WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD; JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

LABOR ACTION

JULY 5, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

TITO SPLITS STALIN EMPRE!

Allows No Full

Partnerships

FIVE CENTS

Yugoslav Fuehrer Goes Into Business For Himself



By ERNEST ERBER

The bulk of both the Cominform attack upon Tito and Tito's reply is composed of demagogical charges aimed at securing support in the ranks of the Yugoslavian Communist Party and among Stalinists in the rest of the world. However, buried between the lines of both documents are enough clues to compose a fairly comprehensive picture of what is at stake. A knowledge of Stalinism and its internal structure should cause any competent observer to dismiss all the charges of "Trotskyism," "Bukharinism," ideological deviations on the role of the party, lack of internal party democracy, "Turkish rule," tactical errors in nationalization, etc., and seek the basic causes of Stalin's concern over Tito's role and the latter's intransigent defiance of the Kremlin.

Stalin's main concern is over Tito's independence of Moscow dictation, regardless of whether this exerts itself in questions of major or of minor importance to Russia. It is part of the very essence of Stalinism that it cannot tolerate 99 per cent loyalty. A totalitarian structure demands TO-TAL acceptance. Anything less than this is dangerous and must be overcome. If it cannot be corrected through pressure, it must be fought and destroyed.

The identification of "rule or ruin" as the basic operational principle of Stalinism may be an over-simplification, but basically it describes the only final alternatives before Stalinism in its relations with any other force, including those that are 99 per cent Stalinist.

CANNOT BE AN EQUAL

ercised through its control of the in- with it, can only destroy the system ternational Stalinist apparatus which as such. is essentially a secret police network. Every evidence of independence on the part of the satellite state, consequently, is tantamount to rebellion.

Were Tito to succeed in establishing even a measure of independence, every puppet leadership in the Russian empire would seek 'to do the same. To permit Tito to "become an equal," as he insists, would mean the beginning of the disintegration of the entire web of Stalinist control. A comprehension of this fact explains what has puzzled so many commentators, namely, why Stalin acted so precipitously and so brutally against Tito. Stalin, like every authoritarian, knows that a system that rests upon authority dares not temporize with those who defy it. Disaffection in the ranks must be wiped out, quickly and decisively, lest it spread and become unmanageable. Stalin's relation to the Yugoslavian assertion of rights to independence is the same as that of a military commander to mutiny in the ranks. To temporize with it, to

For Stalin to permit Tito any degree of autonomy is to permit Tito

to influence the other Communist parties in his own right and in possible opposition to Russia. Stalinism cannot survive under these circumstances. It must remain monolithic or not exist. Stalinist parties cannot be confronted with a choice between a Stalin policy and a Tito policy. Such a situation requires party democracy, discussion and a democratic vote-all of them tantamount to a death sentence to Stalinism.

As a nation on the border between the Russian empire and the West and as a nation that is not occupied by Russian troops, Yugoslavia's assertion of independent rights is especially dangerous, since it raises the specter of Belgrade seeking to play a diplomatic role of its own between Russia and the Anglo-American bloc. The Kremlin can tolerate a nation seeking to play such a role if that nation is not yet fully under Stalinist control but in the process of being co-(Continued on page 4)

The Cominform's attack upon Tito and his bitter reply has suddenly revealed the granitelike solidity of Stalin's empire to be susceptible to internal explosions fraught with the gravest consequences for the authority of the Kremlin, not only among its satellite nations, but in Russia itself.

The Cominform's resolution accused

decalogue, among them the charge of using arguments "from the arsenal of Trotskyism," hatred of the Soviet Union, efforts to adapt themselves to western imperialism, etc. It singled out Tito and his closest associates for specific mention as the leading culprits and called upon "the core of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" to act against its leadership and depose them if necessary. In a police state like Yugoslavia, the latter is tantamount to a call for armed insurrection.

The Central Committee of the Yugoslavian Communist Party gave solid support to Tito and his associates in a reply that intransigently rejected all the charges and made sharp accusations against the Cominform parties and, specifically, against the Russian party leadership. Among its accusations are the charge that the Cominform and the Russian leaders are seeking to destroy the prestige of the Yugoslavian CP and, objectively, help its enemies overthrow it, that the Yugoslavian CP has been slandered and lied about, that the

In the last analysis, this could only mean the control of the Communist Parties outside of Russia proper by means of the GPU, the Russian secret service. The charges and countercharges between Moscow and Belgrade about secret police espionage reveal that both Stalin and Tito considered the role of the GPU as crucial in maintaining Kremlin control over Yugoslavian affairs.

Hot on the heels of Tito's counterblast against the Cominform de-

Tito is going into business for himself. No longer content to act as

Point 4 of the Yugoslav CP's new program calls for "the tightest

nunciation of his regime's "hateful" attitude toward Kremlin domination

comes the first word indicating what may be the Yugoslav dictator's perspective in a positive sense. These are the first reports of the new program being presented by Tito's Central Committee for the coming

Fifth Communist Council meeting on July 21. It seems to add up to this:

branch manager for Stalin's bureaucratic empire in eastern Europe the Yugoslav sub-fuehrer has announced the launching of his own company.

cooperation" with Bulgaria and Albania and efforts toward "uniting

POWERFUL EFFECTS

The rebellion of the Tito leadership is the first instance of serious opposition within the Stalinist movement since the expulsion of the Trotskyist. and rightist oppositions in the late 1920s, when monolithism was declared an official doctrine and all Stalinist parties accepted the authority of Moscow without question. Though not on the same ideological plane, if ideological differences can be said to play a role, the Tito opposition can prove to be far more dangerous to Stalin than that of Trotsky. Tito, unlike Trotsky, is beyond the police power of the Russian state and bases himself upon his own state apparatus. Tito has already shown signs of carrying the fight into the other Stalinist parties and even the impoverished resources of a state like Yugoslavia give him ample means of conducting a political struggle, waged by all the traditional methods of the Stalinist movement, both in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and among the Stalinists of the West. The external similarity of Tito's Yugoslavia with the Russian social order permit him to pose as a "socialist state," a "little Soviet Union," in appealing for support among the pro-Stalinist elements of the West. His stand cannot but exert a profound influence upon the bureaucracies of the other satellite countries, which will sympathetically identify their problems with those Tito faced in Yugoslavia. The existence of a "second workers' fatherland" that is anti-Moscow has such profound possibilities for the future development of the Stalinist movement as to defy even speculation at this early date. It would strike at the very heart of the ideological hold of Stalinism upon workers and intellectuals everywhere.

of CP-dominated countries which will seek to deal with Russia as an "equal." At the same time the program calls for "tight cooperation with the Soviet Union," refers to Russia as the head of the "democratic anti - imperialist forces of the world," and gives no verbal sign of any turn toward a pro-Western orientation such as was

widely expected to follow the split with the Moscow bureaucracy. Indeed, it might be more accurate to conclude that Tito is in reality asking for promotion from the status of branch manager to that of junior partner with Stalin. It is difficult to

ciple of national equal-

ity"—that is, the form-

ation of a Balkan bloc

believe that he can seriously hope to Won't Say "Uncle"



Serious Blow to Kremlin Despots Communist Parties and the latter Tito's Yugoslavian Communist Party were kept in an ironbound apparatus of every major crime in the Stalinist manipulated from Moscow.

negotiate with it, to compromise Irgun — Haganah Battle Sheds Light On Threat of Civil War in Israel

By AL FINDLEY

The spetacular struggle between, the Irgun and the Haganah, last number of men the ship carried, in week pointed up the danger of a right-wing-provoked civil war in Is-ABOR AC-

actionary Revisionists. Of course the Irgunists magnified the cargo and the the traditional manner of its "big lie" propaganda technique:

Democrat honors more than his commitments to strong powers.

