WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD; JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

# LABOR ACTION

**NOVEMBER 15, 1948** 

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

#### FIVE CENTS

## Will Labor Cash In on Campaign Pledges? MAKE TRUMAN PAY OFF ON PROMISES

#### **An** Editorial

### **Indict Witch Hunter** J. Parnell Thomas As a Cheap Crook ...

What amazes us most in the indictment of J. Parnell Thomas is the smallness of the crime. Nothing would be further from our minds than to detract from the maximum penalty of thirty-two years in jail and a fine of \$40,000. He has earned every minute and every penny of it, and he can have it.

But this creature who was able to out-Dies Martin Dies, to establish a personal political inquisition with Congressional support, who, with flaming sword and foaming mouth declared that he alone "has stood up to the enemies of this country and did not cower before them"-the man who mixed the techniques of Hollywood with those of the Inquisition is indicted for defrauding the Government of \$1,687.37.

In other words, the Grand Jury found Thomas to be just a small cheap crook. Furthermore, it took him eight years to obtain this sum, a little over \$200.00 a year or about \$4 a week. And his method was likewise cheap. He victimized three women to "conspire" with him.

#### A Synonym for Reaction

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4

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Surely this man has done greater deeds than are indicated by these petty criminal activities. During those eight years he established himself as partner with Bilbo and Rankin. While they led the holy crusade against minority rights, he organized the American front against political liberties. His name became a by-word among thinking people, a synonym for reaction, bigotry and repulsive public heresy trials.

Thomas instituted that unique, though questionable, practice of forcing victims under oath to state their political affiliation and belief, which, if they refused to do, could land them in jail for contempt.

In the post-war reaction, in the political oppression which is preparing the way for the next war, in the period of loyalty oaths and anti-communist affidavits—in short in a period of great patriotic competition among the various governmental organs, Parnell Thomas led all the rest.

When originally accused of fraud, he answered deprecatingly that such accusations were petty Pendergast persecutions against the Sword of the Republic. He asked to be called before the Grand Jury where he could clear his name and confound his enemies in high places.

#### **Guilty of Greater Crimes**

But lo, Parnell Thomas, like all the rest, refused to testify on the grounds that his testimony might incriminate him. He sought shelter under the same legal cover which, when used by witnesses before his own committee, was enough to have them jailed.

If Thomas is found guilty, and we are fully on the side of the law

### Kutcher Asks Loyalty Appeal **Board Hearing**

#### MONDAY, Nov. 8 (KCRC) - James Kutcher, the legless Purple Heart veteran who was fired from his job as a Veterans Administration clerk in Newark because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has requested a hearing before the Loyalty Appeal Board in Washington to reverse the decision in his case. Kutcher was discharged on October 11 by the Veterans Administration Branch Loyalty Board in Philadelphia. M. J. Myer, Mr. Kutcher's attorney,

said that the appeal is being made "not only to secure justice for this victimized veteran and to wipe the stigma of disloyalty from his record but also in view of the importance of the case and the wide public interest it has aroused."

"The Case of the Legless Veteran" has become nationally recognized as a critical test of the restrictions on (Continued on page 2)

Score Card on Truman's Promises

#### 1. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

"I shall do everything in my power to get this vicious anti-labor legislation wiped off the statute hooks.

#### 2. A 75 Cent Minimum Wage.

"We should increase the minimum wage from 40 cents an hour to at least 75 cents."

#### 3. Higher Pay for Federal Employees.

"I am going to continue to fight for that as long as I am president of the United States."

#### 4. Higher Wages for Labor.

"I shall fight with all my strength not only to keep wages up, but to increase them."

5. Civil Rights—on FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws, the strengthening of existing civil rights statues, an end to discrimination in the armed forces.

"I believe they are necessary to carry out our American ideals of liberty and justice for all."

#### 6. Price Controls.

"A program that does not include price control will not and cannot, hold down the cost of living."

#### 7. Rent Controls.

"And we most definitely need to retain rent control until the housing emergency is over."

#### 8. Public Housing.

"The Congress should provide for slum clearance and low rent housing."

#### 9. Social Security.

"Social security insurance should be extended to the large groups of people not now protected. The insurance benefits should be increased to approximately 50 per cent."

#### 10. National Health Insurance.

"I have urged it [a national system of health insurance] repeatedly since" 1946. . . . "We should have a system of insurance to cover the cost of medical care."

#### 11. Aid for Education.

"The Federal government should provide aid to the states for meeting the educational needs of our children.

#### 12. Better Pay for Teachers.

"... if teachers want to organize for better pay, I am all for them."

#### 13. Tax speculative and excess profits.

"The poor man should be relieved first and most.'

#### 14. Aid to Israel.

To promote through lifting of the embargo and recognition of Israel for an Israel "strong enough, big enough and independent enough."

**Election Results Heighten Workers' Confidence** 

Labor Is Expected to Press for Taft-Hartley Repeal, Price Controls, Civil Rights



#### By JACK RANGER

CHICAGO-The upset was as complete, and as unexpected, in Illinois as it was nationally. No local newspaper or politician or poll had led anyone to expect any result but a sweeping Republican victory. As late as Wednesday morning the Chicago Tribune was still proclaiming a

#### By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND-As in other parts of the country, political "experts" in Ohio are still trying to explain what happened on Election Day. This state was considered a sure thing for the Republicans, and it wasn't until Dewey heard the bad news from Ohio and California that he con-

#### By WALTER JASON

DETROIT-In at least eight plants from which we have reports, the auto workers took the victory of President Harry S. Truman as their own. "Well, I guess we showed 'em" was one of the typical comments. In some plants cheers and roars greeted the announcement at around

Payment on **Election IOUs** During his campaign, in his messages to Congress and on

Must Compel

other occasions President Truman made various promises which consti-

tuted the ba-/ (thui sis of his victory. In a box alongside, we list the major promises he made — nota- 1 bly those with

203-1000which he appealed for the labor vote.

There were many otherssome good, some bad. Among the good ones, he made promises on public power, rural electrification, assistance to farm cooperatives, equal pay and equal status under the law for women, which attracted support.

In our box score we have deliberately eliminated those which were merely designed to promote the cold war strategy of U. S. imperialism, such as those on a "strong" defense policy, which can hardly be said to have won him votes over Dewey.

By and large, it is those that we have listed, with the addition of various special promises to the farm population, which brought Truman victory. To Truman they may only have been CAMPAIGN promises. The people, however, voted for the fulfillment of these promises.

Labor, for example, turned likely defeat into stunning victory because it expected Truman to repeal Taft-Hartley, control prices, and so forth.

Very well, the promises made by people need and want, even exclud-

ing those (uncited) promises which

are in direct opposition to the peo-

ple's interest. But labor wants them

fulfilled, the people want them ful-

filled-and with good reason.



in this case, then let him serve his sentence to the full.

But we must reserve our right to charge him with higher crimes against civil liberities and freedom of thought.

The Government may very well succeed in proving him to be only a cheap crook. And if it does he should pay the same penalty.

But the present indictment does not satisfy us because it does not list the social and political criminality of the man. That will be judged, in time, by the people.



Dewey victory, though already conceding that Stevenson and Douglas, Democratic candidates for governor and senator, had won. The Chicago Journal of Commerce, like its sister paper in New York, issued day-afterelection editions hailing the Dewey victory as an endorsement of the Taft-Hartley law and explaining in detail what the Dewey administration would mean.

No Democratic politician in Illinois really expected a victory. Jake Arvey, Illinois party boss, was one of the many who opposed Truman's nomination on grounds the President could never be elected, and nothing that happened between the convention and the election indicated he had changed his mind. Governor-elect Stevenson, the lawyer and bank director, talked to a Chicago Daily (Continued on page 4)

ists through the Bridges forces of the CIO, polled a much smaller vote than was foreseen.

Democratic Party, through the sup-

port of the AFL and of the Murray

forces of the CIO, carried California

in the presidential election. The Wal-

lace party, supported by the Stalin-

To the very end of the campaign the GOP had anticipated a tremendous election victory, expecting to roll up a plurality of over 450,000 votes for the Dewey-Warren ticket and to increase its strength in Congress on the "native son" appeal of Warren. Instead, Truman polled a plurality of approximately 35,000. The Democrats, in addition, gained

one Congressman from the state. Anticipating upward of 8 per cent of the total vote and at least 400,000 popular votes, the IPP-Wallace-Stalinist slate expected to throw the state into the Republican fold. Its actual vote of less than 200,000, or less than 5 per cent, came as a se-

counted on California as a base next (Continued on page 3)

ceded victory to Truman. Not only did Harry Truman carry Ohio, but the Democratic candidate for Governor, Frank Lausche, won over the Republican incumbent. Both houses of the Ohio Legislature went Democratic by narrow margins and even George ("I don't want labor's vote") Bender, veteran congressman-at-large was replaced by labor-supported Stephen Young.

The actual vote reveals that Dewey had a clear majority of ballots over Truman in this state outside of Cuyahoga. County.. (most. of.. greater Cleveland). However, the President gained enough votes in this industrial center to put Ohio's 25 electoral votes on his side. The responsibility for this swing can be easily placed. The Democratic Party organization vere blow to the Stalinists, who have in Cleveland is bitterly torn with

(Continued on page 2)

10:30 a.m. Wednesday that Truman had won. Before that time there was quite a spirit of excitement as the workers talked over the miraculous event that had taken place.

Nobody mentioned Henry Wallace. Everyone in Detroit knew that the overwhelming victory of the Democratic Party in Wayne County was due exclusively to the labor vote. The UAW-CIO really poured it on during the past few weeks, having captured control of some of the Democratic Party machinery, and having done a real job of obtaining registrations.

In the big 14th Congressional District, which has a potential of 200,000 voters, the UAW was mainly responsible for the fact that 85 per cent of the voters cast balllots. G. Mennen Williams, strongly

(Continued on page 4)

There are already signs of reneging on some of these-like a modification or rewriting of Taft-Hartley instead of its outright repeal. But we'll leave that aside for the moment. The point is, these are the promises.

It is up to labor, which put him in office, to see that they are carried out, that they do not remain campaign eye-wash.

