

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

LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 9, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Attorney General Agrees To Conference with WP On "Subversive" Listing

Following a request sent by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, to Attorney General Clark's office for a hearing on the inclusion of the Party in a list of allegedly "subversive" organizations, Assistant Attorney General Vincent Quinn last week wrote to the Workers Party agreeing to a conference. Comrade Shachtman's letter requesting a hearing, the Assistant Attorney General's answer and a letter sent by Comrade Shachtman in reply to the latter appear below.

July 20 Letter Asks Hearing

July 20, 1948

Mr. Tom Clark
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Immediately upon the publication by your office of a list of organizations alleged to be "subversive," a list which included the Workers Party, I, as National Chairman of the Workers Party, addressed a letter to you requesting that a representative of our party be given a hearing by your office at which we would have the opportunity to present our point of view and to challenge your classification.

I have just been informed by Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, General Counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, that such a hearing will be held by your office upon the application of any interested organization. With the authorization of the Workers Party, I hereby formally request the opportunity to present our point of view at a hearing organized by your office. We are ready to appear at any reasonable time.

Yours truly,

MAX SHACHTMAN,
National Chairman, Workers Party

Attorney General's Office Replies

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 29, 1948

Mr. Max Shachtman
National Chairman
Workers Party
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York

Dear Mr. Shachtman:

The Attorney General has directed me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 20, 1948, and to arrange an appointment to see you or someone designated by you at my office. Please advise me the date and approximate time when you will be here.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

T. VINCENT QUINN
Assistant Attorney General

Second Workers Party Letter

August 3, 1948

T. Vincent Quinn
Assistant Attorney General
Office, Attorney General
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Your Reference: TVQ:JBH:lr
146-28-25

Dear Mr. Quinn:

I have just received your letter of July 29, 1948, notifying me that the attorney general has directed you to arrange an appointment at your office with a representative of our party.

We welcome the opportunity that you are prepared to afford us to present the point of view of the Workers Party with the aim of challenging your classification of our organization among those included in the "subversive list" originally issued by your office.

I am ready to arrange any date and time in the immediate future which will be convenient to both of us. However, in order that the hearing may be most useful and fruitful on both sides, it seems to me necessary that your office indicate to us the grounds on which it was decided to include the Workers Party in your list of subversive organizations, that is, just what charges have been leveled at us and what evidence has been adduced to sustain them. With this information at our disposal, the matter will be enormously simplified both for your office and for ourselves. Our representative at the conference with you will thereby be relieved of the handicap of refuting charges or evidence of which we are now unaware. With the material in our hands in advance, on the contrary, the time of our conference can be efficiently devoted to a point by point consideration of every charge against our party and of all evidence that may be produced by your office.

I am sure that you will agree with the wisdom and fairness of the procedure I propose. Once this information is provided us, it will be only a matter of a few days for us to prepare our own documentary material, to call upon any corroborating witnesses we may find necessary, and thereupon set a satisfactory date for the hearing in Washington.

It may be that the appointment you propose with a representative of our party has as its purpose a preliminary conference between us at which the actual procedure to be followed at a subsequent formal hearing is to be discussed. In that case, I am prepared to come to your office without further delay and without being provided with the material that I request above. It would then be possible for us to discuss at this conference all the necessary arrangements for a formal hearing on our application for the removal of the name of the Workers Party from the "subversive list" and to take up also the matter of the charges and evidence against us.

I await your early reply with the greatest interest.

Your truly,

MAX SHACHTMAN,
National Chairman, Workers Party

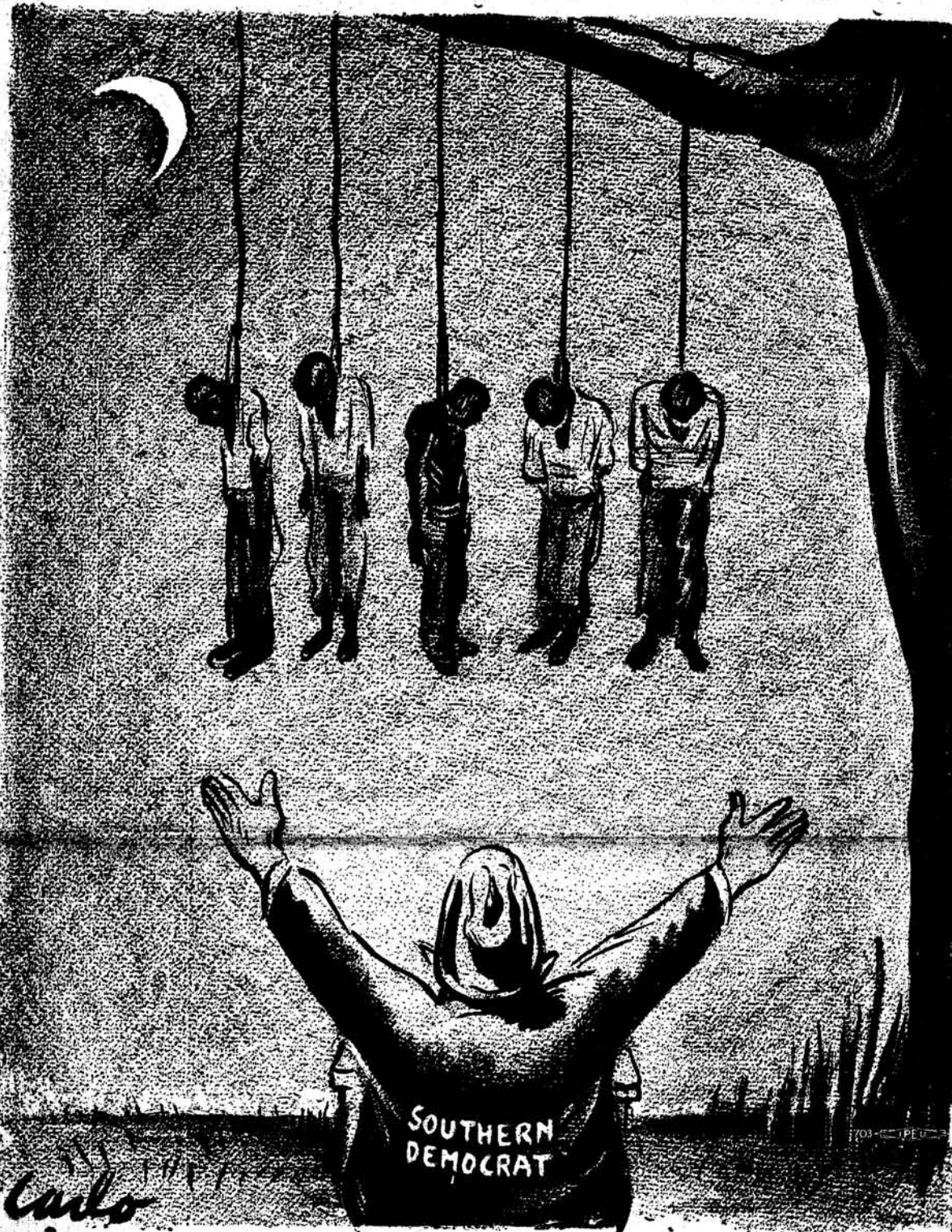
MS:B

Labor Party Pamphlet —

Turn to page 4 for the first chapter of Jack Ranger's pamphlet on the Labor Party and the American working class. The entire work will be run serially in LABOR ACTION prior to its publication in pamphlet form in the fall.

Special Session Gets Nowhere—On Schedule

Between Filibusters!



Sees Breakers Ahead For The Wallace-CP Alliance

By JACK BRAD

With the conclusion of the Philadelphia convention of the Wallace movement it is possible to make some tentative assessments. For socialists, it is indispensable to draw a balance sheet as a guide and as a check on past policy.

The convention proved, only too abundantly, that the Progressive Party was a creation of, and was completely in the control of the Stalinist Party. This was the most ostentatious fact. So much so that it demands attention. The Stalinists, far from hiding their light under a bushel, proclaimed their presence, control and program through every medium available to them.

The stage was set by the indictment of the 12 Communist Party leaders and the convention opened with Wallace's and Baldwin's statements in their defense. From Marcan-tonio's swashbuckling statement that "fascism comes wherever the people do not come to the defense of the communists" to the careful political policing of the platform and the stacking of the new National Committee, everything proclaimed the CP's presence in full force. The Daily Worker had been boasting of the CP's initiative in forming the PP since May 30.

ADAPT INTERNATIONAL LINE

The CP, then, made every effort to make clear to the world, and above all to those inside and close to the Wallace movement, that it was the real core of the new party. The CP regards the Progressive Party as its 1948 electoral front and more generally the parallel pattern of the new post-war style of popular front in

America. It is their native adaptation of the tactics pursued in Eastern Europe, with several important differences.

The PP is not the Popular Front of Rooseveltian days. There is no desire now to form alliances with the governmental party, with sections of the capitalist class or its representatives in the labor movement. The "broad people's front" of those days is eschewed. The reason is the antagonism between these elements over Russian foreign policy. And since this is the decisive CP issue, it is the point of conflict and not of alliance.

There is yet another difference which for socialists is all important. Unlike its sister parties in Europe, the American CP does not enjoy great popular prestige in the working class. It is not a great political center for the working class, with a long tradition of struggle. Rather, the opposite is true. The CP is gradually being isolated in the trade unions. It has lost one position after another in the CIO, as witness the defeats in the UAW and now in the UMW, which it once regarded as its private preserve for years. The dramatic defection of Quill of the Transport Workers is another example. Their alliance with the top bureaucracy of the CIO, first with Lewis and later Murray, has turned into its opposite. Murray now leads the attack against them.