The Haganah went into action, and after a short battle seized the beaches and prevented the landing of the mu-The beaches were then nitions.

the Albanian and Bulgarian peoples with the Yugoslav peoples on a prin-Satellite Dictator's Break Deals

This factor works with special importance in the Kremlin's relations with its satellite states. Russia can only tolerate a nation as a "sphere of influence" while in the process of reducing it to a complete puppet. It cannot achieve a status quo in its relations with another state on the basis of a division of power, such as capitalist imperialists have done historically.

The capitalist imperialists have succeeded in maintaining certain nations as their "sphere of influence," like the United States in Latin America, for long periods of history because the domination of capitalist imperialism is basically an ECO-NOMIC one. Russian imperialism can only dominate through its military and political power, the latter ex-

TION'S analysis that the Irgun was resolved at all costs to maintain its military freedom and to use its military power to establish its authoritarian rule. LABOR ACTION warned of this early last December, even when the socialist Zionists were minimizing the post-partition strength of the right wing bands.

Unfortunately for the Irgun, the time of the first test of strength came as an accident. The Irgun had not planned for it. A ship of their American Committee for a Free Palestine, loaded with small arms and some recruits, arrived after the UN truce had gone into effect. The ship was named the "Altelana"-penname of Vladimir Jabotinsky, theoretician and deceased leader of the extremely re- and there is nothing that a Social-

The government demanded that the shin remain outside of the territorial waters and be placed under the jurisdiction of the army. The Irgun refused. They have long been accustomed to harsh demands followed by the capitulation of Ben-Gurion and his Social - Democratic Labor Party. This had taken place when the yellow union of the Revisionists forced Ben-Gurion to sign a permanent nostrike agreement (repudiated later by the rank and file) and again recently when he capitulated in accepting the agreement "coordinating" the Irgun and the army. But this time working

class interests were not the main question. On that Social - Democrats find it easy to retreat. Involved here were commitments to world powers

Shachtman Analyzes Situation in Europe Over 350 Hear WP Chairman Stress Path to Socialist Regroupment

Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, spoke to an enthusiastic audience of over 350 people Friday night, June 25. Just back from a four-month stay in Europe, Comrade Shachtman gave an eyewitness account of the political situation in France and England. Speaking on the subject "Europe in the Shadow of the Third World War," special emphasis was given to a detailed analysis of the political currents which are now affecting the French working class. The audience, despite the heat, listened with rapt attention.

Comrade Shachtman discussed the fact that the economy of France is in a state of complete disintegration, with three economies living side by side: the private industries, the nationalized industries (nationalized because they were bankrupt and the government is trying unsuccessfully 'to revive them), and the ever-present black market. The speaker stated that the devastation caused by the war and the continued impoverishment of the working class-cannot be adequately described in print.

In a thorough analysis of the Stalinist party of France, Shachtman pointed out that the overwhelming majority of CP members in France are passive and disillusioned with the party, and remain in it simply be- inadequacies and cowardice, Shacht-

wants to go back to 1939. The work-ing class has a deep yearning for a for complete nationalization and for their own control of their destiny. They want to "continue the revolution.

The British Labor Party, he stated, has continued its nationalization program beyond the expectations of the Marxist movement. The possibility of the nationalization of the steel industry and chemicals cannot be excluded. The working class, which wants a more rapid and complete extension of the nationalization program, is beginning to exert some pressure on the labor officialdom. Today, even some minor trade-union officials are demanding workers' control of production and a thorough expropriation of the bourgeoisie. Although the left wing of the Labor Party is still small and infiltrated by Stalinists, the necessities of the English economy may impel the labor bureaucracy to push its program forward. The question of how far it will be able to go without encountering very serious resistance by the capitalist class is of great interest and importance for the Marxist movement, While remaining sharply critical of the government for all its

hood.

one in France, Shachtman declared, to take a position of head-on opposition to the Labor Party and that the small core of Marxists in England thorough reorganization of society, must function within'it and act as the only organized force in England today, to push it to the left. Concluding on a forward-looking

note, Comrade Shachtman stressed his conviction that the small and scattered groups of Marxists will regroup and begin to function in the mass working-class movement and serve as the necessary leavening force to create the alternative to the barbarism of Stalinism and capitalism.

Justin Graham, member of the Socialist Youth League national bureau, welcomed members and sympathizers of the SYL who were gathered in New York over the weekend for a national student conference. Stating that the only future which capitalism offers the youth of America is graduation from school right into the army through the peacetime draft, Comrade Graham explained that the SYL has its own valedictory speech to make and that it will function and grow among the youth of America because it struggles for a world of peace and plenty, a world of socialist organization and universal brother-

The August issue of The New International will carry extensive sections cause they see no real alternative. No man points out that it is impossible from Comrade Shachtman's report.

turned over to Irgun units of the Jewish army. This was interpreted as a sign of the usual vacillation and the Irgun thereupon proceeded to attempt to unload the ship at Tel-Aviv. A battle resulted and the ship was put afire by shore batteries. Forty people were killed in the battle. Among the killed was Abraham Stavsky, convicted assassin of the labor leader, Arlazaroff. Approximately 400 were arrested as a result of this incident.

VICTORY FOR BEN-GURION

The Irgun and Stern groups announced their withdrawal from the Jewish army and their return to the underground, calling for the overthrow of the government, which they characterize as a "Marxist dictatorship" of the Labor Party and Ben-Gurion. The ministers of the Misrachi and its labor affiliate resigned from the government-not because of any religious questions involved, but to uphold an ally of theirs in the fight against the real labor movement of Palestine.

However, the main groups of the Jewish bourgeoisie felt that the time was not ripe for a civil war NOW. The entire Jewish press with the exception of the Revisionists condemned the actions of the Irgun. With the uneasy truce liable to break down at any moment, they thought the time inappropriate. This feeling, it is reported, is shared by a good many of the rank and file of the Irgun and Stern groups who are returning to their posts. These are the nationalist elements who were attracted to the Irgun on a purely nationalist basis and ignored, rather than adopted, the semi-fascist and anti-working class policies of the leadership. The Misrachi ministers have returned to their fleshpots on the promise of an amnesty for those arrested. The Stern group has ordered its men back into the army and a statement of Irgun Radio said that Beifiin (Irgun leaders) would do the same in a few days.