In time labor will be able to measure these promises against what was achieved and draw conclusions. Right now-here, in demanding full payment on the promises, is labor's first campaign.

#### ELECTIONS SHOWED POLITICAL FORCE OF LABOR MOVEMENT

## The Election and the Prospects for a Labor Party

#### By IRVING HOWE

Many of the points that need to be made with regard to the election have already appeared in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION. Here we would only add a few others, especially insofar as they affect the prospects for the formation of a labor party.

Without question, the election returns must be seen as a swing to the left. By that we mean the following: the tradition of the New Deal remains strongly entrenched in the minds of millions of Americans, especially American workers. By the New Deal they do not mean, as we do, a patch-quilt attempt to rehabilitate capitalism by means of social reform; they simply do not think in such abstract terms. They mean rather the isolated pieces of social legislation, taken out of the context of pro- or anti-capitalism; they mean the legislation which they believe helped them to organize unions, granted them a measure of social security and gave work relief to the unemployed.

remains a vital factor in current politics. The masses of people want more reforms; they want concrete, activated legislation in favor of the poorer strata of the population. That means, specifically: price control, housing, social security, abolition of

the Taft-Hartley Act. However imperfectly, however dismally, Truman came, in the course of the campaign, to represent these things to the bulk of the American workers. Dewey, whom Harold Ickes aptly called "the candidate in sneakers," broke the all-time record for mouthing vacuous platitudes; by comparison, Harding spoke out courageously on all the ills of the world and Coolidge was a positive thinker. Wallace kept losing support steadily, and for the good reason that his tie with the Stalinists became clearer each day of his campaign. There is no way of proving such an assertion, but we strongly believe that if the vote had taken place five or six months earlier, when the Stalinist tie-up was not as obvious, Wallace would prob-

In that sense, then, the New Deal ably have received at least three times as many votes. POLITICAL FACTORS

> PRODUCED VICTORY Nor is there any question as to who

elected Truman. One can prove that simply by elimination. Except for his own personal campaign, there was no powerful force working for him other than the labor movement. The political subsidiaries of the CIO-the PAC branches-have become extremely efficient in the last few years, as they have accumulated experience in the routine techniques of vote-getting. After the election, Jim Farley, a shrewd observer of small matters, said that Truman was elected by two factors: sympathy and the labor vote. We agree, but we would only add that the two factors are probably one.

The unions did not elicit enthusiasm on a large scale for Truman. Money contributions to the PAC lagged badly. Nonetheless, in so cru-

the largest total registration of its history; the same holds true, to one or another extent, for other places. The workers voted for Truman, by and large, with reluctance, but as someone has remarked, a reluctant vote counts as much as an enthusiastic one. But-only for the moment, only arithmetically. The political dynamic behind that reluctance is something else again, to which we will return shortly.

Now a word on the so-called personal aspect of the campaign. A great deal has been said about Truman having gotten a sympathy vote. There is probably some truth to this, though the forces of sympathy not having been organized on a precinct basis like the forces of labor, it is difficult to prove the point.

However, if Truman got such a sympathy vote, it is largely a matter of POLITICAL feeling. Truman, for all his weakness and ineptness, seemed to many voters little more cial an industrial center as Detroit than an unfortunate man who had the PAC was so efficient at getting stumbled into an excessive responsi-

workers to register that the city had bility; it was as if they had discovered that the next-door barber had suddenly been forced to take responsibility for the U.S. Treasury Department. A little ludicrous, but still you sympathize with him.

However, suppose the only alternative you see is someone like Dewey -the creature of plastics and chromium, contrived in a political beauty parlor and polished with the oil of caution. To millions of voters Dewey must have seemed more like a machine than a human being, and-this is the important point-a machine welded together by the most slickly reactionary forces in the country.

Truman seemed an inadequate human being, but a least a human being. Nobody could have suspected as much of Dewey. (The only human trait he showed was a barely concealed vanity-in this instance, the vanity of anticipation.) In other words, Truman seemed like "a man of the people" (all too much so) while Dewey seemed like a creature of Wall Street. That is a political fact, not a psycho-

logical speculation.

What now? The most encouraging immediate post-election result is the strong wave of confidence that seems to have swept over many workers. One overhears it in conversation in the streets and one hears it repeat-

edly reported by men in factories. "We did it," they say, "and now we should collect."

Good, we're all for that. We're for it, whether or not a labor party is formed. John Smith was elected Congressman in your district on the basis of a "pro-labor" platform and with the decisive help of your union. Okay; keep visiting him, remind him of his pledges, put a little pressure on-that's what the CIO-PAC proposes and we think it's a good idea. As one UAW official has said to his members: "We worked and we worked hard and successfully at this job of politics. . . . We now must demand our full wages for a job well 'done."

The truth is that on an immediate basis the likelihood for the formation of a labor party is sharply decreased. We may imagine the reasoning of even those labor leaders, like some UAW officials, who had favored a labor party to run something like this:

"Well, sure, we were in favor of a labor party, and ultimately we still are. But look. We put Truman into office and he knows it. We now have a group of very competent officials -Governor Bowles in Connecticut,

Senators Humphreys and Douglas in Minnesota and Illinois-who are close to us politically and who adhere to the ADA point of view. Why not push ahead? Why not try to take over the Democratic party entirely, as we have already succeeded in doing in a few places? We can apply pressure on these people; their tenure depends on us. A move for a new party now would be . . . premature."

From the point of view of those who want to see an independent political labor force, this sort of reasoning is, of course, invalid. It still thinks of the labor movement as a beggar-even if, at the moment, a more importunate beggar-who has (Continued on page 4)

### **Bazaar to Be Main Event Of International Solidarity** Month Planned By ACEWR

NEW YORK-The American Committee for European Workers Relief has announced that it will hold a bazaar on Friday and Saturday, December 10 and 11, at its headquarters, 130 West 23rd Street, New York.

Page 2

The purpose of the bazaar is to raise the major part of the ACEWR's funds for the coming year. These funds will not only be used to pay for the many expenses incidental to the committee's work, such as packaging, postage, maintenance of headquarters, disinfection of donated clothing, purchasing of canned foods, etc.

The ACEWR has also frequently

### Kutcher —

#### (Continued from page 1)

democratic rights involved in the loyalty purge procedure. Mr. Kutcher's defense is being handled by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a national non-partisan citizens' group. Although this committee does not subscribe to Mr. Kutcher's political views, it holds that he has the same right to have them and his job just as he did when he lost his legs with the infantry during the war.

Among the veteran, labor and liberal organizations endorsing the work of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee are the American Veterans Committee, the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, the Baptist Ministerial Conference of Newark and Vicinity, the New Jersey CIO Council and the Newark Teachers Union-AFL. The New York Star, the Brooklyn Eagle, the Trenton Times, the Nation, the New Leader, the CIO News and other publications have expressed support for the campaign to help Mr. Kutcher in his fight. Both the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League have signified intention of filing briefs on Mr. Kutcher's behalf when his case reaches the courts.

Many prominent public figures have recently joined the national committee of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in response to an appeal signed by Harold Russell, Academy Award winner, "Best Years of Our Lives"; Bill Mauldin, author of Up Front and Back Home; Carl Holderman, president of the New Jersey CIO Council; Merle Miller, former editor of Yank and now editor of Harpers, and George Novack, national secretary of the committee.

Among them are: Dr. John Dewey, Prof. Horace M. Kallen of the New School for Social Research, Prof. Selig Perlman of the University of Wisconsin, Prof. Paul F. Brissenden of Columbia University, Alexander Meiklejohn of Leland Stanford University, Edmund Wilson, Lewis Mumford, Norman Mailer, Louis Adamic, Margaret Marshall, I. F. Stone, John Sloan, Mark Starr, educational director of the ILGWU-AFL, Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Congregation Beth-El, Astoria, L. I., Rev. John Paul Jones, Max Shachtman, chairman of the Workers Party, and Prof. Meyer Shapiro of Columbia University.

been faced with urgent appeals for various medicines which are very expensive and which must be obtained without delay; that is, the committee must have readily available funds, if this medical aid is to

arrive in time to help. For example, one European worker militant, who had been deported by the Nazis from France because of underground activities, had lost 103 pounds in concentration camps and had contracted tuberculosis in both lungs. The ACEWR spent \$290 for streptomyecin a drug necessary for his recovery.

In addition to these large expenditures, the ACEWR is now compelled to pay federal income taxes due to its having been placed on the "subversive" list by the Attorney General. The committee's aid, to be sure, does go to those European workers who are subversive of that old order which brought them war and misery, concentration camps and the physical destruction of millions of their brothers. It has no apologies to make to anyone on that score. The ACEWR has aided and continues to aid scores of workers and

their families everywhere in Europe and Asia where it can reach them. It now needs YOUR aid, and it appeals to you in the name of international solidarity.

The ACEWR, the editors of LABOR **ACTION** and the City Committee of Local New York of the Workers Party urge you to do the following: 1. Support the bazaar and plan to do as much of your Christmas shopping there as you can; 2. search your house for suitable objects to be donated for the bazaar. A very large amount of the proceeds are derived from such personally contributed articles.

You may either phone to have your contributions picked up or bring them in personally. The following addresses will accept your phone call or contributions: American Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 West 23rd St., 2d

floor (between 6th and 7th Aves.), New York City. Tel.: CH 2-5884. Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14th St., 3d floor (between 6th and 7th Aves.), New York City. Tel.: WA 4-4222.

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|---|---------------------------|
|   | NOVEMBER 13 IS            |
|   | SADIE HAWKINS DAY         |
|   | in New York               |
|   | Come and Celebrate at the |
|   | "SHMOOS-IS-SOCIALISM      |
|   | PARTY"                    |
|   | Dancing                   |
|   | Games                     |
|   | Refreshments              |
| 1 | CAT NOV 12 from 0 mm      |

### THE CASE OF ILSA KOCH, AND The Meaning of the Stuttgart Riots

By EUGENE KELLER

The case of Ilse Koch and the intervention by U.S. troops in the recent Stuttgart riots can now be understood as being two facets of one

policy. The ostensible purpose for the occupation of Germany-namely, to fulfill the "democratic mission" of the victorious Allies-has long ago been ahandoned. As is well known and widely accepted and inevitable, Germany has become an advanced military base, the effective maintenance of which involves "stable" relations between the military and the civilian

population. The policy of the American government toward the Germans has been confused, even contradictory at times, but given the impossibility for a foreign army to rule a hostile population, it had to find a "stable base" through which its interests would be served, and this need was bound to shape its policy.

