

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

LABOR ACTION

JULY 12, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Imperialists Test Strength To Control All Germany In Struggle Over Berlin

By EUGENE KELLER

The struggle for Berlin epitomizes the struggle for Germany. To the Anglo-Americans the continued occupation of Berlin is neither economically necessary nor militarily desirable. Their withdrawal, however, would do almost irreparable damage to their prestige and thus might impede the intended effectiveness of the Marshall Plan as a means of preventing political victories by the Stalinists in Western Europe. Well aware of these considerations, the Russians use their control of Berlin's supply lines to turn the pressure on or off, as their interests require it.

The creation of a de facto Western German state—legal definitions and the construction of a democratic facade are proceeding slowly because of French anxieties—has climaxed a stage characterized by an aggressive American policy. Beginning with the fusion of the British and U. S. zones (Sept., 1946), it was given impetus when the "Truman Doctrine" was proclaimed (March, 1947) and when Western Germany was included in the Marshall Plan. It was advanced further when the "Revised Level of Industries Plan" was published (August, 1947) and when the internal bi-zonal set-up was reorganized in January, 1948.

The various deliberations of the Council of Foreign Ministers helped to deepen the split and the London six-power agreement, signed early in June, crowned the efforts of the Anglo-Americans: Russia had lost its struggle for the spoils of the Ruhr and any "deal" would have to be made on American terms.

The depth of the Russian defeat, which is accentuated by Tito's defiance of the Cominform as well as by the recent defeat of the Stalinist wing in the left-wing Socialist Party in Italy, cannot be gauged as yet. The air fleets with which the Americans are able to supply the western sectors of the city (these, under a four-power agreement, have always had to be supplied from the West) are making additional political capital for them.

The Russians' excuses for shutting down the supply lines, too, expose their weakness: the railroad tracks, they claim, need repairs. That, to be sure, may well be the case, since the Russians have torn out the vast trackage which once connected the East with the West and South, leaving one track where there should be four or six tracks, where they left any at all. But, undoubtedly, the tracks will have been repaired just as soon as Russian interests require it. Marshal Sokolovsky, gauleiter of the Soviet zone, already indicated in a very "conciliatory" letter to the British military governor, that this might be "soon." This was on June 29, and if

nothing since bore out the Marshal's "hopes" for early completion of the repairs, it may be due to the contradictory pressures upon him.

CANNOT RALLY POPULAR SUPPORT

The fundamental weakness of the Russians in Germany remains their inability to rally any substantial numbers of German workers. The various "concessions" they have been making over the past months failed to gain them the desired support in their sector (see LABOR ACTION, June 24). The exigencies of a situation often force them to adopt policies which run contrary to this need for some degree of popular support, for example, the present Berlin blockade. Imposed upon them by Anglo-American policies, it nonetheless exposes their own policies as being motivated by considerations of power and by imperialist designs.

The weakness of the Russians is not, however, the strength of the Anglo-Americans. It is false to believe that the German masses think in terms of the alternative "better the Anglo-Americans than the Russians." They are fed up with ALL military government which in the Russian zone stifles all democratic freedom and in the Western zones grants a semblance of democratic forms behind which hide resurrected fascists.

The possibility for political struggle and expression which does exist in the West fortunately does not prompt the servile gratitude which the Anglo-American militarists are so fond of. The people of Berlin, as well as of the rest of Germany, are too well aware that they are the merest pawns in a shameless game of power politics and their preference for the Western powers, such as there is, is of a very tenuous nature.

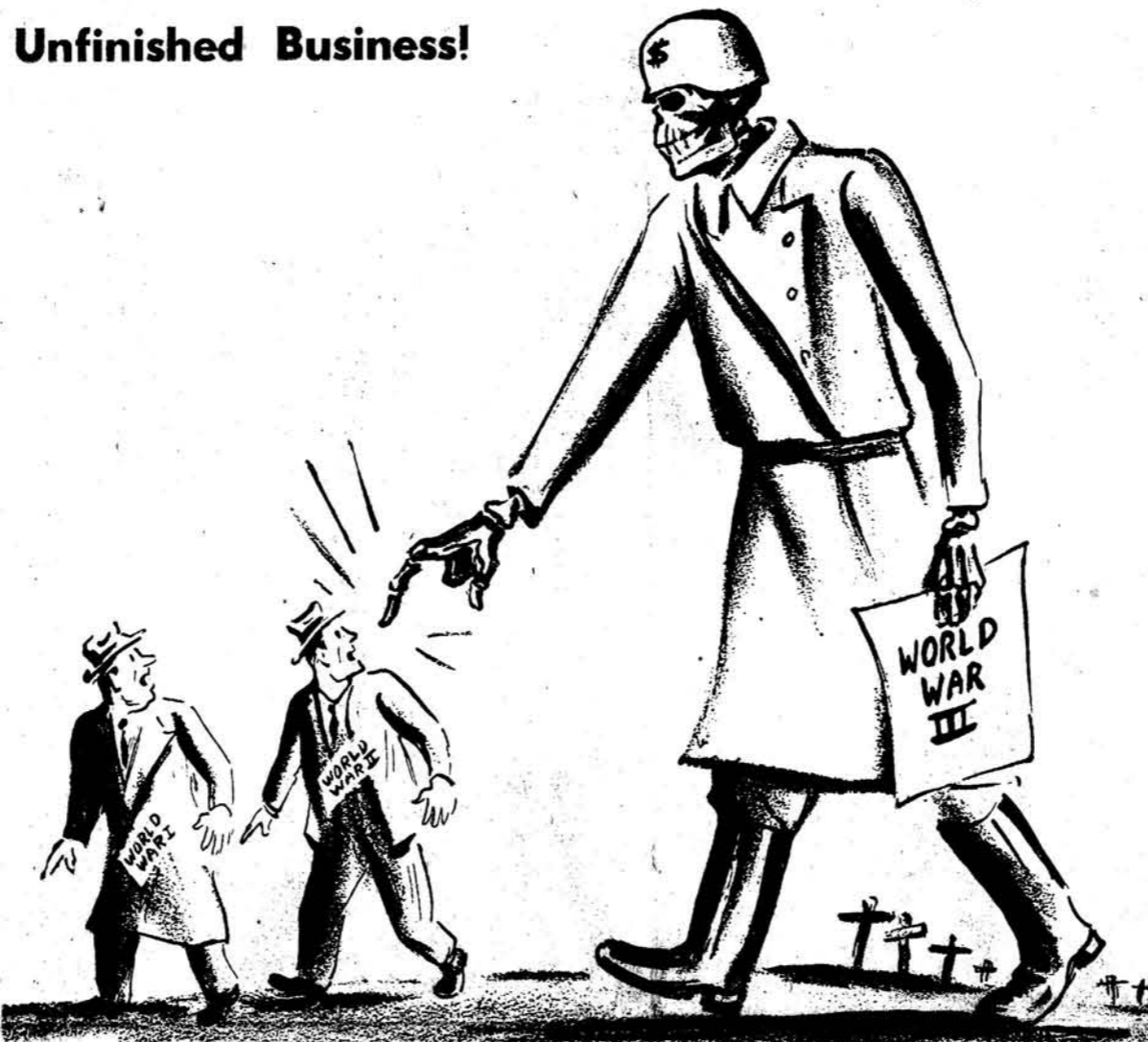
MAY ABATE, WILL NOT CEASE

The Russians have been defeated for the time being; that is, the effects of the Marshall Plan upon Western Germany must now be awaited. We have pointed to some of those factors and forces which tend to counteract the professed intentions of the Marshall Plan in that area in last week's LABOR ACTION. If these counteracting factors prevail, if Western Germany is allowed to disintegrate further, its people will most probably accept the "unity" championed by the Russians. This remains the Stalinist trump.

It is likely that the present struggle for Berlin will abate but it will not cease. The fate of the city, like that of all of Germany, can be decided only by either a third world war or by the fraternal intervention of Europe's and America's masses, whose fate in such a war would be similar to that of the Germans.

TITO FEUD SPURS DISSIDENT IN IRON CURTAIN DOMAIN!

Unfinished Business!



Sees Tito Striving to Head Balkan Federation Inside the Stalin Bloc

By ERNEST ERBER

Tito's main aim in his opposition to Moscow emerged more clearly in the past week in the form of a series of moves designed to force Stalin to permit Yugoslavia an independent role within the Russian bloc.

with the opportunity of building a Balkan federation.

It has become apparent that Tito is banking heavily upon the strategic position occupied by Yugoslavia in the Russian defense system to force Stalin to accept Tito's terms and keep Yugoslavia as an ally, rather than lose her to the Western powers. This supposition assumes that Sta-

lin will consider the military loss entailed by Yugoslavia's going over to the Western camp to be more dangerous than the political loss entailed by granting Tito an independent role within the bloc.

The military effects of a complete break with Yugoslavia would be exceedingly serious for Russia. Yugoslavia protects the southwestern flank

New evidence has been accumulating in the past week to indicate that the Tito split in the Stalinist empire has opened up a deep crack in its monolithic structure into which growing forces of disintegration are rushing.

This is not at all to say that the Russian colossus is on the verge of cracking up. Such rosy optimism would be as foolish as the Daily Worker's official claim that the Cominform denunciation shows the strength of the Kremlin. Nor is it necessary to insist that Tito is strong enough to "get away with it." The damage—to the Iron Curtain—has been done.

Two wedges have been inserted into the crack, one from each side of the Iron Curtain. On the one side, Russia's imperialist

Stalinists Face Major Defeat In NMU Election

By S. PITT

NEW YORK—The elections in the National Maritime Union-CIO have ended with about 43,000 votes received. It is expected that the count will take at least three weeks. However, there is no doubt that the Rank and File has decisively defeated the Stalinists. The Stalinist "rule or ruin" gang knows it is being repudiated and it is therefore trying to defraud the election results and to dip into the union treasury before final ouster from the leadership.

The election has been conducted in the most democratic and non-factional manner possible. All the ballots have been sealed and mailed to a vault in the Amalgamated Bank in

(Continued on page 2)

rival, the United States, has taken advantage of the split to stiffen its opposition to Moscow's squeeze play in Berlin. For the first time it has shifted its tactics from a holding operation to an open diplomatic offensive—from the air-show feeding demonstration to an implied ultimatum. Thus Washington uses the crisis to intensify its cold war, hoping that its own imperialism will benefit.

