

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

# LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 25, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

**Neither Duman Nor Truway Offer a Choice**

## Vote Socialist on Nov. 2!

There is only one way in which militant workers can register their break with capitalist parties in the 1948 Presidential Elections.

There is only one way in which labor can express its desire for a complete declaration of political independence and for a party of its own.

**That way is to VOTE SOCIALIST.**

Labor goes to the polls with no candidate of its own, no party of its own, and without even a political policy of its own.

Yet the election on November 2 is a crucial one. Its results will have a tremendous bearing on the freedom of the trade unions, on the standard of living, on the militarization of America and on the march toward war of U. S. imperialism—all of which are matters of vital concern to the working class.

**LABOR LEADERS' POLICY BANKRUPT**

The only answer of the labor leadership in the face of these gigantic problems is to pursue the bankrupt policy of the past sixteen years. But that policy has come to a dead end.

Murray, A. F. Whitney and Reuther rejected Harry Truman a few short months ago. That they were completely incapable of influencing the choice of candidate in the Democratic Party, or even the candidate for vice-presidency, is final evidence of the bankruptcy of sixteen years in that Party.

These leaders have now finally found the single, revealing, saving grace which distinguishes Truman from Dewey: that Truman did, after all, veto the Taft-Hartley Act. They must overlook, of course, the fact that he is one hundred per cent responsible for the appointment of Denham, the enforcer of the Taft-Hartley Act, who polices its provisions against labor.

They seem to be attempting to make labor forget the facts about the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is a fact that a group of labor representatives from the CIO, AFL, Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods visited Truman on the day of the Senate vote on his veto to ask him to call up several wavering senators who were amenable to White House pressure. It is a fact that Harry Truman refused to lift his telephone receiver. His veto was for the record only.

**WALLACE—A TOOL OF STALINISM**

While we completely reject the Progressive Party and its candidates in this election it must be noted that the Wallace movement appealed to millions of people who were not, are not and will not become Stalinists but who are ready for a new political departure. The taint of Stalinism has condemned the Wallace Party to split and disaster. But the depths of the sentiment it plumbed are real and remain a vast reservoir for independent labor politics.

We have covered at length the Wallace movement in the previous issues of LABOR ACTION. It is clear in these closing days of the election campaign that the so-called Progressive Party is not acting and cannot act like a labor party. Its chief distinguishing characteristic is its foreign policy and this is one of appeasement of the Stalinist dictatorship.

The skill, the desire, the means, the necessity are all at hand for a great new re-alignment under labor's leadership. A correct electoral policy for November 2 is one which will assist this independent class development. Such a policy begins with the rejection of the capitalist and Stalinist-front candidates.

**CHOOSE AMONG SOCIALIST PARTIES**

A Socialist vote will be the expression of labor's will to independence on November 2. The Socialist vote will be carefully weighed by all political analysts; they will understand it as a protest and as a promise for the future. Anyone who examines the election results will have to consider it and its significance.

There are three socialist parties with national candidates. A vote for any of them has the characteristic described above: a) a vote of socialist protest; b) against the capitalist and Stalinist-front parties; c) an expression of willingness to support and help construct a labor party.

A vote for either the SOCIALIST PARTY, the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, or the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY—a vote for any one of these has equal value in the final tally of support under these criteria. In making their analyses, the labor bureaucrats, the political analysts and the workers themselves will add the votes for these three parties together.

This does not mean that there are not many and serious differences among them. The party of Norman Thomas is the "respectable, liberal," and conciliatory socialist party which supports American Imperialism. The Socialist Workers Party of Farrell Dobbs still defends that monstrous totalitarian workers' prison which is Russia and is thoroughly sectarian in its formulistic "answers" to real political events. The Socialist Labor Party of Edward Teichert is completely abstentionist from the workers' struggles and remains smugly addicted to rote repetition of Daniel DeLeon's ancient texts.

**VOTE YOUR SOCIALIST PROTEST**

These differences are not what will be at stake on November 2, on the issues which divide these groups. Labor will not be voting.

The Workers Party has sharp disagreements with each of these groups. The Workers Party seeks to build a socialist movement based on the struggle and in complete independence of Stalinism. But the Workers Party has not been able

to place candidates in the election.

There is no way of choosing definitely among these three candidates. There is only one way of casting a working class vote.

**VOTE FOR ANY OF THE THREE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES.**

The Socialist Party will appear on the ballot in thirty-two states, the Socialist Labor Party in twenty-three states, and the Socialist Workers Party in eleven states. (Parenthetically, it should be noted that one of the traditional shyster arguments against building a labor party has been the technical obstacles of the state electoral laws. It is obvious from the above that these obstacles are not insurmountable.)

Below is a list of the states in which the socialist candidates will appear on the ballot:

Socialist Workers Party (appearing in Pennsylvania as the Militant Workers Party): Colorado, Connecticut, Iowa, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin. In California and Ohio the SWP is asking for a write-in vote.

SOCIALIST PARTY: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (which appears in several cases as the Industrial Government Party and in Wyoming as the Labor Party): Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

**VOTE FOR LOCAL SOCIALIST CANDIDATES**

We urge you also to vote for the local candidates of these parties. Where two or three of the parties have local candidates in the field, vote for one of the parties. In both the presidential and local campaigns, where only one of the parties appears on the ballot, vote for that party.

The Workers Party endorses the independent candidacy for Congress of Maynard Krueger in the Second District of Chicago's South Side, and calls upon labor to pile up a big vote for Krueger.

And finally, the Workers Party calls special attention to its own candidate for Congress in New York's 19th Congressional District, the East Side. If you live in the district, vote for Emanuel Goltman.

**Vote SOCIALIST!**

## New NLRB Rulings Extend Gov't Drive On Rights of Labor

### Lewis Steers UMW Toward Hopeless Political Position

By GERALD McDERMOTT

The United Mine Workers of America, at their recently concluded convention, have voted to pour more than twelve million dollars a year into their union treasury in order to be ready to fight future Taft-Hartley fines and Goldsborough injunctions. At the same time, the mine workers took a political position that will just about guarantee that the fines and injunctions will be slapped on them. Instead of locking the barn, John L. Lewis has bought a couple extra horses for the anti-labor government to steal.

That is the outstanding fact of the convention. Lewis started the convention by ripping Truman. He ended it by criticizing Dewey. Both Truman and Dewey should be denounced. But the convention also voted down a resolution for an independent Labor Party that offered the only way out.

Politics dominated the convention. Not since 1936, when Lewis and the UMW threw their weight fervently behind Roosevelt, has the UMW been so concerned with politics. It is true that in 1940 and 1944 Lewis plunked for Willie and then Dewey, but the rank and file weren't too excited and the membership of the union as a whole did little in an organized way. This year's convention, however, saw considerable change. The almost continuous attacks on the miners by the government since 1943 have stung both the politically conservative leadership and the rank and file to action.

The union is waging an all-out campaign against congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley law. Election Day, November 2, the miners will take off work to vote and get out the vote.

**HOPELESS POSITION**

Despite the enthusiasm of the rank and file for this organized effort, the net result will not be much. Some Democrat, who didn't get a chance

**Opens Barn Door**



to vote for the Taft-Hartley law, will replace a Republican who did. In other districts, it will be the other way around. No matter which capitalist party they belong to, they will still represent the operators, no matter what they are saying now about being friends of labor.

An example of the hopelessness of this policy is the senatorial race in Kentucky. There the UMW is backing Republican Senator John Cooper, who voted FOR the Taft-Hartley law, because the Democratic candidate, they say, is even worse!

It is clear, however, that Lewis, the Republican, like Murray, the Democrat, is near the end of his rope. Last election, Lewis went down the line with the Republican Party. He openly praised Dewey by name. The UMW political resolution in 1944 said "the labor plank of the Republican Party's platform promises labor the recognition and representation that belongs to labor. It promises economic freedom and to abolish all policies that lead to regimentation."

This year the resolution could only state that BOTH parties had waged a "cruel war" against labor. Neither the resolution nor Lewis mentioned Dewey by name once. The carefully worded resolution only said that at least "the other major party candidate" had "never uttered any statements that reflect upon the integrity or objectives" of the UMW.

When the "other major party candidate" kicked Lewis in the face by praising the Taft-Hartley law in a

(Continued on page 2)

The National Labor Relations Board, a board appointed by the Democratic administration, this week delivered itself of two anti-labor rulings which rank close to the top in repressive consequences of the Taft-Hartley law, a law sponsored by two Republicans.

On Sunday, October 17, Irving Rogosin, an NLRB trial examiner, held that mass picketing, even when it is peaceful, is "coercive," therefore illegal and not subject to protection as "free speech."

A day earlier, the NLRB ruled that strikers are not eligible to vote in plan elections if scabs have been "permanently" hired in their place.

The rulings, taken together, indicate that whatever hesitation there may have been in applying the worst features of the Taft-Hartley law in the fourteen months since its enactment authorities will pull no punches henceforth in enforcement of the law.

By the Saturday ruling, a struck corporation need only hire as many scabs as it needs, designate them as permanent employees, maneuver an NLRB election, and thus oust the striking union from plant negotiations and representation.

By the Sunday ruling, the struck corporation is provided with assistance in recruiting scabs.

Neither, of course, can be tolerated by the labor movement. The effects of both these rulings, if they are permitted to remain in force, are too obvious to require argument.

**COURT ACTION FORESEEN**

The question is: what to do about them?

The United Electrical & Radio Workers Union, which is involved in the mass picketing ruling, has twenty days in which to file objections; otherwise the ruling becomes a board order enforceable by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

It can be taken for granted that unions will immediately institute legal proceedings to reverse the rulings of the board. Though the rulings may be entirely in keeping with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, they are clearly in violation of civil and labor rights. Regardless of what may be the tortuous workings of Mr. Rogosin's mind (we'll bet its contours resemble a National Association of Manufacturers pamphlet), mass picketing IS a form of free speech and assembly. It is therefore conceivable that the higher courts might overturn the rulings because they are so utterly raw. They might—and, then again, they might not!