"DENAZIFICATION" PATTERN

The pattern of "denazification," its abandonment and reversal, casts a most illuminating light upon this evolving policy. Denazification was part of the aim of the last war, feeding, as it did, upon the common illusion that fascism was a peculiarly German phemonenon and that it would be eradicated with the elimination of its bearers from responsible positions.

It was designed and executed with the purpose of contributing to the humiliation of the conquered, with complete disregard of any but the most formal concepts of democracy, and in a spirit of ignorance and bureaucratism. That is, according to the conceptions held by the British and American military democracy. But it was in the long run impossible to create a stable base with a negative policy which only served to eliminate what was left of a state appa-

The abandonment of "denazification" coincided more or less with the change of policy adopted by the U.S. toward Russia. It was not formally abandoned; rather it was transferred to the newly constituted German authorities, resurrected by the learned advisers to the military government -those German judges, ministerial bureaucrats and police officials who had not been Nazis or had even professed anti-Nazi views mainly because their conservatism had made them incapable of participating in any dynamie social movement, totalitarian or democratic. Their sympathies, as a group, naturally are with those persons who shared their own cultural and general social outlook, who are to be "denazified."

The apparent change in U.S. policy -"apparent" because a positive democratic policy never existed and the present policy mainly evolved under the stress of experience-was bound to come, regardless of the growing tension with Russia, for the reason indicated above. In other words, the

of its military and capitalist rulers American authorities. as a fossilized concept of formal democracy in a world of want and insecurity.

The case of Germany is classic because here, at least in the Western sectors, exists a broad and strong democratic anti-Stalinist movement among the population - unlike in Greece or France or China where this is only a potentiality. It is a fact too well known to require elaboration that the Stalinists have a small and diminishing base among the German masses that the workers support the Social Democratic Party.

The U.S. obviously is powerful enough to help this movement achieve its aspirations-the socialization of Germany's basic industries for the benefit of all of Europe, the equalization of sacrifice necessitated by the currency reform, the punishment of all Nazi criminals, the restoration of all foreign trade to German hands, and the withdrawal of its troops, together with the arming of the workers against Stalinist aggression. Does the American government in any way support the genuine democratic forces of Germany? No. It shoots at them.

#### KOCH ONE OF MANY

The case of Ilse Koch, who had been mercifully sentenced to life in prison (thanks to pregnancy at the time) for her beastly deeds at Buchenwald concentration camp, and whose sentence was commuted last August to four years, created much popular revulsion everywhere but failed to center attention sufficiently to expose the basic policies involved. Far from being an isolated case. Koch was but one of 317 convicted Nazi criminals whose sentence was abridged. The testimony of the victims of these creatures apparently was not regarded as "sufficient evidence." Rather, as Gen. Clay stated, the commutation was "based on evidence" and the task of the U.S. was, after all, to "maintain a government of law and not of men.'

The Koch case must be taken in connection not only with the other 317 cases, but also with what amounted practically to the acquittal of 23 leading officers of the I. G. Farben concern. They had been accused of selling the poison gas for the extermination of millions of human beings and of using them as slave labor. It may also be recalled that the "America Houses," at which the U. S. maintained libraries and an ininformation and educational staff to promote democratic ideas in Germany, were closed last summer due to lack of funds, or their financing was charged to the German administrations, which barely had funds to meet more essential needs.

(An ironic footnote to this is provided by an announcement of ECA that \$87,000 had been approved as guaranteed payment to Fawcett and McFadden publishing houses dealing in comic books and detective and love story magazines for distributing their wares in Germany.) Such instances of "renazification" can. of course, be multipled. It is difficult not to see a pattern, not to observe that the German big business men and the former SS mercenaries respectively will not derive encouragement from these judgments and

taken notion that the SWP was the

instigator stems from the unfortu-

the Socialist Labor Party in which

is re-stated Mr. Edward A. Teichert's

challenge to Mr. Thomas on the lat-

ter's terms, subject to the condition,

however, it be a debate with Mr.

Thomas himself, and not with his

cousins, and his sisters, and his aunts,

viduals.

which, at best, exists in the minds this is the design of the responsible

The intervention of U.S. troops in the Stuttgart riots is no less reveal-

The currency reform introduced last summer, together with the slow arrival of Marshall Plan goods, gave impetus to production as well as the legal sale of hoarded merchandise. Prices for these goods have risen constantly, due in part to persistent shortage and partly, of course, to monopolistic practices. Wages, however, were not allowed to rise correspondingly. Whereas price ceilings had been removed from most items prior to currency reform, only a 15 per cent increase in the wage ceiling was allowed. The bizonal Economic Council, dominated by the reactionary Christian Union, foresaw an early "balancing" of prices and wages, not unlike their fatter but not wiser American cousins.

This gap between wages and prices and the absence of any perspective for a change in their misery caused hundreds of thousands of workers to strike and demonstrate in protest. The sight of expensive luxuries in display windows, unavailable except at high prices, after years of bitter deprivation and near starvation, must indeed be maddening to the average German. The riots in Stuttgart, in which 30,000 persons participated, following upon a "peaceful" demonstration against high prices, were an outburst of popular indignation, which vented itself by smashing shop windows, damaging and looting the goods displayed.

Did the U.S. troops which were called to the scene intervene against those and the practices of those who caused these riots? Did the military government order restoration of price ceilings, wage rises, a capital levy to equalize the burdens of currency reforms from which only the rich had benefitted, adequate provisions for the eight million rootless and unemployed refugees from the East, who had been driven to Western Germany by the provisions of the Potsdam agreement? No! The military government in-

tervened FOR the German capitalists upon whom it relies, and AGAINST the rioting workers whose militant spirit it seeks to crush. It could not therefore undertake what would appear reasonable to any reasonable person.

The intervention of U.S. troops in the Stuttgart riots should sound an ominous note in the minds of American labor. At least the leaders of the CIO and AFL are well aware of the democratic spirit which permeates the German workers, and they know that there exists no other organized democratic section in German society. The German working class necessarily depends upon the support of at least parts of the international working class; without it, it can easily be crushed again.

It cannot possibly be overemphathese lines is evidenced by the folsized that the continued growth in

### YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

struggles in the interests of demo-

cratic rights; it lays claim to being

THE champion of peace. The politi-

cally conscious individual, looking

for a way out of society's ills, is in-

variably sucked into the trap of Sta-

linism, which offers in thought and

action, an ALTERNATIVE to capi-

talism. That this alternative is no

less reactionary than its capitalist

competitor is understood only by a

very small number of politically as-

America's academic centers of learn-

ing-the colleges and universities-

Stalinist propaganda and organization

would meet with effective opposition.

Yet even here the Stalinists, through

the Wallace movement and various

front organizations, have managed to

become a strongly organized force.

Consistent with the general propa-

ganda and political techniques of

Stalinism, the campus Stalinists have

practically monopolized the struggle

for academic rights, for student gov-

ernment, against militarism, etc., etc.

There is no unified and militant anti-

Stalinist opposition on the campus

which can ideologically demonstrate

the basically reactionary character

of Stalinism and which can take the

lead away from the Stalinists in

Only a fighting, well organized

left-wing force can look forward to

success on the campus. Any anemic

"liberal" opposition to the Stalinists

on campus is doomed to failure. The

politically aware and progressive-

minded student will not be moved

by attacks on Stalinism motivated

of life." On the other hand, a student

movement which is anti-Stalinist and

opposed to American imperialism as

well, can develop the progressive dy-

namism necessary to expose and de-

No such unified anti-Stalinist force

exists as yet. But the possibility for

the growth of this movement exists

in the many socialist and left-wing

clubs which are now operating' on

campuses, but are decisively handi-

capped by the completely autono-

mous way in which they function.

However, a federation of these clubs

would be a tremendous step in the

right direction. It could, for example,

facilitate the growth of affiliated

clubs and provide the American cam-

pus with militant publications which

would serve the dual role of educator

feat the campus Stalinists.

a defense of "the American way

practical day to day work for stu-

NEED LEFT WING FORCE

dent rights.

by

One might expect that at least in

tute and experienced people,

The dynamism of Stalinism consists cretization of these ideas might well largely in its ability to pose as the lead to the growth of a vigorous third champion of enlightened thought. It force on the campus. speaks in the name of democracy and SOCIALIST FEDERATION socialism; it conducts what are, on the surface, militant and genuine

The spring issue of Student Partisan carried a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Politics Club, putting forward the idea of a campus socialist federation and asking for the opinion of socialist clubs throughout the country. In June a joint membership meeting of the Politics Club with the Socialist Club of Roosevelt College unanimously approved the document and it is now being circulated. The circulation of the magazine is being extended outside Chicago, so that it can serve partly as a medium for expression of opinion on this question.

