Thomas Sancton in the same issue of the *Nation*: 'In a future war the anticipated shortages of consumer goods would create a black-market problem and general inflationary bidding for scarce items that would require more stringent controls than in the last war. This short supply of goods, combined with the astronomical expansion of the war debt, would make imperative a drastic tax rate on earnings and salaries.' And if you want to go still further here's the *U. S. News and World Report* sounding off on the post-World War III world: 'The dollar of today, worth less than 60 cents in pre-war purchasing power, readily could become the 10-cent dollar of the times after World War III.' You know what that means, pal?"

"Horsemeat?"

"Yep, granddaddy was a dope. When the old gray mare got to the point of not being what she used to be, grandpaw never thought of eating her. O tempora, O mores, pal."

Books about SOCIALISM AND LABOR

C. WRIGHT MILLS
The New Men of Power \$3.50

ANTHONY Bimba
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ECHOES OF THE APRA DEFEAT IN PERU

The Totalitarian Reaction in South America

By JUAN REY

LIMA, Peru—The defeat of Nazism in the Second World War inspired a series of popular movements, of anti-totalitarian, anti-capitalist "revolutions" in South America. In Peru, the bloody military dictatorship of Benavides was liquidated. Under the transitional regime of Manuel Prado, the powerful popular movement, the "APRA" (Popular American Revolutionary Alliance), led by Haya de la Torre, won legality. In Venezuela, the Democratic Alliance of Betancourt and Gallegos eliminated the corrupt Medina regime, and installed a transitional dictatorship which paved the way for elections and guaranteed the ensuing regime.

In Chile, the leadership of the popular, anti-Nazi movement fell into the hands of the Stalinists who favored the candidacy of Gonzale Videla for president, with the hope of using him as a puppet to bring about a Stalinist dictatorship in a South American country. In Paraguay, several revolutions against the regime of the tyrant Morinigo broke out, the latter finally being compelled to abandon the country and take refuge in Buenos Aires. In Bolivia, a popular revolution overthrew the native fascist regime of the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), hanging the president, Villaroel, and his aides from lampposts in front of the government palace.

In Colombia, the masses under the leadership of the Liberal leader, Gaitan, hoped to eliminate the government of the semi-feudal Conservative party. The weak link in this chain was the defeat of the Radicals and Socialists in Argentina, and the victory of Colonel Juan Domingo Peron.

All these movements were the consequence of the defeat of Hitlerism in Europe. Among the masses there existed the fervent belief that the victory of "Democracy" and Stalinist "socialism" had opened a new epoch of social and national emancipation in Latin America for the working-class and the popular masses; that

imperialist oppression was at an end, and that a new epoch of Pan-American fraternity had begun. In essence, the wave of popular rebellions in South America was a distant echo of the splintered, subjugated mass upheavals in Europe that was cut in half by the iron curtain.

The Second World War did not resolve any of the fundamental problems of humanity, did not bring forth any new ideas, or deliver to the light of day any social revolution as did the First World War. Nothing occurred in the West. A brief Capitalist-Stalinist idyll was replaced by open reaction both in the United States as in Russian and Eastern Europe. The reaction in the United States sapped popular hopes in Latin America, caused an ebbing of the popular wave, and brought the advent of a strong social and political reaction.

What we are witnessing, therefore, is a series of reactionary, anti-popular, anti-democratic movements in Latin America. Their main aim is the liquidation of the popular movements of a few years ago.

The political alliance between the APRA and ex-president Bustamante y Ribera in Peru was dissolved by the bourgeois sector, and the regime established in the 1945 election liquidated. The Bustamante government immobilized the parliament with its Aprista majority, and initiated rule by decree. The APRA went over into opposition, trying to force the government to retreat. But instead of preparing a broad, popular movement, whose backbone would have been a general strike directed by the APRA-controlled Peruvian Federation of Labor, and supported by the native peasant movement, Haya de la Torre's party aborted the great movement of popular opposition with a military uprising in the port city of Callao in traditional Latin American style.