More important have been the repercussions on the other side of the curtain. As we go to press, two giant open demonstrations have taken place in Prague (July 6) in connection with the Sokol parade there, with pro-Tito and pro-U. S. cheers being used to express opposition to the new totalitarian masters. The election in Finland has dealt a smashing blow at the CP there, dropping it from first place to third. The Communist Party of Trieste has split into a pro-Stalin majority and a pro-Tito minority. A Hungarian CP member of Parliament, representing the Yugoslav minority in Hungary, has been expelled by the Stalinists for pro-Tito sympathies, while the New York Times correspondent reports growing unrest among workers there.

The Bulgarian Stalinist government has signed a treaty of cultural relations with Yugoslavia and protests that governmental relations between the two countries will remain unchanged. While in contrast little Albania has taken violently anti-Yugoslav action, there is little doubt that a sharp conflict is taking place in the former country. An otherwise unexplained news item reports a Swiss "Communist Party" supporting Tito.

The fundamental significance of these developments does not—repeat NOT—lie merely in the fact that all the little Stalinist fuchers, sub-fuchers and quislings are scrapping among themselves. It is such cracks on top which open the way to the mass pressures from below, the discontent and hatred of the little people. This is the lesson of history: mass stirrings and mass revolts are preceded by the appearance of these fissures in the oppressive superstructure. There will be new and wider cracks appearing even if the present ones are plugged up. The impressive power of the Russian-type prison states is in reality founded on shifting sand, because the masses of people who are oppressed can never cease their struggle against tyranny.

In these lands where the all-powerful state controls all economic life as well as all political life, the restoration of governmental power to the working people means not only political democracy but also economic democracy. The class struggle for the socialist revolution goes on behind the Iron Curtain, in the new channels enforced there, ultimately against both the Stalins and Titos.

Liberals, Labor Leaders Betray Their Emptiness in Alliance with Racists

Trapped in Eisenhower Coalition, ADA Reveals Itself

By JACK BRAD

The Eisenhower boom has collapsed again, this time on the eve of the Democratic convention. The strange alliance which had formed around this military leader seems also to have ended, at least for the moment. These disparate elements, though thoroughly committed to compromise and opportunism, will have great difficulty in finding a standard-bearer on whom all can agree.

The Eisenhower boom was supported by mutually conflicting groups whose momentary unity was made possible by several factors: first, all of them are anti-Truman for various reasons; second, they despair of victory in this election and will pay any price for a victorious candidate, including the price of surrendering all principles; third, since Eisenhower has never expressed himself on any current political question publicly, each group could claim him for itself.

This perfect compromise candidate has not even stated whether he is a Democrat or Republican! No one knows. Nor will he say whether he is liberal, conservative or reactionary. Whether he is for or against the Taft-Hartley Act none of the labor leaders of the Americans for Democratic Action dared to ask. No one knows whether Eisenhower is for or against public housing, restoration of price controls, national FEPC, foreign policy or a score of other decisive public issues. Yet the New Deal liberals of the ADA, the Southern racist bloc and the venal city machines of Kelly in Chicago, Hague in Jersey City and O'Dwyer

in New York could unite in his support. The truth is that none of them dared to ask Eisenhower about his program. It was enough that they could find an excuse for common action around a political void. With luck and victory, each hoped to be able to rule the roost. Even for American politics this was a rare spectacle.

JIM CROW ISSUE

The issue of minority rights is the clearest example. The ADA, being professedly liberal, supports Truman's Civil Rights Report with its proposals for illegalizing lynching, abolishing the poll-tax and other political inequalities, and for a national FEPC. The Report, and the ADA, are for abolition of Jim Crow in all federal agencies, including the army and navy.

The ADA supports all these measures which Truman, alone among the serious candidates in the Democratic or Republican Party, has fully supported—verbally. It would, of course, be too much to ask a candidate of these parties to fight actively for civil rights during an election year. But the ADA is opposed to Truman. The Southern reactionary "white supremacy" gang is violently anti-Truman precisely because of his Civil Rights Report. Hague does not care about minority rights either way; his sole concern is power and patronage. Jack Arvey, boss of Chicago, is likewise worried about federal patronage rather than the half million Negroes of the slum black ghetto of Chicago's South Side.

There is here an apparently un-

bridgeable conflict. The race question is decisive in politics. It is the beginning of differentiation between liberals and reactionaries. Yet these two apparently irreconcilable views have no difficulty in finding a common ground in supporting Eisenhower. The liberals conveniently overlook the fact that Eisenhower was commander of a Jim Crow army and that at the congressional hearings he refused to make a clear statement for abolition of Jim Crow.

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is forced to address a plaintive question to his liberal friends. He admits that Negroes "are puzzled by your apparent coalition with such bitter opponents of civil rights as Senator Hill of Alabama, Governor Thurmon of South Carolina, Laney of Arkansas and Tuck of Virginia. How do you propose to press for the inclusion of a civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform while working hand in hand with these Southern politicians who have openly declared they would rather see the party defeated than permit the inclusion of a plank upholding equality of citizenship for all Americans?" This is certainly a fair question.

UNPRINCIPLED GAME
The most amazing aspect of this curious coalition was that, while its sole point of agreement was on a candidate who had not expressed himself on the points of difference among them, Eisenhower had clearly stated that he would not run and had not given any inkling of encour-

agement to these endeavors. The coalition united, then, not only on a candidate devoid of an explicit program, but also on a candidate who was not available at all. Yet this is not a fantasy but the unprincipled game of American capitalist politics in the absence of a politically organized working class. The conflicts among various capitalist groupings take place within a capitalist framework. The working class plays no independent role. Its choice is between capitalist candidates, Wallace-Stalinism, or the almost unknown socialist groupings. It is the absence of a labor party which maintains the alliance of opposing elements in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The liberals, who cannot act on their own, can only maintain themselves by alliances. In 1948, the liberals are divided; the majority of the Roosevelt group, floundering for a political home, will support any candidate who will bring them victory even if this victory brings to power the city machines and the racists. The small minority of Wallace liberals are fronting for Stalinism. In the absence of a labor political movement which could capture the imagination of the middle class and intellectuals, there is only the road of capitulation to Stalinism or conservatism.

The object of the ADA liberals was to re-form the Roosevelt coalition with this multi-program base and in this coalition to fight for control. However, it is extremely unlikely that the liberal tail could wag the racist dog.

ADA has neither the mass popular support nor the personal following

of Roosevelt. Nor is it able to tack and maneuver between the city machines and the Southern bloc because it does not have mass support. One can only conclude that inside the Democratic Party the ADA can follow and capitulate but cannot lead. This is sharply brought out by their championship of Douglas, who is their real candidate. Knowing in advance that they could not rally the diverse elements around Douglas, they backed the neutral Eisenhower in order to accomplish their first objective, the defeat of Truman. However, they are not able to re-assemble these disparate forces around Douglas. That is their dilemma. They will maneuver and offer concessions on vice-president but they cannot rally the rest of the party around Douglas without creating the same situation as is created by Truman's candidacy.

It appears at this moment that unpopular "Injunction Harry" Truman will be able to carry off the nomination by default. The possibility for a rally around Douglas depends entirely on the Southerners. Their refusal would be enough to defeat him. In this crucial position the Southerners are therefore also in a position to demand great concessions. From the liberals they could demand, for example, that the party platform oppose or hedge on the civil rights issue and that a suitable and acceptable candidate be nominated for vice-president, as part of the price for support of Douglas. In other words, if the liberals bargain away all claims to their liberalism they might still have their candidate.

WP Asks Aid in N. Y. Campaign To Place Candidate on Ballot

NEW YORK—On July 24, the Workers Party will start petitioning to get its candidate for Congress in the 19th (East Side) Congressional District, Emanuel Geltman, on the ballot.

Comrade Geltman is well known to the readers of LABOR ACTION. Using the pen-name of Garrett, he has been editor of the paper for several years. Running on an anti-war program whose main slogan is "Neither Washington nor Moscow," Comrade Geltman represents one of the few voices speaking up for socialism in the entire country, and the only one in the district in which he is running.

In order to get on the ballot, it will be necessary for the New York Local of the Workers Party to obtain 3,000 valid signatures, which actually means that we will have to get twice that number. We are calling on all friends of the party to help in the petition drive.

Comrades and friends who want to offer their services in the campaign should call the Workers Party City Office, CHelsea 2-9681. This is a real opportunity to put your socialist principles into practice. PITCH IN TO PUT A SOCIALIST CANDIDATE ON THE BALLOT!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

CP Gang Faces Defeat in NMU Vote --

(Continued from page 1)

New York. This week the ballot will be removed from the vault and taken to Textile High School where the labor division of the Honest Ballot Association will take over. The first step, before counting, will be to check each ballot signature against the union record signature.

At night the ballots will be sealed and locked up. Guards will stand watch all night. The guards will represent both factions of the union. All candidates on the ballot will be given permission to view the counting.

STALINIST FAKE ACCUSATIONS

On June 28, a regular membership meeting, attended by several thousand members, elected three judges of election. Out of desperation, the Stalinists, on June 30, in violation of the constitution, called a "special" meeting, attended by about 200,

which declared the membership meeting of June 28 to be illegal and elected three judges of their own.

Building up their case to rob the membership of the election results, the seventeen Stalinists on the National Council then held an unconstitutional meeting at which they charged that George Abrams of the Honest Ballot Association was an "unfit" judge, despite the fact that Abrams has satisfactorily performed this task for years. The crudeness of this maneuver was exposed by the Stalinists themselves when they stated they had "no accusations" to make against Abrams.

The Stalinists have also demanded that the ballot count be made at the union hall, where there are no facilities for it, and that no police guards be used. Their blatant attempts to steal the election illustrate their cer-

tainty that the democratic will of the membership is against them.

CONSOLIDATING VICTORY

The Rank and File Caucus has won a smashing victory. Now this victory must be secured and made solid and permanent. It is absolutely essential that the caucus now elaborate a militant fighting program for a united union fight against the shipowners. The Rank and File has been fighting on two fronts: against the "hacks" (as the Stalinists are called) and against the shipowners and their government. The union is in a desperate situation because of the Stalinist division and disruption.

Consolidation of the victory and discreditment of the Stalinists is possible only on the basis of a program of militant struggle. That too will tend to build unity inside the union. The caucus must guarantee full union

democracy. All attempts to divide the ranks along political, racial or national lines must be rejected. Only the hacks and the shipowners can benefit from this. The NMU must continue its fight for full equality among all union members.

