

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

SEPTEMBER 22, 1952

FIVE CENTS

**NORMAN THOMAS versus
The SOCIALIST PARTY**

... page 6

Poland: Who's Next on Purge List?

... page 3

A Tourist-Eye View of Franco Spain

... page 2

Col. McCormick Organizes GOP's Fascistic Fringe

By DICK OLIVER

CHICAGO—When Colonel Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, proposed the formation of a third party, to be called the "American Party," in a radio talk on August 23 here, he was voicing sentiments of long standing. The move represented a reactionary political current which embraces other people than the demoralized Taftites, whom Eisenhower had just whipped at the Republican convention.

The "educational" nature of McCormick's speech was apparent when he made it clear that the "American Party" should run a presidential candidate only in 1956, abstaining from voting for Eisenhower or Stevenson in 1952, but concentrating on voting for "patriotic" candidates for Congress in both parties this year because of the lack of time to organize. He wants to support "those American-minded men who run as Republicans until they find it politically desirable to run as Americans and members of the American Party." In states where the GOP has been "betrayed... by international New Dealers" he wants American Party candidates on the ticket this fall.

Though McCormick says now that he "might vote for Eisenhower, if it turns out that he is more desirable than Stevenson," he considers this only a minor tactical matter. He expects that "Taft will have to go down the line with the party this year," as indeed have Senator Dirksen (Rep., Ill.) and ex-Senator Curley Brooks, his two most prominent stooges—the former high in the Eisenhower camp now.

Crawling Out of the Wall

The *Tribune* gives considerable space daily to surveys of the national political scene, indicating that from its point of view the American voters are apathetic over the state of the nation and cannot be expected to rally soon to McCormick's banner, even the Illinois farmers living in this Midwestern *Tribune*-belt. Nevertheless, the agit-prop department of "the world's greatest newspaper" continues to grind out its sharply slanted factual articles in serial form indicting two decades of Roosevelt and Truman, their wars and inflations and international gifts, always looking forward to the time when political hay can be harvested from such seeds. In the meantime, this stuff serves to bolster the far-right wing of the Republican Party and enhance its bargaining power with Eisenhower.

Without now going into the history of McCormick's dealings with America First politics of a decade and more ago, when he was busy encouraging all types of native movements, we suggest to the reader that he dust off an old copy of John Roy Carlson's book *Under Cover*, printed in 1943, to get most readily many details of the historical setting of that period. In 1952 most of the old faces of that day are once more peering out from under their stones, seeking the opportunity to rebuild their labor-hating, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic forces in the new ferment of Taftite and Dixiecrat unrest with the two major parties.

Gathering of the Rats

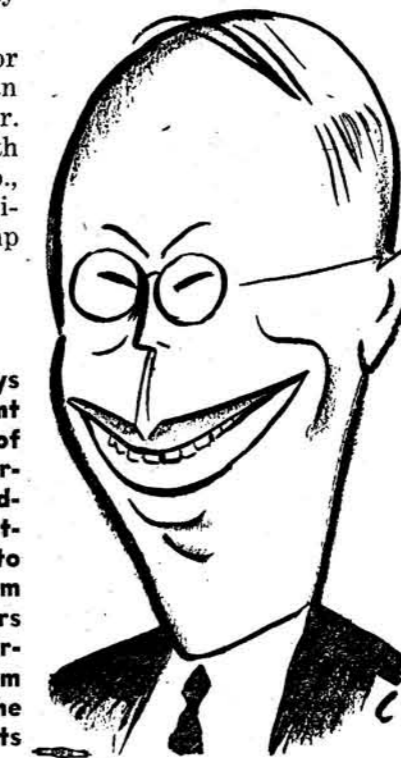
The *Tribune* immediately after the close of the two national conventions gave considerable coverage to developments in the native fascist circles which were anticipating his subsequent call for a new "American Party." Meeting in the Sherman Hotel here about 100 persons from 40 states discussed their problems, presided over at first by

(Turn to last page)

Bridge between



Gerald Smith
and



Taft?

By WALTER JASON

Not since the late Huey Long of Louisiana built his political empire through semi-fascist policies and tactics has the American political scene witnessed anything comparable to the sensational triumph last week of Senator Joe McCarthy, the Wisconsin witchhunter, in that state's primaries.

Even the staid *New York Times* has been upset sufficiently to devote two major editorials, a column by Arthur Krock and a special Sunday feature to an event that couldn't take place... the overwhelming victory of a man considered in "responsible" American opinion as a scoundrel, a rascal, a character assassin, an income tax evader, a witchhunter, a smear artist, etc.

The shock was doubly enforced by the astonishing phenomenon of more than 200,000 Democrats switching to vote in the Republican primary, not to defeat McCarthy as political experts predicted but to support him vigorously.

How quickly things change was demonstrated even today by the news from the Eisenhower headquarters. Two weeks ago, the *Times* and other important newspapers were demanding that Eisenhower repudiate McCarthy, especially since McCarthy had smeared General George Marshall, the man largely responsible for Eisenhower's ascent to a top position in the American military.

EXPLOITING KOREA

Speaking for himself and Eisenhower, Senator Nixon announced today that neither he nor the general would criticize General Marshall except insofar as he was tied up with the policies of the Truman administration!

This is but a small portent of things to come in what a *Times*

WHO CREATED IT?

The Climate Behind McCarthy's Victory

reporter neatly describes as "a new six-year charter to carry on with a public purge of a virulence unmatched in our previous history," by Senator McCarthy—who, by the way, may get major competition from Congressman Charles Potter of Michigan, now running for senator, and Congressman-elect Martin Dies, the original witchhunter.

What caused the overwhelming bulk of 1,000,000 voters in Wisconsin's primary to support this dangerous menace to civil liberties? One astute reporter, just back from Korea, put it this way: "By voting for McCarthy, thousands felt they were voting against Dean Acheson, against the draft of their sons, against the bleeding war in Korea, against the loss of China to the Reds, against excessive involvement in far-off places."

In its second and less hysterical lament, the *New York Times* suggests that McCarthy "was able to exploit the fear of Russia which now plays so large a part in the thoughts of the American people. This fear is justified; there cannot be the slightest doubt of the hostile attitude of the rulers of the Soviet Union toward our way of life and their willingness to take advantage of every opportunity to do us harm. But Mr. McCarthy has not met fear with reason; he has profited in fear."

"TIME FOR A CHANGE"

Certainly there is a restless, uneasy mood in this country today, and the dissatisfaction affects all strata of the population. What alternative was offered to the voters of Wisconsin, in the light of present national political line-ups, how could they express their vigorous animosity to the status quo of high taxes, inflation, corruption, etc.?

It is times like these, when the idea of "time for a change" catches fire, that a bold, new course of action appeals to the people. In

(Turn to last page)

Butter Wouldn't Melt in His Mouth

"The FBI is not interested in what an individual thinks, but what he does to undermine the nation's security—not in his ideas, but his deeds. A man may think what he desires, he may read what he desires, he may have faith in what he desires—that is his right in a democratic society. The FBI has no concern about his thoughts—only when they are translated into action which results in a violation of a federal law over which the FBI has jurisdiction. Then the FBI will investigate."

These pretty words, overflowing with butter and honey, are from the pen of J. Edgar Hoover, writing in the *Iowa Law Review*, Winter 1952 issue.

The prosecution cases presented by the Department of Justice at the New York and Los Angeles trials of the Stalinists were largely founded on charges about the defendants' opinions. The attorney general's "subversive list" is presumably the result of an investigation of

dangerous thoughts. The FBI agents who have interested themselves in anti-Stalinist socialists, charged with no "deeds" whatsoever except unflattering opinions about capitalism, are Hoover's men.

The pretty words should prove that it is not only in Stalinist Russia that doublethink artists can tell barefaced falsehoods, even when they are publicly known to be barefaced falsehoods to anyone dry behind the ears.

LONDON LETTER

TUC Right Wing Wins A Pyrrhic Victory

By ALLAN VAUGHAN

LONDON, Sept. 9—The right wing of the Labor movement has won a Pyrrhic victory at the Trades Union Congress. In the terms used by the capitalist press, "an overwhelming majority" of the "sound" and "reliable" elements in the TUC fought off yet another challenge to them from the "irresponsible" elements among the vast agglomerations of trade unions. But the press failed to see the real results of the congress in any terms except that of overwhelming block votes against the scattered but nonetheless democratic and representative vote of the left wing.

Far more important than the defeat of the Bevanites and the Stalinists on the arms issue—a foregone conclusion—was the severe defeat inflicted on the right wing on the nationalization issue.

A composite resolution calling on the General Council of the TUC to "formulate proposals for the extension of social ownership to other industries and services, particularly those now subject to monopoly control" was carried by 4,542,000 votes to 3,210,000. This composite resolution, moved by Bryn Roberts of the National Union of Public Employees, was strongly opposed by Arthur Deakin on behalf of the General Council. It was carried nevertheless. The sting in the tail of this resolution lay in the fact that the General Council has been instructed "to formulate proposals for the extension of social ownership" for consideration by the congress next year.

WHAT'S "EXTRAVAGANT"?

It is interesting to note that the miners' delegates, who were largely responsible for the defeat of the "Bevanite" arms-cut resolution, threw all their support behind this one, so ominous for the right wing. The News Chronicle's industrial correspondent, Margaret Stewart, rightly saw in this victory for the left a strengthening of Bevan's hand at the Morecombe conference of the Labor Party.