The entire political strategy of the APRA has been an error, beginning

with the Bustamante alliance and ending with the still-born Callao "revolution." If it is true, as the Peron controlled press asserts, that Haya de la Torre had a tacit agreement with the American State Department and the American Embassy in Lima, then we have a new example of the political incapacity of the "Yankees" in South America.

The revolutionary legend of Haya de la Torre and his party have not stood up under practical examination. For many years the Apristas played with the fantasy of the "democratic revolution," but they did not know how to realize it when the hour struck. This defeat may very well finish off the Aprista movement.

The aborted revolution has ended in a counter-revolution. In Peru, the Colonels Llosa and Odría have harvested the fruits of the revolutionary make-believe of the APRA. A military counter-revolution, totalitarian in character, has triumphed under the fascist slogans of "order, work and progress." The links between the Peruvian militarists and Argentine's Peron are pretty evident. The Peruvian proletariat led by the APRA and the CTP (Peruvian Federation of Labor) has been defeated and delivered up to the soldiery, thanks to the "heroism" in words of the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. The Peruvian Stalinists have much cause for their cursed joy. According to the statements of Colonel Llosa (leader of the first attempt at counter-revolution), the Stalinist chief, Rabines, supported the totalitarian coup. Peru has sunk into the night of terror and totalitarian reaction.

In neighboring Bolivia, the totalitarian forces are conspiring against the constitutional regime of Dr. Herzog. The initiative is being taken by the MNR, which was overthrown and defeated in 1946. The MNR enjoys the support and financial aid of Peron. After several thwarted attempts to overthrow the government, the Bolivian Nazis have arrived at an

agreement with the Stalinist party, the PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left). The Nazis control the factory and mining unions, the Stalinists the railroad unions. At the instigation of the two totalitarian parties, these unions signed an agreement to organize a general strike whose formal aim was to be the enactment of a workers retirement law, and a family aid law.

The retirement law is an old demand of the Bolivian workingclass, which is terribly impoverished and enslaved by the large enterprises. But the Nazis and Stalinists abuse the demands of the workers, transforming them into a reactionary political weapon for their own purposes. The government resorted to a state of siege against the revolutionary plan, and to military mobilization against the railroad workers' strike. The Nazi leaders have been deported to the fever-ridden, unhealthy regions of Beni. The state of siege permitted the government to do the same with members of the Stalinist parliamentary group.

It is certain that the Stalinist deputies sensed the danger involved to themselves, because they retreated. The railroad union has come to an agreement with the government and called off the general strike. The government, in turn, has revoked the military measures on the railroads, and sent a draft of a retirement law to the Bolivian parliament. The totalitarian offensive based on the workers' organizations controlled by the Nazis and Stalinists was forced to retreat. But the danger remains latent, in view of the fact that these two forces control a majority of the organized working class. The remedy lies in liberating the Bolivian workers from the Nazi-Stalinist influence, encouraging a union movement free of totalitarian influences, and developing a true revolutionary Socialist party.

The totalitarian offensive creates the danger of a rightist dictatorship of the big mining interests, or of a

military - bonapartist dictatorship. There are signs that the present regime, based on an equilibrium of social forces, no longer satisfies the capitalist right, which demands a "strong government."

In Chile, the Stalinists are constantly preparing to bring off a coup against the regime of their candidate and ex-ally, President Videla. But lacking a Nazi ally rooted in the masses, they have least chance of success in this country. In Paraguay, a "revolutionary" movement with Peronist ties has taken power.

We are confronted by a chain of reactionary movements, totalitarian in character, whose focal point is Argentinian Peronism. Over and beyond the general causes which we have already partially analyzed, the main aim of this movement is to form a Peronist bloc in South America against "Yankee Imperialism." The Stalinist Fifth Column plays along with this tendency, and in view of its own impotence supports the totalitarian Peronist movement. This is especially evident in the declarations of Colonel Llosa on the support given by the Stalinist leader, Rabines, and in the PIR-MNR agreement in Bolivia, as well as Stalinist benevolence toward Peron. The growth of native totalitarianism is due in large part to the failures of the APRA, its political defeats, and the arrogant, stupid intervention of the American Embassies and the FBI. After the Braden affair in Buenos Aires, of Yankee impotence in Bogota, come the latest intervention in Lima and Bolivia, which is as stupid as it is disastrous.