There are many problems involved in the question of initiating such a movement. The most obvious one, and the one that makes such a federation imperative, is the fact that there is no single strong socialist political organization. The Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the Socialist Workers Party are all in essence propaganda groups, with substantial programmatic and organizational differences. If any one organization were really paramount it could build a campus movement. This movement MUST. however, be broader than that of any political party, because a major concern of any student movement must be education and inquiry, accompanied by action of specific issues. On the whole, students interested in socialism are not prepared to choose at once among the various socialist groups. At any rate, the entrance of students into the socialist movement on campus must not be made to wait upon a process of theoretical education, which is necessary, but can best be furthered inside a broad socialist movement on campus.-

Given the existing world situation. and the nascent tendencies toward independent political action at home. the possibilities for the socialist movement are great. But the time in which to exploit these possibilities is distinctly limited, with the possibility of atomic war staring us in the face. The idea of a federation of autonomous units is designed to derive the advantages of a national socialist student center despite existing political disagreements. A national organization could issue a magazine, could send out a field organizer or speaker to campuses where at present no socialist club exists. It would strengthen the existing clubs by making their members conscious of the fact that they are part of a larger movement. And all this could be done on the basis of the broad agreement existing among most of the existent socialist student organizations: opposition to both American and Russian impe-That some clubs are thinking along rialism, the fight against conscription and Jim Crow at home, and the fight

November 15, 1948

SAT. NOV. 13 from 9 p.m. at the **Workers Party Hall** 114 West 14th St., N. Y. C. Third Floor Subscription 50c

U. S. is not anxiously and fearfully clinging to whatever "stable" forces exist because of the Russian threat. Rather, and the case of Germany is almost classic, the American government cannot see its interests served by an alignment with any other but the most reactionary sections of European society, in order to preserve "our way of life" — a way of life

fighting strength of the German working class is in the vital interests of peace and works toward the decimation of the base upon which the Stalinists operate. It is necessary to protest vigorously against all intervention by U. S. troops in the struggle of the German workers and to assure the latter of full moral and material support.

the University of Chicago. A con- fort to be made.

and organizer.

lowing article, which appears in the for labor's political independence latest issue of the Student Partisan, from the old parties of capitalism. a publication of the Politics Club of Certainly the times call for this ef-

Ohio Report –

(Continued from page 1)

factionalism, and was able to do little to rally the vote for its candidate. As a matter of fact, on Election Day it had only enough money available to put a bare handful of party workers on electioneering duty. On the other hand, the CIO-PAC and the AFL Labor's League put 800 paid This is the third time since 1932 that vote-getters to work on Truman's the SP warhorse has so acted.-G.B.C. behalf.

Many of the unions had worked consistently on the elections, from getting out their members to register right through to getting them to, vote. The Taft-Hartley Law and the record of the 80th Congress on housing, prices, civil rights, etc., was made the issue. While many unionists, including some of the leadership, were not at all enthusiastic over Trujustify its own stand on the SWP. man, they followed the tradition of choosing the lesser of two evils. The fear of a Republican victory and further anti-labor legislation drove them to support the Democrats. It is likely that the latest decisions of the T-H labor board, banning mass picketing, giving legal status to scabs as permanent employees and locking out strikers, etc., stirred many out of their lethargy and made them more responsive to Truman's campaign promises, including repeal of the hated Taft-Hartley Law.

#### CARRIED BY LABOR VOTE

All the newspapers agree that it was the labor vote which carried the state, Local labor has proved its strength, but whether it will use this power on its own behalf remains in doubt. The only public reaction so far has been that of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, which was advised by its leadership to move in on the practically broken-down local Democratic Party, to reorganize and strengthen that party and to demand a larger voice in its affairs.

While there have been no other direct statements as to the future, it seems likely that the labor leader-

ship will wait for the new Congress to act on its campaign promises. With a Democratic President and Congress, it will be hard to alibi for any failure to carry out these pledges. Sentiment for independent political action, at least in top circles, will probably be pushed to the background for the present. If labor's demands on Congress are repulsed, such sentiment will come to the fore again.

It is paradoxical that this "victory" for labor seems likely to have delayed formation of the Labor Party, for a year or two at least. The next meeting of the UAW Executive Board will indicate more definitely what the trend will be. Meanwhile rank and file Labor Party enthusiasts must keep pounding away at the need of independent political action, and prepare their brothers for the new party.

Now for a brief word on the Wallace movement. In this area, the Progressive Party was very little more than another Communist Party front organization. Outside of Stalinist-dominated unions such as UE, Mine & Mill, UOPWA and part of the UAW, its main activity was directed to Negroes and college students, with some favorable response. The actual Wallace ballot was less than anticipated, being about 31/2 per cent of the greater Cleveland vote. Part of this small showing was due to the fact that neither Wallace nor the Progressive Party was on the ballot as such, but it was necessary to vote for the 25 Progressive Party electors individually on the ballot. This was caused by the very strict requirements for getting on the Ohio ballot, with the aim of preventing effective opposition to the two old-line parties.

None of the socialist groupings was on the ballot, and there was no space left for a write-in vote. Any writein resulted in a voided ballot, so there was no opportunity to gauge any socialist sentiment here.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor.

#### We Were Wrong About the Debate

Dear Sir:

Your censure of the Socialist Party for its failure to retract erroneous statements uttered in its press encourages me to believe that you will be eager to correct the errors which



you, yourself, made in reference to bor Parties in which both intimated Mr. Norman Johnstone's letter on the recent Thomas-Dobbs debate.

This debate was not initiated by the Socialist Workers Party, as you incorrectly intimate. It was initiated by me in the form of a letter I wrote to Life magazine (August 23) in which I needled Norman Thomas for his repeated refusals to debate the candidates of the Socialist 'Labor

Party. The reaction to this was the publication in Life (September 13) of letters from the national secretaries of the Socialist and Socialist Lafusing two different debates when he

### ONCE AGAIN

ANCIENT SOCIETY

willingness to have such a debate take place. Mr. Fleischman, national secretary of the SP, then wrote to

the SLP to declare formally that his party was "happy to accept" the longstanding challenge. It was in this same letter that he brazenly took it upon himself to invite the SWP to participate, conveniently overlooking the fact that Norman Thomas was the challenged, and not the challenger. It was at this time and not before that the SWP entered into the picture, and Mr. Johnstone was not con-

#### nailed the SP for its perfidious action in the Dobbs-Thomas talkfest. I am enclosing for your perusal a copy of this letter: I do not believe AVAILABLE! that either the SP or the SWP will 2 .... Ex 6 .

by Lewis Henry Morgan...... \$2.50

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or any of his political bedfellows. Mr. Thomas has not had the courtesy to answer this challenge, despite two personal letters directed to him. WAY TO SUBSCRIBE HANDY LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y. Please enter my subscription: D NEW D RENEWAL □ Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents One year (62 issues) at \$1.00 NAME

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nate similarity between my name and that of the SWP's national secretary We wish to acknowledge our error (George B. Clark and George Clarke). on the facts of the debate which, on A hasty reading of my Life letter rechecking, we find to be as described may have led to a case of mistaken above. However, we also wish to reidentity of parties as well as indiaffirm our statement on the SLP's refusal to debate with the SWP. George B. CLARKE Whatever may be said of the SP's refusal to debate with the SLP, the I enclose for your information a SLP cannot, in our opinion, possibly copy of the press release issued by

-Ed

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#### November 15, 1948

#### L'ABOR ACTION

#### Page 3

#### Thirty-One Years After Russian Revolution

### **On Bolshevism and Democracy**

We present herewith a series of excerpts from a speech delivered by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, at a meeting in New York on November 7, commemorating the thirty-first anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The text that follows is less than half of the original. We have been compelled, through lack of space, to omit the entire second half of the speech which dealt with the rise of Stalinism, the appearance of the Trotskyist movement and other matters. In the text that is presented below, omissions are indicated by dots ( ... ) .- Ed.

#### By MAX SHACHTMAN

Less than three months after the victory of the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin remarked at a meeting that the Soviet power of the Russian workers and peasants had already lasted longer than the Paris Commune of 1871 which lived for only 10 weeks.

The statement was made with pride, but no doubt with some wonderment. It reflected the conditions, incredibly complicated and difficult, under which the Russian proletariat took power into its own hands so that, for the first time in history, it could proceed to translate into reality the oldest dream of man: a society of free and equal brothers.

Thirty-one years have passed since the attempt was begun. It is not a very long time as history is measured. But we live in an age when change is rapid, frequent and profound. The thirty-one years since the Russian Revolution have seen epochal changes. None is so deepgoing, so unexpected and so confounding as the change in the direction of that Revolution. The attempt made in 1917 failed. The hideous reality of Stalinism is nothing like the noble purpose of socialism which the Bolsheviks set out to achieve. In almost every respect, the former is the grewsome caricature of the latter; in many respects it is diametrical opposite. In the great initiative of the Bolsheviks, millions throughout the world saw the beginnings of the new freedom. In the present-day outcome in Russia, millions see the new slavery and millions more suffer in silenced anguish under it.

No great enterprise in history ever started under brighter auspices or ended under gloomier ones. When it began, there began also a stormy and confident offensive of revolutionary socialism, of Marxism, whose principles and programs were embodied in the Bolshevik movement. With the triumph of the Stalinist counterrevolution, Marxism is today everywhere on the defensive.

#### The Offensive Against Marxism

The ideas of Bolshevism were summed up in this: the road to freedom lies through the establishment of socialism; the road to socialism lies through the overturn of capitalism by the revolutionary power of the working class.

The offensive against Marxism is directed against these ideas, as tested in the Russian Revolution. It is an offensive on an unparalleled scale. It is sponsored by the highest government authorities. Dutifully and enthusiastically, it is carried out in virtually every number of every daily, weekly and monthly periodical . . .

The theme of this offensive is guite familar: "Bolshevism leads to Stalinism. The Stalinist totalitarianism was inherent in Bolshevism itself. The Russian Revolution could have produced nothing else than what we have in Russia today. At the right wing of the stage, you hear: "Stalinist despotism is socialism, it is the only thing you can get if you fight for socialism." At the left wing of the stage, you hear a variation on the same theme: "Stalinist despotism is not socialism, to be sure, but it is the only thing you can get if you fight for socialism which is now proved to

the Bolshevik revolution so that it can no longer be recognized. We know a good deal already, thanks above all to Leon Trotsky, of the Stalinist school of falsification. We do not realize however that there is another school of falsification about the Russian Revolution that is actively at work. It is the school run by the social-democrats, zealously assisted by turncoats from the revolutionary movement. It is at once the complement of the Stalin school and of the reactionary imperialist campaign against socialism. Like all falsifiers of history, it operates with outright lies. with half-truths, with significant omission, with snapshots of events ripped away from the attending circumstances, and in the best of cases with an utter failure to understand what a revolution is or with criterias applied to a revolution which belong at best in a drawing room discussion or

a game of cricket. . . . The fact which enemies of socialism are most anxious to keep in the dark is that the Bolsheviks represented not only the most revolutionary socialist movement of their time, but also the most consistently vigorous democratic movement.

There is no other intelligent or intelligible explanation for the big fact that the Bolsheviks, starting as a tiny party even after the overturn of the rule of the Czar, took nower and were able to maintain it for years with the support of the decisive sections of the people of Russia.