Ben-Gurion will probably use this victory to proceed to erase the independence of the Irgun and Stern group within the official army. In the June 25 issue of LABOR ACTION we said that the degree of military freedom of the Irgun within the army would be decided by "the political struggle." The accident of the timing (Continued on page 2)

procedure followed against the Yugoslavian CP amounts to a frame-up, that the Yugoslavian leaders are asked to confess to things they are not guilty of, and that the charges of bureaucracy and suppression of party democracy apply more accurately to the Russian party.

DEFEAT FOR STALIN

Tito's break with Stalin represents a major defeat for the latter, perhaps the most serious blow he has received since coming to power. Though the train of events which this break has set in motion is yet in its first stage, it already poses possibilities that could easily lead to Stalin's eventual downfall, an event that could alter the course of history for decades and, perhaps, centuries.

Even if Stalin should emerge once more as master of the situation in Yugoslavia, Tito's defiance will have proved a terrible setback to the Kremlin and a cause for increased caution in any effort to expand by means other than direct Russian military conquest. In any event, the outcome of the Yugoslavian crisis will have repercussions among the Stalinist rank and file throughout the world on a scale greater than any previous incident, including the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The Yugoslavian events are the first concrete manifestation of a problem posed in theory by the Workers Party in discussions that revolved around the means by which the Kremlin would keep its control, of the satellite countries not occupied by Russian troops. The possibility that the native bureaucracies of the satellite counteries would counterpose their own national interests to those of the Russian rulers was foreseen, though its sudden emergence came as a complete surprise.

The Workers Party's analysis of Russian expansion as a new form of imperialism, based upon the bureaucratic-collectivist social order that emerged in the Stalinist period, noted that, unlike capitalist imperialism, the Russian system could not make its satellites economically dependent upon the ruling power, but, on the contrary, established such economic relations as to drain the satellite countries without any serious compensation. Such a relationship could be maintained only if the satellite countries were kept in an ironbound police dictatorship by their native

CRUCIAL MOVES

It is not excluded that Tito's defiance of Stalin is either already linked to elements with the Russian bureaucracy or can become an issue around which such elements can mobilize 'support. Tito's defection will be understood clearly as a major catastrophe for Stalin among the rival tendencies of the Russian bureau-(Continued on page 4)

play a completely independent role as between the Western bloc and the Russian bloc, as a "bridge" or "balance of power" between East and West.

The new Yugoslav program, even more than the reply to the Cominform, may be interpreted to mean that Tito's longer-range perspective is: to blackmail Russia into accepting him WITHIN THE RUSSIAN WAR BLOC with a status similar to that which, for example, Churchill hopes to attain for a "Western Union" within the American-dominated war bloc.

While speculation along these lines, based as it must be on fragmentary indications, is highly risky (to say the least), there have been previous indications of such moods among some elements within Stalin's satellites. The idea of such a Balkan federation was first put forward not by Tito but indeed by Dimitrov, subfuehrer of Bulgaria. This proposal, which was made last year presumably after conversations with the Yugoslavs, brought a rebuke from Moscow and the idea was dropped. What was then a feeler for Dimitrov becomes now a program for Tito, put forward in the teeth of Russian (Continued on page 4)

NEW YORK MEETING NEXT FRIDAY MAX SHACHTMAN Will Speak on: Tito-Stalin Break LABOR TEMPLE FRIDAY, JULY 9 242 East 14th St. (near 2nd Ave.) Admission: 35 Cents

LABOR ACTION



Reuther Group Wins in Michigan CIO

By WILLIAM MILLER

Page 2

GRAND RAPIDS, June 23 - The Michigan State Convention of the CIO has just concluded with an overwhelming victory for the Reuther group. An infinitesimal opposition composed almost exclusively of Stalinists had just enough strength to attempt to put on a show.

This convention, called as the Michigan CIO is preparing itself for the coming November elections, completely failed to answer the problems of the workers. The main resolution of the convention, calling for working within the Democratic Party, was passed with only a minimum of discussion. The convention was a very dull affair with none of its traditional life and color.

Inasmuch as the Stalinist forces were so small, the attempts of the Scholle leadership to whip up enthusiasm against the Stalinists were greeted with immense apathy by the delegates. The demonstration following the nomination of Gus Scholle for president of the Council was a very artificial one in which only a small percentage of delegates participated.

This convention of the Michigan CIO Council has always been regarded as a testing ground for the UAW convention. It was at its 1944 convention that there was begun the fight against the no-strike pledge which reached such fruition in the UAW convention several months later. It was at its last convention that the Reuther victory in the UAW was first indicated. Consequently, this convention is of particular interest because it shows the beginning of a division in the Reuther forces which heretofore have been united in their opposition to Stalinism.

The Scholle-Hopkins leadership of the state council has always been regarded as the conservative section of the Reuther group in Michigan. Its main base lies in the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), and has in addition to this surrounded itself with typical anti-Stalinist bureaucrats. These elements of the Reuther group have always been the consistent defenders of "CIO policy," and have always hewed to the Murray political line.

As contrasted to this group, there has always been a "left" group in the Reuther caucus which has been best personified by Emil Mazey. This group contributed the bulk of the opposition to the No-Strike Pledge during the war and has been the advocate of a labor party in the UAW.

The developing division in the UAW could be seen in the struggle for vice-presidential posts. A superficial observor might see a fight between rival bureaucrats for a job; yet the real struggle stems from the fact that one section of the Reuther group is determined to cut out the progressive section from leadership positions. The original struggle developed when the leadership proposed that the slate consist entirely of the incumbents with absolutely no changes. This was opposed by many rank-andfile delegates since two of the incumbent vice-presidents are regional directors of the UAW. After a struggle in the inner councils, these two, Mc-Cusker and Cote, stepped down. The replacement for Cote was a routine one, but a new struggle developed over the replacement for McCusker. Although the Scholle forces had entrusted the chairmanship of the resolutions committee to Ken Morris of Briggs Local 212, they seemed absolutely determined to keep him from representing the East Side UAW on the board. Instead, Ann Patuska of Local 29, an active ACTU member, was given the nomination on the slate. This caused a good deal of indignation among East Side delegations including the Briggs 212 group, Dodge Local 3 and Ford Local 400. The delegates had expected a caucus of East Side locals to name the nominee; instead the ACTU member was handpicked by the top leadership. And it was this organizational fight Democratic Party." An appraisal that typified the growing division in , made at the same time that the like-

policy" group and the labor-party forces.

PROGRESSIVES EMERGING

The labor-party forces at this convention were extremely disorganized. The feeling of hopelessness and helplessness as a result of the CIO-political-action policy left the labor-party supporters demoralized. Many of them supported the PAC proposal, saying "What else can we do?" Yet many were so weak in their support that the slightest argument would shake them into silence. Since there was no active leadership for the labor-party proposal, these delegates remained silent and their sole expression of discontent became manifest during the organizational fight for

vice-presidential posts. The convention was chaired in a

the Reuther group between the "CIO in contrast to Walter Reuther's chair- November, and, if they are negative, manship of the last UAW convention. Scholle's stubborn refusal to seat a small Stalinist delegation won many ' tion the organization of a new posupporters on this particular issue for the Stalinists.