Nor is their prestige in the ranks any higher. In the NMU elections, one of the most important charges against the CP was its abject surrender to the shipowners and the War Shipping Board during the war, when it bartered away precious positions. Its defeat was overwhelming

—28,043 for Curran against 9,640 for Blackie Meyers. Its defeat in the UAW was also a thorough rout—and, as in the NMU, not altogether from the right. In fact, the CP has lost among both its conservative bureaucratic allies as well as among the militants in the ranks.

The political isolation of the CP is even clearer. The most striking case is the New York ALP, which is now a completely CP show. The 1948 election slate of the ALP is loaded with known Stalinists and is notable for its lack of innocents or even of peripheral fellow travelers. (The open endorsement by the ALP of Simon Gerson for City Council ties in with its similar attitude toward the PP). And the Stalinists are now completely out of the Democratic Party.

UNSTABLE ALLIANCE
The CP has lost heavily among Negroes. Pre-convention discussion in the Daily Worker bitterly complains about the "dissolution of the party's organizations in the South." The National Negro Congress front is defunct. CP boycott of the March on Washington movement during the war and its abandonment of the fight against Jim Crow lost it thousands of Negro supporters.

It is a CP which does not represent a significant section of the working class which launches the PP. For that reason its new party is a makeshift "people's front from below." Its allies are limited to the handful of disconsolate liberals. The new party has a character of impermanence and instability precisely because its main prop is weak. But all the more does the CP assert its place in the PP be-

(Continued on page 4)

Filibuster Gang Holds Floor As Republicans Stage Sham Fight on Anti-Poll Tax Law

By WILLIAM BARTON

The special session of Congress has been moving precisely according to schedule.

President Truman presented a program for price control, housing construction, civil rights, revision of the inadequate and unfair DP immigration legislation—all with the full realization that passage was almost out of the question but that the move would provide excellent ammunition against the Republican leadership in the coming campaign.

The Republicans, bent on adjourning in a couple of weeks, immediately engineered to give priority to anti-poll-tax legislation, on the expert reckoning that Southern Democrats would

filibuster the proposal to death and compel the hoped-for termination of the session. They could then blame everything on the Democratic "obstructionists." If a compromise constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax did pass, the Republicans would take the credit for this.

Commentators agree that the only other legislation which may be accepted are the DP immigration revision and a grant to the UN for its New York headquarters.

HEARINGS PRODUCE TALK
Emphasizing the serious danger of continued inflation, Truman asked for return of wartime excess-profits taxes, checks on various forms of credit, and authority to ration and fix prices and wages. One of his leading spokesmen, former OPA Adminis-

Georgia Supreme Court Upholds Ingram Sentence

The Supreme Court of Georgia in a unanimous decision recently upheld life imprisonment sentences for Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two minor sons, Wallace and Sammy Lee. The justices of the State Supreme Court were no more unanimous than the special grand all-white jury which originally convicted the Ingrams of murder, following the self-defense slaying of John Stratford, white sharecropper of Ellaville, Ga., last November.

However, the justices minced a legal word or two to explain their unanimity. The case was before the Supreme Court on appeal made through the NAACP from the decision of Judge William Harper of the Superior Court, who last spring denied a motion for a new trial, but commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment.

This opinion hinged on the question of whether there had been one or two encounters between Stratford and the Ingrams, and said in part, "While our conclusions in this case might have been different had the state's evidence shown one encounter with the children of Rosa Lee Ingram coming to the aid and protection of their mother and the killing then occurring while the parties were engaged in fighting, we are not called upon to decide this question. In passing on the general grounds of a motion for a new trial this court passes not on the weight but the sufficiency of the evidence."

You don't get it? That's all right, dear reader. To grasp that takes a cracker mind.

The NAACP has stated that it will immediately file a second motion with the Georgia Supreme Court, requesting a rehearing. Anticipating another adverse decision, they have pledged to carry the case to the U. S. Supreme Court.

SENATOR VANDENBERG
trator Paul Porter, told the House Banking and Currency Committee that the plan was to reduce prices on essential commodities to the level of last November, since which time official figures declare there has been a 4 per cent increase.

Hearings so far have produced mainly political bantering, the Democrats charging the 80th (Republican) Congress with all the blame for high prices and the Republicans blaming the administration, occasionally throwing in old-time isolationist innuendoes to the effect that export policies under ERP (which they gen-



(Continued on page 2)

Pass One-Third Mark in Drive To Put WP Candidate on Ballot

By MAX BURT, Campaign Director

NEW YORK—Having collected over a third of the needed 6000 signatures in the first five days of the drive to place Emanuel Galtman on the ballot as a candidate for Congress in New York's East Side, friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party look forward to quickly completing the petition gathering and concentrating all their energies on the election campaign.

The 6000 signature goal set by the campaign committee is double the legally required minimum, and is expected to insure Comrade Galtman a place on the ballot.

Of particular significance to the future prospects of the election campaign is the fact that so large a proportion of the people who are approached consent to sign the Workers Party petitions despite the atmosphere of fear and suspicion created by the capitalist press and radio, and the government drive to suppress independent political thought. That many people are, indeed, frightened away from signing is further evidence that the government drive is directed not alone at the Stalinists, but also at genuinely independent socialist and labor groups.

The high percentage of people who do, however, sign, in the face of this anti-socialist hysteria, has exceeded all expectations. It demonstrates a high degree of courage and independence in the working-class and among the electorate generally, and indicates that an opportunity exists for a dynamic campaign.

(Continued on page 4)

PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

Attitude Toward And Use of ERP

After reading the barrage of discussion articles appearing in LA, I cannot help but think that the question of "support" or "non-support" to the ERP is not the real issue at stake among the protagonists. It seems to me that underlying the various points of view is the fundamental question of an evaluation of the role to be played by a small revolutionary party, such as the WP, in relation to the operation of incalculably complex political and economic phenomena over which we have neither control nor influence at present. To Hall and Draper the answer to this problem is simple. We are "equally" opposed to both Stalinist and American imperialism, and all that needs to be done is to trot out the slogan of the Third Camp, with a transitional demand thrown in now and then to show that we are "practical" politicians. Judd, on the other hand, goes through some strange intellectual contortions which seem to result from the fact that he wishes to stick to good old Marxist principles, while at the same time being "broad-minded" about the complicated affairs of the world. But at least he recognizes the existence of problems which have to be dealt with intelligently and which should not be dismissed in a sectarian manner by merely shouting long live the Third Camp and socialism.

At any rate, my point of departure concerning the ERP is the manner in which I think the WP, an organization whose activities and character are both—due to the force of circumstances—primarily of a propagandistic nature, should approach the question. Such a starting point has no need for the construction of hypothetical Congressmen, à la Goldman, which only succeeds in unnecessarily confusing matters.

POINTS IN ANALYSIS

It seems to me that at the time the ERP bill was being discussed in Congress we should have analyzed the problem and made the following main points, among others:

- 1) There would be no doubt as to the passage of the ERP. Such a program had to be enacted in order to maintain the necessary U. S. export markets which were declining for lack of sound currency (U. S. dollars) in the hands of foreign countries. (Under the ERP exports would be no more for the year 1948-49 than in 1947.)
- 2) The ERP has two aspects to it: (a) the attempt to revitalize a hopelessly sinking Western European capitalism in a last ditch effort to maintain the system as a functioning world order and to forestall an inevitable domestic crisis. (b) the long run goal of building a Western European bloc in preparation for an eventual Russo-American war. These two things are not identical.
- 3) The U. S. would attach "strings" to the aid program in the interests of lessening competition on the world market of goods produced in the aided countries with those of the U. S.
- 4) But as long as the countries of Western Europe maintain their political and national independence, and

view the world political situation, the U. S. would probably not be totally successful in restricting the workings of these economies to its own interests. The countries of Western Europe (excepting Germany) do as yet enjoy political independence and maneuverability. (One is not always certain that writers for LA understand this fact and its importance.)

5) U. S. loans and grants under the ERP will probably restore to functioning and stabilization the world economy for a short time.

6) Nevertheless, the attempt at the revivification of capitalism as a functioning world system will end in abysmal failure. (One of the most important causes for this failure will be the revival of national competition on the world market—competition which the U. S. would like to prevent, but cannot at present throttle. (See point 4 above.)

7) The granting of foreign aid should be under the planned control of the trade unions or workers' committees. It is only in this manner that the first steps toward the solution of the contradictions inherent in world capitalist relationships which are leading toward destruction can be abolished; and this is a step toward socialism.

BY-PRODUCTS OF ERP

As to the question of being for or against the ERP, Judd's position—before passage of the legislation—of neither for nor against seems to me to have been correct as far as it went. However, the job was to explain the measure in all its aspects and to put forth our own program for educational and propagandistic purposes in both our press and in resolutions in trade unions, veterans' organizations, etc. And if the ERP is understood and explained fully, it cannot be characterized MERELY as a diabolical move by the political geniuses who represent American capitalism to maintain an already attained economic world dominance by tying the currencies of other nations to American dollars (also already and automatically attained). Economically, this goal could have been maintained by the policy of letting the war-ravaged countries stew in their own juice, with its political counterpart of backing extreme right-wing movements—as the opponents of the ERP seemed willing to do. However, this type of American "plan" threatened chaos which would open wide the door to further Stalinist penetration into Western Europe—the alternative which, of course, gives the political regimes of the Western European countries a great deal of their bargaining strength.