#### **Bolsheviks Supported People's Demands**

Whatever the forms it may take, democracy must . express the will of the people. In 1917, the people of Russia were completely exhausted by the war. tired of the horrible bloodletting, tired of fighting for the imperialist aims not only of Russian Czarism but of British and French bankers and monopolists. They wanted peace above all other things. They wanted it so passionately that they overthrew the regime of the Czars which they and their ancestors had endured for centuries.

What they got in place of Czarism, was a government of the Russian capitalists which wanted to continue the war, which wanted to maintain the reactionary landlordism of Russia, which feared and hated the aroused masses and sought to circumvent the will of the people and to thwart their aspirations by all the vicous devices of modern governments. This government, the provisional government of Kerensky, was supported by the two non-Bolshevik parties which enjoyed -popular support, the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, or S.R.s. . . .

The Bolsheviks gathered millions and ever more nillions of workers, soldiers and peasants around them by militantly supporting the demands of the people. They did not talk about them but fought for them. They were for immediate peace, for land to the peasants, for workers control of the factories, for immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly, for a truly democratic republic. And that is the fundamental reason why the Soviets rallied, in one locality after another, to the support of the Bolsheviks—in the cities, in the trenches and in the villages. . . .

The taking over of power by the Soviets was the greatest victory in history for democracy, and this victory was made possible by the Bolshevik leadership and no other. The Bolsheviks had not invented the Soviets in some cellar or house of dogma. The Sovets were first brought into existence in 1905 by the Mensheviks. In the 1917 revolution, they were constituted and for a long time led by the Mensheviks and S.R.s-not by the Bolsheviks. But it was only the Bolsheviks who said that these most democratic organs and representatives of the people shall rule in the name of the people and in their interests.

Once in power, the Bolsheviks did everything in their power to bring peace to war-exhausted Russia. If Russia was to know very little peace within its own frontiers for the next few years, the responsibility was in no sense that of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet power. The Bolsheviks took Russia out of the imperialist war, even if it meant great sacrifices in the form of tribute to the armies of the German Kaiser. The Bolsheviks actually gave the land to the peasants, which no other political group in Russia was prepared to do except the allies of the Bolsheviks, the Left-



#### "Marshallization" of The Marshall Plan?

Let's give the adder-tongued Vishinsky credit for coining a sharp phrase when he referred to "Marshallization" in describing the proposed aims and plans of American imperialism with respect to western Europe specifically, and the world in general. The problem, then, is to save Europe from the twin pitfalls of "Marshallization" and "Stalinization," both of which equally intend to "collaborate" together for war and the final extinction of what remains of European independence and civilization.

President Truman has been re-elected and the stuning surprise is now more or less over. The "little man" has become a "Big Man"-filled with a new confidence and a sense that he has finally matured into a legitimate leader. Nevertheless, whatever new and startling plans in the realm of foreign policy he may have-such as a new "mission to Moscow," or a last-ditch effort

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to rescue Chiang Kai-shek-will all be limited by the narrowness of his concept, as well as by the definite trend and tendency of American foreign policy which basically, a set thing.

#### **Gradual Shift in Emphasis**

Will there be any new and important development in American foreign policy. In using the phrase "Marshallization of Europe," Vishinsky implied that the Russians expect an intensified drive by America, leading to the militarization of the continent for its spearhead attack on Russia. Several weeks ago, Senator Flanders-a liberal Republican, returned from an investigation of European conditions and expressed his opinion that the Marshall Plan emphasis is now shiftng away from economic aid and towards military aid, militarization and related matters. Since the Marshall Plan is the core of American foreign policy, these charges are of major interest. Are we about to witness a fundamental change in the Plan stself?

When Senator Flanders was asked to indicate concretely what he meant, he admitted he had no "proof" and could give no examples. Of course not, because none actually exist! There has been no sudden, overnight shift in the Marshall Plan, nor will there be. What is occuring and will continue is a gradual shift in emphasis, tendency rather than a spectacular change. To begin with, the re-militarization of Western Europe can only take place after the fundamental economic problems of these nations has been solved—that is, after a degree of economic stability and even prosperity has been built

#### productive soldier power, building airforces, etc. It will be several years before this can be accomplished.

This can be proved quite easily. All reports on Marshall Plan aid indicate that food and raw materials still form the largest items in the shipments sent; that capital equipment and machinery still runs far behind. However, the shift in the tendency itself is already indicated. Next year, the volume of machinery, finished iron and steel goods and heavy equipment will steadily expand and eventually become the largest item. France and England are scheduled to steadily expand their steel production-the heart of modern war-making power. The tendency is undeniably there and will increase to keep apace of recovery itself. To American imperialism, recovery means the rewinning of western Europe's capacity to raise armies and make war.

#### **Plan Europe's Demilitarization**

But side by side with the Marshall Plan a new plan-the real plan for Europe's remilitarization-is now being set up. In essence, it will be a revival of the wartime Lend-Lease program, and its obvious effects can only be to the detriment of the Marshall Plan's system of economic aid.

This plan, for the sake of propagandistic strategy, began in Europe itself with the formation of the Western European Defense bloc (England, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) which set up a defense council headed by Montgomery and then called for American aid. To date, it is reported that three French divisions have been re-equipped and "a lend-lease armaments program for Western Europe will start even before the beginning of President Truman's second term if preelection plans of the State Department and the National Military Establishment receive final approval."

(Hanson Baldwin, N. Y. Times) The next step should be the formation of a regional bloc, to include the above-mentioned western European nations, Canada and the United States in a so-called North Atlantic defense system. It is this regional bloc which is to call upon the United States for military aid amounting to as yet undetermined billions, in the form of a flow of planes, tanks and other weapons to Europe. Jet planes will be the principle item. Pressure is already at work to get Iceland, Ireland and the Scandinavian countries into the might bloc that American will head.

#### **Drive Toward War Continues**

This, then, will be the major strategic goal of the Second Truman administration: successful completion of the already well-begun Marshall Plan (which means, for Truman, the lifting of the beneficiary countries to a stage where they can contribute to their own rearmament); the competion of regional pacts and blocs; and the activization of an intensive military Lend-Lease program for the arming of this bloc.

Naturally, all sorts of difficulties and problems can be foreseen. Can America both continue its Marshall Plan aid and the added burden of a new and separate Lend-Lease program? How to balance the constant struggle between consumers' industry and non-productive armaments industry, both here in America and in Western Europe? What to do about the strong possibility that the Russians, recognizing the growing economic and military strength of this bloc, may choose to act long before it reaches its peak of strength? These are among the host of problems which imperialism must face.

As for the masses of people, the illusion that the Truman electoral victory will dissipate (or at least ease) the drive toward war will soon be dissipated itself. Facts and events can dissolve any myth. The direction is clear enough. The Marshall Plan, which began as the plan for shipping food, flour and material aid to a hungry Europe will dissolve in turn before the flow of guns, tanks and steel. To what extent America can provide both bread and jet planes is something yet to be determined. It is, furthermore, something that should be determined not exclusively by the economic and military specialists of American imperialism, but more and more by the peoples of Europe and the United

States-those who want not the "Marshallization" or

economic recovery and growth.

"Stalinization" of Europe, but its healthy and peaceful



#### THE NATIONALIST DEFEATS IN CHINA

The stunning defeats administered the nationalist forces in China by the Stalinist armies in recent weeks are events of first-rate importance.

With the fall of Mukden the richest and most highly industrialized area in continental Asia fell into the hands of the Stalinists. Along with Mukden went 120,000 troops, bringing to 300,000 the number taken in the past three weeks alone.

The remnants are reported falling back on the Kalgan-Peiping-Tientsin line. It can at best be only a holding operation until troops can be deployed before Suchow, a key railroad junction 170 miles north of Nanking. But even Chinese nationalist sources admit that Stalinist troops are already south of Suchow.

We are witnessing a catastrophe.

The Chiang Kai-shek regime has approached the point where it has neither military effectives, the confidence of the people, or belief in its own efforts.

The Stalinist regime for the first time sees before it as a real perspective the prospect of securing all of maritime China.

#### **United States Policy**

At this date U. S. aid can be of only dubious value. It is coming too late. The \$125,000.000 currently earmarked for nationalist China will meagerly equip five divisions-which represents about one-fourth of the men lost in the past three weeks. Further war material cannot be sent in large quantities because of the depletion of war surplus stocks and the low level of current armaments production. Even were such materiel to reach China, trained units capable of utilizing modern equipment do not exist in arge numbers.

In any event, it is a platitude to note that what is basic to Stalinist success is a social program which the Chiang Kai-shek regime cannot match or exceed without negating its own reason for being.

There can be no doubt that aid will be poured into nationalist China. The recent statement of Roger D. Lapham, Chief of Economic Cooperation Administration in China. may be taken as foreshadowing future policy:

"I cannot see that it is to our best interest to abandon China. China, particularly North China, is perhaps the most important part of Asia. We are trying to hold the Iron Curtain in Korea. There is every logical reason to spend the right proportion of ECA aid to hold it on the whole Pacific front, as well as the Atlantic."

But even at best the war would be one long, grinding campaign after another. The Greek example is instructive in this respect.

#### Effects on Japan and U. S.

One easily predictable result of the recent events will be the military strengthening of Japan. The first step will be the retention of U.S. troops. When Gen. Eichelberger recently returned from Japan he spoke in diplomatic terms of the necessity of protecting Japan from Stalinisminternally. Premier Yoshida openly asked for the retention of U.S. troops.

Following this will come the reconstitution of the Japanese economy, paring down of reparations, releasing of war criminals, and all the other requisites for making Japan an ally in the war against Stalinism.

Domestically, a heavy drain on the U.S. economy is indicated. If, as is probable, Stalinist successes in China inspire similar movements in other eastern colonies, the burden will become such as to accelerate tremendously the present inflationary terms.

unattainable. In any case, it is true that Stalinism is the inevitable product of Bolshevism."

The aim of this offensive is a political one; its effects certainly are. And its political aim is a reactionary- one.