Revolutionary working class socialism in South America combatting Peronism and Stalinism, must oppose the arrogance and domination of Yankee Imperialism, forming a third front of authentic national and social emancipation in Latin America.

What Do People Think About the New Deal?

By SUSAN GREEN

Polls have been so thoroughly discredited that one hesitates to refer to them in any way, shape or manner. Yet a pre-election survey taken by the magazine Fortune (quoted by pollster Elmo Roper in his column "What People Are Thinking") is worth attention. This survey which dealt with the American people's reaction to the New Deal, showed before the election that, in the moderate words of Mr. Roper, "the people of this country are not opposed to the liberal objectives and nature of the New Deal legislation."

One question included in the survey was: "Thinking back to the last depression, would you say that the New Deal measures under Roosevelt on the whole did more good than harm or more harm than good?" Of the people asked this question over 61 percent thought the New Deal did more good than harm; over 23 percent felt the opposite to be true; the remaining 15 percent expressed no opinion.

Following the same theme, namely, the New Deal and the depression, the next question was: "Would you say that the New Deal measures under Roosevelt shortened the depression considerably, shortened it a little, or did not shorten it at all?" The answers indicated an even more favorable reaction to the New Deal. Almost 66 percent of the respondents were of the opinion, rightly or wrongly, that the measures credited to Roosevelt shortened the depression, with 38 percent of that number believing that these measures shortened the depression CONSIDERABLY. Only 13 percent expressed no opinion and 20 percent replied that the New Deal did not shorten the crisis at all.

The final question along the same line was: "Would you say that the New Deal measures under Roosevelt lessened the severity of the depression on the people than were sure that the legislation shortened the crisis. Nearly 75 percent of the participants in the survey thought that the New Deal helped the people during the depression, with more than 41 percent believing the help was CONSIDERABLE. Accordingly, the number of those having the opposite opinion dropped to a mere 12.8 percent and the number with no opinion was only 11.8 percent.

PEOPLE WANT MORE

Putting some flesh on these bare figures, what do we have? There was the intervening war period when the New Deal was exchanged for the Raw Deal — when Roosevelt discharged Dr. New Deal and hired Dr. Win-the-War who prescribed the no-strike pledge and the wage-freeze for labor but fat, juicy profits for capital. Still the people remember that the government, under the compulsion of a crisis, did something for them. The people do not figure that the Roosevelt administration was following an enlightened capitalist policy to pull the capitalist system out of a crisis that threatened to engulf it. Neither do the people now complain of the extent of the help then given. They remember merely that it was help. They approve of legislation that is "for the people." Indeed by their vote on election day they clearly said they want more of the same.

Still another question included in the Fortune survey was even more concrete on the function of government: "Do you think the government should provide for all people who have no other means of obtaining a living?" Though stilted and limited in wording, the implications of this question are plain. It implies a certain responsibility of the government to the people, a responsibility to see that they get the wherewithal to live. The staunch individualists answering this question, which is one of principle, numbered 18.9 percent of the to-

tal, less than one fifth. Those with no opinion were fewer on this question than on any other, a mere 8.1 percent. Those wishing to place responsibility on the government were 73 percent of the total, almost three fourths.

Just why the pollsters, having this information, did not change their prophecies as the Truman campaign got under way using the slogans, promises and phraseology of the New Deal, is one for the books. To serious political thinkers the information gathered in this "Fortune" survey can mean only one thing. During the last twenty years a profound revolution has taken place in what used to be the definitely individualistic thinking of the people of this country.