> Another significant rebellion was indicated by the refusal of the delegates to accept biennial conventions. When the proposal was made by the Scholle leadership at a caucus in Detroit, there was not one single person who spoke against the proposal. Yet at the convention, where the Reuther forces were so overwhelmingly powerful, this proposal was voted down by an overwhelming vote.

The complete bankruptcy of the Murray leadership as represented by Scholle can be seen in the resolution on political action. This resolution called for working within the Demobureaucratic manner by Gus Scholle, cratic Party, assessing the results in

the Michigan CIO Council should recommend to the National CIO Convenlitical party independent of the old parties.

The remainder of the resolutions were routine resolutions on the Community Chest, elimination of sevenday operation, etc. There was no real debate on the convention floor on any issue.

But the importance of the convention-if its past characterizations as a testing ground holds for the future -lies in the fact that a progressive group is emerging from the Reuther caucus basing its program on a labor party. This group is still groping for existence, is largely unaware that it exists. Yet the short struggle over the vice-presidential posts has proved that a new phase of struggle is developing in the UAW.

July 15 Is Set For Shachtman Speech on WEVD

NEW YORK -- Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, will speak over Station WEVD on Thursday evening, July 15. The time is 10 to 10:30 p.m. His subject will be "What Next in Europe?"

Shachtman has just returned from Europe after a stay of several months. During this time he made contact with leading socialists in the French, Spanish, Italian and German movements. He became thoroughly acquainted with the French political scene, including the new tendencies collected in the Democratic Revolutionary Rally.

His talk should prove of interest to all socialists and militant workers. Friends of the Workers Party are urged to get together for a radio night to listen to Comrade Shachtman and to discuss his speech.

NAACP Will Stick With Truman

By KATE LEONARD .

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the leading organization concerned with the securing and protecting of civil rights for Negroes in the United States, held its annual convention in Kansas City, Mo., last week, meeting from June 22 through June 27. Simultaneously it published its report covering the work of the last four years.

ty widely. The convention was addressed by Oscar R. Ewing, federal security administration, a Truman man with a vengeance. Southern delegates from Texas, Baltimore, etc., testified that their local members had a strong preference for Truman.

lihood of a Southern "rebellion" go-

ing to that length is deprecated pret-

Wallace forceseat the convention caused some little trouble. They described their position as "strong but The theme of this 39th conference not antagonistic." Walter White beof the NAACP was "political action gan the first day by chiding them to secure civil rights." The Associafor "muddying the political waters of tion leadership, while reaffirming its the organization," saying that the traditional position that the NAACP Wallace movement would lead to the is "multi-partisan"-that is, that it return of a more conservative Conwould continue to refrain from the gress than the 80th Congress. Walblanket endorsement of a party or a lace supporters demanded that the candidate while working for the inpro-Truman speech of Dr. Tobias be corporation of a civil rights program stricken from the record. White reinto the policies of all parties on loplied with a statement which said in cal and on national issues-in effect part, "No member or officer of the gave approval to the Democratic Association should use or exploit his Party, and to the man who in all connection with the NAACP as a probability will be its standard hearmeans of obtaining office or preferer in the coming national election, ence." It can be assumed validly that one reason the leadership did not go The agenda and the discussion further in abandoning its formal were very weighted. Perhaps the high "non-partisan" stand was the "spankpoint of this tactic was the speech of ing" value this might have in han-Dr. Channing H. Tobias, awardee of

dling the Wallace minority. More than "spanking" seems not to have ident of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and been required. On the second day the delegates debated the question of democracy

port of this committee "the most within the organization. Walter White, again taking up the cudgels, accused White House since the Emancipation 'some political organizations" (presumably the well-known backers of the Wallace candidacy) of seizing upon technical questions of organzization as a means of spreading conision in the association. No doubt a

measure for judging the success of tory. It would be easy to give due last year's campaign for 1,000,000 praise, and stopping there, go on to members: short of the goal by at least something else. 40 per cent. It would be easy and wrong, for There is a financial crisis and the

convention voted to increase membership fees to \$2.00 a year. The reason for this could be simply said-the cost of living for organizations too has gone up. But Walter White's strange motivation should not be passed in silence. He quoted the late lamented Kelly Miller, "For too many" years the Negro has paid for what he wanted and begged for what he needs." Viewed only as a collection speech, this is a bad one. Considering its source, it smacks of middleclass snobbery. Mr. White needs to be reminded that while Kelly Miller had a caustic tongue, it was not always aimed in the right direction.

POLITICAL ESSENTIALS ABSENT

Apparently without too much difficulty, the leadership of the NAACP is well on its way to pulling this organized movement into the Truman camp, to the support of one of the two parties of capitalism. The ease with which it is happening only underscores the tragic situation in which labor today finds itself. The tragedy-not only for the NAACP, but for the whole struggle of Negroes "to secure these rights"-is identical with the impasse of organized labor. The minimum essential, a political arm, a labor party, is absent. The NAACP is right that Wallace is no alternative.

It is correct to scan and weigh programs, but what program bears the right, he usually strikes two at scrutiny? The campaign promises of the left.

Labor Notes From The West Coast

By WILLIAM BARTON

OAKLAND, June 26-With the big beef on the waterfront as backdrop, the labor movement in the San Francisco Bay Area, continues to jump from one hot situation to another. About a week ago, the second strike in two years was threatened for the Key Transit System, operating all transit lines in the East Bay and across the Bay Bridge to San Francisco. The issue was, primarily, wage increases. The Key workers, members of the AFL Carmen's Union, postponed their strike, set for June 1, and ultimately accepted an agreement close to the national pattern-an immediate 8 cents an hour increase, and another 2 cents in five months.

Shortly afterwards the CIO Warehousemen, members of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Local 6. struck most of the large distributors in northern California, They, too, settled for a 10 cent an hour increase, after an eight day, walkout provoked by the adamant stand of the employers. Despite the fact that the local is one of the Stalinist strongholds in the national labor picture, the strike received the official or unofficial support of not only both wings of the split California CIO, but also much of the AFL, including the sometimes hostile San Francisco **Building Trades Council.**