Again, on the question of wage restraints, Lincoln Evans, the steel workers' leader, carefully worded the General Council's resolution so that though it warned against extravagant wage claims, it did not define the adjective extravagant. The 30-shillings-a-week increase demanded by the miners, the two-pounds-a-week increase demanded by the engineers—do these come under Lincoln Evans' condemnation of "extravagant" wage claims? No answer was forthcoming at the Trades Union Congress, for the simple reason that the General Council fears more than anything else a showdown with the rank and file of the trade-union movement at this time.

Thus, all in all, despite the defeat of the Bevanites on the arms issue, a shift to the left all around could be recorded at Margate. Undoubtedly, the Bevanites will adjust their tactics now that the left is concerning itself more with the more immediate issues such as wages or domestic issues (apparently domestic, to be more precise) such as the extension of nationalization to new sectors of the economy.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 W. 14 Street, N. Y. C.

specializes in books and pamphlets on the Labor and Socialist movement, Marxism, etc., and can supply books of all publishers.

Send for our free book list.

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Sept. 10—This week the Conservative government has had some good news and some bad news. Churchill was very friendly to the five members of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress after their overwhelming vote in favor of rearmament.

Today it did not rain at Downing Street; it poured. By an almost unanimous vote, 38 unions belonging to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions voted to ban piecework and overtime work (as forecast in LABOR ACTION). In the engineering [metal trades] industry alone, five million man-hours per week are worked overtime.

The engineering and shipbuilding unions provide over 50 per cent of the country's exports, as well as being the largest contributors to rearmament. The order books for the shipyards are filled for over two years.

TIME ON OUR SIDE

The relative stability of the pound sterling has always guaranteed long-term contracts in capital goods like ships and machinery. This has meant since the war that delivery dates, while often late, have been contracted with heavy fines for defaults. Furthermore, late delivery dates have been a frequent cause of loss of markets by Britain to Germany and Japan. It is for these reasons that a compromise will be reached by the employers soon.

We hear today that they have rejected out of hand the Engineers' claim for another rise of 2 pounds a week. In this instance, time is on the side of the workers. The question now is: What happens when an irreducible wage claim is presented to an intransigent employer?

N. Y. ADA Endorses Counts, Liberal Party Candidate

NEW YORK, Sept. 15—Under the impulsion of the Liberal Party in the state, the city convention of Americans for Democratic Action has voted to endorse George S. Counts, the independent candidate for the Senate whom the Liberal Party has nominated against both the Democrat Cashmore and the Republican Ives.

While indubitably a gesture of independence from the Democratic Party machine, in line with its general declaration, the action represented more immediately the need to slap the local party apparatus down for ignoring the ADA-Liberal elements on the local level, while at the same time justifying the move on the ground that it would help the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket on the national level.

The chief speaker for the Counts proposal at the convention, Gus Tyler, who is head of the political-action department of the International Ladies Garment Workers, argued that an endorsement for Counts would ensure taking the liberal vote away from Eisenhower and thus helping Stevenson's chances in the state. In general he argued on the basis of the "best man" theory.

DREW THE LINE

The GOP's Ives, incumbent, also had supporters among the ADAers, but their argument was met with the warning that voters who sought out Ives on the Republican line, at the advice of the ADA, might stay on the line and vote for Eisenhower too.

A Tourist-Eye View of Franco's Martyred Spain

David Alexander, a British socialist, is one of LABOR ACTION'S London correspondents. He has just returned from a visit to Spain.—Ed.

By DAVID ALEXANDER

When a tourist arrives in Spain, the four things which strike him perhaps first of all are—the multitude of soldiers, the ubiquity of priests, the prosperity of the shops and the begging of children.

In 1951, in a fit of brotherly love for the man whom the pope described as the "most Christian gentleman in Europe," Dean Acheson asked Franco how many troops he could put into the field against Russia. Franco replied with a figure of 2 million. General Omar Bradley, more interested in a military than a propaganda estimate, put the figure at between 200,000 and 300,000. A more recent Spanish government assessment gave one million. Whichever figure may be correct, one certainly gets the impression in Spain today that the army is the mainstay of the regime.

Besides a regular army, there are also the one-year conscripts; also very much in evidence is the Civil Guard. It is interesting to note that in Franco's 1952-53 budget he is spending 32.8 per cent of the total on the army and 14 per cent on what is unobtrusively called "internal security."

TOURISTS AND BEGGARS

Artajo, the foreign minister, Salgado, minister of information and tourism, and Gonzales, minister of the interior, decided that the low prices in Spain would be a magnet for tourists, and so they threw Spain open in 1948. Since then there has been a stream of visitors. One and a quarter million toured the country last year.

The very large number of visitors were attracted by the extremely cheap prices. In any town in Spain a visitor can have full pension terms (room plus food) for \$1.50 a day. Even badly paid French workers can have a good cheap holiday there. But the consequences are hard on the consciences of those who, like British socialists, come from countries where human suffering and poverty are not accepted as normal parts of everyday life.

Practically every tourist is besieged by little children begging. At first this seems extraordinary in a country where everyone you see seems so cheerful. But when you realize that an agricultural worker's wage is 65-90 pesetas per week (\$1.40 to \$2.30), you are not surprised. When, then, you hear that a loaf of bread costs 6.75 cents, that peaches, (the cheapest fruit) cost 3.25 cents per pound, you are even less surprised. The little barefooted children probably earn more by begging than their parents do by working.

In paying \$1.50 a day for full pension terms, I was paying three times a Spanish worker's wages. A mason in a cathedral who had a wife and child to keep was earning 32 cents a day.

When 300,000 people came out on strike last year in Barcelona, they pointed out that the cost of living had risen twice as much as wages since 1945. Franco reacted to the strikes in several ways. First, he lined up all the big guns of the hierarchy to pontificate about their immorality. Second, he arrested all the "ringleaders."

The enormous army, soon to be re-equipped by American arms and even possibly trained with the help of a military mission, is not very heartening to Spanish Republicans. The British Labor government's down-and-out betrayal of their cause in 1945 does not help either. The worst that the Labor government could do to Franco was the late Ernest Bevin's statement that he "didn't like" him. The best was for the British government to exchange ambassadors. The Conservatives went one better; they recently sent a note desiring the establishment of better relations. This could almost be regarded as amusing in view of recent Spanish comments about Gibraltar and its ownership.

After the numerous betrayals, by Hoare, Laval, Stalin, Ernest Bevin and Acheson, we can only feel the deepest sympathy in the struggle of the Spanish socialists and Spanish people. The practical help we can give is to send money to the POUM. The political help is to expose Franco's fascist regime. Of the Spanish people themselves, we can quote one of their popular sayings: The heart bears up the body.

It is under these circumstances that one's conscience begins to pain. In England you are never accosted by beggars. Crutches, since the National Health Service supplies artificial limbs, are hardly ever seen. Blind people are a national responsibility. When these poor children come up to you and show you their bare feet and beg a peseta or cigarettes, you cannot refuse. And when you give you are surrounded by 20 others. Even if you were to go there loaded with money, you could never hope to give to all the children; even if you could, that would solve, precisely nothing.

that one's conscience begins to pain. In England you are never accosted by beggars. Crutches, since the National Health Service supplies artificial limbs, are hardly ever seen. Blind people are a national responsibility. When these poor children come up to you and show you their bare feet and beg a peseta or cigarettes, you cannot refuse. And when you give you are surrounded by 20 others. Even if you were to go there loaded with money, you could never hope to give to all the children; even if you could, that would solve, precisely nothing.

THE OPPOSITION

It is true that the shops are filled out with beautiful things to buy, both home-made and imported. But they are absolutely out of the reach of the Spanish workers. In Spain there are only the rich and the poor. Though you see quite a few American cars, it would take a Spanish worker 18 1/2 years, if he did not spend a single peseta, to save enough money to buy the cheapest French car on the market.

The figures I quote are mostly taken from personal observations and questioning of people in the North. In Andalusia, in the South, the poverty is much worse. It is on the basis of this poverty that the low prices attract tourists from neighboring countries.

One's immediate reaction on hearing the extent of the suffering in Spain is to ask: What sort of opposition is there to the government? As was pointed out to me, the severity of the suffering does not limit its length. The Spanish people have always endured heroically under one tyrant or another. The exact extent of the opposition is something which our friends in the POUM [the Spanish revolutionary socialist party] could describe to us more exactly. The fact that "certain elements" could bring out 300,000 people in Barcelona, 100,000 in Bilbao and about 30,000 in Pamplona last year is one measure of its strength. The government officials with whom I spoke admit that there is a large opposition.

BRITISH CONSCIENCE

The enormous army, soon to be re-equipped by American arms and even possibly trained with the help of a military mission, is not very heartening to Spanish Republicans. The British Labor government's down-and-out betrayal of their cause in 1945 does not help either. The worst that the Labor government could do to Franco was the late Ernest Bevin's statement that he "didn't like" him. The best was for the British government to exchange ambassadors. The Conservatives went one better; they recently sent a note desiring the establishment of better relations. This could almost be regarded as amusing in view of recent Spanish comments about Gibraltar and its ownership.

After the numerous betrayals, by Hoare, Laval, Stalin, Ernest Bevin and Acheson, we can only feel the deepest sympathy in the struggle of the Spanish socialists and Spanish people. The practical help we can give is to send money to the POUM. The political help is to expose Franco's fascist regime. Of the Spanish people themselves, we can quote one of their popular sayings: The heart bears up the body.