Moreover, the idea that the function of government is to take care of the people, is considered by the great majority of those polled by "Fortune" as quite American. In a test on word associations, 13.6 percent connected the word "Radical" with the New Deal; only 12 percent linked "Regimentation" with it; and at the bottom of the list 8.2 percent associated "Communist" with New Deal. Thus, government "for the people" seems to dovetail into the democratic conceptions of the country. Of course, the question is whether capitalist government which is not of and by the working masses can be for them in a lasting and basic sense.

That there is criticism of the methods of the New Deal, though not of its avowed purpose, was indicated in that 32.4 percent of the respondents associated the words "red tape" with the New Deal and 30.6 percent connected the word "Wasteful" with it. But the pay-off is that Dewey whose strong points were exactly the elimination of red tape and waste, was defeated in favor of Truman's positive promises for liberal legislation wanted by farmers, workers and consumers.

Youth - -

(Continued from page 2)

League (YPSL), challenging him—or anyone his organization chooses—to debate the question, "Is Bolshevism Totalitarian?" This challenge was sent, not because we feel that the whole problem is of burning importance for the socialist movement today, but because the YPSL leadership has made it of such paramount importance that they wrote a public document stating that Trotskyists, because of their defense of bolshevism, should be excluded from "all voluntary organizations."

One would think that the YPSL leadership would jump to meet its moral responsibility and defend what appears to be on the surface, at least, its Stalinist totalitarian principle of excluding Trotskyists from "all voluntary organizations." Instead of a reply to this proposal, the only communication the SYL has received from the YPSL was a letter proposing that the two organizations, together with three other socialist youth groups, all participate in a symposium on "Which Road to Socialism?" The absurdity of this YPSL wiggle to get out of facing an SYL spokesman on the question of bolshevism, is all too apparent to be even interesting.

The SYL, of course, ACCEPTED the symposium idea, but made it clear in a letter that we do not consider our Open Letter proposal to debate has been answered.

This Saturday night, November 27, the SYL will have a Gala Social at 114 W. 14 Street, N. Y. C. Everybody is invited. Saturday will mark the debut of the WP-SYL Choral Group, singing Old English and French ballads and rounds. Also on the program is a skit, which will be a take-off on Edgar Allan Poe's "Tell-Tale Heart." Admission is 35 cents.

Labor Offensive Seen Need Under "New New Deal"

(Continued from page 1)

had already nullified this law by many ingenious dodges and in fact contributed millions to the coffers of the Democratic Party. One of the most reprehensible decisions of the NLRB may also be destroyed, the one which gives scabs exclusive voting rights in a strike. Some of the more blatantly destructive injunction provisions may be abolished or modified.

WHAT WILL REMAIN

But without a carefully coordinated and unified labor offensive many other legal provisions will remain and the legal instruments of Taft-Hartleyism will still be an additional club in the hands of the corporations.

It is unlikely at present that the non-communist affidavit requirement will be abolished. Many labor leaders themselves are for its retention as a means of strengthening their conservative political positions and against the Stalinists. The fact that this is a form of direct political oppression

which is part of the super-patriotic hysteria of which all labor is the victim does not disturb some parts of the labor bureaucracy. The non-communist affidavit requirement has inaugurated an era of inter-union strife and raiding which is wreaking havoc in several unions and this situation is liable to be intensified.

The jurisdictional strike is also likely to continue under ban in a new labor law. The same is probably true for the secondary boycott, which for many unions is a matter of life or death, as for the printers for example.

President Truman has already indicated by hints and trial balloons sent up by his close associates that the National Emergency Strike sections of the Taft-Hartley act will remain substantially intact. These provisions have already been used against the miners and railroad men. They are clearly applicable to oil workers, longshoremen, seamen, teamsters and public utility workers. There are no clearly demarcated

limits and could be extended to all workers.

This part of the law provides for fact-finding committees, 80-day cooling off periods and injunctions. As used against the miners and railroad men it was a strikebreaking procedure. It should be remembered that Truman never opposed this most vicious part of the law and in fact is the originator of this fact-finding and 80-day strike ban arrangements. Long before the Taft-Hartley law itself Truman used these weapons against labor.