Faced with the alternative of outright reaction or pump-priming on a world scale in its hoped-for long-range interests, the U. S. chose the latter policy—a policy forced on it by the mood of the masses on the one hand, and the mass strength of the Stalinists on the other. The taking of this latter course—of necessity, to be sure—by the Truman administration carries with it certain by-products which are of the utmost importance to the working classes of Western Europe. It will provide em-

ployment and some improvement in the conditions of the workers, it will lessen the power of Stalinism, it will probably maintain bourgeois and social democratic governments in power, and it will give revolutionary socialist groupings a chance to build a movement.

In the light of these "by-products," it seems to me absurd to "oppose" the ERP. An act is to be judged not alone by its motives, but, also, by its consequences; and in view of the alternatives many of the consequences of the ERP redound to the benefit of the masses of people and to revolutionists. But these by-products seem to pale into insignificance to those who like to write articles demonstrating that they know what the blooming capitalists are up to, and thereby think they've examined a problem.

"Now that the ERP is passed and is in operation, I think that it is correct to state, as LA has, that we are for trade union control of the aid program in Europe, the right of American workers to inspect the books, and the struggle to prevent the aid from being used for war purposes. But it seems inconsistent to raise these slogans in relation to the ERP while at the same time urging the workers to oppose it. Viewing the matter in the concrete sense, to oppose the ERP means just that. It means urging the working class to use its weight to sabotage the ERP, or it means nothing.

However, to take a position which is not opposed to the ERP does not mean lending "critical support" to American imperialism. It does mean recognizing and utilizing the contradictions in American-European economic and political relationships and between bourgeois democracies and Stalinist totalitarianism for the purpose of building a socialist third camp. The choice for the Western European workers (in reality a potential choice) is not between accepting American or Russian domination. Nevertheless, an American ERP allows for a politico-economic climate in which it is possible to build a third camp movement. It gives the working classes of Europe a chance to become strong enough to break the American grip which is trying to strangle them. Needless to add, a Stalinized Europe (to which the ERP is in large part a counter-measure) offers no such possibility; and in this sense, the two great imperialisms are not (at present) equally abhorrent.

Paul NEWMAN

Issues in Discussion Of Marshall Plan

It is incorrect to have one opinion presumably as a socialist and a member of the Workers Party, and another one as a private citizen so to speak. The whole case of the Marshall Plan has to be presented in accordance with the socialist ethic that a revolutionary socialist movement—not a Stalinist movement—cannot be built behind the backs of the workers but by taking them into fullest confidence. It is hypocritical to mutter under one's breath "thank God for the Marshall Plan" and in public

merely to flay it as the imperialist scheme that it assuredly is.

Much has been made of the question: "What would you do if you were in Congress during the discussion of the Marshall Plan?" If a member of the Workers Party were in Congress, the political situation in America would be very different from what it is today and this difference would have to be taken into consideration in arriving at a position on any issue. But taking the question flatly, the course of action of a member of the WP in Congress would have to be something like this: First, to try to get on the floor a counter plan embodying real international cooperation and sound workers' control. Failing here, as no doubt would be the case, an attempt to submit certain amendments to the Marshall Plan bill to eliminate its most obnoxious imperialist features, would have to be made. Failing this, a vote could be cast for the Marshall Plan, stating fully and openly that this was limited and critical support, necessitated by the fact that history has offered no other way to give Europe the aid urgent for humanitarian and socialist reasons. We have before had to clarify to the workers complicated political positions as, for instance, our advocacy—ourselves a party—of another party, an independent labor party.

LINES WERE DEFINED

It has been more or less assumed in this discussion, unwarrantedly so, that those who take a position of limited and critical support of the Marshall Plan, will ipso facto support American imperialism in the war with Russia. This does not help clarify the issues involved in the Marshall Plan, in spite of involvement of the Marshall Plan in war preparation. The condition of the world, on both sides of the iron curtain, will have to be known and taken into consideration, if and when World War III comes. A year ago the Marshall Plan should have been considered as such.

A word now about the timing of the discussion of the Marshall Plan within the party and in LABOR ACTION. It comes just about a year too late. As soon as the Marshall Plan was projected, its nature could have been foretold, namely, that it was to be the plan of American imperialism to repair the war damage, both human and material, for three reasons: (1) to prevent western European countries from slipping under the heel of Russia; (2) to rebuild and groom them as allies in the coming war; and (3) also to restore these countries as customers for American products. It could have been foreseen that all the conditions, strings and compulsions necessary to accomplish these ends for American imperialism, would be imposed. Imperialism is what it is.

We could also then have seen that the by-products of the American imperialist plan—namely, aid to the European people as consumers and a lift to disintegrated European industry so that some measure of economic stability might possibly be patched up—were not only desirable but absolutely urgent from a humanitarian point of view and from the point of view

of historic progress. For without some degree of economic revival in Europe, without the release of workers from the degradation of primitive grubbing for a crust of bread, there was little hope of a socialist revolutionary rebirth.

So the lines were defined even before the hearings began in Congress. It was important to have a discussion then and a position established then because we must try to intervene wherever possible in the great issues of the day. Of course, we can intervene only in the sense of trying to influence the working class through our connection with the small section thereof that reads our press and keeps contact with our ideas.

Because we did not have a well-thought-out position, our contribution to the national and international discussion carried on in Congress and indeed all over the world, was rather routine and dogmatic. We did not go far beyond showing up the imperialist nature of the plan, the strings attached, the power the United States would have over western Europe, etc. Our contribution to the world-wide discussion was epitomized in the cartoon in LABOR ACTION showing a prostrated Europe between the grasping beast, Russia, and the identical, grasping beast, America. This oversimplification must have struck more than one of our readers as unrealistic.

LAG IN DISCUSSION

Our line of propaganda and education would, of course, have depended upon what position we had taken. Perhaps we would have formulated an alternative plan containing the elements of real international cooperation and of sound workers' control. But realities would have had to be the guide. For instance, on the question of workers' control, logically one would have to answer the point: "Would you give the European Stalinist-dominated unions control over American aid?"

The necessity for timely discussion in a political group cannot be over-emphasized, not only in order to intervene in the best possible way at the right time. It is also important not to lag behind events which, constantly changing, make a different impression on the mind with time and blur the original issue. For example, contributors to this discussion in LABOR ACTION have already forgotten that the Marshall Plan did influence the outcome of the crucial Italian election. Some, now that the Marshall Plan money has begun to pump new blood into old veins, talk about the tendency to "overemphasize" the industrial and social collapse of Europe.

This is not written to blame anyone for the delay in discussing the issue. In our party, with opportunity for all to initiate a discussion, responsibility rests on the whole party. But the fact remains that while now the discussion is about what a correct socialist position should be, a year ago the discussion would have included also the consideration of how best to intervene in this biggest (at that time) national and international issue.

Susan GREEN

Workers Party Announces Albert Goldman Resignation

NEW YORK, July 23—The Workers Party announced today that Albert Goldman had offered his resignation from the party and that the resignation had been accepted by the Political Committee.

In a brief letter, Goldman gave as his formal reason "the position which the majority of the National Committee took, at its recent meeting, on the question of the coming presidential elections." The statement on the elections, to which Goldman refers, was published in LABOR ACTION two weeks ago. It proposed the casting of a socialist protest vote, for any one of the three socialist candidates on the ballot, but stated that it was politically impossible for the Workers Party to give sole support to any one of the three as against the others.

Specifically, Goldman's objection was the refusal of the party to single out for sole support the candidacy of Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party. His letter added: "I want to support the Socialist Party. I want to do everything in my power to help that party in the campaign." The position of the National Committee he calls "utterly absurd." The position of the party in opposition to the Marshall Plan, as the expression of American imperialism's world drive today, is also cited by Goldman as "another indication that between me and the majority of the party there is a wide gulf in approach to many important problems confronting a socialist party. . . . I anticipate the argument that I should remain and try to change the party line by saying that I haven't the time nor am I in a physical condition to start a factional fight."

Accepting the resignation, the Political Committee of the party stated that it "regrets the withdrawal from the party of a comrade of Goldman's ability and long standing in the re-

volutionary movement," but pointed out that the move was not unexpected in view of his almost complete withdrawal from participation during the past year, so much so that he "did not even find it necessary to attend the plenum at which this question [of the elections] was discussed and decided."

It adds that, while the political differences mentioned by Goldman certainly exist, no one could possibly believe that the differences cited are sufficient in themselves to cause an experienced political to abandon the revolutionary Marxist movement. "Goldman's growing indifference and declining activity were due primarily and above all to his loss of any confidence in the struggle for a socialist future," the statement said, and added Goldman's name to the number of those tired radicals who have fallen by the wayside, especially in difficult times such as the revolutionary movement faces today.

By declaring (in effect) his closer political affinity with the pinky socialist Norman Thomas party than with the party of revolutionary Marxism, "Goldman has chosen this particular time and this particular way to retire from our party. Neither does he honor. . . . The party as a whole, this time and at all times, will choose the road of building and consolidating the revolutionary movement with all the tenacity, resourcefulness and self-confidence which are the distinguishing characteristics of militant socialism."

While Goldman's brief resignation has been adequately summarized above, the text of both his letter and the PC statement will be available in the Workers Party Bulletin which will soon be ready.

Special Session Gets Nowhere —

(Continued from page 1)

erally supported) were the major cause.

Neither side has much to say about the scuttling of OPA, which occurred when the Democrats were in control of Congress and the Republicans were fervent cooperators in encouraging astronomical price increases.