It is under these circumstances that one's conscience begins to pain. In England you are never accosted by beggars. Crutches, since the National Health Service supplies artificial limbs, are hardly ever seen. Blind people are a national responsibility. When these poor children come up to you and show you their bare feet and beg a peseta or cigarettes, you cannot refuse. And when you give you are surrounded by 20 others. Even if you were to go there loaded with money, you could never hope to give to all the children; even if you could, that would solve, precisely nothing.

It is under these circumstances that one's conscience begins to pain. In England you are never accosted by beggars. Crutches, since the National Health Service supplies artificial limbs, are hardly ever seen. Blind people are a national responsibility. When these poor children come up to you and show you their bare feet and beg a peseta or cigarettes, you cannot refuse. And when you give you are surrounded by 20 others. Even if you were to go there loaded with money, you could never hope to give to all the children; even if you could, that would solve, precisely nothing.

In English for the First Time!

Rosa Luxemburg's

THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

Yale University Press • 475 pages • \$5

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 West 14 Street, New York City

POLAND: Who's Next on the Purge List?

By A. RUDZIENSKI

At the session of the 7th plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Stalinist party, President (former head of the Polish section of the GPU in Moscow) Bierut bitterly criticized bureaucratism in the regime, the "command methods" of the party officials and the isolation of the party from the workers and peasants.

The influence of the party in the "National Councils" as in all the administrative organs is very inadequate, so that "hostile bureaucratic elements force upon the party their leadership" and administrative course. This is in great measure the consequence of the arrogance and "command methods" of the party officials and local "dignitaries" who use dictatorial and police methods against the people.

The "hostile elements" exploit the mistakes of the Stalinists and "are making hostile propaganda" against the Soviet Union, against the government's economic policy, especially among the workers and peasants, against the "persecution of the church," etc. The enemies of the regime in Poland are also working actively for "American imperialism" and extolling its "good intentions" for Poland.

Finally, they (the enemies) are working for financial panics and slandering the government on its economic policies. So says Bierut.

PARTY ISOLATED

The party, according to Bierut, is unable to fight this hostile political activity because it is isolated from the broad masses. Especially in the country, among the peasants and agricultural workers, the party organization is very weak.

Secretly 192,000 peasants and agricultural workers belong to the party, that is, barely 17 per cent of the total number of general party members. The proportion of officials in the party is 20 per cent. In the county of Lodz, hardly 40 per cent of the villages have organizations of the Stalinist party.

The social composition and activity of these organizations are very bad, according to the "self-criticism" of the first secretary of the County Committee, Leon Stasiak. The party members are isolated from the people; they live apart, by themselves. The peasants avoid the party organization, and also members are going away and disappearing. Therefore the membership is decreasing, and Bierut warns of precautions in the form of purges.

The workers avoid the party, in one of the great factories of Lodz the proportion of Stalinist party members is barely 6 per cent of the factory workers, while among the clerks the proportion is 15 per cent.

TOO SLOW?

The skilled workers are very independent, and they avoid the party organization because they know that the factory management needs them. Bierut charges that the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) and the Peasant Party are active among the workers and

peasants in stirring them against the government.

Industry needs new workers but the peasants will not go to work in the government factories because they are repelled and frightened by the hunger and low wages there; they prefer to stay in the villages. The peasants are resisting the Stalinist collectivization, and hardly 300 new collectives were formed in 1952. The Polish press in exile comments that while Bierut constantly attacks the "Gomulka deviation," he is essentially following the same policy, because of peasant resistance and the party's isolation from the workers and peasants. The emigre press conjectures that there is quite a possibility that Bierut will also be purged by Stalin, since his methods may be considered "too slow" for the needs of Russian war policy.

SHOOTING GENERALS

We have received a report that Marshal Rokossovsky has ordered the shooting of 10 "Polish generals" accused of hatching a plot. If we consider that all "Polish generals" are "Popes"—i.e., Russians filling posts in Poland or else Russianized Soviet-Poles—we can understand that the Polish political climate, the climate of an oppressed country, is dangerously contagious for the "Popes," who are turning politically to the oppressed Polish people.

The shooting of generals is proof of the martial law which exists in Warsaw. One has a right to expect changes in Polish policy and especially in the Warsaw cabinet. Very probably the prime minister Cyrankiewicz will be purged and will disappear from the political scene, as did Ana Pauker, Groza, Slansky and others.

LOS ANGELES

People Win a Round on Housing

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 12—Present signs indicate this city will have a public housing project despite a maneuver by the Chamber of Commerce and real-estate interests to engineer one of the most savage, blatant and rancorous campaigns ever launched in the U. S. to deprive workers of federally financed homes.

The City Housing Authority is now expected to proceed with the building of at least 7,000 units. But the business of actually nailing boards together has been held up for weeks while reactionary members of the City Council, fronting for the housing haters, tried to throw out a contract they signed with the CHA in 1948. They received a swift kick from the State Supreme Court for doing so and came within an ace of landing in

the housing authority, the CHA asked for relief from the California State Supreme Court. The judges said a contract is a contract and indicated the legislators had better get on their horses.

But that didn't do it. The council still held out. So the housing authority asked the court to cite the members for contempt. After taking a look at the writ, the venerable fathers rushed for cover and approved compliance with the contract in at least most respects.

RUCKUS

Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles has defended the public-housing program all down the line. But because he was convinced the project should be modified in some respects, he went to Washington, D. C., where the money comes from, to seek elimination of a projected 15-story apartment building from the plan and a reduction of the number of units from 10,000 to 7000. But he admits now there was a cross-up somewhere and the changes may not be made unless the CHA follows certain procedures.

The ruckus over the housing project in Los Angeles was so loud that during the last session Congress passed a measure that would permit cities bound by federal housing contracts to pull out of them, provided the said cities pay back all the money spent on such projects before termination of the agreements.

Mayor Bowron put the council on the spot by suggesting that they approve a measure to be placed before the city voters on November 4 that would call for cancelling the CHA agreement and floating a bond issue to pay back the \$20,000,000 already spent here on the project. The council didn't buy any.

Gen. Anders' Army Scheme Not Supported by Poles

By A. RUDZIENSKI

Representative Armstrong of the Republican Party has proposed a bill in Congress for the creation of a "Liberation Army" by the United States, to be made up of Poles and other peoples oppressed by Stalin. This "Liberation Army," in his view, would be a symbol of a change in American policy from the policy of "containment" to an active "liberation" policy.

On his trip to Europe, Congressman Armstrong had a Paris interview with Lieutenant-General Wladyslaw Anders, former commander of the Polish fighting forces, now in exile. Anders informed the congressman that there existed an extra-official general staff of the satellite peoples, who were ready to form such a "Liberation Army" under U. S. command in order to fight to free East Europe from the Russian yoke.

This army, composed in the first place of Poles and Czechs, could be increased to 200,000-300,000 soldiers and incorporated in the armed forces of the Atlantic Pact, releasing many American divisions from European service, he said.

The "Liberation Army" would be organized on the "national principle"—i.e., each nationally under its own national banner and command and in its own national uniforms. National units of Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, etc., would be an attractive center for the satellite armies and, they hope, an important factor in the next world war between Russia and the United States. Supposedly these units would attract the satellite soldiers over to the "democratic" side and lead them to turn their arms against Russia. Finally, the ideological spirit and military morale of such national units in a Liberation Army would be greater than that of the U. S. armed forces in Europe, according to thinking in the Pentagon.

Armstrong's bill was supported by Congressman Kersten of Wisconsin—the same representative who proposed the bill to appropriate \$100 million to aid forces fighting against Russian oppression in the occupied satellite countries.

They REMEMBER

The initiative taken by General Anders and the proposal by Armstrong and Kersten has absolutely no political support among the Polish anti-Stalinist groups—not only in the anti-Stalinist camp within Poland but also among the political emigration in exile and in the United States. The masses of Polish workers and peasants remember very well the Polish American "help" for Poland against Russia and the delivering-up of Poland (especially the Warsaw insurrection) to Stalin. Both within Poland and in the Polish emigration, where there is the wish and the will to fight Stalin, it is not to fight Stalin in the interests of American imperialism.

For it is notorious that the American imperialists plan to pay the German bourgeoisie for its support in the war against Russia by handing Polish territory over to Germany and by subordinating Poland to Germany politically and economically.

While the Polish working masses hate Stalin, they prefer the present status of Poland, subordinated as it is to Russia, as against future subordination to Germany, because the latter would mean the German annexation of the industrial territories of Silesia and Pomerania, which are necessary to give the Polish workers a higher standard of living and a connection with the Western working class movement in a future free socialist Europe.

The Poles will fight against Stalin, but not for a Europe under the command of Germans or Americans. They wish a free, united, democratic Europe in which there will be room for the now oppressed peoples and for a free independent Poland; that is, they wish to fight for a socialist Europe, free from domination by Russia, America or Germany, in which all peoples are equal and free.

Therefore General Anders' proposal has no political support not only in Poland but also in the Polish emigration, not only among the Polish Socialists but also in the Peasant and Nationalist Parties. After the way in which the Anglo-American bloc delivered Poland to Moscow, the Polish bourgeoisie (not to speak of the Polish workers and peasants) will never trust the British or American imperialist bourgeoisie.

General Anders has spoken in his own name only.

Confession

A N. Y. Times dispatch from Frankfurt (September 3) says of the proposal by General Anders of a Liberation Army: "Diplomats, however, hesitate to sanction the plan. They fear that the creation of such a force would furnish a propaganda instrument for the Communists, and would place the exiles in a powerful position to demand a 'liberation war' against the Russians."

The dispatch does not say what diplomats is it referring to, but the naive American might be justified in wondering how the formation of such a "Liberation Army" would provide a "propaganda instrument" for Moscow. If he knows only what the big press tells him to think, it is bound to be confusing.