The problem of the injunction hangs over the NMU like a sword. It goes without saying that the hiring hall is the lifeblood of the union. No one proposes to surrender it. The fight for it becomes possible now on a militant fighting program. Now that the factional struggle is drawing to a close, the NMU must protect its great record of heroic struggle. It is up to the ranks to assure this. Curran and Stone must know that the membership supports them if they conduct a struggle and that conservatism on union issues can only weaken the NMU.

Stalinists Bring Wallace Party to N. Y. East Side

NEW YORK—On June 17 the strong Stalinist political machine in New York's 19th Congressional District (lower East Side) went through the formalities of setting up a Wallace organization and of adopting a political platform. This is the district in which Emanuel Galtman, editor of LABOR ACTION, will run as the Workers Party candidate for Congress (See LABOR ACTION of June 28).

Advertised by a widespread public distribution of leaflets, the meeting attracted some 400 people (reported at 1200 in the Daily Worker) including delegates and observers from Stalinist-controlled unions, fraternal organizations and tenants' groups.

The audience, of working-class composition and predominantly middle-aged, was sober and restrained as it listened to the resolutions and lectures thereon delivered by Stalinist leaders and fellow travelers, among them Marcel Scherer of the CIO Electrical Workers, B. Z. Goldberg of the Jewish Day, and Charles Collins of the AFL Hotel and Club Employees. Little of that deep emotional atmosphere which, according to reporters, has marked meetings addressed by Wallace himself, was to be felt here.

RISK NO QUARRELS

After the opening formalities, which featured some personal backslapping and the singing of the Star-Spangled Banner, there followed for about two hours the reading and "discussion" of resolutions. As is usual at Stalinist affairs, the discussion, which was limited to two minutes per

speaker, consisted mainly of helpful suggestions. For example, one delegate wanted the resolution on "peace" to emphasize strongly the need for reviving FDR's supposed policy of friendship with the USSR. To this and similar amendments Scherer, acting as reporter on the resolutions, readily agreed.

The "Labor and Economic Program" offered nothing more than could be supported by conservative trade union leaders: repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, FEPC legislation, price and rent control, "examination of profits" (!!!), etc. While the introduction to this section of the resolution praised the new party as owing no allegiance to monopolies and cartels, the actual program proposed nothing except the above-mentioned "examination of profits."

Here, and here alone, discussion from the delegates showed some slight signs of getting out of official bounds. One delegate suggested strengthening of the anti-trust laws and the elimination, somehow, of international cartels. Scherer readily agreed to accept this harmless stuff as an amendment to the resolution. But another delegate proposed the nationalization of railroads, coal mines, meat packing plants, etc. For the first time Scherer was forced to spring to attention. He insisted that such important matters must be left to the national Wallace organization for decision. This in spite of the fact that the "Peace Program," without any concern for possible objections of Wallace, spoke in OPENLY Stalinist terms of "the new democracies of Europe."

When a few other delegates persisted in pressing the need for nationalization, Scherer took a "radical" line on the question. After all, he pointed out, nationalization in Britain was turning out very unsatisfactorily for the workers. A delegate suggested that Wallace would learn from the British experience and would nationalize with adequate safeguards. Scherer and Paul Ross, chairman of the meeting, would have none of this. A motion was then passed UNANIMOUSLY to leave the problem of monopoly to the national Wallace organization.

It is evident that the Stalinists, using Wallace as a tool to promote the imperialist policy of the Kremlin against the imperialist policy of Wall Street, are not anxious to risk quarrels with him about such trifling matters as the "free enterprise" system in this country.

CANDIDATE NOT NAMED

The Workers Party program, as our readers already know, proposes nationalization of the monopolies UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL—neither the totalitarian nationalization of Russia nor the undemocratic nationalization of Britain. This is the road to real economic democracy as against Wallace's oft-proclaimed aim of making private enterprise work. New York workers of the 19th Congressional District who are really interested in fighting against monopoly and for socialism—and many of them are interested—can now accomplish their purpose by supporting Galtman and the Workers Party. The Wallace Stalinists have not yet

Holds Ryan Strike May Prove Pattern For West Coast Aircraft Wage Trends

By H. SNOWDEN

SAN DIEGO—San Diego, home of the West Coast aircraft industry, is undergoing a thorough house-cleaning these days. At Ryan Aircraft Co. a strike is in progress which may well set a pattern for what is to be the general working wage trend throughout all of aircraft.

As I walked by there the other day, I noticed that the pickets were well organized, that morale was high, and it seemed that these men knew what they were striking for, and that they were willing to remain out on strike until their demands for a decent living wage were complied with.

One of the pickets gladly volunteered the history of the current strike, as though by talking the matter through as thoroughly as he could he would thus be able to get a better organized picture of the whole business.

In December of 1946, the contract with Ryan was due to expire and the negotiating committee drew up a wage demand and other contract demands. The following month, in January, 1947, the company refused to recognize these demands, whereupon in February a strike vote was held. Two months elapsed and the local was due to go out on strike. Then the International Association of Machinists inside the plant started a no-strike pledge and forced the local to call off the strike.

In May, 1947, the IAM filed a petition for an election at Ryan's. From May, 1947, to January, 1948—seven months—the NLRB and red tape held up the election. All during this time, the 1946 contract was in existence, in theory, and all wages were based upon that contract, although technically there was no contract due to the IAM petition for the election, which held up any further wage negotiations. The election came off in April, 1948, and was carried by the UAW-CIO by a vote of 540 to 83, with 11 non-union votes, and at the end of April the strike vote was reaffirmed by 84 per cent of the voters!

During this two-year period the membership went from 220 to approximately 850, giving the plant a 95 per cent union shop. The decision for a strike first was brought into view in January, 1948, made by the membership in February, and acted upon in April.

More red tape, and then in the middle of June the strike went off with a big bang, with mass picketing in the early morning hours, and it is being carried through to this present date, with the scab situation practically negligible.

PLENTY OF COPS

On the first day of the strike, Claude Ryan, owner of the company, was very distressed and was seen crying by his newly built fence, due to the fact that his expectations of the 30 per cent return-to-work didn't come about. Actually, the percentage of scab production workers was less than 1 per cent. Sympathizers from both the engineering and office workers refused to cross the picket line after the strike started, and many still refuse to do so. Sympathizers from outside, however, are small in number due to poor press publicity from both San Diego papers.

A high note of the first strike day was the appearance of the "Protectors of the People" under the direct supervision of Chief of Police Jansen, who carried, as they called them, leaning sticks, which were in reality two and a half foot riot clubs. They highlighted the scene with their show of strength—actual number, 36 cops.

Strikers' moods and attitudes? All in high spirits, and participation in all duties carried out almost 100 per cent!

Starting as it did during the national Republican convention, the strike has tended to make many of the workers more politically conscious. In fact, there are many who have shown contempt for the whole situation. Their natural reaction is the bread-and-butter situation in their individual cases, but they are also beginning to relate this with the economic system that is fighting them. They are beginning to learn that the system of large profits is what has done the damage to labor.

COMPANY PROPAGANDA

Company propaganda, conducted mostly through the mails, has consisted of the usual political pressure, patriotic hullabaloo, and "protection of your jobs." This has been topped off by a radio broadcast over one of the local stations, in which the personnel manager, James Bunnell, attempted to sway the general public's thinking over to the side of Ryan management, and also to instill in the Ryan working man the necessity of coming back to work, offering no sound argument but only a paper full of facts and figures which is so easily misconstrued. Bunnell neglected to state that the Ryan worker, in 75 per cent of the cases, was able to live no further than his next week's check.

One element of propaganda, as well as a topic of controversy in the negotiations, was Ryan's denial personally that the company agreements or demands were in any way at all pressured by the Southern California Aircraft Industries. This shows

the type of actual lying that Ryan is trying to push on to the public. The SCAI plan of classifications is sufficient proof of that. At the present time, the Southern California Aircraft Industries plan at Ryan's consists of approximately 15 labor grades, with five to ten groups in each of these grades, allowing for such a spread as suits the SCAI. We all know that this plan was formulated by the Industries (with the help of the IAM) as a way to further their solidarity.

Another weakness shown by Ryan management was the refusal on the part of James Bunnell to accept an offer made by Radio Station KFSD to debate the issues at hand with Roy Reuther, the international representative who is assisting Local 506, UAW-CIO. This adds to the belief that management, under pressure of cold, hard facts, common sense and reason, will not—and cannot—make a stand.

The usual props are present around the plant. Cameras are set up by management around all picket stations, police seem to be present with the appearance of every truck which drives up to enter the plant, and they show up in large numbers every morning and afternoon at the shift changes.

LEAD COAST DRIVE

Up till now the local has been carrying on a welfare campaign to assist the more needy cases of strikers. On Tuesday, April 22, a proposal was made to start the machine rolling for the UAW-CIO international plan of locals' volunteering for the adoption of members of the Ryan local. An international representative is in New York attending the national executive board meeting of UAW-CIO and is presenting the case and situation to the board. There is no doubt at this time that the plan will be put into immediate effect, for the leadership of the local believes that this is going to be a long drawn-out fight and that such a plan will be necessary to give strong backbone to the strikers.

The strike is now in its fifteenth day, spirits are still high and organization still good. On Wednesday, June 30, Roy Reuther is to make a retaliation speech in answer to Ryan's bunch of lies. The members of Local 506 are fully aware that their situation involves not only their local dispute with Ryan management, but a dispute with the whole industry on the West Coast! The Ryan management contends that the strikers are being made guinea pigs for the UAW drive to take over aircraft on the West Coast, which is dominated almost entirely by the UAW. The Ryan workers understand that they are really the vanguard of an attempt to crack the 5 cent a year wage formula jointly concocted by the machinists and the airplane owners on the coast.

The Ryan worker is beginning to think that there is historical significance to the fact that for years, not only West Coast aircraft industries but West Coast industries as a whole have been the most underpaid in the nation. The groundwork is now being laid for a UAW-CIO organization in Rohr and Consolidated aircrafts, and in the event of successes in these two other plants the UAW-CIO will have established a very definite beachhead into the industry.

The militancy and the determination of the Ryan workers have strengthened the union situation and the local's position more than anything else on the West Coast in the last fifteen years. The development out here shows promises of becoming a strong labor movement.

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Law Journal Edit Raps Jim Crow Decision of Judge

NEWARK (WDL)—Rarely does a law review attack a court decision in its editorial columns. But so brazen was the recent decision of District Judge Dominick Marconi acquitting Palisades Amusement Park's swimming pool of racial discrimination that the New Jersey Law Journal of June 17 carried an editorial on it.