An interesting sequel was the refusal of one large outfit, Safeway an annual convention is a time for Stores, to continue bargaining with thought and appraisal. Support to the local and the preparation to recognize the AFL Teamsters, who seem Truman is not the way to hasten the hell-bent on raiding the CIO wherjoining of the issue. That requires ever there is the slightest opening. independent pressure and in the ab-In this case the union went to the sence of the first prerequisite for effective independent pressure, a politicourts. Superior Court Judge Herbert cal arm of labor, it would perhaps Kaufman has issued a restraining orbe presumtuous to answer the quesder demanding that the company adhere to the master contract between tion: can the NAACP be transformed Local 6 and the Distributors Associinto a militant mass movement of ation of northern California, and to protest against Jim Crow and discrimination? The question is posed appear in court on June 28 to "show cause" wh yit should not be permaby the country in which we live. nently restrained from attempting to Such a movement will come out of ignore the contract. this organization, or will come be-

sistance by a labor organization is made doubly questionable by the recent experience of its international organization on the · waterfront. Whereas the East Coast maritime unions have had a full-fledged 80 day Taft-Hartley Act injunction tossed at them, the West Coast unions have only received a temporary restraining order until July 4. The Bridges leadership of the longshoremen's union, which at first adopted the attitude of "let's wait and see what happens after the injunctions wear off" now appears to be spreading the idea that the present court order is only a beginning and nothing better can be expected later. In a recent union bulletin, Bridges said "Our battle is not going to be won in the courtschances are that we will lose." Although he continues along the lines of "when we are free to strike, we will strike," the same bulletin has little bits of admonition to "keep cool for 80 days," "don't get all heated up"-the clear hint being "take it easy." Some sort of job action response to government by injunction is now very popular on the entire Pacific Coast; employers are already

The victories of 1934 and '36 can not be sacrificed by default. Bridges and company know that if they are responsible for such a loss they are through. This is one of those few moments in contemporary history when the interests of Stalinist leaders and the labor movement temporarily coincide. But the confusion caused by the Stalinist twists and turns, the sharp divisions in the labor movement produced by their rule or ruin tactics, the fact that they are mostly driven by the needs of Moscow and not of the labor movement, makes the ability of any union they control to combat the boss offensive that much more difficult. It remains to be seen whether the CIO longshoremen and the other waterfront unions under their domination can overcome that obstacle as well as the waterfront employers and their government.

denouncing "slow downs."

Irgun — Haganah Battle — (Continued from page 1)

a civil war is that it once more exof the "Altalena incident" has deposed the Irgun as a front organization of the Revisionists. In addition cided this issue quicker than we exto the facts that leading Revisionists pected. Ben-Gurion is at the same were involved in the fighting and time moving to illegalize ALL nonthat Irgun received support from the official military organizations, includ-Revisionist press, the invasion by the ing the Palmach, semi-autonomous Revisionist youth group of the Hisstriking force of the Haganah. This tadruth building in Tel-Aviv and the strongly opposed by the United consulate in New York clinches the Workers Party, whose members compoint. Kenneth Bilby of the Herald prise the overwhelming majority of Tribune reports that the Revisionists the of the Palmach. Their protests will "join" the newly formed Irgun will, of course, be of no avail. When "Freedom Movement." a Social-Democrat strikes a blow at

LABOR ACTION was the FIRST to point out that Count Bernadotte and land is on the verge of recognizing the Jewish state in order to clear the flanks of trouble and concentrate on Berlin, Europe and Russia. King Abdullah, however, is not giving up in attempting to convince the other Arab feudal lords to give him most of Palestine. He is now proceeding to visit his family enemy, Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia.

Count Bernadotte, it is reported, has presented a draft of a peace plan that includes: (1) reduction of the area of the Jewish state; (2) complete internal independence of the Jewish state; (3) foreign affairs and

The wisdom of this use of court as-

Negroes and their friends know what the President has done for them and are grateful to him."

and followed by more in the same

vein. The convention saw the unu-

sual spectacle of a politician de-

nouncing his own party. Dowdal H.

Davis, managing editor of the Kan-

sas City Call, who admits to being a

"lifelong Republican," said that there

was nothing to inspire confidence in

the platform of his party on the civil

Austin T. Waldin, the attorney in

the NAACP-sponsored Ingram de-

fense case, stated that the Negro "be-

the Spingarn medal. Dr. Tobias, pres-

a member of the President's Com-

mittee on Civil Rights, called the re-

revolutionary thing done at the

Proclamation," and praised the Presi-

dent as follows, "Since this is a po-

litical year, the public tends to con-

fuse motives, but in this instance

President Harry S. Truman.

MORE OF SAME

rights issue.

valid statement to the extent that it was directed to the Stalinists and their fellow travelers, but hardly one which answers the charge of lack of This latter statement may have democracy in the functioning of the been the high-or the low-point in organization. the gearing of this convention to the Truman cause, but it was preceded

ORGANIZATION DIFFICULTIES

To quote a man whose understanding of such matters is translucent (that much can be said for George S. Schuyler): "Nor has too much progress been made in democratizing the association. Selection of delegates to the annual conference is not yet on an equable basis nor is the selection of board members. In this the NAACP lags behind most other organizations of a mass character.'

longs" in the Democratic Party of In this connection, as well as in attempting an appraisal of the the South for "practical reasons." It NAACP as an adequate instrument is not clear just what Mr. Waldin meant by this remark, which is given for an organized militant struggle for democratic rights for Negroes. out of context in the news releases, but perhaps he agrees with Henry membership figures as reported to the convention have their signifi-Lee Moon that the Negro vote in sevcance. The "over 800" delegates comeral Southern states "is sufficiently ing from 40 states of the Union and influential to keep the South in the Hawaii represented a membership of about 580,000. A pretty accurate tape

The last four-year period has not been a barren one in the field of civil rights. It is not difficult to draw up a balance sheet, with the pros and the many cons, and this in part the NAACP report does. The NAACP emerged from the war years the strongest of the organizations in the field. To point out that it attained its ascendancy at least in part by default may now be irrelevant. It is a stable organization with a tradition and it has been able to make something of an adjustment to a changed

It deserves full credit for the work accomplished in the last four years. Notably, the legal struggle to have the white primary outlawed and the campaign against the restrictive covenant. Its opposition to separate and unequal facilities in education and in transportation; its excellent analysis of the medical picture as it affects the Negro, published in pamphlet form under the title "Medical Care and the Plight of the Negro," are well known. The Ingram defense case, begun by J. B. Dorsey, mechanic, president of the Americus, Ga., branch of the NAACP, is current his-

situation.

THREAT OF CIVIL WAR

side it.

is

Liquidating the freedom of the Irgun and Sternists within the Jewish army in the state of Israel will not, however, lay the ghost of threatened civil war. The key to this question lies in Jerusalem and "elsewhere." where the Irgun and Stern groups claim the right to continue as independent military forces. The events since the signing of the original agreement of unity point to the fact that both groups will attempt to keep their power intact by deserting other fronts and concentrating in Jerusalem. It is clear that with their power concentrated in nearby Jerusalem, "elsewhere" will include the territory of Israel. And, above all, it is absurd to allow the most important and decisive front in the entire Palestinian war to become the plaything of semi-fascist bands who want to use it as a stepping-stone on the road to authoritarian rule. The next time they move it will be a premeditated and planned move that will be more difficult to stop.

One of the by-products of this illtimed attempt at the first stages of

England would attempt to prolong the truce indefinitely in order to whittle away at the Jewish state. By now every source reports that the UN is trying to get an indefinite truce. They are especially anxious to prolong the truce until after the presidential election in the U.S. and then put through a new "solution" at the fall session of the UN in Paris. one more favorable to their alliesespecially Abdullah.