GOP AIDS FILIBUSTER

The Truman "civil rights" proposals were a repetition of what he originally asked in February—outlawing of poll taxes and legislation against lynching, discrimination in employment and housing segregation. The Southern members of his own party are making sure that nothing definite comes out of this Congress. Republican campaign managers are thus very hopeful that the president's politically-motivated call for the special session may work against him.

The Republicans are very deftly encouraging the Southerners. Their Senate leadership originally pushed the House-approved anti-poll-tax bill to the fore with the realization that it would provoke the filibuster. Their acting floor leader, Senator Wherry of Nebraska, went through the motions of asking for a "cloture" vote to limit debate, but this was immediately ruled out of order by presiding officer Senator Vandenberg. An appeal from his decision would have warranted another limitless discussion, which would be right up the Southerners' alley, and so the other Republicans, with seeming "reluctance," have accepted the decision.

It appears as though almost everyone is prepared to make a few more speeches and go home to plan his campaign. But few are prepared to stop right now. An adjournment motion by Senator Johnston of South Carolina was overwhelmingly defeated by a combined Republican-Democratic vote, in which six Southern Democrats joined. The general consensus seems to be that it would be best to let the session play itself out and prepare the accusations of responsibility.

AFL LEADERS LEARN NOTHING

The entire congressional session has, in fact, played second fiddle in

Washington to the "spy exposés" of the continuing Senate and House investigating committees. Meanwhile, the New York State Federation of Labor is holding its annual convention, preparing to assist the witch hunters by barring Stalinist delegates.

One of the most amazing features of these events is the spectacle of Republican candidate Dewey languishing on his farm and saying—nothing. It is even money as to who is going to gain from all this playing. A politically independent labor movement could easily pick up all the chips. But, from the evidence in New York this week, its leaders still don't know the rules of the game.

The session has undoubtedly given new life to the Stalinist-Wallace Progressive Party which had lost some ground as a result of its convention. Having only three unimportant people in Congress, they can easily duck responsibility for the sad show now playing.

Ted Thackery, New Dealer editor of the New York Post, compares the present Washington antics with the "bread and circus" appeals of Roman emperors and concludes: "at least they kept their people fed." The labor leadership lags behind even such liberal commentators and continues begging. If this is not the time for a nation-wide call for an independent Labor Party, when will there be a better opportunity?

Subscribers — Attention!

Check your NAME — ADDRESS — CITY — ZONE — STATE appearing on the upper left-hand corner of page one.

If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out of the address, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.

1 2 - 3 2

If this number appears at the bottom of your address, your subscription expires with this issue.

RENEW NOW
EXTEND YOUR SUB

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE



LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interest of Socialism

4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription: NEW RENEWAL

One year (52 issues) at \$1.00

Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents

NAME _____ (please print)

ADDRESS _____ APT. _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

Bill me Payment enclosed (stamps, currency or postal note)

Norman JOHNSTONE, N. J.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

The Steel Union And the Wage Award

Editor:

The U. S. Steel award to Philip Murray of a 9 per cent wage increase for its members has many explanations. One was the simple fact that the UAW had cracked the solid wage freeze front from one side and John L. Lewis had cracked it from the other side in getting his increase of \$1.00 a day from Steel's captive mines.

There was another significant reason. Phil Murray personally was taking quite an organizational beating. After all, Mr. Fairless knows that unionism is here to stay and he prefers the organizations RESPONSIBLE methods of the official leadership of USA. In Gary at the Carnegie Southworks, American Steel Foundry, and Inland Steel in Indiana Harbor, Ind., the Stalinists beat Murray men in the bi-annual local elections. To top it all off, Nick Migas, the Stalinist who opposed Philip Murray at the recent Boston convention and was physically whipped, was elected to the Bargaining Committee at Inland.

In UAW, there is a decided fall in Murray's popularity. At a recent PAC conference in Chicago (no Stalinists in attendance), when one of Steel's eager beavers made a motion to hail the fine national and international leadership of Philip Murray, and asked for a rising vote of confidence, more than half the delegates sat on their hands, which was a fitting tribute to his leadership.

All of this contributed to the frantic plea of the USA leadership to Benjamin Fairless to give in, and U. S. Steel gave in, although they did it in such a way that the leadership knew it was a favor, which, be-

cause of the NO-STRIKE PLEDGE, the company was under no compulsion to give. U. S. Steel then proceeded to raise steel prices \$9.00 a ton, to make up the increase manyfold. Philip Murray, who only recently accepted the idea of no price increases with wage increases, never uttered a peep about this latest haul.

The steel elections in the Calumet area presented the leadership of Joe Germano with the problem of enforcing the provisions of the Boston convention that no member of the CP can hold an elective post. (Inland election had a Browderite deviation. A leaflet of the Stalinists read, "Progressive leaders who are neither dominated by F. M. Gillies (plant manager), Joe Stalin nor Joe Germano." Shame!) There were some rumors that he would hold up the Gary and South Chicago elections. However, he has contented himself with charges against Migas alone, figuring out that a one-at-a-time strategy would keep the rank and file off his neck and suit his ultimate purposes.

At the Inland election a group of militants who held elected posts in the past were wiped out. They were squashed between the power slates. They had attempted a third slate maneuver, but ran last.

K. H., Chicago.

Talking Politics In the Shop

Editor:

A group of the boys were shooting the breeze in the shop the other noon on the Republican Convention, so I sat in to see what was going on. Mike had the floor. He was really laying it on. Oh, he's a Wallace man, you know! "Yes, sir, boys, Wallace is the boy we need. He'll really get things

done." About that time a guy named Ike pops up. He said "Yeah, where you gonna put in the Congress and the Senate. They're the ones who build the shackles for us like the Taft-Hartley, etc. Or does Cousin Henry just want to appoint a new Secretary of State so he could pass out a few concessions to Uncle Joe in the big show." That got the ha-ha from the boys. Sure dried Mike up.

Then up pops a little fellow I didn't know right off. I sure intend to cultivate his friendship. He sure knows this old political apple is chock full of worms, and what to do about it too. He said "Fellows, they're all nuts. These politicians today don't do anything—only for those who throw the biggest parties and pass out a few shares in their big corporations. Now if you like that kind of stuff, any of them's all right, but what have you got: your kids growing up facing a life of slavery. If you like this 11 cent raise and the 20 per cent living cost boost, if you like paying this rent on their free enterprise housing, yeah, if you like it, any of them's all right. If you don't, boys, you ought to look around for the way out. It's not hard to find," and then he just gently walks away.

There was silence for a couple of minutes that seemed like an eternity. Then Al said "I wonder if he gets that way from reading that LABOR ACTION paper?" I says no doubt, no doubt! And then the whistle blew to go back to work. Oh, how I hate that whistle.

Bill DOUGLAS

Tito and Stalin: Identical Twins

Editor:

Three articles in the July 5 issue are devoted to the "split" contrived

by Tito against Stalin. The "Tito Splits" article stated that there were many ramifications and tentative alternatives inherent which might possibly flow from it. While devoting much space to these possibilities, and their effect upon the Stalinist controlled countries, none of the articles approached the subject as being a "Stalinist deviation." The striking similarity between the two regimes is too fertile to allow to go unmentioned.

For example: the rhetorical accusation made by the Cominform that "there is no intra-party democracy in the party." The thought immediately occurs, and legitimately, where if at all can Moscow point to the same "intra-party democracy," which she so hypocritically deplores because of its non existence in Tito's regime? Having ventured thus far, Moscow (via Cominform sources) decides to further brazen it out by sanctimoniously charging Tito's party with being "a sectarian-bureaucratic type of party which carries out military methods within the party." This is almost too delicious to withstand. It further mentions it as being a "Turkish terrorist regime," and that, "the rights of party members are trod upon," which means that, "the least criticism of wrong order within the party is followed by cruel reprisals." Ad nauseum.

Aside from being about as artful as an elephant balancing on a rubber ball, Stalin holds up his regime and its methods as models which Tito failed to faithfully copy in the "true Marxist-Leninist traditions." The farce ends when we balance Tito's "crimes" with Stalin's "virtues." About the only thing that can be said after appraising them, is to come to the conclusion that Tito learned his lesson so well that he has outdone his master.

Norman JOHNSTONE, N. J.

Editorials

"Ending Bias"

President Truman's executive order "ending" bias in the military forces and in federal employment was strictly a one-day sensation. Actually, less than that, for the sensational announcement was confined exclusively to the headlines. For a moment—the moment it takes to read a headline—it looked like Truman, with whatever shady purpose, had done something deserving of approval. But even a casual reading of the texts that followed the big type, revealed the emptiness and the hypocrisy of the move.

And as though that evidence were insufficient, General Omar Bradley pricked what was left of the bubble the very next day with an announcement which drew less attention in the papers, but came closer to the heart of the matter. "The Army," said General Bradley, "will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it. The Army is not out to make any social reforms." Since then little has been said in the press of the executive order. Which, again, is evidence of its deceitfulness; for, had it any real content, the story would have been so important as to demand major attention on the front pages for many days.

It may be that President Truman was much irked by Bradley's statement. We suppose that if such things were possible the President might have liked to "bust" the General down to a buck private for a major breach of campaign double-talk. The General, at least, in the infinite backwardness of the military mind, was honest—despicable, but honest.