The full utilization of every means of legal redress is here indicated, as it is in every case. But that particular basket is much too frail to hold so many eggs of such great value and

(Continued on p. 3 in edit. col.)

## Lays Revived Palestine Bloodshed at UN Door

UN "Plans" Reflect Relations Between Contending Imperialist Powers, Not the Needs of Jewish or Arab People

By AL FINDLEY

Large-scale fighting broke out in the Negev (Southern Palestine) on the very day the UN Assembly's Political Committee met to discuss the Palestine problem once again.

On the morning of Friday, October 15, an Israeli convoy traveling along the UN-designated route was fired upon by the Egyptian invaders of the South. The Jews answered this provocation with a large-scale offensive. The result has been a decisive and impressive military victory for Israel that has secured a lifeline to the Negev and isolated the Egyptians in a small coastal strip around the city of Gaza.

The new fighting was desired by both Egypt and Israel. The Egyptians for their part hope that fighting in the Negev will ignite all of Palestine and thereby nip in the bud any moves by Abdullah to accept the deals which Britain might swing for its puppet, Transjordan.

The Jews wanted the fighting for

a variety of reasons. Many of them believe that they could now win the war in a short time and are for renewed warfare in all of Palestine. The pressure of these over-optimists on the government has been considerable. In addition, Egypt is of particular concern to the government of Israel. Egypt has been the most intransigent member of the Arab League and most adamant against any compromise with Israel. Egypt is the power behind the recently proclaimed Mufti government of Palestine. Many Israeli officials believe (and with some justification) that there can be no peace in Palestine until the Egyptians receive at least one strong blow.

**U. S. RESPONSIBILITY**

The guilt for the blood now being shed in Palestine rests primarily on the diplomats in the UN and on the United States, who have not given full de jure recognition to Israel and whose "plans" reflect power relations of the Big Three and not the rela-

tions or the need of the Jews and Arabs. This kind of diplomacy can only lead to encouraging Arab feudal rulers to hope that they may win out in their struggle to stifle the self-determination of the Jews or to so limit Israel as to make it meaningless.

[BULLETIN: The Security Council has ordered a cease fire in the Negev. Return to original positions is not made a condition but is suggested for negotiations. Reports are that both Israel and Egypt will accept cease fire.]

Three weeks ago, the supporters of the second Bernadotte plan, Bevin and Marshall, wanted to place Palestine first on the UN agenda, in order to use the hysteria generated by Bernadotte's assassination to push through the plan "in toto." The vote of the UN delaying the Palestine

question to October 15 actually killed the present form of the Bernadotte plan. As predicted in LABOR ACTION, the U. S. has shifted and is now for the Bernadotte plan only as a "basis for negotiation."

The maneuvering has thus returned to a fluid state. There are repeated reports of a compromise having the support of the United States and Israel, giving Israel Western Galilee and partitioning the Negev along the 31st parallel. This would give the Jews the more easily irrigated portion of the Negev and that portion around which oil speculations revolve. While it would cut Israel off from the port of Aquaba on the Red Sea, it would give it possession of the Dead Sea and its rich mineral store. All of Arab Palestine would go to Transjordan.

As to Jerusalem, there are conflicting rumors. One report says the U. S. and Russia have agreed on terms of a trusteeship for Jerusalem. Another (and probably more correct)

report says that the U. S. is considering partition of Jerusalem between Jews and Arabs, under some international supervision.

**ABDULLAH AND RUSSIA**

There is a possibility that the above compromise may be accepted. Britain, of course, will still attempt to force the second Bernadotte plan in toto, giving Abdullah all of the Negev, but will probably accept the substitute. The fact that Abdullah did not attack while the Israelis were occupied in the South shows that he and his British masters are seriously considering accepting the proposal.

Abdullah, for his own dynastic reasons, has in reality broken with the Arab League. The League has proclaimed the establishment of a government of Palestine. This government is headed by the Mufti. Abdullah, who controls almost all of Arab Palestine, has refused to allow this government to function in his territory. While other Arab governments, including Iraq (also ruled by Abdullah's family, the Hashemites) have recognized the Mufti government, Abdullah is actively combating this pretender. In this connection it must be reported that one of the secondary aims of the current Israeli offensive is to reduce the importance of the so-called Mufti government.

Russian imperialists are expressing deep concern over the possibility of this settlement of a Palestine question. The Stalinists had supported the Mufti and his fascist policies until April, 1947, and shifted to the support of partition solely for the purpose of getting British troops out of Palestine. The proposed compromise would again place Britain in the Negev, via its puppet, Abdullah. The prevention of such an eventuality has now become the main issue of the Kremlin's diplomacy in the Near East.

Everybody, Jews and Arabs alike, is pressing for a revision of the original partition decision. Each wants it modified in its direction. Jews want

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## SYL Open Letter Challenges YPSL to Debate

Youth Bureau Asks YPSL Leader to Defend Scurrilous, Anti-Socialist Position

The Socialist Youth League this week challenged the Young People's Socialist League to a debate in an Open Letter addressed to John McCartney, national field representative of the YPSL. The Open Letter, which appears below, was occasioned by a series of events related to the formation of the National Youth Council for Independent Political Action. (Last week's LABOR ACTION carried an article in its Student and Youth column on the formation of that group and some of the problems raised at its first meeting.)

On Saturday, October 16, the NYCIPA called a meeting of its national Executive Committee which was to take up, aside from other

things, the matter of Socialist Youth League participation in that organization. Since a motion was presented by the representative of the YPSL denouncing the SYL as a totalitarian organization and proposing that it not be allowed to hold any office in the Council, a representative of the SYL was invited to present the views of his organization before the national Executive Committee. Julius Falk, national secretary of the SYL, attended the NEC meeting in Columbus, Ohio.

Present at the NEC meeting were three members, including John McCartney. Finally, convinced by Falk that they were not a quorum of a committee with 20 members and did

not therefore have the democratic right to make any decisions, they agreed to hold a discussion and make recommendations to a referendum of members of the national Executive Committee.

This statement of policy by the Young People's Socialist League has wide and ugly implications. It is comparable, on its own level, to the vicious Stalinist policy of non-association with political opponents of the left.

The Socialist Youth League plans to answer the YPSL document and circulate it as widely as possible. The SYL Open Letter follows:

**AN OPEN LETTER TO JOHN MCCARTNEY, NATIONAL FIELD REP-**

**RESENTATIVE, YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE**

Dear Comrade McCartney: At a meeting of members of the National Executive Committee of the National Youth Council for Independent Political Action held in Columbus, Ohio, on Saturday, October 16, 1948, you presented a document published by the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) for consideration. This document was written by you. It deals with what your organization considers the totalitarian nature of Trotskyism. It was presented to the NEC members of the Council to influence them in regard to the forthcoming referendum of the NEC on

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## Minorities Target as Cleveland Gets Government Loyalty Purge

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Oct. 17—The government loyalty purge came to Cleveland last week and demonstrated the vicious manner in which the so-called anti-subversive program is used to discriminate against minorities. The very administration in Washington which proclaims its devotion to civil rights is carrying on a campaign to deny these rights to its own employees.

The purge program is being conducted in such a shameful manner that it cannot stand the light of publicity. And it was precisely by breaking the secrecy, by refusing to be limited to star chamber proceedings, that the purge was at least temporarily stopped here.

The federal investigators hoped to work behind closed doors. The first news reached the papers Wednesday,

October 13, when some of the "suspected" told their stories to reporters. The charges of disloyalty were made against a group of post office employees who were suspected of membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

**HITS NEGROES AND JEWS**

Disloyalty charges were presented against 24 men. Of these, 19 were Negroes, four were Jews. This in itself would make any honest person suspicious of the probe. Postal workers are composed of the same elements as the population in general, yet 23 out of the 24 are members of minority groups! No wonder the authorities feared publicity.

The 19 Negroes were all members of the National Alliance of Postal Workers, an organization of Negroes obviously interested in fighting dis-

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Fight GM Attempt to Control Mich. Education

The services of teachers who last year led classes for more than 75,000 Michigan workers have been cut off, as a result of a drive by General Motors Corp. to kill the four-year-old Workers Educational Service of the University of Michigan, according to an article from Labor Press Associates.

Last June Rep. Fred Hartley's Labor Committee held a "quickie" hearing at which a GM research employee told a distorted version of two one-hour classes which he had attended, taught by an instructor provided by the Service. Director Arthur Elder, a veteran in the field of workers' education, was present and answered the charges one by one. The class last spring dealt with the report of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers. Adam Stricker, the GM research employee who attended two sessions of the six-session course, told the Congressmen that "subversive" doctrine was taught.

He based his charge on the fact that the instructor had suggested as supplementary reading a UAW pamphlet which was critical of Truman.

The United Auto Workers has taken up the fight to prevent the termination of the educational program and to restore the service which has been suspended by the Michigan Board of Regents. The State AFL is urging all local unions in the state to call on the Board of Regents to "continue and expand" the Service. Union officials in Detroit agree that if GM is successful in its open drive to kill the Workers Educational Service program, similar activities in other states will be in danger.

Victor Reuther, education director of the UAW, pointed out: "The GM charges have been disproved over and over again. But these charges against one class have been used by the regents as the excuse for holding up the entire Service while they 'study' the program."

He has asked the American Association of University Professors to investigate the shutdown of the Service. "Privileges of education and right of university to educate fairly and honestly are being denied because of selfish opposition taken by one corporation in defiance of facts and public opinion."