NEW PEACE PLAN

Ø

In the meantime, Egypt has violated the truce by firing on a UN plane and preventing a Jewish convoy from reaching Jewish settlements in the Negev. Count Bernadotte has given the Jews the right to do as they please. This violation of the truce follows close on the heels of King Abdullah's visit to Cairo and is undoubtedly the result of the failure of Abdullah to cede the Negev to Farouk of Egypt. Abdullah, however, continues to make violent statements that he will never accept any Jewish state. This despite recurring reports in the Jewish press that Engdefense to be under control of a central government. There is no question that these proposals are only a heginning in the demands that will be made on the Jewish state in an attempt to transform Rhodes into a new Munich.

American workers can be a decisive factor in preventing a new Munich by demanding the lifting of the embargo immediately and the preparation of arms shipments to leave as soon as the current truce ends. At the same time the American working class should insist that the government redeem its promise and use its transports to help 100,000 Jewish DPs migrate to Palestine NOW, instead of allowing them to rot in the stifling atmosphere of converted concentration camps.

Subscribers ____ Attention!



NAME ADDRESS APT. CITT ZONE. STATE □ Bill me □ Payment enclosed (Stamps, currency or Postal Note)

The June 14 issue of LABOR AC-TION has a front page factual mistake which, while not very serious, may be picked up by some critical reader. The remark is made that the peacetime draft before the last war was passed by one vote. That is not the case. It was passed by a decisive vote in both houses, though the opposition was greater than at present. The "one vote" decision came on the provision to keep the selectees in after their originally stipulated one year was up. I believe it was passed by that one vote in the House in the fall of 1941.

We Stand

Corrected

Editor:

William BARTON, Oakland, Calif.

The Nature and Use **Of ERP Assistance**

Editor:

The question of ERP and whether, if, or, and/or the proper prospective is being taken by socialists in wanting it, not wanting it, wanting it and yet not really wanting it, has almost reduced the subject to a state of comical aspect. Theoreticians, polemicists, logicians and what have you have all answered one another, and agree on one thing: that they can't agree on anything. Leaving aside all minor considerations, considerations which on the face of them appear more like doctrinaire arguments among persons with a viewpoint rather than an attempt at solving the problem, it

we may not agree on all of its ramifications, is to support ERP, that big bad bogey man that masquerades under the euhepmism of "democracy"

or what have you. We take it for granted at the outset that whatever aid is sent or will be

sent over is merely done in order to purchase the goodwill of the peoples of Europe for ourselves as against Russia. Democracy in its pure sense does not enter in here and dealing as we are with two varieties of World Expansionists, it is foolish to think that directly the masses of the aided countries are aided through any altruism on either side. Bought and suborned elections in America are put in the background when focused at the European end of the telescope. Whatever aid the peoples of Europe would seem that the only course might receive will be in spite of

available, at the moment, as much as United States effort, rather than because of it.

> An analogy might be made here of capitalistic custom, particularly in the United States. When a Hutton, a Rockefeller, a Guggenheim, passes on they leave to posterity a sizeable amount which is put into a fund, or foundation for the, perpetuation of their name. But also with this there are a few beneficiaries among the proletariat who are the recipients of their largesse. What happens to ERP will approximate the above instance. It is not the best alternative, but the only one which will enable the peoples of Europe to ward off Stalinism. Being in a third camp, there is little business to be done with either of the contestants. Every move is a transitory one, an expedient rather than a solution. Until the masses all over the earth reconcile themselves to the fact

that there is a way out. we must be content with devices, means, and palliatives in dealing with them. We don't like this method, we wish we could straightforwardly deal them their cards and let them play out their hands. But we aren't dealing. Whatever cards we can get our hands on we must, due to the situation, smuggle them, or divert them to aid our own ends. The field of possibilities, and probabilities appears exhausted from reading LA. We now get semi-humorous allegorical comments, and critic lambasts critic. As mentioned above, the combatants seem more intend on flooring one another than contributing to a discussion of the isesue at hand.

Norman JOHNSTONE-N. J.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

July 5, 1948



By JACK BRAD

What is the origin of the Wallace-Stalinist Party? Was it born of great working class struggles and consequent transformations in the social philosophy of the masses? Will



teria. The new party is different from all its predecessors, not only in program, but in origin and consequences. While great discontent exists among all classes, and in the working

the new party serve as a cita-

del of political power for labor

to offset the attacks of Amer-

ica's ruling capitalists? All

previous new popular political

parties have satsified these cri-

class in particular because it bears the brunt of American capitalism's drive for profits and world rule, masses of people did not create, nor are they actively involved in the new party.

There is no relationship between this great popular wave and the Wallace-Stalinist Party. Problems of wages and price control, of the famous General Motors Program for opening the books and taking all wage increases out of profits, of the rising scale of wages to offset price risesall these economic issues raised in the strikes are hardly basic programmatic issues in the new party. There certainly is not an organic connection between the struggles which raised them and the party. On the other hand, the Reuther leadership in the auto workers union which articulated the GM Program, is conspicuously opposed to the new party.

NOT A LABOR PARTY IN ANY SENSE

The basic problem raised by labor in the post war period is that its previous gains, hard won on the picket line, are stolen back by the political power of the capitalist class through its two parties in Washington. The problem is one of creating a new labor party for political defense and offense. The Wallace Stalinist party is conspicuously not a labor party nor does it claim to be. " It claims to be a "peoples' party" without distinguishing sharply among the classes which compose "people." Thus, in Wallace's latest speeches in New York, Washington and New Hampshire, he claims to be the "only businessman among all the candidates" and "to truly represent the interests of all capitalists" who are not monopolists.

Since the entire labor movement, except for that small section under Stalinist control, is not in the new party, there is no relationship between it and labor's economic organizations. There is no coordination of leadership, program, rank and file, aims, or methods and needs. The new party is a break with the capitalist parties but it is not a party of labor. It is true that many workers will vote for Wallace because they reject the capitalist parties, and it is true that many workers who are for a labor party will do so because they feel they have no alternative, but this will not make it their party.

It is not with the enthusiasm of a new social departure and with the energy of a great social class taking its historic place in political life that workers will vote for Wallace-those who do. What is most striking about this organization is its lack of dynamism. There is lacking that vast social initiative which characterizes social movements. The new party is tightly organized; its leadership and program complete; its structure rigid. There is no way for labor's rank and file to influence this party, to criticize, to suggest, because there are no avenues of expression for this. There is no room in the leadership for those thousands of experienced union militants.

The sharpest differentiation exists between those who wish to express political protest by vote ing for the Wallace-Stalinist Party members. Democracy is completely absent since the condition for membership is the acceptance of Wallace and the party and its program without arenas for challenge or discussion.

1948) categorically claims full credit for first planning this party.