Would not the formation of such a force, on the contrary, be a propaganda instrument for the Western bloc? Would it not mean that the peoples of the satellite countries are rallying to America's banners (or at least to American atom bombs)? Would it not be something for America to brag about over the Voice? How could the Stalinists utilize this for their own propaganda purposes?

So at least the naive American reader must wonder if the peculiarity of the sentence strikes him at all. Yet, the dispatch is no doubt justified and the reason is perfectly clear.

What it means is that Moscow would make use of the "Liberation Army" move to prove once again to the people under its domination that the anti-Stalinist resistance elements who fight its regime are agents of American imperialism.

And the dispatch about the reluctance of the diplomats is an admission that this propaganda line—given color by Anders' proposal—would be a powerful one among the peoples under the Kremlin. It is an admission that the people do not want to fight the Russian tyranny under the aegis of Western capitalism.

The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

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

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

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

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

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

INTERESTED? Get Acquainted

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

- I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.
- I want to join the ISL.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY ZONE.....
STATE TEL.....

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE

LABOR ACTION

114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

- Please enter my subscription:
- Six months (26 issues) at \$1.00
 - One year (52 issues) at \$2.00

- NEW
- RENEWAL
- Bill me
- Payment enclosed.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE.....

WORLD POLITICS

Scandinavia in the Middle

A "Scandinavian Balance Sheet" in the current *Foreign Policy Report* (Sept. 1) is useful for some notes on the Scandinavian "middle way"—that is, the position of Scandinavia caught in the middle of the capitalist-Stalinist world.

As a general observation—writes Lithgow Osborne, who was U. S. ambassador to Norway from 1945-47—"This particular way of life has often been characterized as 'the middle way' but represents far more than a system of government-controlled capitalism run by Socialists, equalization of wealth and political democracy." The ideology of these Scandinavian "socialists" would be understandably hard for an ambassador to distinguish from that of (say) the ADA, a fact which does not testify to the "subversiveness" of the ADA.

"Typical of the undogmatic [officials for 'unsocialist'] approach of the Scandinavians to such matters [government controls] is that the Norwegian Labor government did not hesitate to return the sequestered ships of the merchant marine to their private owners after the war, and that, on the other hand [this must be a mistake because it is the same hand] during a recent nationalization debate in Sweden the cooperatives came out strongly against nationalization."

The ex-ambassador also makes an unwitting contribution to Marxism in giving an explanation of the different line of Sweden and Norway on the Atlantic Pact. The former stayed out, the latter joined.

"For a decidedly Atlantic power like Norway, whose tremendous merchant marine was busy in foreign waters carrying freight for Western customers and which had been so recently invaded, the latter course seemed the only logical one."

Even at that, he explains that Norway would have preferred to stay out of the Atlantic war bloc also. The Norwegians, like the Swedes and Danes, wanted a Scandinavian alliance.

"By January 1949, a Danish-Norwegian-Swedish military committee indicated that a joint defense could be established but that aid in arms and supplies from abroad were necessary to give a Scandinavian alliance a fighting chance. Sweden suggested the formation of such an alliance, but when the United States declared that strictly limited American military supplies would go in the first place to signatories of the North Atlantic treaty, Norway preferred to sign up with the Atlantic powers, and so did Denmark.

"The die was cast, and a split Scandinavia was a fact."

King and Judas-Goat

A newly published biography of the late King George V, by Harold Nicholson, has come out in England, and contains a sharp sidelight on the kind of role played by the "undogmatic"-type "socialist" to whom Osborne referred.

During the 1929-31 crisis period, Sir Herbert Samuel, who had negotiated the sellout of the general strike, became go-between in negotiations looking toward the formation of a cabinet that would carry out the necessary "economies"—that is, cuts in the people's standard of living.

Sir Herbert "told the King that, in view of the fact that the necessary economies would prove most unpalatable to the working class, it would be to the general interest if they could be imposed by a Labor government." The next best thing would be a "national government" in which all three parties would participate and take responsibility.

Thus Ramsay MacDonald took on the role of judas-goat. No doubt faintly amused liberals and intellectuals looked on the consequent controversy in Labor's ranks as doctrinaire hairsplitting, and someone asked, "Why can't these socialists get together?"

After "The Kremlin's Men"

Now that the split in the Trotskyist party in France has been completed, the group which is loyal to the Fourth International line of entry into the Communist Party has started to put out its own organ. Its contents serve to dot the i's and cross some t's on the story as LABOR ACTION has already retailed it.

The new organ is called *La Vérité des Travailleurs*, the dissident group having taken over *La Vérité (tout court)*, which was the official organ of the Parti Communiste-Internationaliste up to the split. That the dissidents are the majority group in France is grudgingly and backhandedly admitted. An article by Pierre Frank grants in passing that they had a "weak majority" of the PCI, and uses its invective to denounce them for "flouting" the "discipline" of the International leadership. In addition, an appeal for financial help notes that the "splitters" took with them most of the belongings of the party "which had been entrusted to the posts which they occupied." In other words, the dissidents took with them not only most of the belongings but also most of the leading militants. The new *La Vérité des Travailleurs* is reduced to a one-page tabloid sheet (both sides).

Freed of the pressure of the majority group, the Pierre Frank "loyalists" let loose with their political line in full, undiluted form. Outside of the names attached, it would be impossible to distinguish them from many a Stalinoid group that the experienced reader may have seen.

There are, for example, no holds barred in proclaiming that the revolution which they are so optimistic about is the seizure of power by the Stalinists and no others. Any contrary opinion is denounced as "Stalinophobia." These "Stalinophobes" are "those who, today, do not want to recognize the revolution in France such as it is because it is led by the Kremlin's men."

DEFEND THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

It announces that "the first steps of the revolution in France will take place under the leadership of the Communist Party" and the Trotskyists must help to make this "revolution," to "prepare for the revolution in liaison with the wide masses and particularly with the Communist workers who, in France, are on the verge of their struggles."

The headlined slogan of the issue is "for a Communist-Socialist government," and the lead article by Michele Mestre makes clear that it is the Socialists "who constitute at present the worst obstacle to the achievement of unity of action" with the Stalinists. However, it continues, the Stalinists too have to be pressed for this slogan because their policies are "sectarian" (this is the only criticism of the Stalinists which is made). However, the CP leadership is going "left" and everything is going fine.

The articles are equally blatant in their pro-Stalinism with respect to foreign policy. To their established policy of "defense of the USSR," they also add defense "of the anti-imperialist camp led by the Communist Party."

In the third article in the sheet, J. Privas is so broadminded as to admit that "it is not certain" whether the U. S. will launch its attack on Russia in 1953. On the other hand, the sheet calls for "defense of the anti-imperialist states," that is, the whole Stalinist empire.

In actuality, even given Trotsky's mistaken insistence on defense of the Soviet Union up to the time of his tragic murder in 1940, there is in this sheet not a visible speck of his "Trotskyism" to be seen or smelled. "Trotskyism" is more clearly than ever a historical term, designating ideas and analyses the valid kernels of which remain as an element in the tradition of today's revolutionary Marxism.

READING from LEFT to RIGHT

WHY LABOR LEADERS ARE LONESOME, by Kermit Eby.—*Antioch Review*, Summer 1952 issue.

Professor Eby, now at the University of Chicago, was educational director of the CIO up to 1948; and obviously what made the greatest impression on him during his connection with the labor movement was the phenomenon of bureaucraticism. This is another article by him on the theme, devoted to the labor leaders in a more personal vein. Most of what he writes about is not at all peculiar to the labor bureaucracy; much of it would apply even more to the business-executive world, but such a discussion in terms of the labor movement is interesting.

His present theme is that labor leaders are lonely men—that is, cut off not only from the rank and file through whom they rose but also, increasingly, from the secondary layers of their own bureaucracy.

And "they are doubly lonely when compelled to spend some rare moments by themselves, for it is then they come face to face with their past and recall the idealism of their youth, the shared sufferings and the hopes for a new and better world."

"In those earlier days, theirs was a power with, not a power over. . . . Many times, listening to the top dozen of America's labor leaders speak, I have closed my eyes and tried to imagine what they were like as boys and young men years ago before the symbol erased the man: Philip Murray, for example, when he slapped the checker at the mine's mouth; Philip

Murray as he tramped from home to home organizing the miners, or as he read and listened to the words of Gene Debs; Philip Murray when he chose to share the little that was his with others who had even less. Or John Lewis, face to face with the problems of his family and friends, striving to better himself so he might help his community of miners. Or Alan Haywood as he listened enraptured to the dedicated eloquence of a Keir Hardie. And Walter Reuther, as I knew him in those early days of the CIO in Michigan—a worker among workers, a dedicated dreamer, approachable, winsome, willing to listen. . . .

"Nor, realize that I am compelled to be, do I expect the Lewises, Murrys, Greens, and Reuthers to turn back to the men they once were. This cannot be, for in becoming the men they are, they crucified the men they once were. They would not recognize the man of yesterday should they meet him face to face."

Eby describes (in personal terms) how they set themselves apart from and above their co-workers and fellow bureaucrats, adding:

"But perhaps, from their point of view, they have learned to know and despise their fellow men. Again, this knowledge grows of their own experience. Men who continually compromise, men who betray both their ideals and their friends, who deny their radical—yes, their liberal—past to gain or maintain their privileged positions, these men quite naturally assume that others can similarly be bought and sold. And generally they are right."