Boiled down to essentials, the President ordered "equality of treatment and opportunity" without regard to race, religion and color. Under other circumstances and at another time that might have been deemed scanty, but something at any rate. In the circumstances of today, as the discrimination issue has developed, in connection with the armed forces, the executive order begs the real question. That question (as raised, for example by A. Philip Randolph's "civil disobedience" movement) is segregation. Thus, "equality of treatment and opportunity" is nothing else but a vote-catching hedge. What person, Negro or white, with a little ordinary intelligence, pride and decent sensibilities can be satisfied with it?

However, even within its own objectives, the order is considerably less than it would seem to be on the surface. The order does not specify that as of here and now "equality of treatment and opportunity" shall exist. It sets up commissions. And the military commission, shall it immediately execute a major revision of army policy? Not so fast! In the first place, the policy is to be "put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale." That could mean a little or a lot.

Further, however, in the order on the armed forces there is a paragraph which we think wise to quote in its entirety:

"The committee is authorized on behalf of the President to examine into the rules, procedures and practices of the Armed Services in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures and practices may be altered or improved with a view to carrying out the policy of this order. The committee shall confer and advise with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Air Force, and shall make such recommendations to the President and to said Secretaries as in the judgment of the committee will effectuate the policy hereof."

This seems to us a mighty long-winded way of arriving at information that everybody knows, and at recommendations that have been made more than once. And, how can any commission, through no matter how much study, come up with any adequate proposals if it must avoid the problem of segregation? Moreover, Truman not long ago appointed a commission to investigate the whole matter of discrimination and civil rights. The commission did an exceptionally good job, and issued a commendable report. What information or recommendations does Truman expect to get from a new commission that he could not get from the old one?

Then too the executive orders suggest another thought. For a long time we have been saying in LABOR ACTION that, fine civil rights reports notwithstanding, the President was talking much and doing little, that his periodic pronouncements on civil rights were suspect as campaign material, and little more than that, so long as he refuses to exercise the immense authority he has to effectuate his demands. Why were the executive orders not issued a year ago? Two years ago? (And why not ten or fifteen years ago under Roosevelt?)

Some small good may come of all this for Negroes, especially those in federal employment. But only a fool would let himself be deceived by any of it. The timing (the day the Special Session opened), everything about it, smacks of a maneuver designed to serve campaign ends. That may be smart for Truman. But it will not be smart for Negroes and others who suffer the viciousness of discrimination to permit themselves to be enticed into serving those same ends. The victims of discrimination cannot serve themselves and serve the Truman campaign at the same time.

An additional word is indicated on General Bradley's statement. We leave aside the callousness of the statement, the cold-blooded practicalness of the militarist. Whatever one may think of Bradley and his statement, there is this much truth in it: the army in its baseness reflects the baseness of society. There, in the entire social system, lie the roots of the problem. Eliminate

discrimination in society, and it will automatically disappear in the army.

The question, however, arises: how eliminate discrimination of all kinds from the social system. Victories, many of them, and big ones, can be won by effective struggle today. But an overall, permanent, all-inclusive victory—that can only be won by changing the social system. That, of course, is furthest from General Bradley's mind. And, precisely because the army is a state institution, subject to orders and decree, it is easier to effect a change in the army, if one wants to, by simply ordering it. But he did put his finger on the heart of the issue: the social system. That is where our major energies ought to be expended—in working towards changing the social system, in working towards a socialist society under which discrimination could not possibly survive.

Spy Hearings

We're not getting all het up about the spy-scare hearings now going on in Washington, featuring Elizabeth T. Bentley and the Ferguson-Rankin Un-American Committee, but apparently our reasons are exactly opposite those of some others who have expressed this sentiment.

Certain of the accused, for example, have freely labeled the Bentley testimony as "fantastic" and a Stalinoid liberal like Jennings Perry (columnist for the New York Star) tells his readers that he doesn't find it "believable." This is supposed to cast doubt on the reliability of the witness. At the opposite end, the yellow press (Hearst leading the way) has tried to make it out to be "sensational" spy-thriller stuff, shades of E. Philips Oppenheim.

A yawn on both their houses, we say—as far as the content of the "revelations" is concerned. So far is the testimony from being "fantastic" and "unbelievable," the fact is that its chief difficulty in holding our own reader-interest is its dullness.

So the Russians have operated spy rings in this country. We are not only fully prepared to believe that (whether all of Miss Bentley's details are trustworthy or not) but make bold to claim that we were pretty sure of it before. Just as we are sure that the U. S. has been and is bending every effort to organize spy rings in the Russian domain and many other countries.

And we're getting indignant about neither the one or the other. A couple of weeks ago Hanson Baldwin of the New York Times was writing sorrowful columns about the ineptness of OSS agents in organizing espionage operations behind the Iron Curtain. We don't take sides in this matter of the activities of the rival imperialist gangsters.

That which is most distinctive about the technique of the Stalinist cloak-and-dagger outfit came out much more vividly in the Canadian spy trials than it does in Miss Bentley's show: namely, the political basis on which the spies are recruited. This is interesting from the point of view of analyzing the appeal of Stalinism today to certain intellectual and middle-class circles, and is indeed worthy of discussing at some greater length on another occasion.

The only other point we would mention about the Washington testimony is the fact that in passing it added another nail to clinch the case proving that the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico was a Stalinist job. Referring to Miss Bentley's position at that time as Jacob Golos' "agent for receipt of mail from party agents," the New York Times (July 31) summarizes: "When mail arrived addressed to her from Canada or Mexico, she forwarded it unopened to M. Golos on signal. Some of it, she testified, was from the man who shot the chauffeur of Leon Trotsky in Mexico, and after the shooting the mail from Mexico stopped." This refers to the unsuccessful 1939 attempt on Trotsky's life which resulted in the murder of his young guard, Sheldon Harte.

Actually it is not the content of the hearings which are important. What is of significance is its political aim, and this we have already dealt with in last week's LABOR ACTION in connection with the arrest of the twelve CP leaders.

The U. S. government can ferret out all the Russian spies it can, and we would certainly be the last ones to raise a howl. The fact, however—plain as a pikestaff—is that the government is not interested in these hearings, right now, primarily for the purpose of ferreting out spies. If it were, putting the job in the low-comedy hands of beetle-browed numbskulls like Rankin would argue that our political leaders are a lot stupider than they really can possibly be.

For that matter, even the N. Y. World-Telegram (which took the lead in yelling about the "red spy queen" and the "beautiful blonde" Mata Hari) admits that the spy scare and the Smith Act attack on the twelve CPers are part of the same picture. And both are timed for the election campaign, domestically, and for the European cold war, internationally.

So let the spy story go hang—but keep your eye on the Smith Act! Used against the Stalinist scoundrels today, it can be used against labor tomorrow—just as it was used against socialist workers in the Minneapolis trials of 1941. And don't let the hypocritical outcries of virtuous indignation against Russian espionage get mixed up with that.

CAN THEY ANSWER?

"And do you think sound Americanism means defending to the death the right of a person to express his opinion freely, even though you oppose that opinion?"

"If you answer 'yes' to these questions then your democratic rights as an American citizen are threatened!" (by Mundt Bill and indictment of 12 Communist Party leaders—Editor).

These sentences are from a leaflet issued by the Civil Rights Congress, Stalinist legal defense organization, which has defended only Stalinists' civil rights to date.

This is the statement of men who support the worst tyranny inside Russia, and the Stalinist empire. They defend a party whose internal regime specifically prohibits its opposition groups and where expulsions are a daily event—the Communist Party of the U. S.

This organization did NOT support the struggle of the 18 Trotskyists, indicted in 1941 under the Smith Act Law, for the restoration of their civil rights.

Senator O'Mahoney and Labor Politics

Pulling Wool Over Labor's Eyes

By SUSAN GREEN

Perhaps it's a bit out of season to write about wool in the middle of the summer. However, the stores are beginning to show fall clothes, and even in the heat of early August one shudders at the prices. But this article is not about wool alone. It is about price control, about Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democratic Senator from Wyoming, and especially—about labor politics.

Senator O'Mahoney has built up, at least for public consumption, a record of progressivism. In the press he appears as a crusader against monopoly. He hits the front page on inflation; he is "against." In April 1947 he warned manufacturers to reduce prices or "they will find they have priced themselves out of customers."

Recently, when the steel industry again boosted prices, O'Mahoney thundered that that monopoly was "surrendering to inflation" and he threatened: "I shall introduce legislation at the special session to require producers of basic commodities . . . to submit all proposed price increases to public scrutiny by an appropriate public agency . . ."

Furthermore, and more important, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democratic Senator from Wyoming, is one of the darlings of the CIO.

WOOL OVER THE EYES

In the July 16 issue of the CIO News there is published a guide to voters. Here are listed and explained sixteen legislative actions in which the CIO was vitally interested. The voting record of each member of the Senate and of the House is given. On thirteen of the sixteen issues Senator O'Mahoney voted "right" from the CIO point of view; on the other three he did not vote "wrong" but merely abstained. Therefore, according to this method of recommending capitalist politicians to labor voters,

O'Mahoney stands very high and is one of the CIO chosen ones.

This is the face—or shall I say the mask?—that Senator O'Mahoney shows to the public and particularly to the labor public. In the secret places of his heart, O'Mahoney harbors a deep interest, which can hardly be called for the general good. Like a shepherd worrying over his flock, O'Mahoney guards the interests of the sheep industry producing sheep's meat and wool—wool that goes into blankets and winter clothes that we all soon will be needing.