"On the basis of the opinion it appears that the court engaged in a series of legal gymnastics to reach the desired result," the editorial said. "The device of a 'club' notoriously is used as a means of discrimination and a subterfuge to evade civil rights statutes. The court's opinion thus gives judicial sanction to a thinly veiled artifice."

Asserting that "the evils at which the New Jersey civil rights act was aimed are very real and substantial," the editorial concludes: "It is not the function of a court to rewrite a statute. Nor is it the function of a court to contract to eviscerate a statute. It is the function of a court to find and apply legislative meaning. This, the instant decision has not accomplished."

The case against the swimming pool, brought by Melba Valle, a Negro, was handled by Hiram Elfenbein, Workers Defense League attorney. He is confident that Judge Marconi's decision will be reversed on appeal.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Md. Wallaceite, Won't Debate WP

Editor:

The Baltimore branch of the Workers Party has offered to hold an open forum discussion with Philip C. Kulinski, 3rd Maryland Congressional District candidate on the Wallace ticket. Topic would have been generally on whether labor should support the Wallace movement. Kulinski very warmly and favorably accepted the idea on the ground that any public discussion concerning working-class politics would be educational and thus equip the workers to vote more intelligently. After accepting the offer, he then referred the interviewers to his future campaign manager, Anthony Palmere, an active UAWer, for the discussion of minor details, such as time, place, etc. Mr. Palmere stated that a final answer would be given after first consulting with the higher ups, where all the leading Stalinists are situated. The local Workers Party members immediately told him that under those circumstances the debate would not be consented to by those higher ups, for it is well known that Stalinists never dare associate with revolutionary socialists, or permit their innocent followers to do the same. As expected, the debate was called off on the ground that the Workers Party does not have a candidate running in the district, therefore they considered it inadvisable to carry on any discussion. Any fool can debate the present weak machine controlled incumbent, Edward A. Garmatz.

Since the Wallace movement is based on shallow thinking, in addition to primarily advancing the Communist Party foreign policy, it is increasingly apparent that any public discussion with a Marxist would reveal the weakness of the Wallace movement. But the primary concern of the Stalinist hacks is not to disillusion innocent followers.

Unfortunately Philip C. Kulinski, regardless of his personal inclina-

tions, is permitting himself to be used as a Stalinist stooge. His sudden change from a warm desire to debate to a cold and hostile attitude suggests his submission to the Stalinist hacks and raises doubts on his trustworthiness to represent the workers who compose the bulk of his district.

There can never be any democracy in any movement that is controlled—lock, stock and barrel—by the Kremlin's corrupt and rotten spokesmen. Whether he wishes it or not, a vote for Kulinski is a vote in favor of appeasing Stalinist imperialism and assisting Russia to expand her treacherous, exploitive slave society.

H.—Baltimore

Mediocrity Reincarnated

Editor:

The tumultuous ovation given ex-President Herbert Hoover at the recent Republican convention gave impetus to new and disgusting encomiums from purveyors of literary green goods such as Westbrook Pegler, George Sokolsky, and the Philadelphia Inquirer, New York Herald Tribune and Chicago Tribune. The fact that this miniscular personage could arouse such spontaneous emotional outbursts from the delegates of his party is a fair sample of where Republican hearts and minds are fastened. Twenty years have passed since Hoover was nominated to carry the party banner and yet we find the same backward, anti-progressive Republicans cheering and causing reactionary journalists the country over to pay tribute to him. It is significant that every mention of him is tied in with remarks to the effect that he was a much maligned person, and so forth. But no mention of course about any positive aspect of his character or ability.

Every president either comes into the White House with a myth surrounding him, or goes out with one. Hoover entered cloaked with the appellation of being "the great engi-

neer." Actually he was not an engineer but a promoter. The word has been misconstrued to cover his promotional schemes, but even then there is evidence refuting this fallacy. At the height of his business career he was receiving \$5,000 per year as a mining expert, and \$95,000 per year as a financial expert. His job was to promote and then pass on to another promotional field. He ranged from Siberia to Australia and from China to Africa, and nowhere will you find a single engineering project which bears his name or even refers to him in a role of creating a development.

To understand more fully a man of his mental and characteristic magnitude, a few instances of him as he appeared off the record would be worth while: During his tenure as White House occupant, he had a police dog named King Tut. The dog was familiar with all the guards detailed to White House duty. One day King Tut was playing with one of the guards. Hoover upon noticing this commanded the dog to come to him, but the dog, no respecter of persons, continued his frolic. That afternoon a presidential ukase was delivered to the effect that in the future none of the White House retinue would play with King Tut.

Another insight into Hoover is shown when at his home adjacent to the University of Stanford campus, Hoover, assured that he would be the next White House occupant, was twitted by intimates about the large number of votes at the University which had been cast against him. The smiling, triumphant president-to-be, immediately lost all composure and commented: "I don't see how any intelligent person, especially a member of the Stanford faculty, could so misunderstand the issues of the campaign." His expression revealed his total disgust.

Deluding the public was another facet wherein the Hoover character asserted itself. As a measure of economy, accompanied with much publicity, he announced that the yacht, Mayflower, was to be scrapped. Times

were hard, and it was refreshing to see that the president was willing to sacrifice along with his people. Immediately following this humanizing action, he took not only the eighty marines who served the vessel, but twice that number to build his famous Rapidan fishing camp and had it stocked with varieties of trout so that he wouldn't be disappointed when he escaped the cares of the day and cast his fly upon the water. Later he had a company of army engineers build a road to his retreat.

His facile ability to talk out of both sides of his mouth on so many subjects kept the corps of correspondents assigned to the White House in a constant dither. His prognostications on the termination of the depression are hilarious reading, but would consume too much space to relate them fully. His chronic fence-walking on the Wet-Dry question caused caustic old Carter Glass of Virginia to offer a thousand dollar prize to anyone who could find a statement made by Hoover unequivocally stating whether he was against liquor or for it. The prize was never collected.

Hoover's infamous role following the Russian revolution will not be forgotten soon by revolutionists. With the abettance of such arch-reactionaries as Marshal Pilsudski of Poland, Marshal Foch of France and Pope Pius XI, then primate of Poland, among others, Hoover parcelled out food and did his utmost to cause the great revolution to die still-born. His role then anticipated the present ERP. His consistent allegiance to forces reactionary was and is no accident. Once upon dwelling on the subject of labor, Hoover (the humanitarian, you will remember) said that he always found that by chaining a Chinese coolie to a stake for a day in the blazing sun was conducive to good discipline and a minimum of strikes.

His wide experience in backward countries always stood him in good stead, and he jumped with alacrity when the occasion presented itself, back to feudal methods of law en-

forcement. His despicable handling of the bonus marchers, carried out by the once presidential hopeful, General MacArthur, is a true gauge of his humanitarianism.

It isn't odd then that this man is assigned the task of surveying European needs both in World Wars One and Two. Here is a sycophantic servant, groveling at the feet of Wall Street to enforce their conception of "democracy" upon the European people. For his efforts he is hailed as a "world statesman" by his employers. The tumultuous applause rendered him at the recent convention was well earned, and those applauding and hailing him as being underrated and neglected knew their man. It is also conclusive proof that the Republican Party's platform will go out the window plank by plank if and when their man Dewey steps into the White House.

Norman JOHNSTONE, N. J.

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British Imperialism, Stalinism Vie to Control Southeast Asia

By R. STONE

The Stalinist offensive, halted temporarily in Europe by a series of setbacks in France and Italy and by the stimulus given paralyzed European capitalism by its new hope of Marshall Plan aid, has detoured to the Far East.

Definite signs of a new Stalinist-organized offensive within the Asiatic parts of the British empire or within the British sphere of influence are evidenced, particularly in Malaya and Burma.

The recently reported manifesto issued by the Burmese premier Thakin Nu, which states that "Burma wants to follow Russian ideology," together with the reports of Stalinist-organized mass violence and unrest in Malaya, indicate the deep-cut social tensions and clefs in both these products of British colonialism.

It is impossible, however, to understand present-day events without a clear background view of conditions pertaining in both countries and an examination of the conflicting social forces which are at grips.

The social and political pattern is marked by the conflict between the dominant interests of British imperialism and the persistently encroaching twilight of its empire in Southeast Asia; by its conflict with the local Stalinist parties, which have sucked in the instinctive and legitimate rebellion of the masses against their imperialist oppressors and seek to turn this rebellion toward the interests of Russian expansion.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

Southeast Asia is today a region of primary importance for capitalist world economy, as a supplier of foodstuffs and raw materials. British imperialism has large capital investments—in Malaya 100 million pounds, in Burma 50 to 60 million pounds.

Malaya is the most important natural-rubber-producing area in the world and during 1946 produced 50 per cent of the world's total output. It also produces up to 40 per cent of the world's output of tin, plus coconut oil, coffee, rice, palm oil, tea, tungsten, gold, coal, iron and manganese ores. Burma is the rice granary of Asia and a large producer of petroleum. It also has very valuable teak forests, tungsten and other minerals. Most important for current British needs, it is in part (and potentially even more than now) a dollar-earning area. In 1947 30 per cent of Malayan exports were shipped to the United States, which country is today stockpiling these valuable raw materials. This represents 5 per cent of total American imports and is equivalent to 24 per cent of the British deficit in visible trade with the United States.

The direct British occupation of Malaya is of immense strategic importance for British imperialism. Singapore is being rebuilt as the main political and military base for Britain in this area. Combined with bases in Ceylon, Aden, and East Africa, British imperialism is still in a position to dominate the Indian Ocean and the route from Europe to Australia and the Far East.

On these crucially important resources British imperialism aims to maintain its iron grip, and it is against the colonial conditions of exploitation and the unbalanced export economies thus created that the masses of workers and peasants rebel. The most tragic feature of this situation is the reactionary stranglehold that the Stalinist parties exercise over the rebellion of the masses.

MALAYA—LAST OF "OLD-STYLE" COLONIES

Malaya is today the last strategic point in Southeast Asia to be ruled in the old blood-and-thunder colonial style. On its return to the colony at the end of the war, exposed and undermined by its impotence before the Japanese armies, British imperialism unhesitatingly set about refurbishing its old brutal rule. The whiskey-swilling plantation and tin-mine owners returned to grinding profits and dividends from the exploitation of the backward masses.

Twelve British firms control the whole economic and political life of the colony. To secure the huge super-profits that flow to British investors, the colonial administration uses the same stock-in-trade methods, with a few local additions that have long distinguished its rule.