Problems of the Bolivian Revolution: Trade Unions Press Nationalists for Real Reform

By JUAN REY

SANTIAGO, Sept. 9—Important political changes have been taking place in Bolivia since our last report, altering the political scene and accelerating the processes that have been taking place since the Nationalist coup d'état.

Since the Paz Estenssoro government showed its vacillation on the problems of mine nationalization and agrarian reform, the bourgeois opposition has raised its head and entered on political action.

The Falanga Socialista Boliviana, a pro-Franco group, has published a manifesto accusing the government of alliance with "communism." At the same time, terrorist acts were attempted against President Paz's secretary and against other officials in the president's office. The Nationalists have interpreted this as pressure on the president by the *Rosca* (the great mine magnates), warning him that his life will be in danger if he moves to nationalize the mines.

On the other side, the workers' unions, especially the mine workers, evidenced their dissatisfaction with the slowness of the government's pace on the question of mine nationalization and agrarian reform. They demanded the withdrawal of the "labor" ministers from the cabinet.

BIG DIFFERENCE

The declaration by Paz, that he now sees that the mines can be nationalized, corresponds to the real relationship of social forces—that is, the weakness of the MNR and the strength of the unions, who formally support the MNR government and acknowledge Paz as the leader of the "national revolution."

If it is permissible to compare small things with the great, the Bolivian Central Obrera can be compared with the Russian soviets of 1917, at the time when they voluntarily supported the bourgeois government. The Central is controlled by the Trotskyist party, the POR, but the POR's delegate there, Moller, calls Paz Estenssoro his "comrade" and the "leader of the revolution." This is the fundamental difference between the policy of Lenin and that of the Bolivian Trotskyists of the POR.

LABOR CRACKS WHIP

The Nationalist trade unions answered the terrorist acts with a great demonstration and a half-day strike, under the leadership of the Central Obrera Boliviana (the labor federation). Their chief demand was that the government quicken the tempo of mine nationalization and reform on the land; they suspended their demand for the withdrawal of the "labor" ministers, and reiterated their support of the government, on the condition that the chief demand be accomplished and that the cabinet be reconstructed with a greater number of "labor" representatives.

The trade unions demonstrated great self-confidence and great strength as the only real political force in the country. Fifty thousand workers demonstrated their will for social revolution, even if in the distorted forms and language of Nationalism. Paz had no alternative but to "accept" the workers' promise against the Right and pro-nationalization in short order.

Under threat of his life, Paz must seek the support and protection of the Nationalist workers, for the bourgeoisie has lost its strength, and his own party, the MNR (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement), is nothing without the support of labor. Even though the unions formally support the MNR, they are maintaining their own independence; they are organized through the Central Obrera Boliviana, which is the most important political instrument in the country and the center of the giant political and armed forces behind the government.

The socialist revolution is not possible in so isolated and backward a country as Bolivia, and the Nationalists know that very well, better than do the naive Trotskyists who are working for their own downfall. If, under the pressure of the trade unions, the Nationalist government nationalizes the mines and the land, this will add up only to a bureaucratic state-capitalist reform and not to the smuggling-in of the social revolution.

The social revolution cannot be smuggled in; it must be fought for by the workers in their open revolutionary struggle. It is necessary to tell the workers that they must take the power, that only their revolutionary workers' power can realize the democratic and socialist reforms that they desire and can transform the exploitive society into a new workers' social order without exploitation. Only such a workers' government could push the revolution forward.

Youth and Student Corner

Report: The New England Anti-War Summer School

The New England Anti-War Summer School, organized by the club Focal Point of Yale and sponsored by several other groups, was a successful and stimulating experience for the students who attended. There's little doubt that would be the verdict of all of them.

It took place from September 7 to 13 at a farm house near Harvard, Mass. (a village, not the university) which also is a Youth Hostel. Besides the educational program, which was the main activity, the students also found time to play volleyball, softball, square-dance and roast weenies over a camp fire. The site was well into the country, surrounded by woods and the pretty New England countryside on all sides, so that the promise of a vacation atmosphere was well kept.

The school was equally a success in attendance, 35-40, and even showed something of a profit, despite the relatively low rates.

The students, however, had come primarily for the talks and dis-

ussion, and they got plenty. As in the case of other affairs of this sort, in fact, if anything the tendency of the organizers was to try to cram too much into a day, so that the original schedule had to be sensibly scaled down a bit during the daytime hours. On the other hand, two unscheduled discussions were added, so that the total remained formidable.

It is a moot point, of course (and the arrangements committee did its share of worrying about it) just how much an ear can absorb during a concentrated week; but for a good proportion of the students it was a question of getting as much as they could, since they would not soon have another opportunity to expose themselves to political discussion on this level. Most of them were from New England schools, a few were from New York, and others from points west, including Chicago and Pennsylvania.

The third class was given by Harry Chester of the education and research department of the United Auto Workers (CIO), on "War and the Economic Order." The relation between war and capitalism was excellently covered, and Chester was particularly educational in his analyses of current economic problems in relation to the cold war—Point Four, investments, etc.

The fourth class was on "The Nature of Stalinism" by Hal Draper, editor of LABOR ACTION. It covered a discussion of the trends toward statification in this period of capitalist decay, relating the Stalinist phenomenon with the trends under capitalism; a survey of the Russian Revolution and of the Stalinist counter-revolution which gave rise to the present Kremlin regime; and an analysis of the character of Stalinism as a new social system opposed to both socialism and capitalism.

The faculty, and therefore the nature of the classes which they gave, was somewhat correspondingly divided. Two were pacifists. Dr. Asirvatham of Boston University, whose subject was "The Colonial Revolution," devoted much of his three sessions to discussing Gandhi and Gandhism and concentrated largely on India. The main ideas of a pacifist viewpoint were presented in the class given by A. J. Muste on that subject, specifically the problems of "Non-Violent Revolution." Muste, however, made the distinction between himself and other pacifists by his insistence on pacifism not merely as a moral good but as a means toward fundamental social change. Thus there was plenty of opportunity for intra-pacifist discussion as well as crossfire consequent on the criticisms of pacifism leveled by the non-pacifist socialist opponents of war at the camp.

Therefore, if the mines are nationalized in Bolivia and agrarian reform is instituted, this will only give an impetus to new forms of state-capitalist economy, to new forms of exploitation, to new lords, to a new *Rosca* dominating over the workers, and not to the workers' social revolution. It is the obligation of the revolutionary party to tell the workers this truth and not to cheat them with hopes of smuggled revolutions while giving support to the Nationalist petty-bourgeois and totalitarian government.

It should be stressed that although the pro and con discussion on pacifism was spirited, there can be no doubt that every bit of it made for better relations between the two viewpoints while clarifying the differences between them. This was by no means a foregone conclusion in advance, if only because, as we have mentioned, many of the people had no previous experience in such contact, and

Two other discussions had been unscheduled, as mentioned. Since Chester arrived a day late, Bob Bone of Yale's Focal Point pitched in on Monday with a talk on the origins of Pearl Harbor. It provided an interesting topical introduction to Chester's class.

On Thursday evening, a discussion was based on the showing of a film produced by the American Friends Service Committee around its pamphlet "Steps to Peace." It gave rise to one of the liveliest discussions of the week. The film, which ran for about 25 minutes, devoted its first part to depicting very vividly the threads of the war crisis today; the verdict was unanimous that this part was very good indeed.

The final part was a plea for negotiations with Russia, presenting the goal (literally) as a "horse trade," which inescapably meant to most of the students a cold over-the-table imperialist division of the world between the colossi of the war blocs. The large majority of the assemblage proceeded to tear into it, including the differences between them.

No doubt the eager students couldn't have held the pace for another such crammed week but they took away ideas that will stay with them.

SOCIALIST CLASSES

It should be stressed that although the pro and con discussion on pacifism was spirited, there can be no doubt that every bit of it made for better relations between the two viewpoints while clarifying the differences between them. This was by no means a foregone conclusion in advance, if only because, as we have mentioned, many of the people had no previous experience in such contact, and

BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from New American Library, publishers of Menkor and Signet pocket books, pub. date Sept. 24:

The Birth and Death of the Sun, by George Gamow. Mentor, 240 pages, 35 cents.

The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone, by Tennessee Williams. Signet, 144 pages, 25 cents.

Rock Wagram, by William Saroyan. Signet, 160 pages, 25 cents.

The Stubborn Heart, by Frank G. Slaughter. Signet Giant, 336 pages, 35 cents.

A Family Romance, by Elizabeth Pollet. Signet, 176 pages, 25 cents.

The Broken Body, by Floyd Mahannah. Signet, 168 pages, 25 cents.

S. F. BAY AREA PUBLIC MEETING

Gordon Haskell
Assistant Editor of LABOR ACTION

A Socialist Looks At The Coming Election

FRIDAY evening 8 p.m. SEPTEMBER 26
Norway Hall 3829 Piedmont Ave. OAKLAND

NORMAN THOMAS versus the SOCIALIST PARTY



By HAL DRAPER

Developments require another report here on the case of Norman Thomas versus the Socialist Party. The question as usual should be: What does the SP intend to do about it? There must be limits even to the leeway which the Socialist Party permits for its "symbol," especially since most SP members are aware that Thomas's connection with the party is becoming wraithlike.

Furthermore, what concerns us mostly here is a recent blast by Thomas on the subject of labor political action. Even those who have become calloused to his flouting of socialist ideas and even civil-liberties principles may be surprised at his latest thought processes.

First, however, before getting to that, we might mention the apparently unplanned "debate" in the current issue of the *Progressive*, between Thomas and his party's candidate for president, Darlington Hoopes. Hoopes has an article there answering the one by Maynard Krueger which we discussed in the August 4 issue of *LABOR ACTION*. In the same number of the *Progressive*, it happens, Thomas has an article on "The Platforms: A Critical Comparison."