NO LIBERAL ERA

Two conclusions are clear: 1. Government interference against unions will continue. The freedom of unions will be limited by legal restrictions. Only some of Taft-Hartley provisions will be abolished. Labor's number one objective in the 1948 elections will probably not be achieved unless it develops a strategy of struggle. 2. If the probable developments de-

scribed above actually come to pass, any idea of a revived liberal era or a return of first New Deal is simply dangerous nonsense.

In the days following the Truman victory there was much talk of abolishing the Un-American Activities committee by J. Parnell Thomas. This week Senator McGrath, national chairman of the Democratic Party, hinted that this committee could have a function if it modified its practices.

Whatever disposition is finally made of the committee as such the system of loyalty oaths which Truman introduced and which is being extended with every government contract to all sections of private industry is not scheduled for change. J. B. Carey, executive secretary of the CIO, has pointed out in the case of Carner and Lewin at UE Local 107 Westinghouse, that the so-called "security program" hinders the free functioning of unions stewards and by-passes regular grievance machinery of labor contracts in favor of secret loyalty boards decrees. A regime of political terror is spreading throughout the country and in the unions to begin with, under the general formula of anti-communism. Truman's election will not reverse this trend.

One of the crying needs of the people is for a vast housing program of some ten million new low rental, federally financed units. Will there be an adequate housing program? Rent ceilings will be continued by all present indications. But a housing program comes up against several obstacles which are rooted in the foreign policy of American imperialism—a policy which is not only bi-partisan but tri-partisan since it has the vehement endorsement of the labor leadership.

For example, plans for an Atlantic defense system of coordinated military expansion with the West European Marshall Plan countries seems to be in the cards. The military budget of the U. S. is near 18 billions and is slated to rise to about 18 billions next year. It is not only a matter of high sums but also of the material these allocations buy. Will steel go to guns, battleships and planes by priority arrangements or to housing? Will electrical equipment, plumbing materials, cement, go to housing under such an expanded military program? Can American imperialism provide guns and housing? In endorsing the program of American imperialism the labor bureaucracy has not faced this contradiction.

SOCIAL BENEFITS

Similar considerations operate in the case of the national health program of cradle to grave, free government sponsored care and extension of social security.

A national health program such as this would cost billions and it is unlikely that anything less than a labor government would place it above national militarization. While social

security may be extended to new groups not covered by the present law it is unlikely that benefits will be raised to the twenty-five dollar weekly minimum that government bureaus have pointed out as essential.

In fact, every extension of social benefits would come up against the military requirements. The 80th Congress cut tax income by about five and a half billion dollars last year. National budget, basically in the military field, is due to expand by 44 or 45 billions. In other words, barring any substantial changes for the better in the international sphere, the government will attempt to reinstate the tax cut of last year and also make up for the one and a half billion dollar current deficit as well as include new military expenses. The tax cuts will probably be done away with but such an enormous budgetary expansion and drain on the economy will only, at best, provide for the needs of the aggressive foreign military needs. They will not provide for a large-scale social program. That is not the main business of the imperialist government today.

On the other hand, precisely the militarization of American society may make possible a national FEPC and some federal intervention on prices to limit the inflation. Although these measures too must be fought for tenaciously if they are to be achieved substantially and not be loaded with all sort of hedges which could be used against labor.

The above is an attempt at a tentative balance sheet of political expectations. It is not over-drawn in any extreme, yet it is clear that militarization and the social welfare of labor are in conflict and cannot be ignored as the labor leadership seems to believe. In this their policy is treasonous to the ranks. It is clear that labor's political efforts will not bear the fruits of victory unless labor undertakes an independent political struggle of its own and against militarization in the first place. The foreign policy of U. S. imperialism cannot also be the foreign policy of American labor.

The other point that emerges clearly is that without a well-planned struggle for a definite program, and the extension of the struggle to the political field not very much will be achieved.

In the weeks to come, LABOR ACTION will endeavor to present a series of examinations of the "New New Deal"—Ed.