Malaya has a total population, according to the 1947 census, of 5,808,247, of which 4,867,491 belong to the Malayan Union and 940,756 to Singapore. The population is subdivided into four racial groups. In the Malayan Union, Malays comprise 49.2 per cent of the total population, Chinese 38.6 per cent, Indians 11.0 per cent and Europeans 1.2 per cent. In Singapore, Malays are 12.4 per cent of the population, Chinese 77.4 per cent, Indians 7.6 per cent and Europeans 2.6 per cent.

These racial divisions give British imperialism its opportunity to play its nefarious game of divide and rule, to pit one community against the other. By the new constitution recently introduced, Malaya was split into two political units, the Federated Malay States and the crown colony of Singapore.

The new constitution, which purports to prepare the Malayan peoples for "gradual self-government," is fashioned only to prolong their political slavery. The Federal Legislature consists of 75 members, of which 61 are non-official. All the non-official members are nominated by the high commissioner, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, son of the first Labor prime minister of England, who now continues to serve British imperialism in the family tradition. He has the right to regard any bill as passed, despite the opposition of the assembly, if he deems it "expedient in the interests of public order, public faith or good government." Matters of defense, foreign relations, etc., are of course also reserved to the high commissioner.

There is no popular franchise in any form. Instead there is to be a Conference of Rulers, comprising the nine Malay sultans. This merely perpetuates the pre-war colonial technique of indi-

rect rule through the nominal instrumentality of native princelings.

This utterly repressive and undemocratic constitution only formalizes politically the economic and social enslavement of the workers, plantation laborers and peasants.

Vicious measures of repression, prohibiting assembly (the gathering of more than 10 persons constitutes an illegal assembly) and allowing for deportation of all opposition leaders (Stalinist and others) under the banishment laws without trial or right of appeal to the courts, the prohibition of processions unless permitted by the police—these constitute additional instruments for terrorizing and controlling the peoples. A largely migrant labor force living under the most abject conditions is encouraged on the plantations and in the mines.

LARGE MASS RESISTANCE DEVELOPS

"The lot of the workers is terrible. It amounts to little more than slavery in the plantations. These areas are literally cut off from the outside world. A stranger is suspected of being an agitator and is invariably sent on his way by the police. The workers are triply exploited—by the employers and property owners and by the retail traders. They are worked hard and long for low wages; they live in hovels owned by the employers; and they are forced to buy from shops inside the compounds, thereby becoming the prey of the profiteers in the distributive trades.

"Labor is imported from poor areas in southern India. These illiterate and semi-literate workers are lured with the promise of decent jobs, made to sign long-term contracts, and thus converted into virtual slaves of the planters." (Described by an S.E.A.C. soldier, Workers International News, August 1946.)

Accentuating these distressed conditions of the masses of workers is a rise of over 400 per cent in the cost of living.

Out of this overfertilized soil of oppression has sprouted a huge crop of mass resistance. Between November 1945 and April 1946 strikes involving some 2,000,000 workers (including two general strikes in Singapore alone) took place, led by the Stalinist Pan-Malayan General Labor Union. There was also a one-day hartal (general strike) throughout the colony against the new constitution, which was rejected almost unanimously by the whole population.

The main political organization emerging out of the awakened and stirred political and national consciousness that followed the shattering war experiences of the masses is the "Putera-Amcaja"—Malayan Peoples' United Front, comprising national, youth, women's and trade-union organizations and the Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army.

British imperialism met this swell of mass discontent with a ruthless counter-offensive striking out violently at these masses and converting Malaya and Singapore into a large prison. Demonstrations of workers are banned, trade-union leaders arrested and banished, strikers shut down, workers victimized and dismissed, wage increases opposed, and political and trade-union organizations outlawed. Events have now reached such a peak of tension that Malaya and Singapore are virtually armed camps.

The entire detective force of Malaya, armed with Sten guns and revolvers, went out on a country-wide roundup of Stalinists (Monday, June 21). Over six hundred people were arrested under emergency powers which permit detention for a year without charge or trial. "Up and down the country British planters and tin miners are turning isolated bungalows into pillboxes to resist new attacks by Communists." (Daily Express, June 21, 1948.) Army aircraft have been called out and Gurkha regiments mobilized.

The Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army, the Stalinist-led underground army which fought against the Japanese, is now re-forming in the hills.

Malaya is in the process of becoming another Greece. The legitimate struggle of the masses against the police and totalitarian repression by British imperialism, without an alternative and genuine revolutionary leadership, is being used as a pawn by the Stalinists. The leadership of these armies, controlled by Moscow, in contact with and armed by the Stalinist army in China, operates only to impose on the Malayan masses its own variety of bureaucratic totalitarianism, and to fit their campaign into the general grand strategy of Russian imperialist expansion.

(Continued next week)

"Smarter Than Joe"

Speaking in the Senate on its last moments, Senator Taylor, Wallace's vice-presidential partner, declared Wallace's independence from Stalin in unusual but definite terms. PM reported the statement as follows: "He is smarter than Joe Stalin." Taylor pointed out that Wallace developed a type of hybrid corn which "is like a mule, it won't reproduce. You have to buy it every year from Henry."

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WORLD POLITICS

The Yugoslav Episode

The most important fact about the Tito episode is not the immediate consequences it may have. The most important fact, in our estimation, is simply this: that it happened.

The modern totalitarian state, with its unprecedented control of public and private life and its seeming rock-like invincibility, wishes above all else to nurture the notion that it tolerates no dissensions in its ranks and permits no opposition among those it rules. Not merely that it tolerates no dissension and permits no opposition—even more, that such dissension and opposition are literally impossible.

And on the surface there seems to be plausible enough grounds for believing this notion to be true. When Hitler proclaimed that his state would last a thousand years, there were not a few political writers and analysts who more or less took him at his word. In this country the erratic James Burnham, who in little more than a decade rushed through various political centers while violently slamming doors behind him, played with the notion that the Nazi totalitarian state was invincible and a portent of an "inevitable" trend to come. In France certain socialist politicians were so impressed by the durability of Nazism that they even evolved a theory that it was necessary to give up outright opposition, as being in any case a mere futile gesture, and to enter into the Nazi movement, there to try to influence—no doubt, "humanize"—it.

THE MYTH OF INVINCIBILITY

But it is a remarkable fact that just at the point where the great totalitarian states have seemed at their strongest, the point where they seemed to rule without challenge or hindrance, some dramatic event has taken place which showed the weakness of their foundations and the possibilities for destroying them. When Hitler, it seemed, had conquered all of Europe and destroyed a generation of socialists, there arose the national movements in the occupied countries. When Mussolini seemed finally to have saddled himself firmly onto the back of the Italian people, the Ethiopian war showed how flimsy and decayed his regime was. And now, when Stalinism has conquered Eastern Europe and extended its power throughout the world, there comes the Tito blowup.

Even if tomorrow the Yugoslavs completely surrender to Moscow's will; or even if tomorrow the quarrel is ended by some sort of compromise; or even if tomorrow the Russians succeed, in one way or another, in driving Tito out and replacing him by a more servile representative in Belgrade—even then, from Moscow's point of view, the damage has been done. At least one corner of the Iron Curtain has been shown to be pretty rusty. The myth of Moscow invincibility, which at the moment is so much more alluring than Hitler's invincibility (both for the neo-Stalinists preparing to serve as quislings and for the Stalinophobes preparing to drop, or rather having dropped, atom bombs) is shattered. Where there is social coercion, social despotism and inequality—where there is a partnership between the big thief and the little one—there disputes and dissensions MUST break out.

If we understand this much, then it is possible more soberly to estimate the significance of the Tito affair. The likelihood is that, in one way or another, the breach between Moscow and Belgrade will be narrowed. For the requirements of the current European situation, which drive both Russia and Yugoslavia, make it impossible for Yugoslavia long to remain outside the Russian orbit while simultaneously making it virtually incredible that Tito should line up with the West. As for

the Russians, they are limited in what they can do against Tito. To march in with troops would be such a disastrous political move that its disadvantages would far outweigh the likelihood of thus driving out Tito. Besides that, it must not be forgotten that Tito has a considerable army at his disposal. It seems incredible that the dispute will lead to armed struggle. Most likely, the Russians will try gradually to build up an anti-Tito bloc in the Yugoslav ruling party and edge the present leadership out.

Both the Russians and the Yugoslavs are limited in the extent to which they can move against each other, for they must always remember that if they do not stand together they may hang separately. Some sort of rapprochement is therefore the most likely outcome of the quarrel—a rapprochement which may then be hailed as proof of the "democracy" in the Stalinist movement.

It is possible to overestimate the immediate consequences of the split between Stalin and Tito. But it would be difficult to overestimate the ultimate or symptomatic significance of the split.

For there must be very deep-rooted reasons indeed for the Kremlin's denunciation of the Yugoslavs. Otherwise, why should the long statement have been issued precisely at the time when a death struggle with the Western powers was taking place in Berlin? Why issue the statement now, unless from the Kremlin's point of view the situation had become so "bad" that it can no longer be delayed?

FISSURES OF DISINTEGRATION

What then were the issues in dispute? Here there are a host of speculations, none of them mutually exclusive. Tito was getting "too big for his breeches." Perhaps, the Yugoslavs need machinery and other industrial aid which Russia cannot provide them, and were therefore turning with hungry eyes to the possibilities of Marshall Plan aid. Perhaps, the Yugoslav regime was not collectivizing its agriculture at the pace desired by Moscow. Most unlikely—who can believe that Stalin is worried about some independent peasants in Yugoslavia so long as a regime subservient to him remains firmly in power?

What all these speculations add up to, however, is a fundamental development. So soon as the Stalinist agents and quislings become firmly entrenched in power, so soon as they begin to satisfy some of their own appetites as well as helping their imperialist masters, they begin to yearn for a more favorable division of spoils, a greater degree of independence.

And so the little Bonapartist strutter, Tito, now that he has an army of nearly a half million men, begins to develop imperialist ambitions of his own. Perhaps a little raid into Austria? Perhaps insistence on clinging to Trieste even when the Russians may consider it advisable to yield Trieste to Italy in order to win an election there? Perhaps a raid into Bulgaria? Or, better yet, perhaps a federation of all the little Balkan dependencies in which he, Tito, and his gang are certain to be the big frogs? A Balkan federation which would formally continue to pay obeisance to the "beloved leader" in Moscow while simultaneously edging out from under his rough fist—that might be nice, eh?

In any case, whatever the specific occasion for the break, whatever the immediate means of taping it together—it has taken place. Stalinism remains as a blight on the earth. But the fissures of its own disintegration have begun to appear, and though it grows more powerful those fissures will remain and deepen. For our part, let us drive deep and fatal wedges.