Hoopes' reply to Krueger, who resigned with some hoopla from the SP in which he has long been a leader, is stronger on the ad-hominem side than for its political argumentation, the superficiality of the latter being no great surprise to Hoopes' best friends. The "real reason" for Krueger's defection, he says outright, is "his desire to become active in the Democratic Party," and it is obvious that the word "active" is a euphemism. Elsewhere in the article he refers bitterly to "former Socialists" who "for economic reasons have found it necessary to take jobs which require them to support the Democratic Party" and who "try to rationalize their actions." If he doesn't have Krueger in mind, he shouldn't have written it that way. He recalls that as late as 1948, "long after he now says Socialists should have ceased independent political action, Mr. Krueger waged an active campaign as a Socialist for Congress in his home district in Chicago, in which he condemned his Democratic opponent as 'an old fogey' and 'low-type wardheeler.' In 1950, in plain violation of the Socialist Party rules, he openly supported that same former opponent."

Loyalty to Principles

That last point is news to us, and while it is no shock it makes us wonder what the Socialist Party was doing while Krueger, a prominent leader, thus supported the low-type wardheeler in violation of its rules. SP leaders certainly don't show the same easy-going toleration of (say) members of its Young Socialist group who commit the terrible sin of collaborating too closely with high-type Socialist Youth League activities.

But, all those things aside, can it be that the Socialist Party is showing the same highly selective indulgence toward Norman Thomas right now—preliminary to being kicked in the face? Krueger in resigning had announced that Thomas agreed with his views. Hoopes replies: "With characteristic loyalty to his party and its principles, Mr. Thomas immediately announced that he would remain in the Socialist Party and reaffirmed his support of its candidates."

Thomas may be willing to remain in the SP as long as he does what he pleases; for that matter one wonders whether the SP would have

taken any action even against Krueger, no matter what he did, if the latter hadn't flung his gauntlet in their very faces. But we notice that Hoopes has not really denied Krueger's statement that Thomas shares his views. And the bravado about Thomas's "loyalty to his party and its principles" is assiduously being refuted by Thomas himself.

Take the "debate" in the *Progressive* at this point. Hoopes makes a big point, against Krueger's announced support of the Democrats, about the plank in the Democratic Party platform which endorses the "free-enterprise system." He says: "Its candidates try to outdo the Republicans in declaring their loyalty to the profit system and in their disavowal of socialism."

It happens, no doubt by accident, that Thomas discusses this very plank in his own article. He passes it off as "some lip service to free enterprise." He goes on to say that except for this, "a democratic socialist could feel rather at home with the platform," and praises it as "a more advanced document than the LaFollette platform to which we Socialists assented in 1924."

We could quote Hoopes' denunciation of the platform which makes Thomas feel like the old folks at home, but at any rate it is clear that Thomas's views on the compatibility of Krueger with the Democratic platform are the same as those of the renegade from socialism, not those of the party's candidate.

How to Violate Discipline

Incidentally, Thomas, whose article is on "The Platform: A Critical Comparison," does not there betray any recognition that a Socialist Party exists, let alone that it has a platform which invites critical comparison with the Democrats' and Republicans'. We don't know whether this is a "plain violation of the Socialist Party's rules," but it does not evidence much in the way of loyalty. His article is really a better plug for Stevenson in its own way than a job done by an uncritical Fair Dealer merely grinding his axe.

No doubt Thomas reaffirmed his support of the SP candidates, as Hoopes says, but one wonders whether his support of those candidates is confined to the columns of the SP press, whose readers doubtlessly find his reaffirmation cheering.

Thomas's support of the SP candidates is getting to remind one of the corkscrew line followed by the American Communist Party in its weird campaign of 1936, when, having nominated and formally supporting Browder for president, it proceeded to campaign like all get-out for . . . Roosevelt.

How far can this go before the Socialist

"If the Democrats win in 1952, what gains can labor, liberals, or minority groups reasonably expect? . . . This year, more than ever, the people will have no choice between the two old parties. . . . Is it any wonder that one-half the voters refuse to go to the polls and say it doesn't make any difference which one wins?" —Darlington Hoopes, in the *Progressive*, Sept. As matters stand this year, I agree that Stevenson is a better candidate from the labor angle than Eisenhower." —Norman Thomas, in *Reading Labor Advocate*, Sept. 12.

Party remembers its dignity? While in the course of doing much wondering, we also wonder whether the only unforgivable violation of discipline in the Socialist Party is . . . to hand in one's resignation.

Hex on Labor Politics

But, as a matter of fact, we really set out to discuss Norman Thomas's latest publicized views on labor political action. Not socialist political action—he has made clear he is opposed to that—just political action by the trade-union movement, including political action in favor of the Democrats!

In a column of his which we read with some measure of amazement in the *Reading* (Penna.) SP organ, the *Labor Advocate*, issue of September 12, he tells us that he is doing some thinking aloud. The result is some thoughts on the subject of trade-union participation in politics which, as far as we know, has so far been seen only from right-wing Republican sources.

—Oh, go on, you must be exaggerating, if not slandering the man, in the usual way of you Bawlsheviki . . . —No, not a bit, honest!

Thomas presents his reasons for doubting that trade unions have the right to commit themselves to support of any political candidates. He begins by indicating that he is doubtful about the policy of advocating the formation of a labor party. This is interesting enough, but the thinking-aloud that he chooses to detail goes miles beyond this.

You will recognize the argumentation: Labor has established union shops. A worker has to belong. The union demands that he join, since he is a beneficiary of union activity—

"The argument has weight," concedes Socialist leader Thomas. "But if the basis for membership in a union is simply the fact that one works in a given industry, it becomes highly questionable how far the union has a right to dictate the worker's politics."

"Dictate the worker's politics"! This, then, is what Thomas blandly equates with a union's action in throwing its help behind a political candidate. It is the language of the Committee for Constitutional Government and its ilk. Further on he says: "The endorsement of [union] conventions should not be binding on individual members." Does Thomas know of any unions which make their endorsements "binding" on their individual members (or which could do so)? There is, to be sure, something like this when a union makes its paid porkchoppers and staff officials fall into political line, but there is no indication that Thomas is even thinking of this limited aspect.

But even aside from this rather incredible excursion into the anti-labor slanders of the GOP's right-wing, note what is his main objection, already indicated by the quotation and developed further as follows:

"When unions give, as John L. Lewis gave the Democrats in 1936, a large sum of money to a political candidate or a political party, a sum derived from union dues, workers who may not happen to believe in that candidate or that party have some moral right to complain of misuse of their money."

He proposes, no longer merely thinking aloud but as his "present conclusions": "In general, This has been illustrated once again in the current case of Bolivia

(Turn to last page)

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Discussion: On Post-War Resistance, Titoism

To the Editor:

Thank you for publishing my letter of August 5 [in *LABOR ACTION* for Aug. 25]. There are two points I would like to deal with in your comments on my letter.

(1) On the question of the Resistance movements, I was attempting to explain that the Resistance movements were unable to center their base of operations in the factories but had to draw away the most advanced elements to the "country at large." In Yugoslavia (for instance) the proletariat was weak. The Nazi occupation and the Italian occupation numbed the vital sources of Resistance in the towns. However, owing to the relative freedom of movement of the peasantry, the mobility of the younger officers (many of them of peasant origin) of the former Yugoslav army, it was possible for the Resistance to regain its strength in "the country at large," and carry the Resistance back to the urban centers later (Belgrade, Zagreb, etc.).

On the subject of South Africa, I admit my thought is a bit obscure. I. B. Tabata's book *The Awakening of a People*, which has already been reviewed in *The New Internationalist*, explains far

more succinctly the theory of the Non-European Unity Movement with respect to the trade unions, the proletariat (African), and the peasantry than I could in a few lines.

(2) On the question of Titoism, it is perfectly true, as you say, that Titoism represents no "basic break with Stalinism." But then, neither does Bevan's break with Attlee represent a "basic break with Attleeism." The relaxation of the regime inside Yugoslavia attested by all critics who have visited this country (due to a variety of reasons) is of such an order that it would be false, in my submission, to write off Titoism simply as national-Stalinism. In Yugoslavia today, we have for the first time even objective accounts of the degeneration of the Comintern (see *New Yugoslavism*), also Vladimir Dedijer's Partisan diary reflects some sort of historical integrity, at the very least. The climate in Yugoslavia is changing. I think the best description we could give of Titoism (in Yugoslavia) is 1934-Stalinism, the period before the Moscow Trials and the assassination of Kirov. This time, however, the film of history is being unwound. Allan VAUGHAN London, Sept. 9.

Comment: Let's Try to Think It Through

(1) There is no question but that the problem Comrade Vaughan points to is an important one requiring discussion. It would also be helped substantially if there were more information available on the problems of the wartime Resistance movements, particularly in Western Europe.

But we are concerned here to caution that the tactics of the wartime Resistance should not be over-generalized into a theory of modern revolution with respect to town and country. Above all, it must be remembered that those Resistance movements were largely and necessarily military guerrilla movements. Of course Vaughan is right if he is merely pointing out that such movements, in such circumstances, must take "the country at large" as its sphere of operations—greater freedom of movement, etc. (We've never heard of a military guerrilla movement in a factory!)

The impression we have of his thinking on the subject, however, is that he tends to carry these considerations over mechanically to movements and situations which are NOT those of guerrilla fighting. His repeated reference to South Africa is one of the reasons for this impression.