The interest of General Motors in the case is amply demonstrated by a letter sent by C. E. Wilson, president of GM, to the Detroit Chapter of the Michigan Committee on Civil Rights. In part he states: "To my mind, this record (of the hearings) clearly demonstrates a series of abuses of these classes and their use for propaganda purposes, as opposed to true academic freedom, as well as personal insults of me and my own position which are inexcusable on the part of any tax-supported institution and teacher." Wilson omitted saying that he was aggravated by criticism of him voiced in the classes. But . . .

A protest campaign against the knuckling under of the Michigan Board of Regents to the dictates of GM is being organized on a national scale.

### WDL Joins Drive To Halt GM Control Of Michigan Education

NEW YORK CITY (WDL) — The Workers Defense League has joined Michigan unions in a campaign against the recent attempt by General Motors Corporation to control education in Michigan.

Rowland Watts, national WDL secretary, has wired the university's board of regents: "We protest the attempt of General Motors to control education in the state of Michigan." At the same time the League wrote its members in Michigan urging them to register similar protests, and offered legal aid.

### Commends Position On "Vote Socialist"

Editor:

I want to commend you on your good advice and splendid editorial recently when you asked your readers to "Vote Socialist." As you pointed out, there are three socialist parties in the field and you asked your readers to vote for one of them as a socialist protest vote against capitalism. I am going to follow that advice.

When I think of the often sectarian and vindictive position taken by these three other organizations I have only one thing to say of your attitude: so conducts himself a true socialist.

Yours for socialism,  
JOHN HOWARD, Seattle

### Cleveland

(Continued from page 1)

crimination. The white workers involved all have a record of helping fight post office discrimination against Negroes. All are old-timers, with the average length of service 19 years. The investigators repeatedly stressed their desire for secrecy. The charges were to be preferred, hearings held before a loyalty board of three (including two Southerners), no chance given to identify the accusers, no opportunity to cross-examine. Just hear the charges, submit quietly and accept firing!

Fortunately, the accused realized what they were up against. They talked to the press, day after day. They told of the charges and they refuted them publicly one by one. Some were accused of being members of the Communist Party, of being members of the National Negro Congress, of subscribing to the Daily Worker and In Fact, of being present at meetings, dinners, etc. All denied membership in the CP, some admitted past membership in the NCC but had dropped out a few years ago. None subscribed to the papers mentioned, and some were able to show post office records to prove they were working at the very time they were supposed to be at "subversive" meetings.

### CRUMBLE IN DAYLIGHT

The Cleveland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took up the case and promised all the help it could give. So far no other organization has joined in the defense. Yet the public airing of the probe was enough to cause the suspension of hearings after four men were brought before the loyalty board.

No doubt the Truman administration could not stand the publicity, for how could Hopeful Harry, champion of civil liberties, defender of minorities, friend of the Negro, etc., allow this obvious persecution to stand on the record only a month before election? After November it may be another story, and then it will depend on all labor and liberal organizations to cooperate to stop the purge.

It should be clear that LABOR ACTION would not be for firing these men, even if they were members of the Communist Party or any other party, even if they read the Daily Worker or any other paper. LABOR ACTION is opposed to the subversive list arbitrarily compiled by the Attorney General without public hearings or the right to appeal. It is opposed to depriving men of their jobs because of their political beliefs. It is opposed to the current purge, whether it applies to Stalinists or not, and it especially urges that the most publicity be given to any attempt to use the purge to discriminate against minority groups.

## Announce Erber Resignation

Ernest Erber, member of the Political Committee of the Workers Party, has resigned from the organization in a letter in which he states that "I no longer accept the Leninist premises of the Workers Party, including the role of Bolshevism in the Russian Revolution, the Leninist theory of the state, and its views on democracy, the road to power, and the role of the party."

To justify his renunciation of revolutionary socialism, Erber presented the Political Committee with a lengthy statement purporting to set forth his criticism of the principles and traditions on which the Workers Party is based. The statement is a dull rehash of material with which most Marxists are familiar from their reading of the standard reformist and right-wing socialist attacks on the Russian Revolution and the genuine communist movement of Lenin and Trotsky.

Erber himself was for years sufficiently familiar with these arguments against revolutionary Marxism and sufficiently contemptuous of

them to give them the treatment they deserve. The only thing that has changed is that instead of combatting them, he has now decided to adopt them. The treatment they deserve nevertheless remains unchanged. Erber himself is another case of "man overboard."

Erber's statement is already being circulated among the members of the Workers Party so that they may judge for themselves the value of his surrender to reform socialism. His statement will soon be available to the public in a special bulletin now being prepared by the Workers Party, which will also contain an analysis of it and a presentation of the viewpoint of the party on the questions he raises.

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**How to Vote**  
In the 19th Congressional District, on New York's East Side, vote in the following way: Pull the lever OVER the name of EMANUEL GELTMAN on the BOTTOM LINE of the voting machine.

# YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

### Olivet Strike

The following is a letter written to LABOR ACTION, describing an important student strike at Olivet College in Olivet, Mich. The authors of the article are associated with the Socialist Youth League, one of whom is on the strike committee.

Dear Comrades:

Olivet College, 105 years old, was unique for many reasons. The faculty was made up of people of various shades of opinion and political orientation who could teach without fear of reprisals. The student body was predominantly socialist or liberal. The basic freedoms of speech and press were not merely "tolerated" but were a definite part of the school's educational policy.

For the past 15 years the school was under constant attack from reactionaries throughout the country. The attacks included "red smears," the sudden firing of liberal teachers by the board of trustees, and a generally foul publicity campaign against the school. Two liberal presidents, Dr. Brewer and Dr. Dana, were forced to resign. An excellent dean, Dr. Ramsay, was also forced to leave. But the attacks had a positive effect upon the student body. A growing militant spirit evolved out of these crises which found its expression in the form of organizing, protesting and demonstrating.

### PROFESSOR DISMISSED

During the summer, an incident occurred which brought the whole situation to a head. An esteemed professor, T. Barton Akeley, and his wife, college librarian, were fired. He was dismissed after twelve years of service, after having been given a raise of salary and a new contract for the coming year, and while on anthropological studies in Mexico. He could be accused of nothing more than being an "ultra liberal."

An inquiry on the part of a student committee revealed the following: that the incoming president, Dr. Aubrey Ashby, vice-president and general counsel for the National Broadcasting Co., had made as a condition for his acceptance of the office that this individual be released along with his wife; that the dismissal was a violation of the faculty constitution and of the constitution of the board of trustees; that he was fired without cause and that no reasons for this action would be given.

At an interview with the president and dean, Dr. Mathias, held by members of the Student Investigating Committee, the president made the following statement: "We are going to create a society for your well-being." When asked whether students would have any say at all in the nature of that society, he answered, "No!" He also stated:

"As president of this college, I reserve the right to pass on any article — if I have to make the first issue the last issue. Call it censorship or whatever you will." (This is in reference to the student publication "Echo.")

### FORM STUDENT COMMITTEE

As a result of this attitude of the new president and dean, this group of students organized the Student Action Committee and published all pertinent facts concerning the issue under threat of expulsion. The elected officers of the group were: John Vanderlind, chairman; Jerome Falter, vice-chairman; Roberta Wells, recording secretary; William Swing, corresponding secretary; Bruce Miller, treasurer.

They issued their statement of purpose . . . right to participate in policy formation, right to maintain autonomous student organizations, faculty's right to achieve tenure, academic freedom, constitutional government, the right to publish student opinion without censorship, and the right of free association between students and teachers.

On subsequent Sunday evenings Labor Action Hall will be open each week for forums and informal discussions. All readers are also invited to attend the educational period of the regular Wednesday evening meetings at 9:00 p.m. At present these periods are, in the main, being devoted to discussions of issues facing the coming convention of the Workers Party.

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Around this program rallied 80 students out of 300. Repeated attempts at negotiations with the administration failed. In the light of this, a motion was passed unanimously stating that they would not register until the Akeleys were reinstated, until an impartial arbitration board was called in to adjudicate the educational and ethical policies of the school. At great personal risk to themselves, the students gallantly held their "demonstration line" in front of the school.

Nationwide publicity and support resulted from their demonstration. The Teachers Union, through Tucker P. Smith (vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist Party ticket), president of the local union and professor of economics at the college, issued a statement of protest. The students mimeographed literature, issued news releases, opened soup kitchens and arranged for the billeting of students that were to be kicked out of the "dorms."

### SMITH PULLS BACK

The demonstration precipitated a crisis. Much depended on the attitude of the faculty. It was hoped that such a man as Tucker P. Smith would bring his union into line and close down the school.

Instead of supporting the students, who were fighting their fight also, the teachers gradually became more submissive and less militant. Though one might expect the vice-presidential candidate to lead the students in a militant strike, Tucker Smith took a lead in soft-soaping and in breaking the morale of the students. A meeting was called between the local Teachers Union and the Student Action Committee at which Smith declared that the SAC did not have a picket line but a "parade." He declared that they (the local) could not support the student strike so long as the students remained outside of the school and he conducted a campaign to the effect that the students' morale was broken, although the students had acted unanimously in every action they had taken. Unfortunately he succeeded in planting the seeds of suspicion and doubt among the members of the SAC.

When they failed to get the students to register for classes by this direct approach, Smith and other faculty members took individual members of the group aside and induced them to register. Thus the morale of the SAC is being broken. Of the eighty students who originally struck, seventy submitted to faculty pressure and ten have still refused to enter the college. At the present time, although demoralized, they are still attempting to carry on the struggle.

They need help!  
R. P., B. P., Oct. 10, 1948.

Show your solidarity with the striking Olivet students. Send them your moral and financial support. Forward all communications to: John Vanderlind, chairman, Student Action Committee, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.