The whole capitalist world, including that part of the working class world whose ideas and activities are decisively influenced by it, is now mobilized for preparations for the third world war, the war between the U. S. and Russia. War preparations are inconceivable nowadays without ideological preparation of the people to accept the war or at least without a campaign to prevent the people from fighting during and after the war to put an end to the social system and the regime which breed war.

Because they are worried about the popular opposition to the war and the war preparations, the warmongers try to present their course to the people as a crusade for democracy against totalitarianism.

Because they are worried about the people bringing an end to the war the way the Russians did in 1917, they cry out in every imaginable key: "Don't eyen think of it! Whatever else you do, don't even dream of such a thing! Look what happened to Russia when the people took power into their own hands! All they got and all they could get and all you would be able to get is the monstrosity of Stalinist despotism! And if you don't believe us, who have such a miserable reputation, why, here are some experts whom you can believe-people right out of the socialist and even the Bolshevik movement itself! ...

That is the political meaning of the contemporary offensive against the Russian Revolution. The abysmal degeneration of Stalinist Russia and of the Stalinist movement everywhere has provided the enemies of socialism with all the basic materials for the weapons in their offensive, with materials of such a kind and in such quantity as they never dreamed of having in their centurylong struggle against socialism.

#### School of Falsification

With the weapons they have thus forged, they have slashed and mutilated the true portrait of

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Emanuel Garrett Geltman,

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The Bolsheviks actually proceeded to suppress the counterrevolutionary forces and movements of the Czarists, the bankers, the clergy, the reactionary generals and the landlords. And as is befitting in a revolutionary upheaval, they proceeded by revolutionary means. When rifles were raised against the Soviet power, the Soviets replied with rifles. No revolutionary government in history worthy of the name has ever acted differently. The criticisms of the Bolsheviks in this case are made by people who seem never to have heard of the Great French Revolution or even the American Revolution and the Civil War. Every revolution has its traducers and its detractors-the dilettante detractor and the malicious detractor-who complains because it acted like a revolution and did not deal with its opponents the way you deal with them at a game of bridge. The Bolshevik revolution is no exception.

#### **Development of the Revolution**

wing S.R.s. . . .

One of the great difficulties about a revolution is that these who oppose its victory seldom understand its purpose and its determination, seldom reconcile themselves to its working existence. Here too the Bolshevik revolution was no exception.

The Bolsheviks, for example, did not even start with the idea of suppressing the capitalist parties or of disfranchizing the capitalist class. Lenin repeatedly insisted that depriving the capitalists of the right to vote was a specifically Russian phenomenon, that it might not be necessary in the revolution of other countries, and that in any case it was not a principle of Bolshevism.

Neither did the Bolsheviks start with the idea of confiscating all capitalist property and nationalizing all industry. On the contrary, they opposed it. They knew the backwardness of Russia. They knew the lack of experience and culture not only of the workers in general but of themselves as well. They not only wanted the capitalists to remain in the factories but even guaranteed them. a reasonable profit.

But the logic of the class struggle is inexorable. The Russian capitalist class could not reconcile itself with the idea of a Soviet state ruled by the workers and peasants. They sabotaged their own plants; they refused to cooperate in any way; they Red from the revolutionary centers and immediately launched a counterrevolutionary civil war to overturn the Soviet power. They outlawed themselves: they placed themselves, voluntarily and even eagerly, outside of Soviet legality, and nobody, (Continued in last column)

up. This is purpose number one of the Marshall Plan: to enable western Europe to produce surpluses necessary for equipping divisions, organizing and supplying non-

### Calif. Election Report —

#### (Continued from page 1)

to New York State in importance. In the five metropolitan counties where the AFL and CIO membership is concentrated, unexpected pluralities were piled up for Truman. The CIO-PAC and AFL door-to-door campaign, starting two weeks before the election, mobilized large sections of the working class and Negro vote for Democratic candidates. These results in Alameda, Contra Costa, San Diego, San Francisco and Los Angeles counties surprised even Jack Kroll, national CIO-PAC director, who had written off the state to the GOP.

Even more startling were the results in the predominantly agricultural counties where majorities for Truman were amassed. Sacramento, Kern and Fresno counties in the Great Central Valley gave Truman a majority of over 55 per cent. Here took place an outstanding illustration of the amazing shift of the agricultural vote from the Republican to the Democratic camp.

Five Congressional contests in the state were sufficiently important to merit concentrated political attention, Liberal New Deal Democrats won in four of these. In San Francisco, Rep. Havenner, who opposed the Taft-Hartley bill in the 80th Congress, was re-elected over his strong GOP opponent through united labor support. The Republican real estate representative, Fletcher, running for re-election in San Diego, was defeated by McKinnon, liberal Democrat. In Los Angeles, Rep. Helen G. Douglas, running on the Democratic ticket and receiving belated support from the Wallaceites, was handily re-elected.

Rep. Gearhart from Fresno, a reacionary stalwart in Congress for two decades, during which he became notorious as the voice of the big farmers and private power interests, received a surprising defeat from an unknown Democrat. The victor, White, campaigned for public ownership of utilities and implementation

of the Central Valley Authority. counties. In all the agricultural coun-Only in Alameda County was the GOP incumbent, Rep. Allen, able to eke out a 3.000 majority over the Democratic and IPP candidate, Gallagher. AFL leaders maintain that Gallagher was given the kiss of death by the IPP.

#### LOSE ON PROPOSITIONS

In three statewide propositions, however, labor sustained a defeat. These called for (1) state financed public housing, (2) reapportionment of the State Senate, and (3) maintenance of full brakemen crews on the railroads. These defeats can probably be explained by the fact that labor's emphasis in the campaign was primarily against the 80th Congress and Taft-Hartley bill.

Even a surface observation of the response of the union movement to the election indicates that labor views this as a class victory, having identified itself with the anti-80th Congress forces in the Democratic Party. Over 75 per cent of the registered voters in the five metropolitan counties voted in this election, a percentage far greater than the national average. It is in these counties where the organized movement resides and where the Democratic victory took place. So pronounced is the feeling in the working class that the Democratic victory is its own victory that overnight a new feeling of militancy has been added in the longshore strike. Illusions dealing with the restoration of price control, total repeal of the Taft-Hartley Bill, and reenforcement of rent control are widespread among the workers.

#### WORKER-FARMER UNITY

For the first time in recent California history an unpremeditated and unorganized unity between the workers and large sections of the farmers occurred. Of fifteen important agricultural counties, which in previous elections had been strongholds of the Republican Party, seven voted the

ties of the state the farmer vote was about evenly split between Truman and Dewey, giving the working class of the metropolitan counties the decisive vote.

All important evidence points to the fact that the decisive element contributing to he Democratic Party and Truman victory was the negative reaction tothe 80th Congress. Labor voted against the Taft-Harley Bill and against price inflation. The cost of living in the California metropolitan communities had risen more in the past two years than in any other area in the country.

The surprisingly large Democratic farm vote was directed against the slashing of reclamation appropriations by the GOP.

As in the rest of the country, the Stalinists suffered a major blow. The day following the election a motion was introduced in the San Francisco Longshoremen's Local to wire congratulations to Truman. Bridges, Wallace's chief supporter in California, was greeted with widespread boos when he atempted to speak. Although he too endorsed the telegram, it was obvious that this local, previously influenced to support Wallace had thrown its allegiance to the Democratic Party and considered Truman's victory as its own. The work of the Stalinists was thus discredited in its own California base.

Finally, Gov. Warren, whose level of politics in the campaign seldom reached higher than calling for national unity was soundly drubbed in his own state. Labor in California has gone beyond the stage where it can be influenced by a candidate's family record on which Warren based much of his appeal. The unions are looking more and more to a candidate's political record. Warren was repudiated in his own county and city, iis sagacious and analytic contribution to he election was his statement that Truman had won "because same way as the five metropolitan he polled a greater number of votes."

And finally, the present events heighten the war tension—and illumine the monstrous problems confronting U. S. Capitalism as it prepares to assault its imperialist rival.

### Russian Revolution -

#### (Continued from second column)

least of all the Bolsheviks did that for them. Confronted with this situtation, with the fact that complete economic chaos threatened the already chaotic country, the Bolsheviks proceeded to take over industry, to nationalize it, or more accurately, to legalize the seizures of the industries which the workers themselves were spontaneously carrying out, on their own initiative.

What held for the Russian capitalist class, held in substantially the same way for the two big popular parties, the Mensheviks and the S.R.s. They could not reconcile themselves to the decisive fact that a great revolution had taken place which brought the Bolsheviks to power. They could not understand the decisive fact that the Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants were the most democratic and the most widely supported organizations in existence, the ones through which the Russian people could rule the country in the most democratic way, the ones through which the economic reconstruction of the country could be undertaken, directed and controlled.

Instead, these two parties championed the Constituent Assembly which finally convened two months after the Bolshevik Revolution but which no longer represented the people of Russia. Not only the Bolsheviks withdrew from this Assembly but also the Left wing S.R.s, who had split with the right wing but which represented the big majority of the peasants.

The Soviet government was not weakened but strengthened thereby. The Constituent Assembly could only become a rallying center, a war-cry, for the counterrevolution in Russia, and that is why it was dispersed by the revolutionary regime. That is what the Mensheviks and right wing S.R.s. did not understand. But its truth was soon demonstrated. The Assembly became the program of every counterrevolutionist inside and outside of Russia-from the Cossack generals to Winston Churchill who was soon to spend millions of pounds sterling in the attempt to overturn the workers and peasants power in Russia. Nowhere did the cry for the Constituent Assembly appeal successful to the workers and peasants. They understood who championed it and why. The result was inevitable: the people rallied more firmly around the Soviets and the Soviet regime. All the efforts of the counterrevolution, organized with world wide imperialist support, failed to overturn the new regime. Its contribution was solid, and even now it remains our permanent acquisition: for the first time in history a government of, for and by the toiling masses.

#### Page 4

Wallace Expectations Fell Flat in West

November 15, 1948

### **Election Results and the Prospects** For an Independent Labor Party —

(Continued from page 1) to wait for crumbs at the liberal door -and how often has that door been slammed in the workers' faces!