It is well known that the wool industry has long been so well protected by tariff legislation that it is a virtual monopoly for domestic producers. According to reports, notably that of Edward H. Collins in the financial columns of the New York Times, Senator O'Mahoney "has long regarded it as an essential part of his duty to help perpetuate one of the most notorious and unnatural monopolies ever created by American tariff legislation." Thus Senator O'Mahoney, crusader against inflation, has championed the wool monopoly and the artificially inflated prices of wool for many years before this post-war inflation began to victimize us on all fronts. Nor has O'Mahoney corrected this "inconsistency" in recent years.

On April 7, 1947, three days before the Senator solemnly warned manufacturers to reduce prices, as noted above, the Senate—convinced by the eloquence or more probably by the give-and-take attitude of O'Mahoney and others—agreed that the price of wool should be supported by the government at "not less than the 1946 level." It was, of course, just an accident that the 1946 price of wool—42.3 cents a pound—was perhaps the highest in all times. The pre-war price was 22.5 cents a pound.

Again in June 1948 the Aiken bill for permanent support of farm prices

was up in the Senate. Once more, by back-scratching arrangements among the Senators, the bill provided support for wool at around 46 cents a pound for 1948 and at around 48 cents for 1949. Mr. O'Mahoney's labors on behalf of the wool industry are quietly rewarded and wool prices are pegged at more than twice pre-war levels. On the front pages of the press O'Mahoney thunders against inflation.

HIS POLITICS A TRAP

Now if two-faced O'Mahoney were to introduce, as he threatened, legislation to require "producers of basic commodities" to submit all proposed price increases to public scrutiny, you can bet every last of your hard-earned dollars that wool, now double pre-war prices, and sheep's meat, now triple pre-war prices, would not be listed in his bill as "basic commodities." After all, they are needed only for clothing and for food—and how basic is that!

This story of wool, price control, Senator O'Mahoney and CIO politics is of course told to show what a snare and what a delusion is so-called labor politics as practised by certain labor leaders. What kind of price control can the people get from capitalist, special-interest politicians such as the Republicans and Democrats by nature are? What kind of progress can accrue to the masses from such progressivism?

While the labor movement indulges in the folly and futility of recommending capitalist politicians, people disgusted with the old parties are attracted to the Wallaceites pursuing other special interests, the special interests of the Stalinists and of the Kremlin.

Isn't it time for the labor movement to crystallize its political power in its own labor party? Isn't it time to recognize the O'Mahoneys for what they are?

Stalin's Empire

TERROR INDICATES DEEPENING RIFTS

By WILLIAM BARTON

The all-out desperate attempt by the Stalinist rulers of Russia to consolidate their rule in Eastern Europe was this week most marked in Hungary. President Zoltan Tildy, an acquiescent hold-over from the overthrown regime of the Small-Holders Party established shortly after the end of the war, resigned following the arrest of his son-in-law, former Ambassador to Egypt, Victor Csorokny on the usual charges of treason for a "foreign power." The Stalinist "Workers Party" has decided to replace him with the former Social-Democrat-turned-Stalinist front man, Arpad Szakasits. As is true for most of Eastern Europe, the Hungarian Social-Democrats were bludgeoned into a merger with the Stalinists, and Szakasits was a leading proponent of the forced marriage. He has now received his reward.

Despite the flat denial of the charges against Csorokny by his wife, who has remained in Egypt, her father, in his resignation statement, accepted the accusations with cringing humility and stated he could no longer hold so responsible a position with a cloud over his family. He will undoubtedly continue to live happily, for a while, at least.

With the possible exception of Rumania, Hungary has been the country in the Russian orbit with the least semblance of popular support for the Stalinists. The rule has been a noted demonstration of force by the Russian army. Regimes have been deposed and established by open and direct orders of its military commandant. The peasant masses supported the Small-Holders Party, and the workers the Social-Democrats. At one time, the rank and file members of the latter organization in Budapest openly demonstrated against their leadership's collaboration with the Stalinists.

Even under the Russian occupation, the Small Holders received a majority of the vote and the Social-Democrats most of the rest. This situation was too dangerous for the shaky Stalinist empire. The independence of the Social-Democrats was crushed. Small-Holder Premier Nagy was forced into exile and the leadership of his party put into the hands of willing Moscow tools. At a completely-controlled election the Stalinists were victorious. Tildy's removal further completes the process.

YUGOSLAV-STALIN RIFT CONTINUES

This week, the fearful men in the Kremlin saw their leading family opponents, their former prize foreign agents, Marshal Tito's party, definitely establish their strange independence. The Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party unanimously, in a fashion it learned from its Russian tutors, supported Tito on all counts. The Russian rulers and their Cominform stooges showed signs of possible yielding. The latest issue of the Cominform bulletin, after repeating the now familiar, and true, cries of "dictator" against Tito, implies that there is still a chance for him to mend his ways and be forgiven.

The Yugoslavs, on their part, are trying to put the Russian officials on the spot by accusations in the UN that the Western Powers are conspiring to hand over Trieste to Italy. The Russian representatives must either come to the aid of their erstwhile-Slavic allies, or throw a bomb to the Italian Stalinists by supporting the return of Trieste to Italy, in which case they can give up all hope of building their kind of opposition to Tito within Yugoslavia. This entire question may have been one of the important reasons for the Tito-Russian break.

Meanwhile, the Eastern bloc is still very existent, despite its internal schism. At the current conference on Danubian affairs in Belgrade, the East-West line-up still appears intact. Its continuance on old lines is indefinite. But, incidents upon incidents pile up. A member of the Yugoslavian legation in Hungary has been arrested because of the murder of M. Motich, an Hungarian of Yugoslavian origin who was secretary of the "Democratic Union of Yugoslavs of Hungary." The Yugoslav government has officially denounced the violation of diplomatic immunity involved in the arrest. Now, not only the ruling parties but the government themselves are squabbling.

In addition, ambassador to Rumania Golubovitch has been dismissed for siding with the Cominform, and Belgrade is rife with stories of the planned circulation of "secret" letters from the central committee of the Russian CP to the corresponding committee of the Yugoslav party, repeating the Cominform attacks against the Tito organization and specifically singling out several highly-placed Yugoslav officials.

ANSWER OPPOSITION WITH TERROR

From two geographical edges of the Stalinist domain come other significant reports. In Czechoslovakia, measures are under way to "reform" the Sokol national sports organization, at whose recent Prague public demonstration Stalinist leader Gottwald was snubbed and former President Benes cheered. As presently constituted, the organization obviously presents too good a spot for semi-open opposition to the totalitarian regime.

From Korea comes the claim that—50,000 political opponents in Russian-occupied Northern Korea have been deported to Sakhalin Island. Although the information emanates from U. S. Army authorities in American-occupied Southern Korea and should, therefore, be automatically suspect, such action is so much of the typical pattern wherever the Stalinists take over that it is probably very close to the truth.

The days of the men who run Stalinland are more and more insecure as the actual and potential opposition grows stronger and they respond with the only method they know—terror! Pardon the lack of sympathy for these worried cut-throats.



THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN EX-COLORED MAN, by James Weldon Johnson, Pelican Mentor Books, 35c, June 1948.

Reviewed by KATE LEONARD

The *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* has been republished in this pocket-sized edition. While not the first and not the last American novel which deals with the problem of "passing," it is the most famous.

First published anonymously in 1912, it was reprinted in 1927 with its authorship admitted. It is not the autobiography of James Weldon Johnson, but anyone who has read Johnson's story of his life, *Along This Way*, will realize how heavily the author drew upon his own experiences for his material, notoriously the privilege of the author of a first novel.

Charles S. Johnson, who writes the current introduction, thereby following Brander Matthews and Carl Van Vechten, each of whom performed the same service in earlier editions, comments that to Negroes, "the story told in this book was and is a commonplace." The novel has been widely read by white people, but if intended as a shock treatment, the sensation for a reader, 1948, has worn thin.

"Passing" does not have the dramatic value it once had, and one finds oneself looking at the reason for its motivation, rather than being carried along by the story. At one point the hero's decision to pass is explained as follows, "All the while I understood that it was not discouragement or fear or search for a larger field of action and opportunity that was driving me out of the Negro race. I knew that it was shame, unbearable shame. Shame at being identified with a people that could with impunity be treated worse than animals." Johnson was a wiser man by the time he had come *Along This Way*.

BOOK'S VALUE

The value of this book lies in the panorama of certain phases of life in the United States in the late 1800s and in the early 1900s, seen from the central point of the race question. The South at three intervals, a boyhood in Connecticut, Bohemian circles in New York before the Renaissance as well as circles lower than Bohemian, and Europe as contrast, were all seen by this roving hero who became the ex-colored man. Johnson's own interests are put to good use in the vivid descriptions of ragtime, the cakewalk and the singing of the spirituals at a "big meeting."

The book is at its best when Johnson is reporting what he saw and heard, for instance the verbatim conversation about race in the Pullman smoker. When he analyses he reveals what he was, a sensitive, artistic man of middle class origin and ideals not yet grown to the stature of his later years.

Book Club Offers Writings, Speeches Of Eugene V. Debs

The Progressive Book Club has added a book of exceptional merit to its list. Published by Heritage Press, *The Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs* (introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., xvii and 486 pp., \$4.00) is available to PBC mem-



bers for \$2.00. LABOR ACTION regrets that, because of space limitations, it has not yet been possible to review the book in the detail that it deserves and hopes that it will be able to return to the book at a later date.