### SCHEDULE FORUMS IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA — The regular Labor Action Forum series will start on Sunday, October 31, at 8:00 p.m. with a meeting on the 1948 elections. Ernest Rice McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, will speak on the topic, "America on the Eve of the Elections."

This address concludes a publicity drive by the Philadelphia Branch which urged the voters to cast a protest vote on November 2 by voting for the candidates of the three socialist groups which appear on the local ballot: the Militant Workers Party, the Socialist Party and the Industrial Government Party.

On subsequent Sunday evenings Labor Action Hall will be open each week for forums and informal discussions. All readers are also invited to attend the educational period of the regular Wednesday evening meetings at 9:00 p.m. At present these periods are, in the main, being devoted to discussions of issues facing the coming convention of the Workers Party.

## Dobbs and Thomas Clarify Their Programs. A Noble Purpose—But a Miserable Debate

By STAN GREY

NEW YORK—On October 17 a debate took place before a gathering of about 500 people between Norman Thomas and Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidates of the Socialist and Socialist Workers Parties respectively. The noble purpose of this interesting contest of ideas was to achieve clarification on "which program can lead to a socialist America," which party genuinely deserved the name of Socialist.

With all objectivity, it is necessary to report that clarity was indeed achieved. It became crystal clear that if socialism in America depended upon either one of the programs and practices of these two parties, then it was time to close a century of Marxism with a suitable epitaph. Fortunately for socialism, its continued strength and vitality are by no means wiped out by the socialist tremolos of Thomas or the iron-clad, petrified dogmas of Dobbs.

Dobbs opened the debate with a straightforward exposition of the SWP line. It was such a dutiful presentation that it could serve as an adequate summary of the position of his party. Where he was correct, it was in his rote repetition of the basic axioms of Marxism about the class struggle and socialism. He even did not fail to use the exact words of the classic texts to reinforce his explicit and forecull claim to being the "orthodox Marxist."

Where, however, he departed from the books and tried to connect himself with the world today, with Stalinism, with the impending war between Stalinism and capitalism, he gave a perfect picture of the incredibly stupid and anti-socialist (it must be said) position of his party.

Yes, social democracy betrayed the interests of the working class, rescued a dying capitalist system which was ripe for socialist revolution. Thomas as a social democrat is following exactly the pattern of class

collaboration which if successful can only have the same results. These accusations are not only valid but must be hurled repeatedly at the Thomasites. (Though it would have been infinitely more effective for Dobbs not to have satisfied himself with purely abstract and historical evidence but to deal specifically with the so-called "practical socialist" politics of Thomas.) But to do that is not even half the task.

### DOBBS ON "STALINISM"

It is not enough to attack Thomas. How easy that is, despite Dobbs' weak achievement. It is necessary, especially for the claimants of the mantle of Marx, to offer a program of their own which answers the problems. And such a program IS offered, but better for the party if it had been silent. Say Dobbs and his party: Stalinism and social democracy are "both reformists to the marrow of their bones." Both of them collaborate with the capitalist class. Where the social democrats and the Stalinists are in rivalry over domination of the working class it is the "rivalry of cliques, not of irreconcilable bureaucratic forces." Stalinist imperialism!

One might have hoped that Dobbs would have at least talked about what is allowed by the rules of his party, Stalinist "expansionism." But, his silence was thunderous. In fact, Stalinism, if you will take the SWP handout, is merely reformist and, like all reformists, is "timid." Pause a moment and reflect on the "timidity" of Stalinism, its timid domination of all of Eastern Europe, its timid invasion of Asia, its timid regimen in the concentration camps, its delicately timid purges and exterminations. Perhaps Stalinism is timid when compared to the aggressive intransigence of the . . . SWP. But then . . .

The above was practically all that was said about Stalinism, incidentally and in passing. A barrelful against capitalist imperialism, not a word

about Stalinist imperialism. On the Wallace movement (again in passing since the subject of the debate was America), the SWP says that the Stalinists are again (and again and again) betraying the working class by supporting that capitalist politician Wallace!

It is impossible, in a brief report, to indicate all the absurdities so freely strewn about by Dobbs. But those readers at all familiar with the SWP and its literature can be sure that Dobbs did not improve on the masterpieces to be found there, for even in being absurd there is a kind of "orthodoxy."

### THOMAS OOZES IDEAS

If Dobbs was abstract and therefore ineffectual against Thomas and if he was utterly miserable and bankrupt in the face of Stalinism, Thomas fulfilled completely everything that was expected of him.

This reporter had not heard Thomas for almost ten years, and he left the hall convinced that time and the experience of history had affected him not the slightest. As a thinker, Thomas has a violent passion for "freedom and liberty." Whether this passion is sufficient to achieve these goals is apparently beside the point. For the only proposed solutions offered by the representative of the Socialist Party, the strengthening of UN, the control of atomic energy, the rallying of the "people," the support, if necessary (and it will be necessary), of America in the war are such as have been PROVED to be absolutely futile. What an irony (one which, of course, Dobbs didn't see in his text) that these proposals offered in the name of being "practical" are models of impracticability, and can only serve, HAVE only served in the past, to defect, to weaken and to negate real socialist efforts which could practically solve the problems of peace and war.

It was not as if Thomas gave any coherent or consistent presentation of a point of view. He remains, after all, true to his own method. His speech, compounded of four parts slander against the Bolshevik revolution, four parts freedom-thumping and two parts "ideas," was a very amorphous, mushy thing. It would be hard to pick up any of it without having it ooze out through one's fingers. It is said about Thomas that he is really a "symbol"; it is rarely added that this is about all that remains. European social democracy was at least a force, an idea, a system of politics, wrong, criminal, anti-socialist, yes, but at least a body of ideas. All of that is alien to the "socialism" of Thomas. And when some sort of idea or proposal does emerge from the cloud of good will it is an incredibly naive makeshift and "practically" futile.

### SLP WAS MISSING

The most incomprehensible part of the debate (apart from some of Thomas' maunderings) was the criminal failure of the "orthodox Marxists," represented by Dobbs, to make even the slightest defense of Trotsky and the Russian Revolution. Thomas

### Free Two Indonesian Seamen Who Refused Munitions Ships Jobs

NEW YORK CITY (WDL) — Two of the Indonesian seamen who in 1946 refused to work on Dutch ships carrying munitions to be used against the republican government have been freed on \$1,000 bail each.

The two, Doudit Arion and Asmat, had been seized for deportation to Indonesia, where they would have faced possible imprisonment by the Dutch. The bail was raised by the Workers Defense League, which for the past two years has played a leading part in the campaign against deportations of Indonesians.

## UMW Meets --

(Continued from page 1)

speech several days later, Lewis complained that "some politician" who had defended the T-H act recently, hadn't even read the act.

The resolution for a Labor Party was presented by two rank and fliers, Mike Demchak and Allan Croyle, of St. Michael, Pa. Such a demand has not been heard on a UMW convention floor for years, and is reminiscent of the earlier days when Lewis had a progressive opposition in the union. The demand by Demchak for autonomy for the districts brought quick condemnation by Lewis and was defeated.

### RAISE DUES, INITIATIONS

The other major point of interest at the convention was the raising of dues from \$2.00 to \$4.00 a month and the hoisting of the initiation fee from \$10 to \$50 a month. The dues raise brought strong opposition. The initiation fee hike brought an even louder storm of protest. After a voice vote, Vice-President Kennedy in the chair declared the motion carried, although the issue was clearly in doubt. There was an immediate clamor for a rollcall vote, but Kennedy ruled against one.

A good case can be made out for the dues increase. The international union must pay the costs of administering the health and welfare fund. And with the fund now operating, local unions can stop making assessments for their own funds, so that there will actually be no increase in the check-off.

In the case of the initiation fee, there is really no excuse for the increase. Speakers for the resolution

pointed out that the health, welfare and retirement benefits that the union offered made union membership more valuable. That is true. However, a union is not a business which offers its services for sale. The union is, or should be, the servant of its members. At most the additional money brought in by the raise will be less than 5 per cent of the total income of the international, which is certainly not worth the unpopularity which the move will cause. If the question were put to a referendum of the membership, it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

Other matters before the convention — wages, hours, constitutional changes and the like — will be taken up in an article next week.

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# Editorials

## New NLRB Rulings - -

(Continued from page 1)

importance. Strikes cannot be won today by court victories that MIGHT be won a year from now.

And legal victories are at best an uncertain process, for the courts are not especially animated by a compulsion to uphold the strength of the labor movement.

These are relatively simple issues, requiring relatively simple answers. On occasion the labor leaders have defied the law. They ought certainly to arrange for defiance of these rulings on a large scale.

We would like to see Philip Murray, William Green and the other leaders of the labor movement leading tremendous columns of workers in mass picketing with the double aim of buttressing a given strike (let us say, the West Coast maritime or oil strikes) and challenging the NLRB ruling. And, if the occasion provides itself, such a mass picket line, powered by the authority of huge numbers—leaders and rank and file—would be decidedly effective where strikers are denied balloting rights.

The long and short of it is that the rulings must be challenged in practice immediately and decisively.

These latest rulings raise again the whole problem of the Taft-Hartley law. We do not wish to repeat all we have written about it. If the law did not result in the immediate enslavement of labor as some hysterics in the labor movement

said it would (LABOR ACTION long ago wrote that no law can enslave labor if labor will not permit it to), it nevertheless remains a terrible menace. It was designed to clip the powers and effectiveness of organized labor, and in its use it will increasingly do that.

A couple of victories, notably in the field of political action—though even here not at all completely—have been won. But these have only scratched the surface of effective opposition. The T-H law will be applied against the labor movement with increasing viciousness as the employers and NLRB and such like see how far they can go without serious cost.