"The Communist Party, from the earliest days after the end of the war, understood that it's traditional fight for a new peoples' party directed against the two-party system of the monopolies had once more been placed by events as an immediate, practical question before the American people, and, acting upon this understanding it boldly proclaimed the need for such a new peoples' party." The first part of this statement is an obvious falsehood because the CP did not conduct such a "traditional fight." Quite the contrary, from 1937 on, Communist parties everywhere called for Peoples' Fronts of Collaboration with and support to capitalist parties. In the U.S. it supported the Democratic Party.

What is clearly stated is the CP's claim to the founding of the new party and that the new party was the outcome of "its (the CP's) traditional fight for a new peoples' party." In the preceding paragraph this resolution states: "the CP was the only force in American political life which instantly grasped the reactionary, imperialist essence of the Marshall Plan, and without wavering or vacillating, undertook the struggle for its exposure and rejection."

oThis is the explanation of the emphasis on foreign policy. The CP resolution explains that the Marshall Plan became the axis of the new party. It was this break between American and Russian imperialism which motivated the CP in breaking with the Democratic Party and in launching the new party.

DUCLOS GIVES WALLACE A PAT

This CP policy has a history. In July, 1945, Jacques Duclos, French CP leader, attacked Earl Browder and, in effect, called for his replacement and a change in CP policy.

In this same statement, Duclos also did the following: (1) he accused Browder of supporting American imperialism because Browder wished to maintain relationships with the Democratic Party; (2) he named Wallace as the exponent of an anti-monopoly policy in con-

trast to Browder; (3) he called for a new political axis of "anti-fascism and anti-monopoly." He very clearly points to Wallace as the obvious and natural spokesman for such a group. These are Duclos's words: "In the U.S. the omnipotent trusts have been the object of violent criticism. It is known for instance, that the former vicepresident of the U.S., Henry Wallace, has denounced their evil doings and their anti-national policy." (Page 670, Political Affairs, July, 1945.)

Later on he again contrasts Wallace and Browder: "The former vice-president of the U.S., Henry Wallace, present Secretary of Commerce, said rightly that one cannot fight fascism abroad and tolerate (it) at home. . . ." Now many people had expressed similar thoughts. Certainly this idea attributed to Wallace was neither new nor unique. Yet Duclos specifically selects Wallace as the spokesman for this idea. The implication is clear.

The same issue of Political Affairs continues an attack upon Browder by the newly annointed Foster who defines the issue as follows: "On the question of the two-party system, it is my opinion that Comrade Browder also dismisses the matter too easily-. While the situation is very much not ripe for a new political lineup in the U.S., nevertheless this can by no means be excluded permanently. . . ." After all, the war with Japan was, still on and Russia was still an ally.

But this resolution of the national committee of the Communist Political Association pointed out the course to be taken in unambiguous terms. In fact the resolution clearly delineates the nature of the Wallace-Stalinist Party to come: "Therefore, it is essential to weld together and consolidate the broadest vote coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces. . . ." And later on: "At the same time, while forging the progressive unity of the nation, labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings and elements who, for one or another reason, desire or endeavor to promote democratic objectives." (Political Affairs—same issue, page 582.)



German Currency Reform

The most striking aspect of the reduction of all Vestern-German assets and liabilities to one-tenth of their previous monetary value is that it is about to become the definitive symbol of Germany's partition. It has furnished the Russians with a weighty pretext for practically closing the zonal "borders" and for further, if so far none too successful attempts, to rally the German masses, specifically those of Berlin, to their side. It has given the Anglo-Americans an instrument to further tie the Western zones to their bloc and provides them additional assurance of political support among what remains of the German capitalists and their minions. In this sense the currency reform, instead of being one of the first steps in the rehabilitation of a shattered economy, epitomizes a policy of greedy cynicism and blind destructiveness.

Currency reform in the Western zones is, of course, a lögical step from the London six-power agreement under which these zones were "unified." The basis of the new Mark is, presumably, increased production and trade resulting from Marshall Plan dollars. Only on that assumption can one of its principal aims, the extinction of the black market and of barter trade, be realized. This, however, appears, as yet, highly problematical as will be shown below.

CONTROLS A FICTION UNDER POTSDAM

The extent of the German black market is a wellknown fact and it is symptomatic, of course, of the low level of production in that country. The only reason why it did not actually, but only potentially, bring about the kind of monetary inflation which had developed in Germany in the early 1920s, was the existence of a rigid system of price controls, allocations and rationing introduced by the Nazi government and, of necessity, retained by the occupation powers. The latter could not, however, retain the death penalty which the Nazis had held suspended over black marketeers and which gave their control system its efficacy.

The idiocy of the Potsdam agreement and the concomitant "Level of Industry Plans," which intended to reduce but practically stopped all vital production, made a fiction out of the control system. The latter has long been a sinecure for a vast body of parasitic bureaucrats, a morass of corruption as well, in the form of taxes, a terrific drain upon legitimate German businesses. On the other hand, the survival of a German firm has necessitated purchases on the black market at a cost which involved great losses in the export market.

Furthermore, there existed-and, reduced to onetenth of the original, still exists-a total debt of 800 billion marks in the form of war debts incurred by the Nazi government and in the form of war damages claimed by German businesses, householders, etc. These debts, like all debts of this kind, constitute claims by the creditors (in the form of bonds) upon future production. But in the United States, unscathed by the war. the repayment of war debts is a major problem as well as one of the causes of inflation or inflationary pressures, how much more so in devastated Germany! The currency reform, in this respect, deals with the assets of the/German petty bourgeoisie in a similar fashion as did Schacht and Dawes in 1924: it wipes them out.

The Christian-Democratic politicians of the Western zones have already become jittery over the effects of this upon their electorate and have asked for a postponement of the elections for the projected constituent assembly until a "reasonable period" after September 1 (the date set for the elections), since they fear "extremist" tendencies may win out. Their fears may well be justified, with the Stalinists taking the place of the Nazis this time.

The workers, not owning anything, will not be diectly affected by the currency reform. It is nonetheless probable that the revival of the German economy, if it comes about, will take place on the backs of the workers. With the extinction of the black market they are no longer able to draw-upon an extra source of come. This will compel them to work longer hours and more intensively at their jobs. This will make them more

dependent upon their wages and this fact will be the basis for effective wage controls.

More important, however, will be the relationship between wages and prices yet to be established. It is no daring prediction to say that this relationship will be entirely in favor of the employers, for the Economic Administration of the tri-zonal area is dominated by the Christian-Democrats in which all the reactionary forces and personages of Western Germany congregate. (The Social Democrats will, as usual, wail; but they will, as usual, put the interests of their machine ahead of the interests of the workers.)

BASED UPON INCREASED PRODUCTION

As indicated above, currency reform must be based upon increased production or fail of its purpose. The inclusion of Western Germany in the Marshall Plan promises some such increase, but it cannot effectively counteract the factors and forces now throttling all perspectives of a decent life for the German people. The "international control" of the Ruhr industries spells planned restriction of their output and this, in turn, affects production in Germany generally. The "Level of Industries Plan." revised in the Western zones in 1947 to allow somewhat increased production, has not been mentioned as being nullified.