NEW YEAR'S EVE IN NEW YORK

Watch for announcements of the Gala New Year's Eve Dance to be held by Local New York of the Workers Party at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.

Resume Cleveland "Loyalty" Hearings

Accused Demand Full Examination of Charges—Board Puts Off Action

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Nov. 20—Hearings on charges of disloyalty against 29 postal clerks in Cleveland were resumed this week. About a month ago, a three man government loyalty board came to this city to hear the charges of "communism or association with communists." The authorities in charge tried to keep the whole procedure secret, but the clerks involved brought their cases to public attention, fearing that otherwise they might easily be railroaded.

The fact that 28 of the 29 were either Negroes or Jews, that all were members of a postal clerks union actively fighting discrimination against Negroes in the department, that the source of the charges was to be kept secret, and that the hearings were to be behind closed doors and not subject to judicial review, all these elements looked like a first class case against the civil liberties of a group of government workers. After much publicity and protest, the star chamber proceedings were suspended last month, with only four cases heard. The hearings were started again on the demand of the accused that they be tried and cleared of the suspicion placed on them.

So far no shred of evidence has been produced to show that any of the clerks are members of the Communist Party or of any affiliated organization. Their real crime, in certain official eyes, is that they are active members of a postal employees union. All the evidence indicates that, as members of minority groups, they sorely needed the protection of their

jobs that this organization offered them.

Five more clerks were heard by the board this week, before a further suspension of the proceedings was declared. They were asked if they ever read Marx, or the Daily Worker, or In Fact. The questioning by the purge board indicated that they felt that if a person favored more aid to Russia during the last war, when Russia was an American ally, he would be suspected of disloyalty. Likewise if he favored the opening of a second front in Europe. When asked which side he favored in the Spanish Civil War, a clerk replied: "It was my understanding that the Loyalist Government was the legally constituted government; therefore I supported it." It is not recorded what the trial board thought of this.

Another clerk has publicly offered \$3,000 to any one who can prove he is a communist. This suspect brought in as a witness the customer's man at the brokerage firm with which he does business. This witness stated that he did not believe that any man who bought stock to support this country's industries would want to destroy the government. One member of the hearing panel indicated his attitude when he replied to this, "Well, he could sell those stocks in five minutes, couldn't he?" This sort of remark might lead one to believe the board is not exactly interested in a fair and impartial hearing.

Up to now nine cases have been tried, no decisions rendered, and further action postponed. When the other men will be heard, or what disposition will be made of the cases,

no one seems to have any idea.

Meanwhile these men, with an average of 19 years postal service to their credit, remain under a cloud which certainly contributes nothing to their peace of mind, nor to that of their dependents.

QUESTIONS FOR PROBERS

The Cleveland Press, the nearest thing to a liberal paper in this city, commented editorially with a few suggested questions for the use of the purge board, in line with its own questions:

"Were you ever a member of the U. S. Army?"

(Of obvious significance in a loyalty probe, for members of the U. S. Army, desperately engaged in western Europe, were not improbably guilty of hoping for Russian success in the East.)

"Did you ever buy U. S. War Bonds?"

(Pertinent, of course, because some of the money thus raised went to Russia in the form of military lend-lease supplies.)

"Were you in the Murmansk convoys?"

(Possibly seditious, of course, for the sailor thus engaged had a hand in arming the Russian armies.)

The Cleveland Press is correct in pointing out how ridiculous the type of questions can be. More important, however, should be the right of workers, for government or private industry, to hold their jobs regardless of political opinions or beliefs; and further for the right to free and open hearings in any kind of investi-

International Solidarity Month
The American Committee for European Workers Relief will hold a BAZAAR in New York City at its headquarters, 130 West 23rd Street, on FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10 AND 11 Include the Bazaar in your plans for Christmas shopping A fine selection of Baby Clothes, New Briefcases and Books will be available Phone ACEWR (CH 2-5884) or City Office of Workers Party (WA 4-4222) and your contributions will be picked up