No section of labor should be expected to go it alone in opposing the T-H law, in seeking to wipe it out of existence. The latest NLRB ruling did not merely hit the UE, it hit every union and every union local which might find recourse to mass picketing essential to its plans. What better sense can there be in this situation than for the representatives of ALL the unions to sit down at a conference and map a common program of support.

No—that isn't everything. LABOR ACTION holds, for example, that political action through a party that labor can truly call its own is indispensable to offset the political, legal and economic attacks on the working class. But a democratically elected board of union strategy, on a local and national scale is, it seems to us, the very ABC of battle.

# WORLD POLITICS

## Is War Coming?

There cannot, of course, be any final or authoritative answer to this question, even from those like Stalin, Marshall, Bevin, et al., who supposedly are in a position to know. To even consider the possibility that they may know is to assume that they are actually the movers and operators of historic events, rather than moved and manipulated by factors beyond their control.

It must be recognized that any discussion on the problem of war today is based upon the assumption that the two great world powers inevitably must and will reach a showdown point where hot war becomes unavoidable and the dreaded conflict of atomic power and long-range bombing planes will be upon us. Unpleasant as it may be, this universal assumption has a healthy element in it. There is probably less illusion on the general subject of war, its nature and purpose, than ever before. False hopes and pacifist doctrine in general (except in the sphere of exclusively individual acts such as those of the COs) play little part.

The problem of the struggle against war does not lie along these lines, but rather in overcoming the existing mass apathy and the pervasive feeling of helplessness before the inevitable. Only with respect to that part which holds that war between capitalist America and Stalinist Russia is inevitable dare we go along with this attitude.

But—is the inevitable almost upon us? Does all the noise and fury at the United Nations Paris assembly signify what Trotsky once referred to as the warning flashes of heat lightning before the storm itself? Will the struggle over Berlin go down in history as the first battle of World War III as the Spanish Civil War introduced the Second World War? Will there actually be war within the next two, three or six-month period?

## CONFLICT STILL IN DIPLOMATIC STAGE

Secretary of State Marshall, a bit of an authority on this subject, made a highly significant remark last week at the UN sessions when presenting the American case against Russia at the Security Council. Years back, he said, such an incident as that of Berlin would have meant war long ago. Perhaps the general was expressing his surprise and amazement that, this time, war hasn't come. In any case, his remark is absolutely correct. Far more trivial incidents have served as the starting point for grandiose wars between rivals in past years. But Berlin, where great powers struggle bitterly and viciously for mastery of a central and strategic city of unparalleled importance containing millions of people, where the differences are so sharp that the impasse reached seems unbreakable—surely an "incident" on a gigantic scale when compared to such trivialities as Archduke Ferdinand's assassination or Hitler's seizure of Danzig—all this has not yet led to war, and, in our opinion, will not lead to war.

Why is this the case? To begin with, since socialists do not accept the belief that war begins in an accidental manner, but rather that a complex and involved evolution and preparation along economic, political and social lines must first have occurred, it is clear that this process is still, fortunately, far from complete. That road which leads to the point where rival powers no longer are able to compromise, in any form or manner, their differences, but must fight it out to the end, is now being traversed by both Russian and American imperialism. But the end point is not yet within sight.

There are many signs that indicate this. The speeches of Vishinsky are not pre-war speeches in the sense, for example, that those of Hitler in 1938-39 were. The main efforts of American foreign policy are still diplomatic rather than inflammatory in character. The

concrete military acts of both nations are of the preparedness stage, rather than the active war-preparations type. Even in the Berlin struggle over all these months the Russians have yet to actually interfere (shoot down) a single American plane.

It is also clear that preparations for World War III must be, because of the expected nature of the war, infinitely more careful and complete than those of previous wars. Three years' time has hardly been sufficient. Linked with this is the acknowledged dread of the belligerent rulers themselves that the war itself may well be so destructive in character as to weaken, possibly even nullify, the material and social basis upon which their rule over society rests. Naturally, this hesitation will hardly be decisive, once the end point is reached; the war rulers of both America and Russia will unhesitatingly launch the disaster once they believe they can win out, and are prepared for victory.

## POPULAR REACTION IS OBSTACLE

Finally, and perhaps most important of all from the socialist point of view, is the general recognition of those who hold responsibility that there is no mass, popular political and ideological preparation for the war as yet. Greatest difficulty of all would be mobilization of the European peoples for such a war. Only complete irresponsibility, such as Churchill is today, dare sing the aggressive marching tunes; those who hold power and know the reality of mass sentiment must spend their efforts in preliminary efforts to fix responsibility on the other.

Stalin and his fellow criminals in the Kremlin not excepted, there is great fear and indecision today in all leading political circles about bearing responsibility for a future war. This factor cannot be ignored, and acts as a definite deterring factor. Put in other words, the rulers themselves tremble before the spectacle of war since they know not what it will bring, above all with regard to perpetuation of their power.

Can we then safely assume that nothing can happen, that today's headlines are empty sound and fury? Since we know that the road of preparedness is now being actively built and reinforced by all possible means, obviously not. It is a question of time and timing. There even exists, in our opinion, the possibility of an unexpected and premature launching of the war within the immediate future.

It could happen in one of two ways: (1) The Russian regime, partly through the obstinate blundering of its obtuse leadership and partly through the pressure of the alleged aggressive wing of its leadership (whose supposed leader was the late Zhdanov) may push its way into war by simply refusing to halt or negotiate. (2) The minority "Zhdanov wing" of American imperialism, made up of our air chiefs, assorted militarists and aggressive imperialists, may succeed in the manner proposed by Churchill. But both possibilities, presented by minority circles within the general ruling class of both nations, have neither the benefit of popular support, widespread acceptance nor adequate preparation. It is very unlikely that either will prevail.

Thus we conclude that the war is still some period away. But each passing day brings the inevitable that much closer, and each day in which the opponents of the war do not score some success in their work is a lost and wasted day. In essence, the struggle against war is the struggle for awakening the dormant consciousness of people and bringing them to an understanding that they can actually do something about this problem.

Henry JUDD



By JACK RANGER

## "FEATHERBEDDING" BY THE CAPITALISTS

All the wastes traceable to operations of a capitalist system, wastes which drain the wealth of the world at a hundred thousand points, will never be uncovered this side of a socialist overturn which will throw open the books of the capitalist monopolies to the public.

There is one outrageous source of capitalist waste which has momentarily been spotlighted recently, and which deserves to be widely known among the workingclass, particularly among those working on the railroads. I refer to the recent rulings of the Federal Trade Commission outlawing the basing point system, when used to further monopoly, and the three decisions of the Supreme Court upholding those rulings. The essence of the matter is as depicted below:

For decades many of America's heavy industries have been locked in a conspiracy to sell their goods on a basing point system. Under such a system, a consumer in San Francisco will pay the same price for a load of steel as a consumer in Pittsburgh, let us say, even though the steel is made in Pittsburgh, and the Pittsburgh consumer drove up to the Pittsburgh steel mill with his own truck and hauled the steel away. In some industries, the conspirators have used a multiple basing point system, with several shipping points throughout the country designated as bases.

In general, basing points have been located at the plants of the large producers, who use the basing point system to maintain and strengthen their monopoly of the market. The smaller producers have been located at a considerable distance from basing points. Under these circumstances, the big producer at the base has been able to sell as profitably next door to his smaller rival, perhaps 2,000 miles away, as at his own mill door. The small nonbase producer, on the other hand, has been handicapped in selling toward the base by the fact that, as his freight expenses increased, his net profit fell. All markets have been open to the big producer at the base. Only local markets have been open to the producer away from the base.

## ORIGINATED IN RAILROAD CONSPIRACY

Under the system, consumers have been paying fictitious freight rates, or "phantom" freight, as it is commonly called. For instance, the Federal Trade Commission has estimated that in Chicago, the fictitious freight upon a ton of steel worth \$30, produced 20 miles away in Gary but priced as though it had been shipped from the basing point of Pittsburgh, was \$7.60; in Duluth, \$13.20.

But there is one aspect of the basing point system that is known hardly at all to the general public, and that is that the system resulted from a conspiracy among the nation's railroads and the nation's heavy industries, and that the basing point prices were based on RAILROAD freight rates. When consumers have used lower-cost forms of transportation, such as by barge or truck, they have still had to pay the higher RAILROAD freight rate.

The very essence of the basing point system has been its encouragement to an extravagant interpenetration of markets, involving excessive crosshauling from one end of the country to the other. This has been so because the system deprives buyers of any incentive to purchase from nearby mills rather than distant mills.

Do you understand now how the railroads gained under the conspiracy. Supposing there were two steel mills, one in Chicago and one in Pittsburgh, and two customers, in the same two cities. With the basing point system, a Chicago customer would often buy the Pittsburgh steel, and the Pittsburgh customer the Chicago steel. The railroads of course gained from this "featherbedding."

The FTC estimated in 1932 that unnecessary transportation of this sort in the cement industry cost more than 24 cents a barrel, about 20 per cent of the total costs of producing and selling the cement.

One is absolutely safe in assuming that the same waste occurred in the case of iron and steel, corn syrup and dozens of other industrial products. As Charles M. Schwab, the former steel magnate, said in 1928: "It is manifestly uneconomic for a steel manufacturer in Chicago to ship 100,000 tons of steel to Pittsburgh at a time when a Pittsburgh manufacturer is shipping a like quantity of like material from Pittsburgh to Chicago. . . . It should be obvious that this waste is paid for jointly although perhaps indirectly by the consumer as well as the producer of steel products."

## TRUSTS HAVE BEEN "BUST" BEFORE!

The pious railroad lords who have been handed tens of millions of ton-miles of freight under the basing point monopoly are the same men who dare to accuse the railroad unions of "featherbedding" when the unions insist on establishing minimum standards of safety in operating the railroads.