SOUTH AFRICAN CASE

There, he says, "the most intelligent Marxists . . . have correctly entered the national liberatory movement and centered it not on the shanty towns so much as on the peasantry expropriated by the white bourgeoisie in the country at large." It would be breaking in an open door, for Vaughan to argue course, for Vaughan to argue that the latter are revolutionary dynamite and that any Marxist who thinks to ignore them is making a huge mistake.

But we feel that, in South Africa as elsewhere, a movement in alliance with a revolutionary peasantry which is not firmly based on the proletarian elements could not lead toward the socialist revolution. We see no reason to abandon the Marxist view that the role of the working-class movement is that of leader, guide and motor force of all the revolutionary energies of the people.

This has been illustrated once again in the current case of Bolivia

side to industry or "shanty towns."

Most important, perhaps, is the role of another class element alien to the working class in the leadership of the Resistance. That is the Stalinists.

A discussion of this question would, we think, tend to show why it is possible and useful for the Stalinists to base themselves on peasant anti-capitalism, and why their motivations do not hold for revolutionary socialists.

(At any rate, this much is sure: to carry over the Stalinist tactics without further thought on the matter is self-defeatingly superficial, to say the least. We are reminded of individuals during the 1930s who played with the idea of the socialists' adopting "certain" fascist tactics because, after all, look how successful they were! We had to explain why the fascist tactics suited their social aims and could not be adopted by a movement which sought a quite different social goal. . . . To each his own.)

BUROCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE PEASANTS

Comrade Vaughan's reference to China in this connection raises a problem, to be sure,—almost any conclusions about China raise problems nowadays—but his approval of Mao's turn from the Chinese proletariat to the peasantry (in his original letter) seems also to be done by mechanical transference.

For anyone who thinks that the Chinese Stalinists, having gained power through their peasant base, are now building or are going to build "socialism" in the towns, we would have to discuss this on an entirely different level—i.e., we would have to discuss the nature of Stalinism, including Chinese Stalinism. For ourselves, who do not think that Mao is on the road of "building socialism," his road to Stalinist power through the peasantry is no model.

We have pointed, many times before, this to one of the prime characteristics of the Stalinist "revolution"—its fear of setting into motion social-revolutionary forces from below unless and except to the extent that it can control and ride these forces toward its own ends; and this task is much easier for the Stalinists when they are riding on the backs of a backward peasantry than when they are attempting to channel a working-class revolutionary upsurge. The latter is not impossible—but it is more difficult.

The reasons for this consideration of the Stalinists, which depend on the contrast between the social viability of independent working-class as against independent peasant movements, are precisely those which have led Marxists to emphasize their primary basis in the proletariat.

Lastly, very sincerely we are not at all sure how much of the above discussion applies to Comrade Vaughan's thinking. Perhaps we are breaking in an open door too, and are giving too much weight to what may be loose remarks at worst. But it is not useless to keep ourselves reminded of the considerations we have explained.

TITO—AND BEVAN

(2) Comrade Vaughan agrees that Titoism represents no "basic break with Stalinism" (that is, "Stalinism" as a social and political system, as distinct from Russian Stalinism). To this he replies first, "But then, neither does Bevan's break with Attlee represent a 'basic break with Attleeism.'"

That Vaughan should consider this a "point" is both revealing and disturbing. He apparently thinks it a relevant comparison! They're both breaks, aren't they?

The little difference between the two breaks is as big as our whole world epoch. It is the class line.

The Attlee-Bevan break was a

break WITHIN the working-class socialist movement, between two wings of it. This is the important thing here regardless of whether it is called "basic" or not "basic," or in what sense it was either. Neither the wing we support outside the framework of the working class.

The Tito-Stalin break was a break WITHIN the Stalinist world. When Vaughan agrees that Titoism is not a "basic break," he must mean that it has not gone outside the framework of the Stalinist system.

IT'S NOT "SIMPLE"

Consider: even before Bevan broke with Attlee, we were for supporting the Labor Party against its enemies while seeking to reform it from within. But we are not for supporting Stalinism while trying to "Titoize" it from within. The latter is the line of the official-Trotskyists, and it is only they who could meaningfully make the comparison that comes off Comrade Vaughan's pen.

The comparison can come to the opinion that while as yet no "basic break" has taken place, Titoism is moving toward it in some sense. This is the question which, as we mentioned before, LABOR ACTION has subjected to more detailed and concrete analysis than any other publication, including most of Vaughan's remarks in anticipation.

To write that Titoism is not "simply" national-Stalinism is not saying anything at all, in itself. American imperialism is not "simply" imperialism, Stalinism is not "simply" anti-socialist totalitarianism, monopoly capitalism is not "simply" reactionary, and even Vaughan's remarks on Titoism are not "simply" wrong. If Titoism were "simply" national-Stalinism, we could have dealt with it in a couple of paragraphs, instead of in the rather complex analysis which it necessitates, like many other new phenomena.

The point is that the basic nature of Titoism as national-Stalinism is the decisive key to understanding everything else about it.

ONE-WAY OBJECTIVITY

"Write off Titoism" is another loaded phrase which is, we fear, an evasive substitute for thinking the question through. Anyone who "writes off" Titoism is ignorant or a fool. Precisely because we do analyze it as "national-Stalinism" we have assigned a great deal of importance to it.

But not in the same way as does Comrade Vaughan who is overconcerned with the impotent Tito-sponsored groups in Europe (as we gather from his recent article in the London *Socialist Leader* as well as from his letter). He thinks that, having failed as independent groups, the Tito-Titoists can "help to fructify social-democracy." It was these elements above all that sterilized the Tito-sponsored groups that they were in. In any case, we put no hopes in them, though no doubt some of the individuals can learn to play a role. The historic importance of Titoism in its various forms is as a disintegrating force within the Stalinist world.

The Yugoslav Titoists' accounts of the degeneration of the Comintern are as "objective" as their rewriting of their own past history. Vaughan seems to be sadly taken in. What they write about is the growth of bureaucraticism among the RUSSIAN leaders, while (1) whitewashing and gilding, in the typical fashion of Stalinist historiography, the bureaucratic history of their OWN party and movement; and (2) assigning, in the last analysis, personal reasons for the degeneration of the Russians—since any political and social explanation of this bureaucratic degeneration of Stalinism would apply 100 per cent to themselves also.

Naturally! since it is quite impossible to write objectively about

the degeneration of the Comintern without putting the finger, among other things, on the role of the one-party system and the prohibition of factions and tendencies within the party. And the latter are hotly defended principles of Tito-Stalinism today as yesterday.

ABOUT RUNNING FILMS BACKWARD

The "historical integrity" of the Yugoslav Titoists is just as much a farce, and for the same reasons. It consists in revealing telling truths about the Russians (insofar as this can be done within the framework of the Titoist ideology) while using all the standard methods of concealment and distortion in falsifying their own roles. For documentation, besides our own, see the book by Adam Ulam reviewed in LA in the same issue as Vaughan's original letter.

Finally, of course, the "climate" in Yugoslavia is changing. We have discussed the "relaxation" in Yugoslav Titoism at some length, including its motives, limitations and forms. None of this needs to be repeated here, for Comrade Vaughan must first think out: what is it changing to? We ourselves have devoted a bit of space to making the point that the face of Yugoslav Titoism in many respects looks more like early Stalinism ("1934-Stalinism") than like present-day Russian Stalinism. There are a great many things that follow, but Comrade Vaughan seems to have the simplistic notion that Titoism is retracing the Stalinist path of development like a film that is running backward.

We would first remind him that the very analogy comes from Trotsky's view of Stalinism as the process of running the same film of history backward from the Russian Revolution to the restoration of capitalism. Trotsky was quite wrong, and the film was not running backward.

Stalinism took some steps back to gain a new starting point for a unique social development. This is even clearer in the case of Titoism: with the break from Moscow one of the things which changed the Yugoslav "climate" was its effort to free its Stalinism from the Russian accretions which Moscow had imposed as a dominant foreign power, and to find their new starting point for developing the system on an indigenous basis.

In any case, someone ought to outlaw the repetition of this analogy of Trotsky's until some case is adduced where the celebrated "film of history" has actually run "backward" in the above sense.

In the above remarks, we seek only to show Vaughan (and others who tend to throw off similar vague remarks about Titoism) that they have not thought through the question to consistent and meaningful views. It is at any rate our impression, and we hope Comrade Vaughan will forgive us for it, that such remarks are more the outcome of a hope for Titoism than of an understanding of it. We too see a positive role for Titoism, as we have indicated, but it does not lie in the hope that the Tito regime will organically develop in the direction of socialist democracy. That's the nub of the question.—Ed.

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of LA. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

SCREEN THE NEWS with LABOR ACTION A sub is \$2 a year—Subscribe now!

McCarthyism — —

(Continued from page 1)

England, the anti-status-quo force, Nye never gets mass support until he is before because he puts the welfare of the people first in his program and war preparations second.

In America, the one social force capable of being the mass base of a new political movement, the union movement, distinguishes itself only as the tail-end to the administration in power, be it in foreign or domestic policy. In Wisconsin, the vigorous appeals of the CIO and AFL leaders to defeat McCarthy fall on deaf ears—even in the working-class neighborhoods where McCarthy got "surprising" support.

UNIONS' ROLE

Virtually the only place in America where Dean Acheson continues to get complete, unqualified support is in the union movement, both CIO and AFL. The only place in America where foreign policy, good, bad, indifferent, blunder or no blunder from any point of view, gets unqualified support is in the union conventions.