IRVING HOWE

Little Noticed, But Vastly Significant

Behind North China's Unification

By STAN GREY

The Stalinists two weeks ago announced the unification of North China. This little noticed and even less commented on event has a significance which extends beyond its considerable effects on the civil war. The fact and nature of the unification help illumine the dynamics of Stalinist growth in a feudal country such as China.

After years of civil war, interrupted only partially by the common war against Japan, the Stalinists have begun to consolidate their gains. Two weeks ago, the Stalinist North Shensi radio announced the merger of two large Stalinist administrative regions in North China. This merger will unify a vast area stretching through Shantung, North Honan, South, Central and West Hopeh, South and Northeast Shansi and Chahar. This area, to be known as the "North China Liberated Area," has 44,000,000 (!) inhabitants, 279 counties, and 12 important cities. It has one million members in its Communist Party. It will have its own army of several hundred thousand men.

These provinces are among the richest agriculturally in all China. They are crossed by many good roads and two of them, Shantung and Hopeh, border the coast. Communication and transportation facilities are relatively very good.

HAVE ADVANTAGE

The agricultural policy of the new government calls for an emphasis on increased productivity. There will be no collectivization of the land! On the contrary, land ownership is being guaranteed. There will be no encroachments on lands and properties under the land reforms which had effected a redistribution nor will there be any limitations placed on wealth accumulated from future production.

When the merger takes place, the Stalinists will emerge as the leaders of a government which challenges the Kuomintang for the rule of China. The possession and organization of this vast territory will enormously strengthen the hands of the Stalinists, economically and politically. Militarily, it renders Manchuria practically impregnable and provides a stable source for the mass armies now in combat. While the war long ago ceased being a small-scale guer-

rilla one, the unification of North China completes the transformation into a full-fledged civil war between large, mass armies. And in this development, the Stalinists have by far the greater advantage.

The unification and its accompanying policy has another and perhaps more important dimension. It will considerably enhance the social prestige of the Stalinists among the peasantry. For the two essential features of the change, the fact of unification and its attendant agricultural policy seem to strike at the heart of the main problems confronting the Chinese people.

KUOMINTANG IS FEEBLE

The Kuomintang regime, which is the "official" government in China, is so futile, feeble and corrupt a regime as to be unable even to sustain the intravenous feeding the U. S. is anxious to render it. One of the main tasks of U. S. policy is to find a stable enough regime in China which it would support against the Stalinists.

This Kuomintang government, to which corruption is as native as rice is to the diet of the people, has not and will not solve the main tasks of China—the political and economic integration of the country, the institution of genuine land reform, the setting up and encouragement of modern industry. This government is in fact so discredited as not even to earn the confidence of the rich Chinese merchants and bourgeois.

The Legislative Yuan recently passed a law providing for a progressive tax on property to help finance the war against the Stalinists. A storm of protest arose. A delegation from the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce and other commercial groups left for Nanking to put pressure against the promulgation of the act. While it is always true that the bourgeoisie will resist heavy taxation, in this instance the tax takes place at a critical juncture in the civil war and is the only remaining source for raising revenue. Were that not true the tax would not have been passed. But there is no confidence that the Kuomintang can successfully carry the war to victory. The result is that dollars are fleeing China rather than being amassed in the hands of the government.

If this lack of confidence characterizes the upper classes, it is many

times more acute among the workers and peasants. It is reported that government aviators carry on a brisk black market trade with their planes instead of engaging in combat against the Stalinists. This takes place even though some opinion has it that there are sufficient planes, if correctly applied (that is, in fighting), to repel the enemy successfully. The morale of the foot soldier is low. He has been fighting intermittently for 17 years. He is sick of the war, cannot see its end, and any end he might envisage is one which will only continue his exploitation and misery.

STALINIST PROGRAM

In this context of chaos and disorganization, of corruption and inefficiency, the Stalinists emerge with a clear program to solve the main tasks of the Chinese economy. Unification of China, as a plank of a pious program, is by no means original with the Stalinists. The need for it is so great that no movement could conceivably grow which did not include it. But it is the Stalinists who are now carrying it out in the territory they control, who demonstrate in action what they would do on an all-China basis if they could get full control. The same is true for land reform. No government in China was against land reform but this was only in the realm of rhetoric, for no government accomplished any major changes in the landowning system.

It would be a mistake to believe that the Stalinists have indeed wiped out landlordism in China and established a universal and genuine mass distribution of the land. Military and political expediency dictated that in some areas the Stalinists make deals with the native landlords and by protecting their lands win them over to the Stalinist side. But with all its modifications and concessions to landlordism, it remains true that the only real force carrying out some kind of agrarian reform have been the Stalinists.

(It is interesting to note the policy of the new North China Liberated Area. Land ownership is being guaranteed and protected. In addition, to give the peasant a stake in the regime and to provide an incentive for greater productivity, the peasants are assured that the Stalinists place no limits on wealth.

(To be continued)

THE NAACP

LEADERS STAND PAT ON POLITICAL ACTION

By WYATT LEE

Meeting on the eve of the presidential campaign and at a time when American Negroes are becoming keenly aware of their role in politics, the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People affirmed its leadership's policy of avoiding endorsement of political parties and placed reliance on the outworn strategy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies."

The time has passed, declared Walter F. White, NAACP executive secretary, when a political party could capture the Negro vote on the basis of its election platform. The task of the association, he continued, was to study the actual voting record of candidates and to avoid outright endorsement of any party. White and other speakers pointed to the beautiful pledges made by Republicans and Democrats in the past and then compared these pledges with the actual record.

All three leading presidential candidates were assailed by White. President Truman, White demanded, should issue an executive order to end discrimination in the federal government and to implement the findings of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Dewey, he declared, played politics with civil rights and refused to support the New York fair-employment act until he was assured of the 1944 nomination.

Wallace supporters formed a strong faction at the convention and White saved his strongest denunciation of Wallace until after James Herndon of Atlanta, Ga., had spoken in favor of the third-party candidate. The NAACP secretary recalled to his listeners the shameful record of Wallace, who as Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce never lifted a finger against discrimination in the departments he headed.

He repeated the charge that Wallace "had refused to do anything about segregation and discrimination" and contrasted his record with that of Morgenthau and Ickes. He spoke of "a recent survey of the departments which he (Wallace) headed in Washington" and called these departments "among the worst."

BACK AT OLD STAND

But White's characteristic criticism of the Wallace movement was that it would insure the election of a "conservative" Congress and would impair the effectiveness of a policy designed to elect "friends of Negroes."

From this criticism emerged the real policy of the NAACP leadership. Despite the bold words against fraudulent platforms and despite his scorn for Negro politicians looking for patronage, White and his colleagues proposed a policy that is no different in essence. They hope to achieve their political aims within the framework of the existing two-party system. Anything that threatens to go beyond those bounds, even the miserable pretensions of the Wallaceites, is to be shunned for this reason.

Recognizing the deep-rooted dissatisfaction of the NAACP membership and its growing determination to forge ahead politically, White can only recommend that all parties be urged to support a minimum program for civil rights. Actual electioneering, another speaker said, should be directed toward minor officials, such as mayors, tax collectors, district attorneys, etc. Congressional representatives are to be "tested" by questionnaires to be circulated by association officials.

FEAR AN INDEPENDENT COURSE

Behind this cautious and half-hearted approach to political action lies the fear of the NAACP leadership of an independent course. Betrayed again and again by capitalist parties, they still cannot see any alternative except a "pick and choose" campaign. Truman, openly criticized by the convention as a whole, still retains the support of the majority of the membership. Speaker after speaker insisted that there are still some men among both the Democrats and the Republicans who could be classified as "friends."

Quite properly, both delegates and leaders look to their white fellow citizens for aid in achieving equal rights for Negroes. Unfortunately, they persist in looking only toward the capitalist parties for this aid. As an organization whose leadership is dominated by professional men, small businessmen and the middle class in general, the NAACP refused to turn its face completely to the labor movement.

Yet it is precisely in this direction that Negroes must turn for redress. A genuine struggle for complete social, political and economic equality cannot be launched without the aid of labor. Victory cannot be won by condemning empty platform promises and then covertly supporting individual candidates of the same parties. What must be forged is a party and platform whose promises can be taken seriously. Only then can political action be meaningful.

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FROM RAGS TO ROCKEFELLER

Tom Dewey: It's Smart to Be Shifty

By SUSAN GREEN

When Thomas E. Dewey was campaigning for the Republican primaries in Oregon, considered decisive as between him and Stassen, there wasn't any cheap politician's trick he wouldn't resort to. Time Magazine reported: "Tom Dewey was running like an alderman who wanted to meet all of Oregon's 630,000 voters personally." He had a hectic time "pumping hands, signing autographs, ripping off ten speeches a day. He peered at cows in Corvallis, at logging operations along the Umpqua River. He accepted a salmon at Oregon City, signed his name in blood for the local booster club at Coos Bay, paraded with an organization called the Cavemen at Grants Pass and, at their bidding, munched on a large bone."

How distasteful these ridiculous activities must have been to the precise soul of the aspirant to the presidency of the United States can only be guessed at. For, as reports have it, he is addicted to deliberateness, has a passion for neatness so that his desk never has disorderly papers on it; he craves well-sharpened pencils of the same length. He dislikes the telephone and keeps it in a drawer of his desk. He favors conservative clothes, thinks it undignified to be photographed in his shirt sleeves or with his mouth open because of poorly spaced front teeth. In private life he relaxes on his farm at Pawling, New York, plays golf and with his sons soft ball, and sings duets with his wife.

This is the personality of the man, but only part of it. He seems also to have a consuming ambition overriding all else. So while the repulsive antics of campaigning placed a ghastly, frozen smile on his face, he was fulfilling an inner urge to become "a great man."

Dewey was not born rich. His father was the local postmaster in Owosso, Mich., where son Thomas was born in 1902. The son sang in choirs, managed a magazine route, worked in his father's print shop when the latter took over the local paper. From the University of Michigan he came to New York to study music, impelled by having won a singing contest. On good advice, however, he abandoned singing for law—and politics, apparently with the conviction that anybody, but anybody, can become president of the United States, provided he makes the right connections. That he did make the right connections is evidenced by the fact that for each of his important campaigns he had as his campaign treasurer none other than Winthrop W. Aldrich, brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller and chairman of the powerful Chase National Bank.