The real featherbedders are the capitalist monopolists, who by their economically senseless but personally profitable wastes, running to monstrous proportions, dissipate the wealth of the nation and of the world.

At this point, the liberal with the penetrating eyes will proclaim: Ah, but the FTC and the Supreme Court have now outlawed the wasteful basing point system. This proves that the government can clean up capitalism and make it work for the benefit of the people.

Preposterous. The railroads and the steel trust and the cement trust have just begun to fight. They have set up a Congressional committee headed by Senator Capehart which will take "testimony" from businessmen on the basing point decisions. The lobbies and agents of the trusts are going up and down the land organizing the fight to induce Congress to pass a law protecting the basing point system. In the meantime, the steel trust and other industries have used the court decisions as an excuse to raise prices still higher, under the fraudulent claim that the court decisions required such price increases.

You can bet your bottom dollar that capitalist monopoly will not cease its monopolistic behaviour just because a few government bureaucrats, in an election year, take a swipe at the trusts. The politicians have been busting the trusts since 1890. The trusts are flourishing as never before.

## APRA's Defeat Holds Vast Meaning

# The Insurrection in Peru

By A. FERRARA

Military insurrections are a familiar feature of Latin American politics. Generally speaking, they fall into one of two categories. Either they are used by the feudo-bourgeoisie to liquidate a parliamentary-democratic regime forced into being by the masses, or they are used to settle family quarrels within the ruling class. The military uprising, therefore, is the exclusive political instrument of the reactionary ruling minority, and must be sharply distinguished from the armed uprising of the oppressed majority against a tyrannical regime.

The Bolivian insurrection in July 1946 was an example of a popular revolution, where the majority of the people, including sections of the army, rose up spontaneously against the bloody Villaroel regime. The difference between these two forms of insurrection is as the difference between night and day. If and when the oppressed take up arms, a majority must actively take part in the struggle for the uprising to succeed.

This is precisely what did not happen in Peru three weeks ago when Haya de la Torre's famous APRA party, the Party of the People, launched an insurrection against the dictatorial regime of President Jose Bustamante. What was supposed to have been a popular insurrection, a revolt of the masses, began and ended as an isolated military adventure. Today the APRA is once more an illegal party, its leaders arrested or in hiding, while 1500 Aprista insurrectionists lie in jail awaiting trial before military tribunals. And once more, Peru's reactionary feudo-bourgeoisie and its military satellites are in the saddle.

Although it received scant attention in the North American press, the defeat of the APRA insurrection is probably the most important political event of the last few years in Latin America. It marks the defeat of a party and a program which have occupied a very special place in Latin American politics for many years. Haya de la Torre and Aprismo have suffered a serious defeat.

## APRA SHIED AWAY FROM POWER

The APRA (Popular American Revolutionary Alliance) came into being in the early 1920s and was undoubtedly inspired and influenced by the impact of the Russian Revolution. It issued a program for all of Latin America centered around five crucial points: (1) against imperialism; (2) for the unification of Indo-America; (3) the internationalization of the Panama Canal (4) solidarity with all colonial and oppressed countries; (5) the expropriation and nationalization of large estates and big industrial enterprises. Of all the petty-bourgeois political tendencies, there is no doubt that the APRA had the most radical and advanced program.

In 1945, the long period of dictatorship in Peru came to an end. The APRA was legalized and genuine elections were permitted. The long awaited chance for the APRA to take power and carry out its revolutionary-nationalist program was at hand. The support of the popular masses was overwhelming. However, the APRA out of power and the APRA on the eve of taking power were two different things. The Apristas combined with a group of conservative petty bourgeois parties to form the so-called National Democratic Front and installed the current president, Jose Bustamante, in power. But Bustamante took power only on the condition that the APRA refrain from pushing forward any program of radical social change.

The measure of APRA's degeneration was further emphasized by the fact that Haya de la Torre, the "supreme chief," came out in favor of American imperialism, called for more foreign investments in Peru, and spoke "not of taking wealth away from those who have it, but of producing new wealth." In the interests of peaceful collaboration with the feudo-bourgeoisie, de la Torre eliminated from the party program the demand for the separation of church from state

and set out to woo the most reactionary of social forces, the Catholic Church.

## DEFENSIVE ACTION AGAINST REACTION

But although the APRA abandoned its revolutionary program of the 20s, the reactionary landlords and capitalists did not abandon theirs. Fearful of the growing organization of the workers and peasants, fearful the masses might yet push the APRA in a more radical direction, the reactionary parties (including the Stalinists) formed a political coalition called the National Alliance and began a struggle against the Aprista. The first step in July 1947 was a boycott of the Parliament, in which the APRA had a majority. By virtue of the boycott, no legislation could be passed and the government began to rule by decree.

Under pressure from the feudo-bourgeoisie and the National Alliance, the Bustamante regime evolved along dictatorial lines. It began to take repressive steps against Haya de la Torre's party and the workers' organizations. The government of "national unity," of which the APRA had only recently been a part by virtue of three cabinet posts, broke strikes and restricted the democratic rights of the people. Under further hammering from the right, the government began veering toward the outlawing of the APRA.

In essence then, the insurrection launched three weeks ago by the APRA was a defensive action against the furious onslaught of the reactionary elements and the government. But why did the masses not support the insurrection? The primary answer lies in the fact that the APRA had abandoned its revolutionary program and confused the workers by collaborating with the feudo-bourgeoisie in a government of "national unity." It had lost their confidence by its inability or refusal to act in the face of more than a year of provocation. Furthermore the government was able to act vigorously and crush the insurrection because the APRA had failed to crack the discipline of the army. The rank and file of the Peruvian army consists of Indian peasants who saw no reason to follow a party that had failed to live up to its promises to distribute the land.

## RULING CLASS WILL NOT YIELD

No doubt if Haya de la Torre succeeds in escaping into exile, he will denounce Bustamante for having "betrayed" the program of "national unity." However, the events of the past three years have vividly demonstrated that Peru's ruling class has no intention of permitting any profound social changes in a peaceful, democratic way. The only way to get rid of the imperialists and the native feudo-bourgeoisie is by expropriating them—and that will have to be the social-revolutionary act of the workers and peasants. Trotsky and not Haya de la Torre was right about how to solve the unfinished democratic tasks in such semi-colonial countries as Peru.

Among the advanced elements of the working class, there can be no doubt that the program of the APRA is being called into question. There now exists an opportunity for the program of revolutionary democratic socialism to get a hearing. We hope that the Peruvian Trotskyists, the Marxist workers group, has taken an energetic lead in defending the elementary democratic rights of the masses and the APRA and is at the same time raising the banner of independent class struggle.

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The attack on democratic rights, which is one of the major trends in the post-war political climate, is of utmost concern to socialists. The Civil Liberties Union, which includes in its struggle for civil liberties some peculiar concepts, is one of the major organizations in this struggle. It specializes in the defense of these rights without any kind of discrimination.

Approaching civil rights from the liberal viewpoint, it is very often restricted by an excess of egotism.

Nevertheless, the data presented paints a terrifying picture of the decline of liberties. It is a fact that the post-war period has been more destructive of liberties than the war period itself. Those who believe that capitalism and American democracy go hand in hand, or that in the coming war America will be a defender of democracy, will have much to explain after this detailed arraignment.

## ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR

The pamphlet recognizes that this attack is being leveled "in the tense atmosphere of fear of a new war and vast preparations for it. . . . Conservative forces inevitably predominate in such an atmosphere." The militarization of the U. S. and its preparation for war with Russia are the political backdrop and this has "produced a confusion and uncertainty over basic principles of civil liberties."

The attack is led by the government—the Republicans through their Un-American Activities Committees and the Democrats through the loyalty baths and purges. While fascist and semi-fascist sentiments are practically dormant, the government has organized a political offensive and is the inspiration for the attack on political, trade union, press, motion picture, radio and academic rights. This pamphlet details its attack in each of these fields.

It points out that the loyalty oath

system of the government has spread to county, state and municipal governments and to private industry. Whenever a plant receives an Army or Navy contract, the loyalty oath and purge are introduced. No system of appeal, no legal procedure of reply, of even ascertaining the nature of the charges, is possible in these cases, except where, as in Philadelphia's Westinghouse, the union intervenes on a grievance basis.

The military has also adopted the policy of deliberately "relating considerations of loyalty and security" so that if charges of disloyalty are disproved they may still dismiss on the basis of security, which is an undefined category.

The Taft-Hartley law is the new charter for the capitalists. Utilizing it they have attempted to restrict picketing, enforce non-communist affidavits, open shop, etc.

## THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

In the schools instructors are politically policed. The Nation is banned in New York and Newark public

schools. A college professor presides at a Wallace meeting and is discharged. Loyalty oaths are introduced at Ohio State University.

Conscientious objectors remain in jail three years after the war; 4,500 of them have not been pardoned. The new draft law does not liberalize the traditions of the old one so that a new crop of inmates is in prospect.

Anti-communism is deliberately nurtured into a national hysteria. But it does not stop there: "Feeling against radicals" was reported as markedly higher in 56 of the 75 cities, slightly higher in 6, and unchanged in 12. Twenty-seven found it directed solely against communists; thirty against others as well. Two to one, the correspondents reported that interest in civil liberties has not increased."

This entire problem is a threat to the labor and political movement. Methods of defense must be found or the war will swamp all opposition in a series of blows against basic freedoms which will doom democracy in America.—J. B.

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As a Way to End War, It's the "Practical" Road to Suicide

# What's "United" in the United Nations?

By STAN GREY

What is it that is united about the United Nations? This question is by no means as absurd as it might sound to someone whose ignorance of world politics is

absolutely invincible. The fact is, of course, that the United Nations are not united today, were not united yesterday and will not and cannot be united tomorrow.