No doubt there will be a honeymoon between the Truman administration and the labor movement. No doubt, too, some concessions will be made to the American workers. The Taft-Hartley Act may be repealed or amended, though nothing as useful as the old Wagner Act will replace it. Some sort of housing program may be instituted and some wispy figment of price control begun. But that is only for the beginning.

#### DEMONSTRATED POLITICAL FORCE OF LABOR

Remember that there are two ways of looking at the election results: (1) labor got "its boys" elected; (2) labor showed itself a decisive political force, with increasing consciousness of its own power, and increasing talent for getting out the vote.

We venture to state that it is the second of these factors that is the most important ultimately and that it is the second which will certainly carry most weight a year or two from now.

For the Truman administration can satisfy the demands of the workers only up to a point. Where that point is would be foolhardy to predict; we do not want to indulge in any naive or crude "Marxistical" generalizations according to which capitalism cannot satisfy any of the workers' demands. There is a great difference between the ultimate, basic status of the working class and its insistence on a given reform. The former cannot be satisfactorily improved by capitalism, but the latter can be granted.

Nonethéless, a breaking point will come. One reason that breaking point

ing, but he really though he had iost."

declared the reporter, Paul R. Leach.

the tide, in Illinois as elsewhere, Sec-

retary of State Barrett declared that

"labor was our precinct captain," and

there was a deeper truth in that than

he perhaps meant to reveal. All

through the nation labor was in the

role of precinct captain, getting out

the vote for the Democratic lords

and nobles at the top. Labor had no

voice in nominating the candidates.

Labor had no say in drafting the

platforms. Labor will have no con-

trol over the victorious politicians.

Labor was the force that turned

is likely to come fairly soon is that an electoral machine. And its leader, the election result will, if it has not Norman Thomas, is one of the most already done so, install a tremendous sense of confidence in the workers. They will feel (and quite naturally so!) that they were strong enough to change the course of the election, hence they should be strong enough to win better wages in the coming negotiations.

Probably not in the spring of 1949, more likely in the spring of 1950, there will be a serious wage crisis, with the possibility of large strikes not at all excluded. For remember that we are still living in an inflationary economy, that the war preparations program continues to eat up vast proportions of the national income-and that these factors are bound to leave their mark on living standards. No matter what the Truman administration does, these more powerful and subterranean economic developments will stimulate large sections of the workers to further

quired sense of political confidence. LABOR HAS SHOWN WHAT IT CAN DO

dissatisfaction. And this dissatisfac-

tion will have behind it a newly ac-

That means, we think, that the possibility of a labor party is probably decreased for the moment, but that the social impulsions driving to-. ward it are likely to become more powerful in the next two or so years. Actually, if there were in this country a socialist movement of, say, 30 or 40 thousand people-even a socialist movement with an unsatisfactory program from the point of view of

on which a labor party is formed. But the Socialist Party of this country is little more than a memory of

astonishing muddleheads this country has even seen. We intend in the next few weeks to return to the election campaign of the Socialist Party-a very shabby business it was. But if the proportion of New York City holds for the rest of the country, the SP vote will be increased over 1944 by about 21/2 times.

That means that there are about 200,000 people in this country who consider themselves socialists of one sort or another and whose pressure in behalf of a labor party could be considerable if it were organized. But the SP, which is one of the most SECTARIAN organizations in all of socialist history, is quite unable to do that; it suffers from the worst of all diseases: self-deception.

It does not even have the good sense to acknowledge to itself and to the radical public that it is nothing more than a sect among other sects, and hence indulges in all sorts of ridiculous pretension, such as confusing a roster of "big-name" signatures with mass support. And finally it suffers from the worst sort of bureaucratism: the bureaucratism of its leader's personal whim. Whatever Thomas says at any moment becomes the SP's point of view.

But let us leave this subject for the moment, to return to it a few weeks hence. The SP is not going to be the force to stimulate organization of a labor party: that much is certain. In the meantime, the handful of

labor militants has at its disposal stronger arguments than ever in fathis paper-it could play a tremendous role in pushing ahead the date vor of the formation of a labor party. Labor has shown its strength; let that strength be utilized in creating its own political house.

LOS ANGELES-Reflecting the national trend, President Truman carried the state of California, home of the GOP vice-presidential candidate, in a close race. What appeared to be a certain Republican state in the early days of the campaign, especially with a native son on the ballot, went Democratic by a safe margin. Not even the strong candidacy of Wallace could stem the Truman tide and at the latest count Truman led in the voting by 1,876,939 to Dewey's 1,844,-

Whatever it is that puzzles the polltakers and other experts, the fact is evident, in California at least, that in the homestretch of the campaign Truman picked up considerable support. This was apparent during his last tour of the state when he was greeted by enormous crowds, surpassing anything the GOP could gather.

422.

The reasons for his victory are several. Despite the early indications, which were correct at the time, Truman did overcome the handicaps of Wallace's campaign in this state. California, regarded as Wallace's second stronghold, New York being the first, was expected to give Wallace anywhere between 400,000 and 500,-000 votes. At least this is what the CP-Wallace bloc claimed would be their vote. An almost final count, however, gave Wallace 184,714 votes, or less than half of the forecast. It wasn't merely the fierce and reactionary campaign that did its job on Wallace.

WALLACE FAILURE The messianic spokesman for Kremlin policy cut a sorry figure in his local appearances. He drew big crowds in the Hollywood ball park

but they were a strange conglomeration of Stalinists and their sympathizers and the acute politicians of the cinema world. The expected mass support of the rapidly increasing working class population in Southern California did not materialize. Wallace's vote in Los Angeles

County, with a population of several millions, totalled 97.838. This is far, far below his own estimate and those conceded to him by both Republicans and Democrats. But, then, Wallace's campaign and speeches in this area were poor indeed; moreover, the Stalinist dominated Independent Progressive Party of California merely narrowed his sphere of influence.

One of the reasons why Wallace expected to run so strongly in California was that the Stalinists effectively controlled the CIO state and local organizations. But the split in the CIO which resulted in the setting up of two state offices and dual local councils was a heavy blow to the Stalinists and their IPP. At the same time the supporters of the national CIO policy and large sections of the AFL got behind Truman's campaign. The railroad brotherhoods too were active, especially because of the antilabor state proposition, sponsored chiefly by the Republicans, against "featherbedding" on the roads - a proposition which carried in the statewide vote.

#### PUBLIC HOUSING DEFEATED

It is difficult to say exactly what specific issues brought about the change in support of Truman, for a change there was. But here too the reasons are many and complicated. His homey but vigorous campaign against all the vulnerable spots of the Republicans, especially on high

prices and the Taft-Hartley Law, was effective. We would assume that housing too played a part, but the local voting on another state proposition for state public housing would seem to belie that. The voters defeated the proposition for state public housing despite its backing by the Democrats, Wallaceites and the

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**California Reflected National Trend** 

whole labor movement. It is one of those oddities in an election campaign which saw contests not only for the highest political office in the country but, also, congressional races and 19 state propositions on the ballot, all of them, in one way or another, calling for the expenditures of large sums of money. The campaign against public housing was an extremely dirty and vicious one, carried on under the slogan: "Do You Want to Pay Somebody Else's Rent?" Apparently it made a deep impression upon the tens of thousands of small home owners that dot this strange state.

No vote has been announced for the Socialist Party; but in California, Thomas ran on a write-in campaign. It could not have been large in any case, for the Socialist Party has a small and weak organization in this state.

It is difficult to say what effect the elections will have upon a labor party movement in California. The local pundits of the CIO will follow the utterances of that great labor politician, Philip Murray, as if they were gospel. They feel mighty high these days, certain that it was their vigorous campaigning that elected Truman and thus guaranteed a victory for labor for the next four years. The AFL too will follow its national leadership. The victory of Truman will very likely cool off Bill Green who, only two weeks ago, announced that the convention of the internationals would adopt a resolution for a new national political formation.

### Cut in Liberal Party Vote **Caused By Dubinsky Policy**

#### By JACK BRAD

The Liberal Party of New York

was one of the outstanding losers in the elections; its vote decreased by almost 50 per cent from 1944. This is all the more notable because they had the winning candidate, Truman, on their ticket. While the American Labor Party (Stalinist) did not increase its vote substantially, neither did it decline,

even though its candidate Wallace, was on the losing end. The Liberal Party not only sup-

ported Truman and Barkley, but almost the entire Democratic slate. It did have several candidates of its own for minor judgeships and other comparable positions. In one or two districts it ran congressional candidates, as in the 19th District against Klein. In several instances, as with Javits, they endorsed the Republican candidate because the Democrats had accepted ALP support.

The pattern of Liberal Party policy was to support almost any other party for which some case or rationalization of one could be made. Since its policy is made and dominated by David Dubinsky and the bureaucracy of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union its election policy was determined by the alliance of the New York trade union leadership with the cause of Harry Truman. In-

dependence was carefully eschewed.

#### LACKED INDEPENDENCE

The basic reason for Liberal Party decline is this lack of independence.

tionaries. They studiously abstain 'from local issues and local needs such as housing, rent control, prices, public schools, recreational facilities. In one or two branches, notably Brooklyn, some attempt is made to conduct forums, but not enough of them and not everywhere.

As it exists at present this party is not serious. Its continued decline is assured on its present basis of existence. The ranks of labor do not recognize it as their own and correctly so. Increasingly, the leadership overlaps with and takes second place to that of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) which is a fraction of the Democratic Party.

The future of the Liberal Party is uncertain. The New York labor leadership cannot maintain its letter-head and main office indefinitely but if they persist in this course, the Party, such as it is, will be reduced to a complete and ignominious farce.

Michigan -

(Continued from page 1)

backed by the UAW, was easily elected governor over Kim Sigler, whom the workers remember mainly because he signed a bill putting so many limitations on unemployment compensation that it cost the auto workers thousands of dollars in the past two years.

Every CIO man who ran for State Legislature won handily, and for the

**Reviewing the Election Results in Illinois** ditto for many others in the party.... lost eight governorships and now Truman indicated in his campaign (Continued from page 1) "Furthermore, if the world fertalks and in post-election statements News reporter after the polls had ment for leftism is sweeping our that he wants price controls, repeal closed Tuesday night. "He feit he shores there is a vastly greater of the Taft-Hartley law, a housing had done a good job of campaignbill, continuation of rent control,

civil rights legislation, continued support for farm products, continuation of his pro-war policies, a \$20 billion armament bill, and continued YEARS." persecution of the Communist Party

and of left-wing groups. Labor wants repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, low taxes, low prices, a substantial housing program, tightened rent control, civil rights legislation, peace.