This collection of Debs' writings and speeches is a particularly valuable addition to any one's library for in it, far more adequately than in the shoddy, maudlin biographies that have appeared, can the measure of the man as a great socialist be read. The book reveals Debs' limitations, the frequent confusion of this thinking, the uncertainty of political understanding. But it reveals as well his tremendous strength as the outstanding socialist leader produced by the American labor movement. At the same time it serves as answer both to the gutless crew who shame the fiery, militant leader by portraying him as a nambypamby "pinko," and the Stalinists who, have lately fastened on Debs and tried to recast him in their foul image. Especially for our times, Debs' Canton speech is alone worth the price of the book.

THESE BOOKS ARE AVAILABLE THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 COURT SQUARE, LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

Bound Volumes of LABOR ACTION SPECIAL OFFER

Labor Action Book Service	
1943.....	\$3.50
1944.....	\$3.50
1945.....	\$3.00
1946.....	\$3.00
1947.....	\$3.00
\$16.00	

4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York
Name

LABOR ACTION
A Paper in the Interest of Socialism
Published Weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Co.
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
General Offices: 4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5337
Vol. 12, No. 32 Aug. 9, 1948

Emanuel Garrett Gellman,
Editor

Editorial Board:
Hal Draper, Henry Judd
Business Manager: Paul Born

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a year; 50¢ for 6 Mos.
(\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada and Foreign)
Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24,
1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of March 3, 1974

Beginning a New Pamphlet by Jack Ranger

A Labor Party—A "Must" for American Workers

Chapter 1

What We Want Out of Life— And What We Get

WHAT do we want out of life? Of the 145 million people in this country, only a very small number dream of acquiring or retaining fabulous wealth, or having magnificent homes with a large retinue of servants, fleets of expensive automobiles and a yacht or two.

The vast majority of the population is made up of workers (and their families) in the factories and mines, railroads and offices; small farmers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers; professional people such as teachers, doctors, dentists, engineers, musicians.

Among us there are many differences in standard of living, in taste, in outlook. But we have many things in common. In one way or another, all of us work for a living, most of us for an employer; and we are very much alike in what we want to get out of life.

Except for the tiny minority which has great wealth at its command, the first thing that all the common people want is a decent standard of living. No man wants to live merely in order to work. A man works because he wants to live. Before he satisfies any other interest, he wants decent food to eat, decent clothing to wear, and a decent home for himself and his family.

Abundance Is Possible!

This is a pretty modest ambition. A hundred years ago, only very few people could hope to realize it, even in a country like the United States. But in our own time this ambition is realizable for every man, woman and child in the country. With our tremendous industrial capacity, our modern machinery, our very numerous and highly efficient labor force, our adequate resources and raw materials and our access to the world market, this modest dream could be realized almost overnight for everybody—provided society were organized rationally.

The second thing that people want is security. People don't want a decent standard of living that will last only for the period between depressions. They want one that will last a lifetime. They want to know that their children too will enjoy a decent standard of living, one that grows better all the time, richer, more tasteful,

more ample. A job that pays pretty well is a very fine thing, but at least half the enjoyment of it is wiped out if one must always be thinking: "But how long will it last? What of tomorrow?"

There is no reason to consider the demand for security any less modest than the demand for a decent standard of living. With very few exceptions, everyone is ready to do his share of work in order to make a living. That provides the country with an ample labor force. The need for the good things of life is always present. That provides the market. And today we have the industrial equipment and the materials to satisfy those needs even if they were twice as big as they now are. Why shouldn't there be the continuous production and the continuously rising prosperity that would completely guarantee economic security for all?

The People Want Peace

The third thing people want is peace and order at home. Nobody with a lick of sense likes an industrial lockout for its own sake. No worker likes this business of having to fight bitterly, sometimes by means of long-drawn-out and exhausting strikes, to get a few pennies extra pay. No one with any sense or feeling feels anything but horror at the spectacle of racial conflict in this country, pitting men of one religion against men of another, making men of one color deny men of another color their most elementary human rights and even shoot down and lynch those who lay claims to these rights—as happens with terrible frequency to Negroes.

People want to enjoy the good things of life and to pursue their particular interest, be it handicraft or travel, music or fishing, sports or photography, without being molested or dictated to and without molesting or dictating to others.

And people want peace throughout the world. They may not know very much or even care very much about other countries and other peoples and their problems. They may not be moved by any great principle of human solidarity with peoples of other lands. But one thing we in the United States have certainly learned since 1914 and 1939 is that what happens in one part of the world very soon affects all other parts of the world. And still another thing learned is that the invention and perfection of modern weapons threaten to wipe out all humanity if another world war should come to pass.

Regardless of who wants war, the common people

of every country certainly do not. What do they get out of war? No parent with an ounce of human feeling wants to raise children who, before they have even tasted the joys of life, are sent off to perish in war with another people about whom they know little or nothing and with whom they do not and cannot have any quarrel. Every parent shudders at the realization that each new generation has a new war to die in.

Man does not live by bread alone. Each of us, in his own way, wants more things than these. But all of us have at least these things in common: We want a decent standard of living, security, peace and order at home, and peace all over the world.

What we want is right and natural. What is wrong is that we do not have these things.

How many of us enjoy a really decent standard of living? Very few. How many of us feel secure in the standard of living we do have? Even fewer. In the country as a whole there is no peace and order, but only a continual series of social outbursts, sharp class conflicts, and the unmistakable rumblings of even more violent and disrupting conflicts to come.

As for peace all over the world, who among us has any serious belief that it is assured for generations to come—or for our sons and daughters—or even for ourselves—or even for the next ten years?

Even now, three years after the Second World War, there are six minor wars being fought, any one of which may suddenly blaze up and fire the rest of the world—in Palestine, Greece, Indonesia, Indo-China, China, India. A good half of mankind is involved in these "small" wars. We call them minor wars because the great powers have not yet openly entered the arena.

What We Are Getting

What we have received in this country—if we are an average family—is largely the very opposite of what we want.

We want a decent standard of living. Instead we are going into debt at an appalling rate, just to "make ends meet."

According to the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, it requires from \$3,200 to \$3,600 for the average worker's family of four to maintain a "modest" American standard of living, "without frills." In October 1947 the average wage for factory workers stood at \$50.97 a week, or roughly \$2,650 a

year, if employed full time the year around. That is from \$550 to \$950 less than the minimum budget.

One of every three American families has no savings. Total consumer credit outstanding in December 1947 was at an all-time high, more than \$13 billion.

Within two short years after the war, the people have had to go deeper into debt than ever before in history just to keep their heads above water—and this at a time of peak employment, peak production, peak profits for the owners of industry, peak foreign trade. It is a dark harbinger of the future.

We want decent homes for our families, in a clean neighborhood. We receive a housing situation that is a national scandal—one third and more of the nation ill-housed—resulting in shattered families, broken marriages, suicides, shoddy new houses sold at inflated prices, tragedies of all kinds.

What Stands in the Way?

We want, most of us, freedom from racial or religious trouble. We get periodic lynchings in the South, race riots in the North, restrictions against Negroes and Jews, every discrimination against the colored people, anti-Semitic manifestations in scores of cities, persecution of religious and conscientious objectors to war.

We want freedom from strikes, yet each year millions of us must march on the picket lines, in a desperate effort to win a few cents more an hour from hostile employers, in order that our pay checks may remain at least a nodding acquaintance with sky-high prices.

We want peace. We got the war with Spain at the end of the last century, then the First and then the Second World War. Today, several years after the last war, the United States government is spending more for war preparations each year than the total pre-war budget. Hundreds of thousands of people are even now at work producing the horrible weapons of the First Atomic War.

The hour of decision is close at hand. To get the things we want out of life, we must act. Good things do not come of themselves.

We know what we want. The first thing to do is to find out what it is that stands in the way of our desires, why it is that we haven't gotten what we want up to now. Then we will decide what we must do.

(To be continued)

Breakers Ahead for Wallace-CP Alliance

(Continued from page 1)

cause of its isolation. This aggressive exclusiveness is forced upon the CP. It therefore attempts to transform it into a theoretical virtue. The Stalinists seek to insulate the movement from larger and more powerful forces which might isolate it even inside the party it created. That is why its control of the PP is so tight and open. In turn, it attempts to separate its liberal allies from the "outside" precisely through complicity in its overt activities, which call down upon the heads of the Wallace-Tugwell wing the abuse of all its opponents.

This alliance remains, nonetheless, unstable and temporary. The liberal-Stalinist captives have far more in common with their co-thinkers in ADA and the labor bureaucracy. At the Philadelphia convention they took a drubbing on the basic point of party control when they made their behind-the-scenes agreement to permit the Stalinists to pack the National Committee. They were beaten severely on the only programmatic point they dared raise. As a matter of fact, the liberals never could unite or form a group for action. They fought, to the extent that they did, as individuals without support from Wallace, Tugwell or Baldwin.

INSOLUBLE DIVISION

The convention revealed a deep and insoluble split between the steamrolling, dominant Stalinist machine and the Wallaceite wing of the party. This group is held to the PP by the election campaign. It has more differences with the Stalinists than with groups outside of the PP. It cannot make headway or gain support for itself inside the PP. Its basic premise for the alliance is that as this party grows the CP will become less significant. This perspective is being daily frustrated, for the CP is the only dynamic force building the party. Its organizers are everywhere, sacrificing time and money. They lend the aura of zeal to the movement. Among the active groups Stalinists are constantly selecting those elements they want to educate and win over.

Stalinist pressure makes the liberals more uncomfortable. International events do not help them either in their rationalizations: Wallace has been significantly silent on the Tito affair.