There are some nations who are united in the United Nations. For example, the United States, Great Britain, France and a bagful of other smaller nations are indeed united... against Russia.

And then again, Russia, Poland, the Ukraine and a few other independent attachments of Russia are also united today in a clinch, much as prize fighters find themselves in each other's arms in the midst of a battle.

But that wasn't supposed to be the idea. The UN was to be a place where ALL nations were to be united WITH each other, not AGAINST each other. Instead of the rosy picture of bliss and harmony that professional speech-makers drew of the UN, the reality of the UN today is that of a verbal stamping ground for the belligerents of the next war.

There is a sense in which the United Nations are genuinely united. The two great blocs, in rivalry for the domination of the world, are united today in a clinch, much as prize fighters find themselves in each other's arms in the midst of a battle.

There are many reliable indications that the governments of all the Soviet bloc countries, starting with Yugoslavia, will soon recognize the so-called government headed by the pogromist, the Mufti.

## Palestine

(Continued from page 1)

Galilee and Jerusalem; the Arabs want all of Palestine. Russia, however, has temporarily become the champion of unmodified implementation of the November 29 resolution of the UN.

A Russian spokesman, departing from the usual "unofficial" comments, warned that were Israel to accept the compromise or agree to Abdullah's control of Arab Palestine, Russia would have to reconsider its position toward Israel.

### STALINIST POLITICS

In line with this main concern of stopping Abdullah, the Russians are supporting the new Mufti government. While the U. S. has announced it will not recognize the Mufti government, Russia has kept official silence. There are many reliable indications that the governments of all the Soviet bloc countries, starting with Yugoslavia, will soon recognize the so-called government headed by the pogromist, the Mufti.

Stalinist apologists (and some Jews who are whistling in the dark) say that this will not mean a return to an anti-Jewish position, rather that it signifies Russia's intent of following the original partition resolution to the letter.

How naive! Any look at the Stalinist Palestinian case-history, or at Stalinist politics in general, will show that there are no half-way measures. When they are against you, THEY USE EVERYTHING, including justification of pogroms, as "national revolutions" (1929, 1936). Imperialist power politics alone decide the Stalinist line.

Peace in Palestine is not around the corner. The labor movement and the plain people are the only ones who can force a JUST PEACE in Palestine that will guarantee the national rights and independence of both Jews and Arabs; a peace that will insist that territorial shifts be approved by both peoples concerned; a peace that will contain guarantees of democratic rights to the Arab portion of Palestine; above all, a peace that will lay the basis for the growing together of the two peoples by starting from an economic union with the ultimate aim of a voluntary federation of the independent Jewish and Arab Palestine.

The main function of the UN today is not, paid pipers notwithstanding, the guaranteeing of peace, but the placing of responsibility for what Churchill called the "remorselessly approaching third world war." The United States wants to pin it on Russia and Russia on the United States. On that objective, they are united.

It requires a special gift for being deceived to think otherwise. The U. S. and Russia do not trust each other as far as you could throw a B-29. Take the dispute on the Berlin crisis for example. Russia is willing to declare that the technical difficulties which make it impossible to bring food and materials into Russia might be eliminated if the U. S. would discuss the question of Western Germany.

Russia would untangle these engineering problems (which at the moment she can't for the life of her master) only after the U. S. would agree to discuss Western Germany. The U. S. for its part will discuss Germany (which really means, how much of a finger will Russia have in it) only after Russia lifts what she (the U. S.) bluntly calls the "blockade" of Berlin.

Some diplomatic genius worked out a compromise formula which should earn for him the anachronistic Nobel Peace prize. He suggested that the two countries should hand over their respective parts of the deal at exactly the same time, so that neither would have to rely on the other keeping his word. That is, the blockade would be lifted and a conference of foreign ministers would start talking about Germany exactly at the same second on synchronized watches, preferably with the neutral Swiss movement. It is yet to be seen whether this ingenious compromise based on the scientific elimination of the fetish of mutual trust will not end the Berlin stalemate.

Churchill spills beans. Hardly anyone thinks of the UN as a really practical instrument of peace. Winston Churchill, exercising his passion for polished phrases and the prerogative of being out of office, recently proclaimed that the UN had "been reduced to a mere cockpit in which the representatives of mighty nations and ancient states hurl reproaches, taunts and recriminations at one another." And in the rest of his speech, he either said or implied, that the world should thank God for the United States and thank the United States for the atom bomb.

Churchill was so correct, that he aroused the loud opposition of politicians in England and Europe for spilling the beans. When it is your government's task to make the responsibility for war fall on Russia, it is sheer irresponsibility for a Churchill to make an autopsy of the UN and to get down on his knees before the atom bomb. For that is what is after all involved.

blame for any violent consequences of the continuing crisis. Other nations, like France, were reluctant to take this step, not because the UN is obviously not the place where you take problems among nations, but out of fear that a discussion of this question in the UN might break the clinch and hasten the start of hostilities. But these countries really had little to fear. Russia for its part also needs time to prepare and has a few tricks of its own for fixing the blame for the war. And Vyshinsky, the trained snarl from Moscow, the notorious prosecuting attorney of made-to-order traitors and "mad dogs" has the job of proving to the masses of Europe that the U. S. is responsible for the current crisis and the impending war.

And he has by no means been stupid in carrying out his assignment. At a recent UN session, he came out for the beginning of disarmament. Russia is about as anxious and capable of disarming as a tiger is of pulling out its own claws. But that is not the point, not the point at all. What is involved is not whether Vyshinsky, i.e., Stalin, REALLY wants disarmament, or believes that there is a road to peace. That is so absurd, that it takes a master of hypocrisy like Vyshinsky to carry it off with the necessary passion and froth. All that Russia wants in its proposal of disarmament is to put the U. S. in such a position that it will appear as if the U. S. is AGAINST it. That, in the tormented, fear-ridden people of Europe would serve to condemn the U. S. as the instigator of war.

And Russia accomplishes this by asking for disarmament in such a way as to make it either meaningless or impossible, that is, a disarmament without mutual inspection by the disarming countries. The same tactic is applied on the question of international control of atomic bombs. Or the question of Germany. What sounds more democratic or more plausible than that all the countries involved in the question of Germany—Russia, the U. S., France and England (not Germany, of course) should

get around a table and talk it over? That seems to be peaceful. Yet that tactic serves only the immediate desire of Russia to get its foot in Western Europe which is now under the control of the U. S.

### MUST CONTINUE TALKING

And so the talk continues in the UN. Whatever it is the diplomats talk about, and they have no mercy on words, the subject is really the control of Europe. And they must continue talking. The UN, despite all the gloomy predictions, has a future ahead of it. It must continue to exist for its disappearance will end the fiction of a united world and by clearly defining the reality of the world antagonism speed on the beginning of the war. But this future of the UN can only be an inferior and steadily declining duplicate of its miserable past.

It is not an arena for the settlement of world antagonisms, it is only a forum for lining up world opinion for the next conflict. And it cannot be otherwise for the antagonism between Russia and the U. S. is so much a part of the dynamism of their social systems, the need for domination of the world is such an imperative for their respective economies that the war is inevitable if these two imperialist social systems continue to hold sway.

It remains today as true as ever. The only practical way to end war is to put an end to those social systems which sustain themselves by it. This socialist way out is ridiculed by "practical" people. It is these same "practical" people who for good "practical" reasons supported the last war to end wars and now for good "practical" reasons again are ready to support the next war which their last "practical" war failed to stop. It's these "practical" people who cling to the UN, the puny, impotent assembly of microphones and speech-makers, as a means of salvation. If that's being "practical" then being "practical" is only another form of political suicide.

## It Will Be Expensive—But Gouge Lobby Expects to Make It Up in High Rents

By ANNE RUSSELL

"It pays to advertise"—and with this battle cry on their lips, the organized apartment owners of America voted a quarter-million-dollar campaign to repeal rent control. They are straining at the leash and just can't wait until the current law expires in March, 1949.

Their decision to embark on a huge slush campaign to "take their story to the people" was recently voted at the convention of the National Apartment Owners Association in Coronado, Calif. They patterned themselves after the National Association of Manufacturers, which spent some \$3 million for a full-scale campaign in 1946 to kill price controls. That it was money well spent from their point of view was confirmed by the \$13 billion in profits that they rolled up in the following two years as a result of higher prices.

The apartment owners of America didn't see why they shouldn't share in the booty, and they hope to make the same kind of killing by increased rents. They are not satisfied with the "voluntary" 15 per cent increases which Congress granted them in the summer of 1947 and which landlords extracted from their tenants. Nor were they satisfied with all the loopholes to raise rents which the law provided them with under various "hardship to landlord" clauses.

### SOFT SOAP EXPENSIVE

They looked with envy to their friends in big business—the food processors and the meat packers. They had no controls to limit their profit-grabbing; the sky was the limit for the prices they could charge. Why then should the poor landlords and apartment owners be discriminated against? What was good enough for big business was good enough for them.

True, there is little doubt that the coming Congress will look the other way when the time comes for renewing the rent control bill. But that won't be until March of 1949, and just think how much money could roll in if the law was repealed before then. Anyway, there's no harm in playing safe, and making doubly sure that Congress will let rents rise as they did prices on foods and other necessities. Hence the quarter-million-dollar campaign to soft-soap the public that if rent controls are abolished, houses will suddenly appear on the horizon.

The next Congress can be relied upon to go even further than the 80th Congress in ignoring the crying need for a low-cost housing program. Both parties, while solemnly promising that the housing shortage will be solved, cooperated to swing the sledgehammer against all attempts to pass a housing bill.