It really doesn't expect to get these things from a Democratic administration. It recalls that Truman HAD a Democratic Congress back in 1945 and 1946 and didn't come through with anything but bad news for labor. It also recalls with some cynicism that a majority of Democratic congressmen voted FOR the Taft-Hartley bill. It further realizes that the Democratic Senate will be controlled by old-line conservative committee chairmen like McKellar of Tennessee, Connally of Texas, Tydings of Maryland and Thomas of Oklahoma.

chance for compromise with the Democratic Party still doing business. AT LEAST THE AMBITIONS OF THE REUTHER CROWD HAVE BEEN CHECKED FOR FOUR By "Reuther crowd," this business

reporter means the movement for an independent labor party. He is too optimistic in thinking such a movement can be staved off for four years. The time will be measured in months, not years. It won't take Truman and the 81st Congress too long to demonstrate pretty openly that, though labor "won" the election, it is Big Business that calls the tune,

hold only 16. Wrath against Dewey and his inane campaign burst out after the election, from both Eastern and Western Republicans. It is probable that the GOP will get a new leadership. But so long as there is no national labor party, the GOP will not disappear into a coalition with the Democrats. It is too valuable to Big Business to have two parties under its control, with one always in reserve when public dissatisfaction has temporarily exhausted the other.

DEMOCRATS: After a possible initial honeymoon, Truman will have the usual trouble on his hands. Southern Democrats and Northern laborcrats, that is, those from the indus- the Texas oilmen is not clear today. trial centers. If the post-war depres-

progress could be very swift. Labor showed it can organize the vote. No editorial writer in the future will dare to sneer at the labor vote. The whole problem is to organize the labor vote for labor's candidates rather than for the candidates of Big Business and Wall Street, of which Truman is certainly one.

DIXIECRATS: Truman pulled through despite the 38 electoral votes garnered by the rabid Negro-haters. Superficially, it might appear that Truman could now tell the Disiecrats to take a long flying jump. But Truman has to depend upon Southern Democrats (almost all of whom are Dixiecrats at heart) to organize haters will bloc with Republicans Congress. The future of Thurmond against the so-called "liberal" Demo- and his millionaire backers among

Labor was the precinct captain. It collected and spent the money got out the vote.

Everything but the state Senate fell to the Democrats. Stevenson's plurality over Governor Green was 400,000. Paul Douglas, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator, beat Brooks by a slightly lesser plurality. Both Green and Brooks were Chicago Tribune souls. The Democrats took all other state offices and won control of the lower state house. The Illinois Democrats retained their six old seats in the House and gained six more.

Wallace got about 10,000 write-in votes in Illinois, despite instructions from the Progressive Party not to write in his name (they feared the ballots might be scratched).

Krueger, the man who said he wanted to run on a labor party ticket but who tried to make a deal with the Democrats, polled 4,500 votes for Congressman in the 2nd District. O'Hara, his Democratic opponent, won over the Republican, Vail, about 91,000 to 85,000. Krueger polled about the same vote as the Progressive Congressional candidates.

None of the local newspapers has yet reported the vote polled in Illinois by Norman Thomas and the Teichert SLP ticket.

#### WHY DID LABOR DO IT?

The total vote, both in the nation and in Illinois, was smaller than anticipated. It was not a large vote for a presidential year. The Tribune had predicted a national vote of 52,000,-000, whereas the total vote was about 4,000,000 less. Approximately half the voters showed up at the polls.

But labor showed up. The various union campaign machines—those of the AFL, the CIO, the railroad brotherhoods, the machinists, etc.-concentrated on dumping those Congressmen who had voted for the Taft-Hartley law. Of the 54 House members who lost their seats November 2, 51 had raised their hands for Taft-Hartley. Truman was the beneficiary of labor's determination to get the Taft-Hartley Congressmen.

And while labor went to the polls to vote against the T-H proponents, it tossed its vote to Truman in the presidential race.

Why? One Chicago truck driver explained himself this way, in a conversation with me. "I don't think much of Truman, but I'll be d- if I could vote for that Republican b---." That attitude must have been very prevalent.

"We do feel we ought to get the Taft-Hartley law rubbed out," a group of striking printers in Chicago told me.

That's about what the union movement expects of the Truman administration.

Chicago liberals don't go that far. They talk about REVISION of the Taft-Hartley law, extension of the tattered rent control law, maybe an FEPC law.

#### LABOR PARTY PROSPECTS

Just because a group of Republican politicians was replaced by Democrats hardly gives assurance that reaction won't continue in the United States. Just because a group of Taft-Hartley supporters was run out of Washington does not mean that the boss politicians who are to succeed them will be any less anti-labor. To be sure, many a campaigner said he was a friend of labor. But that was when he was asking for votes. Now he has the votes.

It will take time for American labor to see that it was suckered again in the 1948 election. For the next six months, the labor party idea will probably have to mark time. The capitalists understand this

clearly

Phil S. Hanna, business reporter for the Chicago Daily News, wrote some interesting things on the election. Riding in on the morning train with other suburbanites on November 3, the group (he said) didn't feel bad about the results.

A Dewey victory would have meant that "with the Democratic Party practically extinguished, it would have been easy to build an extra labor party. The GOP might also have been extinguished in four years. But Truman saved the Democratic Party and probably extinguished the Wallace outfit. The hundreds of Wall Streeters with great influence and the conservatives in the South are

still in position to use their minority (!) powers to temper things within the Democratic Party.

"Gillette of Iowa, for example, doesn't want to lose his millions; Congress must heed. When the disenchantment comes, the mass revulsion may be as startling then as it was for the Republicans a few days ago

and the needs of Big Business that

WHAT ABOUT THE POLLS? There wasn't a poll in America, either the straw or the "scientifically weighted" type, that pointed to the

truth. It is not true that polls like Gallup's (who the day before election gave Dewey 49.5 per cent and Truman 44.5 per cent) or Roper's (who had predicted Dewey would win in a landslide, as Roosevelt did in 1936) are simply propaganda devices, at least on elections.

You see, election forecasts are always subsequently verified at the polls. It is not like a poll which shows the majority of the people want war, or a poll of some similar issue on which the people are never

permitted by Big Business to vote. Public opinion polling is itself a big business, upon which some \$20,-000,000 a year is spent. The business future of the pollsters depends upon their ability to predict elections with accuracy. By their showing in this year's election, they have done themselves irreparable damage. A false prediction of the 1936 election put the old Literary Digest out of business. Even if Gallup and Roper don't

lose all their clients, the public will never take them seriously again. Why should it? It is obvious that the so-called sci-

entific pollsters did not weigh their samplings heavily enough with work-Theoretically, it is possible to select scientifically a small sampling of a

large aggregate, and predict a trend or outcome upon the basis of the small sampling. But who would trust a Gallup or a Roper or a Crossley to select the sampling accurately after their ludicrous results in 1948?

Gallup's post-election alibis are as funny as his pre-election forecasts. "This is the kind of a close election that happens once in a generation," he says. Why didn't his forecasts indicate

that?

"Over 3,000,000 voters remained undecided on their presidential choice right up to the week before election," he says. Then why didn't he hedge corre-

spondingly in his predictions?

REPUBLICANS: Besides losing control of Congress, the Republicans

sion comes during the next four years, it will be the Democratic Party which will take the rap. The Democrats have the misfortune, thanks to their electoral successes, of having to take full responsibility for running the government, at least until 1950. Probably\_ the\_ most\_ that\_ Truman hoped to get was a Democratic Sen-

WALLACE: So long as it serves the interests of the Stalinists, the Progressive Party will continue, with or without Wallace. It is possible that the fight between the Stalinists and anti-Stalinists in the Progressive Party may come to a head shortly. LABOR PARTY: As mentioned earlier, not much headway may be made by the labor party movement for the next period, until labor clearly sees that it can obtain little from the Democratic administration. Then

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Since it does not differentiate itself from the Democrats at crucial election times it is just as well and more sensible to most people to vote Democratic. The very reason for the existence of the Liberal Party is in doubt and its continuation is, in fact, in great jeopardy because of this.

That same trade union leadership, mainly the Needle Trades in New York, which organized Truman's campaign, which raised his campaign funds, which sponsored his largest political rally at Madison Square Garden, and which leads unions numbering hundreds of thousands, seems either incapable of or disinterested in maintaining and expanding its own political instrument.

The Liberal Party's decline is not a new thing. In fact, it was never organized on a democratic, membership basis. Its local branches are empty headquarters maintained by a handful of old guard Social-Democrats who continue to perform the necessary janitorial services for Dubinsky. The organizational form of the Liberal Party is quite suitable to its politics which have been to date simply to carry through the electoral decisions of the union leaders every first Tuesday in November. Such a policy, of course, does not require an organization; a front office, a letter-head

and well-heeled union treasuries will

That is why there are almost no

branches of the Liberal Party. Those

that exist have no year-round func-

FURTHER DECLINE

sults as the next man. The coming CIO convention, being held late this month, will reveal what may be expected from the UAW leadership in the next period.

Interestingly enough, among the secondary leaders of the UAW who have had more political experience, the reaction was not quite so flush with victory. They have had too much experience with those kinds of victories in the past.

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first time a powerful minority will exist in the state government, which until now was almost exclusively Republican. Unfortunately, the first reaction

among top union officials was to put a damper on even taking the lead in the Democratic Party. Gus Scholle, Michigan CIO president, also declared it would be silly to start a third party now

**CONFIDENCE HIGH** 

Certainly the many moves Walter Reuther had in mind after this election are now being reconsidered, for he was as mistaken about the re-

Perhaps the most interesting and significant incident showing the workers' reaction to the Truman victory was the remark that one worker made to a foreman during the inevitable and endless dispute about getting to the timeclock too early. The worker said: "Look here, who won the election, you or us?" There is no question in our mind that the workers have a feeling of confidence stronger than for a long time.