The alliance could be maintained by two eventualities, both of which seem unlikely: a mass influx into the Progressive Party or substantial electoral victories. Such events would give the party some flesh and meaning as an independent force and the liberals would be loathe to desert a growing movement, since they are

far more impressed by power than principle. What is more likely is that the liberals will take flight when they look at the election results which will, in the present context, undoubtedly result in a more conservative or reactionary Congress, especially if this is not sharply offset by substantial PP gains.

Helen Fuller, a Wallace liberal, already expresses these fears in the current New Republic. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that this coalition will progressively disintegrate. The international pressures on the CP by the Cominform, that it assert itself, that it isolate the liberals and not subordinate itself to them à la Tito, will hasten the eventual split.

Signs of this divergence were plentiful before the convention with the defection of Kenny of California and Frank Kingdom of New York. Last week six members and officers of the New Mexico party resigned with a public protest against capitulation of Wallace to the Stalinists in Philadelphia.

SEEK TO RECOUP LOSSES

The slightest attempt to organize a new independent political arena would spell the end of the PP as it now exists. If, for instance, the labor movement were to seriously launch a labor party next year the PP would disintegrate and many of the tens of thousands who are drawn to it under protest because of no alternative, would leave. The CP would be left with its own corpse.

The CP will make serious gains, however. The Wallace-Stalinist arena is completely amenable to Stalinist ideology. There is no opposition or alternative within this arena. The Wallaceites are ideological captives. Indeed, the Stalinists view the PP as an instrument for recouping many of the losses of recent years. In the unions, for example, through their local committees for Wallace, they will attempt to organize new fractions. In militant political disguise they will attack the Murray-Reuther line of support to Truman; and this stupid policy will make it easy to do so.

With the Progressive Party, the CP is attempting to recoup in the South and among Negroes. The political awakening of the South is bringing more and more people into active politics, and especially Negroes. These people cannot turn to the Republican Party nor remain tied to the Democratic racists. The Stalinists hope to make of the PP a new rallying center of Southern political protest. They seek to manipulate the legitimate protests of an oppressed people.

In general, the CP is attempting to

arrogate to itself all progressive tendencies and ideas. The name of the new party is, in that sense, a Stalinist choice, even though it has an American tradition. Stalinism conceives itself to be the wave of the future and its new style people's frontism from below calls for a propaganda line of "progressivism" identified with Stalinism. The Stalinists have attempted to make themselves the arbiters of progressivism and have hoodwinked many liberals by this.

One specific issue deserves separate attention. The PP is the first important third party movement to raise the issue of nationalization as against trust-busting as the means of "controlling monopoly." Significantly, the liberals did not insist on Wallace's personal, trust-busting proposals at the convention, but went along with the nationalization formula. In recent years the idea of nationalization has become increasingly common. Murray at one time talked about steel nationalization; Reuther has too. It is probable that nationalization has now entered the American political arena as a permanent issue on which factions must take a position. It is symptomatic of the present stage of American capitalism.

RUSSIAN QUESTION

The Stalinist technique of exploiting each group's separate disabilities on the basis of a separate appeal, separate representation and separate organizations is one of the earmarks of its methods. The Philadelphia convention marked its most extensive introduction in America. Not unity of struggle by different groups behind a single great historic solution—as the old Social Democracy sought to unify the working class for socialism—but each through its own needs, held together by the over-all "progressivism" of Stalinism. Stalinism does not unify the people, but bases itself on their divisions, exploits these divisions and intensifies them. It does not raise disabilities to a higher social plane but keeps them compartmentalized and arrogates to itself the exclusive role of generalizing the issues. These methods are made explicit in the PP program just adopted.

The Wallace movement marks the greatest attempt of the Stalinists to launch themselves on the national arena at one grand stroke. In the process they will surely crush their present allies. But their success is by no means assured. Socialists will have to continue to analyze and regard closely this movement. For while it may not succeed altogether it will have to be dealt with in labor

It will not be sufficient simply to point to Stalinist control. The PP launches "the Russian question" on the labor political arena. The Stalinists assiduously utilize the Wallace arena to propagate their own ideology, and especially do they circulate the complete Russian mythology. Wallace's talk about Russian "economic democracy," his general defense of Russian "ethnic democracy" and of the Moscow Trials is now the stock in trade of the Wallaceite liberals. Kahn and Sayers' book "The Great Conspiracy" is a widely disseminated text. It is in this sense that the Russian question has become an American political question. Wallaceism has opened wide the door and the Stalinists have leaped to the opportunity.

It will be necessary to explain the meaning of Stalinism. It is not enough to name the Trojan Horse for what it is. Its objective must be explained. Simultaneously, the history and program of American Stalinism and of its PP form must be dissected and analyzed. Finally, no verbal answer will be sufficient. The Stalinists, through the Wallace movement, are

exploiting real, crucial, world-rending problems. So long as no alternative is presented Stalinism can claim for itself the only "practical" way. This is its greatest magnetic power.

The fight for a labor party is now critical. On the one hand it has its greatest opportunities: at least two unique conditions exist at this moment. First the isolation of the Stalinists in the PP, from which they cannot disentangle themselves for a long time—and their general isolation in the labor movement. Secondly, the Stalinists will not easily succeed in becoming a serious rallying center for the new political tendencies in the South. If they are to be defeated, if the South is to become an ally of and part of the working class movement, a labor party is indispensable, and very soon indeed.

Without such a democratic labor alternative, Stalinism may have great prospects in America. The question of the labor party now becomes the means of frustrating and defeating Stalinism or in its absence the PP becomes one of the means by which Stalinism can take to the high road of politics.

CAMPUS STALINISTS SABOTAGE UC RALLY CALLED TO PROTEST SMITH ACT ARRESTS

By B. MILTON

During the past week a number of students at the University of Chicago, sensitive to the threat to civil liberties involved in the case, met to protest the arrests of the CP leaders made under the Smith Act. Some of these students were amazed to discover that the Stalinists, in defense of whose civil liberties the meeting was called, attempted to sabotage their efforts.

On Monday afternoon of this week a united front committee composed of representatives of various campus organizations, plus a few prominent liberal students, met to plan a "joint rally" in defense of the civil rights of the 12 CP leaders recently indicted under the Smith Act. The representatives of the Marxist and Politics Clubs proposed that, in addition to the four speakers already agreed upon (CP, ACLU, two faculty members), Albert Goldman, defense attorney for the 18 Minneapolis Trotskyists who were convicted under the Smith Act in 1941, be invited to address the meeting. After a heated two-hour discussion, the proposal was accepted by an overwhelming vote, the Communist Club delegates being the only dissenters. Although one of the latter expressed some doubt that a CP member would appear on the same platform with a "Trotskyite," they nevertheless undertook responsibility for the publicity of the meeting, which was projected for Wednesday evening.

Several members of the committee discovered on Tuesday that there was no publicity and undertook to find a printer who would make posters for that evening. On Wednesday, several hours before the rally, the Communist Club informed the chairman of the meeting that they were withdrawing because of the invitation extended to Goldman.

Albert Goldman was one of the two speakers who showed up and addressed the meeting. Goldman discussed the historical background and the reactionary character of how the act was utilized as the weapon of one man against his opponents in the Minneapolis trade union leadership. In his analysis of the specific charges leveled against the Minneapolis defendants he sharply assailed the American judicial system.

Reading from a pamphlet issued by the Communist Party in 1941 in which they called for the conviction of the Minneapolis "seditionists" he pointed to the irony that it is they who are today caught by the very act under which they demanded a conviction of the Trotskyists some years ago.

Goldman said he wanted to wipe the statute from the books, not only because it would gain him and his

former comrades a full pardon but because it is a great threat to civil liberties for everyone. He emphasized that he would defend the civil liberties of the Stalinists although they would deny them to him.

His talk was received very warmly by most of the seventy-five people present. Edgar Bernhard, chairman of the Chicago division of the American Civil Liberties Union, who spoke after him, devoted part of his talk to praising Goldman's speech and his fine record of defending civil liberties through the years.

When the speakers had completed their talks, the chairman of the meeting read a letter from the Communist Club in which they announced their withdrawal from the meeting because, "By inviting as a main speaker Albert Goldman, a man who has made a profession of red-baiting, this initial meeting can only serve to divert the UoC students from an effective fight for civil liberties." The reading of this letter after Goldman's speech exposed more than could any explanation of the hypocrisy of Stalinism. The audience was well aware of this and the snickers and jeers which accompanied the reading of the letter was some index to their reaction to the Stalinists.

Despite the Stalinists' efforts to conceal their failure to carry out an obligation to the united front committee and their attempts to misconstrue the contents of Goldman's talk through whispering, it is already evident that they suffered an important political setback. They cannot erase from the mind of many fellow travelers and Wallaceites the essential fact that they withdrew from a meeting whose purpose it was to defend their own civil liberties.

Do You Live In New York?

If so—join in the campaign to place the Workers Party candidate on the ballot. Apply at City Office—114 W. 14th St. Tel: WA 4-4222. Contributions to finance the campaign will be especially appreciated.

HENRY WALLACE Man and Myth By DWIGHT MacDONALD \$2.50 Order your copy from LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Sq., L. C. C. 1, N. Y. Price includes postage

HAVE YOU READ? THE GREAT TRADITION, An Interpretation of American Literature, by Granville Hicks (out of print) \$1.25 HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS, by Anthony Bimba (out of print) 1.75 THE IRON HEEL, by Jack London 1.98 A ROOM ON THE ROUTE, by Godfrey Blunden 1.75 THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF EUGENE V. DEBS 4.00 LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, New York Name Street City Zone State