### BURIED HOUSING BILL

The Democratic Party convention promised: "We shall enact comprehensive housing legislation, including provisions for slum clearance and low rent housing projects initiated by local agencies." The Republicans were a little less lavish with their promise: "We recommend federal aid to the states for local slum clearance and low-rental housing program only where there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the states and localities."

Having gotten these promises off their chests, both parties promptly

forgot them. At the special session of Congress called after these pledges were made, and despite the pressure from labor and veteran groups, the Democratic-Republican coalition in Congress united to keep the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill buried deep in the pigeon-holes.

Pardon us, the special session did not lay a complete goose-egg on housing. It's true that millions and millions of Americans are in need of decent housing, but a beginning is a beginning, and credit must be given to Congress for at least making a start. They did provide that at least one person in the United States will have a decent roof over his head, quite a substantial roof too. They passed a bill providing for a little White House to cost two and a half million dollars so that our next vice-president can live in proper style and dignity. The trouble is that all of the people needing houses are not vice-presidents.

How about the dignity of the American worker, who wants to get a decently constructed house for \$10,000? What is he to do? Wait until he gets to be elected vice-president of the United States? The estimate is that one-third of our families are still ill-housed, but so far the real estate interests and their lobby have been successful in killing every housing bill. Their stooges in Congress have wrecked all attempts to build homes for veterans and workers, who are still in desperate need of solid homes and not castles in the hot air of politicians.

So shoddy and shameful has been the inaction of Congress on the housing issue that even the Republican paper, the Philadelphia Inquirer, which has swallowed a lot of guff in its time, editorialized that Congress gave the American people the worst double-cross of our times.

### HOUSING NEEDS GROW

And this double-cross takes place at a time when recent surveys of the Office of the Housing Expediter reveal the total inadequacy of construction by private enterprise, and the overwhelming demand for new homes. Here are some typical surveys: In Kansas City the population is rising from 634,093 in 1940 to an estimated 900,000 in 1950. About 33,500 people are now seeking housing, and yet since the end of the war only 4,350 building permits have been issued. The OHE investigator reported: "In the entire area, I found one person who knew of one vacant house for rent." Three-quarters of the space available for Negro housing "lacked one or more standard facilities such as heat, gas, electricity, running water, flush toilet or bathing facilities" and 47 per cent of the married Negro veterans in the area are living in "substandard accommodations." Do you remember: "Nothing's too good for our boys?"

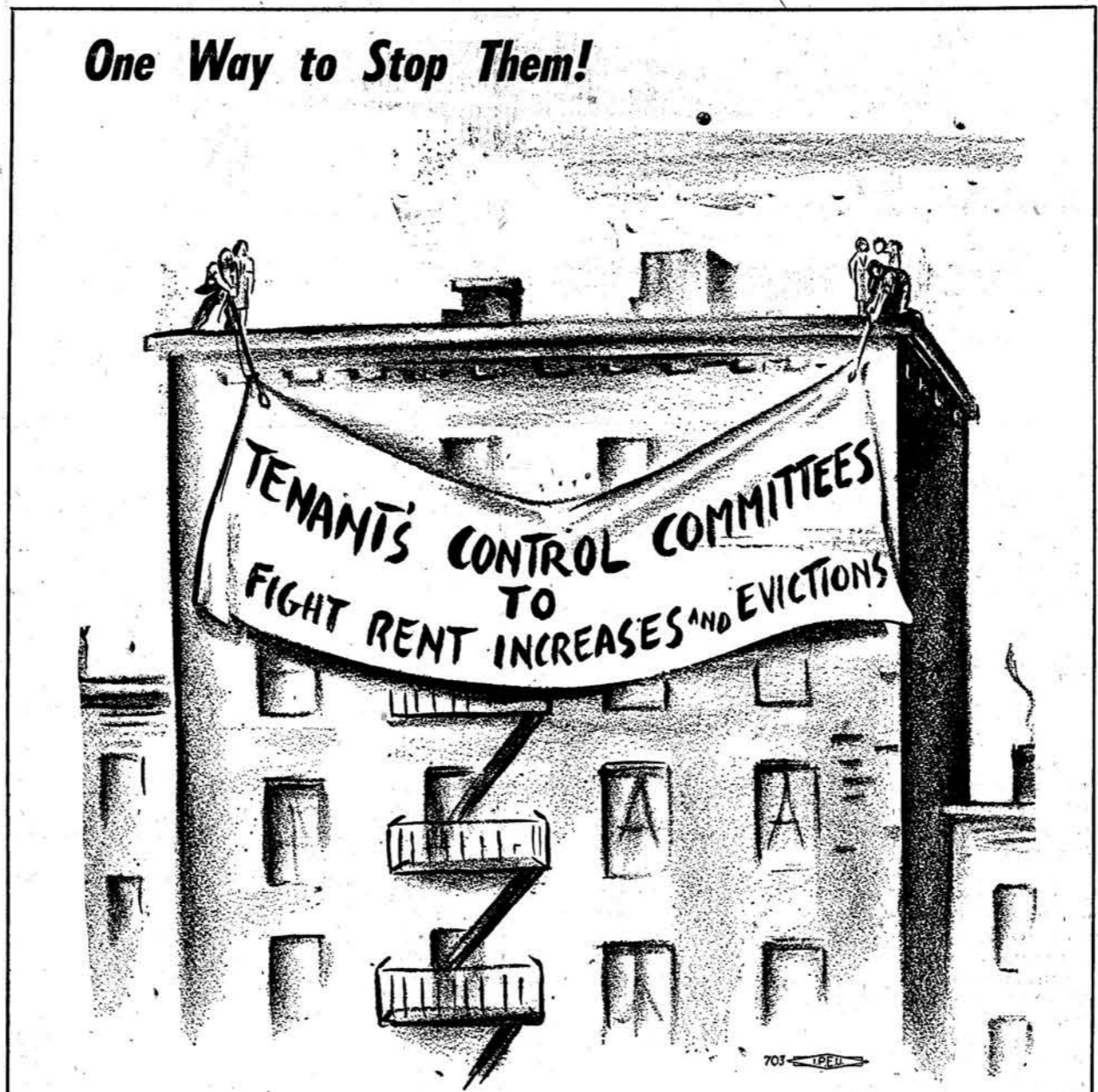
San Diego, Calif., has doubled its population since 1940. While the population rose some 300,000, only 56,000 housing units have been built. Only a visit to San Diego can explain where the rest of the people are living. The OHE investigator reported that "adequate family units which rent for less than \$75 a month are not available."

In St. Louis, Missouri, where a substantial population increase has taken place as the result of new plants opening up, some 60,000 families are searching for homes. Rental units built since the war went into effect and hence not under control, are renting for 100 to 250 per cent of exactly comparable units that are still under rent control. Should the present controls be lifted, it is expected that rent will double and treble. And eviction notices would flood the city.

A home for heroes! These surveys, which have been all too insufficiently publicized, reveal that the heroes are living in garages and converted chicken coops, or living with in-laws in crowded quarters. In the past three years private housing interests have concentrated heavily on building stores, restaurants and commercial buildings because of the greater profits involved. They have concentrated on constructing higher-priced homes for the same reason. The profits of the real estate and construction industries are now at an all-time high. Still not satisfied, they now demand the last ounce of flesh by their campaign to lift the last remnant of rent control.

But the only way that the ill-housed of America can get decent roofs over their heads will be if they raise the roof at the shameful campaign being conducted by the landlords to abolish the present rent controls. This campaign must be stopped else we shall see rentals skyrocketing after food and clothing prices. And we shall see evictions by the thousands.

Nor can American workers win a low-cost housing program to build 25 million homes until the present tenants of the White House and Congress—whether Democratic or Republican—are thrown out bag and baggage. It is high time that American labor served these gentlemen an eviction notice.



## SYL Challenges YPSL --

(Continued from page 1) whether the Socialist Youth League (Youth Section of the Workers Party) is a totalitarian organization which should be prohibited from holding office in the NYCIPA.

This document makes "four points: (1) the totalitarian nature of Bolshevik theory; (2) the lack of ethics of Trotskyites; (3) the totalitarian character of Trotskyite parties; and (4) because of our unfortunate experiences with them in the past."

The first point deals entirely with Bolshevik theory. The other three points are related, to one degree or another, also, to Bolshevik theory and practices—or what you think these are.

### CHALLENGE TO DEBATE

In view of the importance you attach to these questions to the extent of writing that you are in favor of "voluntary" (emphasis mine—J. F.) groups and coalitions in which we participate—and in view of the im-

plications of such a position for the socialist ethic—the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth League challenges you to a debate in New York City, with a member of our organization on the question: "Is Bolshevism Totalitarian?"

A previous letter challenging the YPSL to debate this problem was answered by a local YPSL Circle organizer to the effect that Bolshevism is an historical problem which lacks timely political importance. Evidently, you personally, as well as the YPSL leadership which published your documents as the statement of the official policy of your organization, do not agree with this. Obviously, if the Bolshevik nature of the SYL and its defense of the Russian Revolution is reason "to keep them out of all voluntary groups and coalitions," it is, in your opinion, a timely and important political problem.

At the above mentioned Columbus meeting of the NEC of Council members, you boasted of your authorship of this document and of your exten-

sive reading and research in Bolshevik theory and practices, particularly the Russian Revolution and the period immediately thereafter. Bearing in mind the importance which you and your organization attribute to this problem and your self-announced competence in this field, the National Bureau of the SYL feels sure that you will be more than willing to debate the question at a meeting which will certainly attract members and friends of both organizations.


We will be glad to meet with a committee designated by the YPSL to discuss arrangements for such a debate under joint auspices. However, if, for one reason or another, your organization is not willing to co-sponsor such a meeting, we will sponsor it ourselves, defraying your expenses and, of course, consulting with you as to the technical arrangements.

With socialist greetings,  
JULIUS FALK, National Sec'y.  
For the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth League

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