BIG AND LITTLE PEOPLE NOT QUITE THE SAME

Dewey got his break into big-time politics when another one of his good connections, George Z. Medalie, recommended him for the job of special prosecutor to clean out the gangsters of New York. With his calculating shrewdness, he must have realized that this was his big chance, for he worked with such efficiency and relentlessness that he piled up an imposing list of convictions.

Among those who fell under his axe were Waxey Gordon for income tax evasions, Lucky Luciano for the prostitution racket, and bigger fry like Jimmy Hines for Tammany graft and stock-exchange president Richard Whitney for grand larceny. Thus Dewey became a hero of a kind, with the reputation of doing a job against

the little and the big racketeer alike. That the little and the big people in society do not, however, occupy the same place in Thomas E. Dewey's scheme of things—to say nothing of the little people taking precedence over the big—is apparent in what he says and does. For instance, in a speech he made on foreign affairs early this year he said: "Last November I urged that a plan be formulated in straightforward fashion to be run by a government authority under bi-partisan directors and with the ablest businessmen in the country in charge. I know of only one way to do a job well, either public or private, and that is to get the ablest people we have to run it, give them full authority and hold them strictly accountable for results." Nary a word about labor! To Dewey the intertwining of government and business is what makes the world go round. He does not even give the lip service to labor that other politicians give. His advisers may have Candidate Dewey correct this omission of lip service, but the true man has revealed himself.



Not only in words, though, has he revealed his bias toward the big people. His record as governor shows it plainly. He is praised by his friends and has impressed many by his efficiency, his economy, his administrative ability, and much is made of the fact that he has piled up many hundred million dollars in the New York State treasury. The question is for whom has he piled it up? Teachers and parents' organizations were agitating for a \$103,000,000 appropriation for state education. It will be recalled that there were several "Marches on Albany" and one group took over the Senate Chamber for a while. Dewey is reported to have decided: "I think I'll let 'em sit this one out"—implying that "em" were only Communists anyway. When it came down to brass tacks, he refused to allow more than \$30,000,000 for state education.

However, while battling against adequate aid to the public schools, he allowed industry credit rebates from the unemployment insurance fund reserve which are expected to amount to \$165,000,000 this year and which a year ago amounted to \$152,000,000. The CIO was indignant, called these rebates a colossal grab, and contrasted them with the shabby allotments made for people's needs.

We must give more attention to Dewey's record as governor. His supporters promise: "What the United States would get with Dewey in Washington would be a projection on

a national scale of what the State of New York has been getting with Dewey in Albany." Dewey in Albany has been the scheming politician with his heart set on Washington. Is he a liberal? Is he a conservative? He is neither or both, as his cautious mind tells him will net him the best political capital. For example, he is given credit for a State FEPC law. Having put his wetted finger out in the wind, he found it dried in the heat of Negro resentment; therefore the FEPC, for Negro votes. However, in practice, has he, for instance, raised his voice against the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's policy of discrimination in its housing projects? Again, what kind of a liberal is it who would father a law making striking by government employees illegal, with drastic penalties for violations?

On the housing issue, Charles Abrams, New York Post writer on the question, says: "What prompted the usually shrewd Mr. Dewey to abandon housing this year was his feeling that he could pick up the support of the anti-housing forces while also wooing the vet and the pro-housing groups on the basis of his past housing record. But this record will look sadly blighted in the light of 1948." What is Dewey's past housing record? He has been cagey enough to take credit for the state rent control bill which, however, is absolutely ineffective as long as there is any kind of federal rent control law at all. Again, his provision for homeless GIs has been described as "a handful of huts."

Dewey's great achievement as governor is his tax cutting record. He has reduced income taxes 40 per cent and business taxes 25 per cent. Together, business and businessmen derive the greatest benefit. He stubbornly refused to raise taxes and lose his prestige among business people. This year, to meet the state budget, he ordered an across-the-board slash in expenditures of nine per cent by all his department heads. How many state employees became jobless is not advertised—but taxes were not increased.

EXPEDIENCY, CAGINESS PLUS CALCULATION

Now let us look at Dewey as he rushed about the country campaigning for delegates to vote for him in the convention. John Gunther in "Inside U. S. A." said of Dewey's pre-convention behavior back in 1944 that it was marked by "canniness born in him, plus an overlay of caginess born of experience. . . . He avoided going out on a limb and taking positions on issues unnecessarily. Every step was carefully calculated and prepared." In 1948 Dewey had to give the appearance of being a little more definite.

Perhaps what is best known about Dewey, because of the publicity given to his controversy with Stassen on the issue, is what to do with Communists. Dewey is against the Mundt bill, he said: "I am unalterably, wholeheartedly and unswervingly against any scheme to write laws outlawing people because of their religious, political or social or economic ideas." But, says Dewey: "The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has been widely criticized in our country because it has been called a red-baiting committee. As a matter of fact, it has been doing a fine, solid, good American job for a great many months. It has done a fine job of exposing Communists and bringing them out in the open, where they belong." That's just what Mundt

bill advocates say that bill will do. Mr. Dewey doesn't speak from conviction but from expediency, so he cannot be consistent.

Commentators have hailed the nomination of Dewey as the growth of the Republican Party from isolationism to internationalism. Dewey's internationalism is of recent vintage. He was opposed to lend-lease, directly predicting that it "would bring an end to free government in the United States and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes." He did not declare himself on the Marshall Plan until months of debate and discussion showed him which way the wind was blowing.

But as far as the working people are concerned, the internationalism of the capitalist class today means only a more enlightened approach toward American imperialist interests than isolationism. In the final count, capitalist internationalism is preparing the groupings for World War III.

A humorous touch must be added here on Dewey's internationalism. Robert G. Spivack, writing in The Nation of May 8, 1948, describes some of Dewey's posturing thus: "When visitors came to his hotel suite in New York or the executive mansion in Albany, Dewey would light a cigarette, sit back, appear to relax, and casually reminisce about his 'memorable' nine-hour conversation with Winston Churchill, or his delightful 'chat' with Premier de Gasperi, or the 'insight into conditions' he got from the Austrian Consul General. The idea he wished to convey was that these men and other foreign dignitaries already regarded him as the next President. Naturally, he implied they were keeping him abreast of affairs so that when he took over he could quickly establish liaison with the heads of other powers." Such are Dewey's qualifications in foreign affairs—of course, there are his advisers who know more about machinations abroad.

STANDS FOR NOTHING BUT HIS AMBITION

What is Dewey's stand on questions disturbing labor? But why should he commit himself at this point? In 1944, halfway through the campaign, Dewey became aware that it was unwise to attack the New Deal because of popular sentiment for it. Quite unabashed he suddenly switched and came out for nearly everything "that Roosevelt was identified with. So there is plenty of time for Dewey to take 'a stand' on labor in the 1948 campaign.

However, Time Magazine, issue of April 5, 1948, lists among Dewey's recent legislative changes on labor legislation from being pro-Wagner Act to becoming pro-Taft-Hartley Act. As for other vital problems, entirely muffled in the Republican platform, Dewey has given himself some leeway, for he approved the platform "as I interpret it."

So here is the measure of this man who would be President of this nation of some 150,000,000 people in an era of chaos and crisis. Roosevelt had a political cult to offer the capitalist class at a time of lesser crisis. The man could be identified with his beliefs, both of course serving the capitalist class. Dewey stands for nothing but his own ambition. He appears to have no convictions at all. But he has certain talents for administration in the narrow sense of the word, and above all the talent of having convinced certain interests, notably the Rockefeller interests, that he can serve them well.

Daily Worker Hacks Cuss Tito—For Aping Stalin

By P. HOFFMAN

Following its usual policy of rushing in where angels fear to tread, the Stalinist Daily Worker is attempting an interpretation of the Stalin-Tito break which places its emphasis on "ideological" mistakes. The cardinal error, according to the Daily Worker, is the lack of democracy in the Yugoslavian Communist Party. Here and there some not too subtle references are made to the fact that Tito is overstepping his bounds by trying to compete with Stalin.

In an editorial on Tuesday, June 29, the Daily Worker informs its readers: "The Cominform communiqué frankly reveals to the world a lack of democracy within the Yugoslav Communist Party which violates the tenets of communism and which inevitably leads to attitudes harmful to the nation and therefore the peace front."

Proof of the fact that the Eastern countries are nothing more than Russian satellites, allowed not even a shred of independence (if further proof were needed) is revealed in the same editorial, which goes on to say: "The Communists in Yugoslavia will find the solution to their problems on the basis of inner democracy, unity with the other Eastern countries, and above all, in the realization that it is the Soviet Union which is the bulwark of the struggle for world peace." (Emphasis my own—P. H.)

With less beating around the bush, this means simply that Stalin tolerates no junior partners. There is one leader and all the rest are followers, including Tito. Totalitarianism means precisely that.

STAROBIN "EXPLAINS"

Joseph Starobin, the official foreign "expert," carries the ball from this point on. He has the unenviable task of explaining the line on the Tito-Stalin divorce to those who were taught for several years that Tito was a great hero and a model Stalinist. In his column on June 30, Starobin, discussing the Cominform "criticism" of Tito, bravely whistles in the dark the following tune: "I think every Communist and every advanced worker feels a sense of pride and feels the tremendous strength and power of a leadership which is capable of taking such firm measures when the general interests of democracy and peace are at stake."

Anxious to indicate the Stalinist watchdog that leaders may come and go but Stalin goes on forever, Starobin writes of the Cominform blast at Tito as a "process of clarifying and strengthening the working class movement, purging it of its illusions and weakness inherited from the past and magnified during the war" (Starobin fails to mention that the Stalinists were the most ardent supporters and jingo aides of the imperialists during World War II). He then goes on to say that: "Our own American party's struggle against Browderism was, as we can see now, a phase of this process and should make Yugoslavia's much bigger crisis more understandable."

Again on the theme that no one dare to compete with the almighty Stalin, Starobin writes in his column of July 1, speaking of Tito's reply to the Cominform: "And when Tito replies that he was ready to discuss things only with Stalin (as the Belgrade statement makes clear) this only supports the Cominform conclusion that Yugoslav leaders are smitten with delusions of grandeur and full of cunning calculations."

Further in the same article, explaining the profound reason for which a Balkan Federation is out of

the question, Starobin writes with simple logic: "Everybody knows that the Soviet Union rejected such a federation as unwise. Tito's call for it now belies his pretension of friendship for the Soviet Union." How dare Tito, or anyone else, for that matter, disagree with Stalin! It simply isn't done in a police state, and anyone who dares is no longer a friend but an enemy using arguments "from the arsenal of Trotskyism."