Given the present policies of the top leadership of the union movement, labor no longer looks to the people like a progressive social force around which to rally, but rather as a selfish power-hungry clique, incapable of running its own house, let alone guide the nation in this time of crisis.

This is a factor that aids the McCarthys to run roughshod in the nation.

For five years America has been treated to dose after dose of hysteria and war scares. Is it a wonder that part of it has taken hold? A major union like the United Auto Workers (CIO) keeps official silence while the House Committee on Un-American Activities, assisted by the press, radio, and TV, whips up a lynch spirit in Detroit's factories. Congressman Potter wins the Republican nomination for senator in Michigan as a result of this vicious show. Instead of exposing the reactionary character of the Potter witchhunt, the UAW

yields to the tide of reaction by placing an administratorship over Ford Local 600, thereby testifying to the witchhunters that there are no witches in the union leadership. Union after union conducts a purge, vows it won't defend "Communists," and generally goes along with the red-hunt.

Is it to be wondered that in a period of witchhunts a very loud-mouth witchhunter gets popular approval? In a lynch crowd, the man with the rope gets momentary acclaim.

McCARTHYISM, EXPORT

In Europe, the American political scene must be a source of never-ceasing wonder. How can even the staid Times get excited over the victory of a demagogue when it urges the Europeans and Asians to support the Bao Dais, the Chiang Kai-sheks, make working agreements with Franco, under certain circumstances? What qualities do these and kindred statesmen have that Senator McCarthy lacks? Surely their brass-knuckle tactics in fighting the menace of "communism" through the years make McCarthy look like a minor leaguer.

Isn't McCarthyism simply a domestic reflection of American foreign policy?

Either pious hypocrisy or downright ignorance marks the complaints of the Times and its devoted followers, the "enlightened" labor and liberal leaders, against the methods of Senator McCarthy.

"The plain fact of the matter is that the government's own loyalty program was initiated almost three years before Mr. McCarthy made his first national impact with the discredited allegation that there were more than 200 Communists in the State Department," the Times plaintively reminds the Wisconsin voters.

Under the executive order of President Truman and with the establishment of the attorney general's "subversive" list, scores of organizations and a good quarter of a million persons in America were smeared as "subversive," without a trial, hearing or any-

thing else.

What did McCarthy do that can begin to compare with this gross violation of the whole spirit and tradition of American jurisprudence and democracy? Is the Times suggesting that the voters defeat McCarthy because Truman did a better job of smearing than the vociferous senator from Wisconsin? Or is there a double standard? It's OK for the administration to use any tactic to fight The Menace, but not for anyone else?

Nor is the Times alone in this dilemma. The whole labor leadership, the alleged liberals of today, stand impotent before McCarthyism because they agree in principle with him. To be sure, the last national CIO convention passed a good resolution on the defense of the Stalinists, even against the Smith Act, but this has been completely ignored in practice.

SHOCK THERAPY

Surely, if Stalinism is the kind of menace that must be met by war, if necessary, in the company of the "free world" including Franco, even if it means atomic war and the destruction of millions of people, a little thing like McCarthyism can be swallowed—perhaps as not the best tactic against Stalinism but after all better than no tactic at all. . . .

And can the "critical" supporters of American imperialism against Stalinist totalitarianism deny that the inevitable concomitant of a war is the triumph of McCarthyism on the domestic front?

Perhaps the victory of McCarthy may act as a bit of shock therapy for the labor and liberal movement. After all, if General Marshall is not immune, what's in store for the thousands of ex-radicals in the labor movement and in the universities? McCarthy is bound to run out of "reds" pretty soon, and will be looking for a fresh stock of menaces. To fight back in simple self-defense, they have to look behind McCarthy.

Col. McCormick

(Continued from page 1)

Dr. George D. Robnett of Evanston, president of the Church League of America, a well-known anti-Semite. The conference was arranged by Operation America of Washington but was actually called by the Minute women of Maryland.

When this conference adjourned after a tempestuous battle over formation of a third party, apparently the Minute Women took over from Robnett and continued the session to set up a third party, installing Mrs. Suzanne Silvercrucy Stevenson of Connecticut, national chairman of the Minute Women, as chairman, and Percy Greaves Jr. of Chevy Chase, Md., as co-chairman. Greaves is economics adviser to the Christian Freedom Foundation, publisher of *Christian Economics*. Members of the national committee of what was later to be named the Constitution Party were then named: Geo. T. Foster, president of the Constitutional Americans; Arthur Case of Los Angeles, national chairman of Americans for MacArthur; Kenneth Goff, state director of the Colorado Anti-Communist League (a well-known agent of Gerald K. Smith when last heard from in Chicago); Mrs. Catherine P. Baldwin of New York City, one of the co-founders of another Constitution Party, mentioned frequently in the book *Under Cover*; and others.

Anti-Semitic Flag Raised

With this array of native fascist talent in the lead, one can readily guess who were the real leaders behind the scenes, putting forward the less publicly tagged personnel named above. The conference then blasted the Republicans and Democrats for support to the UN, aiding countries which have "fallen victim to socialistic imperialism" (sic), as "faithful servants of the New Deal leading our nation into the pitfalls of socialism," and came out for support to those senators and representatives adhering to their principles.

Between then and August 30 when the Constitution Party met in Philadelphia, an internal battle must have raged in the native fascist movement over its perspectives and program, because several days thereafter Mrs. Stevenson and Greaves Jr. resigned as chairman and co-chairman. Mrs. Stevenson is quoted as saying that several members of the national committee objected to her because she was a Roman Catholic and foreign-born. She stated: "The principles of the party as rewritten by an unauthorized meeting of a few of the national committee in Philadelphia last week contained the phrase, 'we must preserve our Christian heritage which has been the strength of this nation.' Such a declaration sounds to me like anti-Semitism. I will have no part of any movement which seems to me to be so steeped in bigotry."

They See Their Opportunity

At that Philadelphia meeting representatives of 13 states were alleged to be present, and urged the election by the electoral college of MacArthur for president and Senator Byrd of Virginia as vice-president. Calling attention to the fact that 267 electoral votes could secure their election or throw it into the House of Representatives, this Constitution Party meeting declared one of its "prime aims a quiet campaign among the electoral voters named on November 4 to persuade them to ignore party instructions and pick a man capable of coping with the two-pronged crisis facing the country, financially and militarily." Its statement of principles said that "the very existence of our republic is being threatened by a band of international conspirators who have derided and defied the Constitution for more than a decade," and called for withdrawal from the UN, opposition to universal military training, sound money, restoration of tariffs and all-out support to McCarthy.

Just who took over whom in this fascist imbroglio is uncertain, but in any event not too important. What is important is that workers should be aware of the fact that the native American fascists are hopefully looking forward again to a period of organizational growth and intensified opportunities to vent their hatreds upon labor and minority peoples.

While today they lack the independent forces of their own to accomplish that, they content themselves necessarily with upholding every vicious element in the social and political scene and even hatch "constitutional" plots to subvert the formally democratic voting process. It is well to remain aware of their existence—and above all to expose the new links they will continue to establish with the desperate men at the periphery of power in the confusion and sickness of our society.

go on? What does it profit Krueger method? These them to hang on to the shell questions are not entirely of Norman Thomas while he rhetorical, but surely it is discredits socialism and time for Socialist Party their party too? How long is militants to re-examine the tactic of giving Thomas it right to wait until the problem is solved by the enough rope to tie them up.

Norman Thomas —

(Continued from page 6)

no part of union dues should be spent for the support of any party or candidate." (Such money should be raised only by voluntary contribution.)

We know, of course, that this argument is a favorite of rather extreme reactionaries in order to get unions out of politics. We presume that Thomas's concern is his moral scruples, which happen to cluster about dues payments. He does not say whether a union official, who after all is paid by all the members, has a right to use his time to further a union's political endorsement, or whether he must do so only after working hours (if he has any). He does not say whether a union which has democratically endorsed a candidate at a convention (as he recommends) has a right to use its resources, which are paid for by all the members, to make known its views in the election, that is, to campaign for the candidate.

Taken literally, his proposal would exclude even this. It is in effect a conclusion that a union has no right to participate in poli-

tics, except possibly through a formal endorsement. It is a conclusion that the Liberal Party in New York has no right to receive contributions from the ILGWU or the other unions that actually kept it going.

It must be added that Thomas's line of thought, of course, would make it equally immoral for a union to use its resources for furthering any other cause whatsoever, whether charitable or social. The worker who is paying dues because he was forced into joining in a union shop would have an equal right to object. Shall the union "dictate" his charities?

Enough Rope

Thomas's substitute for thinking processes becomes somewhat ludicrous when, not being entirely out of this world as yet, he is led to "admit that this plan may be inadequate if and when a union is faced with a political opponent or a political platform which is directly anti-labor—a term not always easy to define to everybody's satisfaction. Then it might be as much the business of the union as

a whole to fight that man or that program at the polls as it is sometimes [!] to stick together in a strike."

The capitalist parties and their candidates are not directly anti-labor, whatever that means. We can easily understand such thinking, muddled as it is, from a supporter of capitalism. This is presumably from the leader of the Socialist Party who looks upon capitalism and its works as the enemy of all aspirations of the working class. In any case, aside from abstractions about capitalism, there is not in all probability another pale-pink reformist socialist in the world who does not think that precisely the most immediate interests of the workers require their united defense of their political interests as of their economic needs. It has been given to the Socialist Party of this country to be saddled with this unique specimen.

It is not Norman Thomas's sad decline that we are lamenting. It is the Socialist Party and its militants that we are thinking of. How long can they permit this to