GIVE THE SHOW AWAY

After several days of this nauseating nonsense, Starobin sums up with an article discussing the bi-weekly newspaper of the Cominform, "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy." Unless anyone be fooled by the term democratic centralism, Starobin stresses what this august paper has to say on this score. It writes in an article attacking Tito that a fundamental principle is: "Strict centralism, conscious discipline, unity of will and action, no factions and groups permitted, individual selection of people joining the party, guarding the party against opportunist elements, under party democracy which stipulates reports and elections, constant concern to increase the activity of the membership." (Emphasis my own—P. H.)

It is perfectly true that for the most part this sentence is complete jibberish, but of a dangerous variety. "No factions and groups permitted." Such is the standard "democracy" of the Stalinist parties throughout the world. One wonders how less democratic Tito's party can possibly be.

Milton Howard, another Stalinist "ace," continues where Starobin left off in the Daily Worker of July 4. Writing on the theme of democratic centralism, he says it "permits the voluntarily banded-together Communists to operate efficiently through the trust imposed in the elected leadership which can make decisions for the entire group without delay." We can understand the use of the word centralism to describe this perversion of which Howard speaks, but exactly wherein lies the democracy? Perhaps in the fact that the association is voluntary, or better still that in the elections he speaks of there is only one list of candidates both in Stalin's party and in Tito's!

The Stalinists give themselves away when they try to explain the reasons for Tito's break. As can be seen from this review of their press, what they believe and are saying essentially is that Russia, that is to say Stalin and his cohorts, will brook no disagreement, even from yesterday's Stalinist hero, Tito. The police regime that Stalin has built in Russia and the satellite nations operates on all levels. Not even a Tito can buck that regime and get away with it. Stalin takes. He gives nothing in return. He expects from his subjects worship and obedience. Tito helped to build this monstrosity. His opposition to Stalin can be only the conflict of one totalitarian with another. The Yugoslav and Russian masses are never mentioned. Only when their voices are heard will there be a democratic socialist solution to the problem.

Tito's Aims Emerging - -

(Continued from page 1)

reality and not an abstraction and is the leading peace-loving power. Yugoslavia takes that into account as a realistic factor in today's relations and has no reason to feel that she is being abandoned to the imperialists."

Djilas sought to underscore his view that Russia has no alternative but to maintain the alliance by comparing it to a marriage that brings a couple together "for better or for worse."

TITO'S IMMEDIATE AIMS

Djilas' reference to Russia as "the leading peace-loving power" and such similar remarks are, of course, mere observance of the ritual of the Stalinist faith. The essence of his argument is the remark that Russia "will not and cannot" permit Yugoslavia to join the West.

It is of the highest significance that Tito's statements have been addressed, mainly, to the Bulgarian, Hungarian and Czech Stalinist leaders. He is saying to them, in effect, that they too can assert themselves against Russia without fear that Russia will abandon them to the Western powers. This approach links up with Tito's program for a Balkan federation, a proposal severely condemned by Moscow when it was advanced by Dimitrov in Bulgaria last year. Tito's Balkan federation can only be realized, therefore, against the will of Moscow and as a result of Bulgaria, at least, following in the footsteps of Yugoslavia in asserting its freedom of action against Russia.

Tito's immediate aims are for a federation of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. However, Stalin is well aware that such a federation would only be a steppingstone toward the inclusion of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and, ultimately, Rumania. A federation of such dimensions, which Tito, of course, hopes to boss, would represent a considerable concentration of economic and military power. Though its industrial base would be relatively weak, it would certainly not be less, and probably would be more, than Russia possessed at the start of the first Five Year Plan. Tito may dream of several five-year plans establishing an extensive industrial base for such a Balkan-Danubian federation.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Djilas stated that he would leave unanswered the question of whether Yugoslavia had sufficient strength to build socialism without the help of the other "socialist nations," but stated that it would be strange if the others were to force Yugoslavia to prove that she can or cannot build socialism herself. The underlying thought in Djilas' reference to other countries is not about whether Russia helps Yugoslavia, but whether the Balkan and Danubian countries do. Djilas is here appealing to the widely known resentment, which even the Stalinist leaders of the Russian puppet states feel, against Russia's draining the economies of its satellites for her own needs. Tito seeks to hold out the prospect of the Balkan and Danubian countries pooling their resources to build up the economy of the proposed federation, and carrying on economic relations with Russia as equals. Such a relationship would almost nullify the great economic potential Russian imperialism established for itself in Southeastern Europe.

It is, above all, the far-reaching implications of Tito's fight for an in-

dependent role that may cause Stalin to consider seriously the alternative of an all-out struggle to force Tito's capitulation, even risking the loss of Yugoslavia to the West. Stalin thoroughly realizes, as does Tito also and all others who know the inner mechanism of the Stalinist state and party system, that the latter would receive their death blow if two totalitarian power centers existed in the Iron Curtain world.

As we explained last week, the existence of two centers means two policies and a struggle for domination in the world Stalinist movement. Yet such a struggle would shatter one of the indispensable pillars of the Stalinist system—monolithism. Tito's defiance of the Cominform has already given evidence of this result. A fierce internal struggle has broken out in the Communist Party of Trieste, between a Stalin majority and a Tito minority. Without a doubt, pro-Tito wings will take form in the CPs of the neighboring countries, just as a pro-Stalin wing will oppose itself to Tito in the Yugoslavian CP.

These deep-going threats, which Tito's program represents, may yet cause Stalin to choose the loss of Yugoslavia to the West as the lesser of two evils. Though such a course would mean an immeasurable weakening of Russia's military situation, it would permit the Kremlin to consolidate what remains and integrate it even more closely into the Russian political and economic order.

MAX SHACHTMAN Speaks Over Radio Station WEVD 1330 on Your Dial (New York) "WHAT NEXT IN EUROPE?" TUNE IN THURSDAY, JULY 15 10 to 10:30 p.m.

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PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

Advocates Support For Marshall Plan

The word combination "double-talk" has been overworked to the point where it has become a cliché. One hesitates to use it, but the reply of the editors of LABOR ACTION to the letters of Farrell and Goldman on the Marshall Plan, together with the comment of Comrade Judd, should be sent to H. L. Mencken. The presentation of the position of LA on the European Recovery Program would serve as an incomparable illustration of so-called "double-talk" should Mr. Mencken bring out another supplement to "The American Language."

We are not, however, interested in scouting for Mencken. There is something far more serious involved in the LA position on the Marshall Plan. There is the unique spectacle of spokesmen of a Marxist party attempting to hold two political positions on one question at the same time, while pretending to have only one position, the one which is obviously wrong. The editors say they oppose the Marshall Plan but "are for the fullest economic aid to Europe." What kind of crap is this? Every American housewife knows that the Marshall Plan—or the European Recovery Program, as it is now known—is nothing more nor less than the American economic aid to

Europe. But these comrades are saying, on one hand, that the Workers Party cannot support the Marshall Plan because it is the fullest expression of American imperialism in Europe and, on the other, insist they are wholeheartedly for the putting of that program into practice, namely through the distribution of economic aid to the countries of western Europe.

The editors admit that the economic revival of these countries is essential for the revival of Europe's revolutionary socialist movement. Good! But in the next sentence they say they are still opposed to the plan! In other words, they are for it, but then again they are not for it. They arrive at this curious position by basing their "position" on what they correctly term (though they put it in quotes) a "political abstraction."

Every comrade knows that the Marshall Plan is the expression of an American imperialist program in Europe. If this were merely an abstract theoretical question, and this were all there was to it, no one could question that this is the correct position to take. However, the worthy comrades then proceed to tell us that, concretely, they support even fuller aid to Europe than is called for in the ERP; in other words, they want a much bigger Marshall Plan! Now I ask, comrades, isn't this pretty silly reasoning? You are correct in stating that the

ERP is a far-reaching economic program designed to further the interests of American capitalism. However, you realize that there is no hope for the revival of the European revolutionary movement without the revival of European industry. You know that, things being what they are, only American capitalism can provide Europe with the economic recovery needed. You know that without this aid from the American capitalists, Stalinism will most likely spread to western Europe, the working class will be completely enslaved, and another world war will be hastened, one of such immeasurable barbaric character that it must be prevented above everything else.

Yet, despite your correct position that American economic aid must be supported, you try to evade public support of the plan by attempting to abstract the essence of the plan—the aid involved—from the general purposes of the American imperialists. Because it is a capitalist plan, you feel a formal position in opposition to it must be taken, while at the same time loudly asserting that you "would be supreme idiots" not to support the actual implementation of the plan (except, of course, the military aspects).

It seems that the position you take is one that must be confusing to your own comrades, to workers who read your paper, and one that can be easily distorted by your political oppo-

nents. Abroad, it can only excite amazement and exasperation in the revolutionary movement. One must admit there is a contradiction in supporting the fullest economic aid and admitting to formal support of a plan instituted by the American capitalist class. But this is no more of a contradiction than that faced by the American capitalists, who in resurrecting European industry breathe new life into the European revolutionary movement. And that the more billions of dollars it send to Europe, the more shaky must become inevitably the economic base of the American ruling class. The Baruchs, Dulles and other leaders of American imperialism probably see these contradictions, but the political and economic situation in Europe does not permit them to act otherwise.

Would it not be a thousand times better for the Workers Party to explain carefully and patiently what are the imperialist aims implicit in the Marshall Plan, but to state categorically that—in spite of all that—for the reasons you have so well stated in your editorial—the party supports the plan? I would go further than Goldman and say that, were the party represented in Congress, it would be incorrect to abstain from voting for the measure, even granting that the bill would pass by an overwhelming majority. To be in support of the plan only in case there was danger—through the fail-

ure of the plan's passage—of the European people not getting the aid they need, but not if its passage is a foregone conclusion, is hardly less astonishing than the LA-Bern-Judd position.

J. K. LOVEJOY, Chicago.

San Simeon's Stalwart

Gen. MacArthur was the forgotten man of the Republican convention. Disregarded by all except the braying Hearst press since his defeat in Wisconsin, MacArthur's candidacy was not taken seriously by the delegates. His nomination speech was made at 4:00 a.m. Thursday morning to an empty hall and the chairman was about to call the final roll call when the MacArthur spokesman scrambled up on the platform to make a belated grab at Dewey's coat-tails.

On the last day of the convention a resolution praising the General's administration of Japan was passed. As the sponsor of the resolution explained, the people of Japan might not understand the small vote registered for the Supreme Allied Commander.

On the last day of the convention