Less known, but of far-reaching importance are the functions of the Joint Export-Import Agency (JEIA), a rather obscure Anglo-American body which controls the foreign trade of Germany and has so far prevented almost all trade with Germany where it did not take place on a dollar basis. (Example of its workings: At a time of the most terrible food shortages it refused to have the Germans barter their own products for Dutch surplus food, insisting the Dutch pay dollars for the German goods, dollars which the Dutch, however, lacked.)

The functions of this agency have yet to be altered towards furthering German production. These are only a few of the contradictory factors which stymie "official" Anglo-American policy in Germany.

AIMED AT RUSSIAN POLICY

The Russian policy towards Germany is no less contradictory than the Anglo-Americans', and their attitude on currency reform is but one of many indications. Certain reasons make currency reform in their sector less urgent (though from the point of view of their general German policy it is) than in the West.

1. The black market in the Soviet zone is far less extensive than in the Western areas. This is probably due to the relative absence in a statified economy of the competitive bidding for raw materials and semi-finished goods prevalent in the private-capitalist economy of the tri-zonal area.

2. The black market of the Soviet zone is largely controlled by the Russians themselves and is used to extract "black" reparations, in addition, of course, to enriching themselves. (Neue Volkszeitung, N. Y., Dec. 20, 1947.)

3. The farmers of the Eastern zone are compelled to deliver a certain quota of their crops to the cities. Whatever the effectiveness of this system in feeding the urban population, the low productivity combined with a rigid system of controls and threats leaves the farmer very little to barter or sell on the black market.

4. Claims by German citizens upon the Nazi government have been summarily wiped out and bank assets were seized by the Russians when they occupied their sector.

This relative absence of "internal" currency troubles in the Russian zone is, of course, outweighed by the general needs of the Russians which require them to capture a greater share of German production. actual or potential. With the new mark in the West making two foreign countries out of Germany, the Russians' aims are not necessarily thwarted, but they are far more difficult of achievement, and their "peaceful' pursuit is likely to be a very expensive undertaking. Despite the defensive halo the Anglo-Americans have cast about their latest move in Germany, currency reform is a telling blow at the Russians.

EUGENE KELLER

By JACK RANGER The Republican Congress calls Truman "the poorest president since George Washington." The President calls the 80th Congress, just ended,

PRESIDENT, CONGRESS AGREE EACH IS WORST

THE TRUTH

"the worst in history." There is an awful lot of truth in both charges, and it is high time the trade union movement acted to defend the American people from the old capitalist parties.

From the viewpoint of labor's rights, housing, prices, civil liberties, freedom from militarism, and aid to the world's oppressed, the working class majority in the United States has been hit hard in the past year and one-half.

WHAT CONGRESS DID

First, let's look at what Congress did:

1. It passed the Taft-Hartley bill, thereby placing formidable obstacles in the path of the unions, and making it many times more difficult for unions to function in the interests of their members. The federal Anti-Labor Law has revived the use of the injunction, has subjected unions and union members and leaders to huge fines, has permitted government snoopers to stick their long noses into union affairs, and has made it much more difficult for workers to choose their own union and their own leadership. The boss parties are already agitating for an amendment to the Taft-Hartley law which would outlaw industry-wide bargaining, thus whittling down the unions to a size where they would be all but helpless to defend workers' interests.

2. On housing, Congress upped rent 15 per cent, and left large loopholes for greedy landlords to drive for still higher rent boosts.

3. It turned over \$13,000,000,000 to the armed services-a larger amount than the whole average pre-war annual budget.

4. So far as foreign policy is concerned, Congress and the White House teamed up to support reaction everywhere in the world, aside from that peculiar form of reaction represented by the Russian government and its subject peoples. Washington is supporting monarchical reaction in Greece, fascism in Spain, imperialism in the Far East, militarism in China, despotism in Koreg—and everywhere in the world, Washington is defending the interests of Standard Oil and the other large corporations with extensive interests abroad.

5. Congress pushed through a peactime draft bill to subject the youth of the nation to enforced service in the armed forces.

6. It passed a tax bill which saved pennies for the poor and literally billions of dollars for the rich

7. It passed a bill outlawing portal-to-portal wage suits, thus depriving workers of billions of dollars.

8. It waved the Mundt-Nixon "anti-Communist" bill over the country for weeks, as a means of terrorizing political minorities.

WHAT CONGRESS DIDN'T DO

What Congress didn't do is as important as what it did do.

1. Congress didn't lift a finger to control prices, at a period when most economists warn we are in for a session of "hyper-inflation," and at a time when the cost of living is again reaching new all-time peaks.

2. Congress didn't lift a finger to defend civil liberties, to outlaw poll taxes, to make lynching a federal offense, to require employers to hire without discrimination, or to end Jim Crow in the armed forces.

3. Congress didn't lift a finger to put a roof over a single American family.

4. Congress shrugged its shoulders as the big monopolies continued to pick the pockets of the people. Just to demonstrate sharply its reliable service to monopoly, in the closing days Congress hoved through the Bulwinkle bill exempting the nation's railroads from the anti-trust laws.

Preliminary to the national Wallace convention there have taken place a series of state organizing conventions. With monotonous regularity the delegates represent the same well-known Stalinist-dominated or front organizations. Thus, the only unions which send delegates are the United Electrical Workers, Farm Equipment, Harry Bridges' Longshoremen and Donald Henderson's Cannery Workers. The "peoples' organizations" are represented by the International Workers Order, the Slav Congress, the National Negro Congress and the new Stalinist Negro. Veterans Organization. The ruling committees that emerge from these meetings are not new and are not composed of rank and file popular representatives.

WHY IT WAS CREATED

Finally the party is unique among all previous third parties in its absolute emphasis on foreign policy. In fact, for over six months, Wallace, before the party was launched, kept repeating that if the Truman administration changed its foreign policy toward softening its Russian line, there would be no third party. In fact, in his speeches in Buffalo in 1947 where he announced the new party, Wallace did not even mention the Taft-Hartley Act but based the founding of this party entirely on foreign policy. In establishing criteria for support of candidates, the first and decisive pre-requisite is non-support to the Marshall Plan. This is the first American party to put domestic problems secondary in its program.

Where then did his new party come from? It is clear that it is not a creation of the American working class or of the popular masses. Many may vote for it but they did not build it, join it, become full-fledged proponents within it or attempt to lead it.

The Draft Resolution of the Communist Party National Committee (Daily Worker, May 30,

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism **Published Weekly by the**

Labor Action Publishing Co. 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. General Offices: 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117



Vol. 12, No. 27 July 5, 1948 Emanuel Garrett, Editor Editorial Board: Hal Draper, Henry Judd **Business Manager: Paul Bern**

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50¢ for 6 Mes \$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada, Foreign). Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874

The political road of this third party was laid out three years ago in these CP statements and resolutions. Inspiration for this policy came from the International Communist leadership which, being well-acquainted with the needs of Russian foreign policy for the future, adopted the thirdparty line to implement this policy in the U.S.

STALINIST LEADERSHIP AT HELM

The political report to this National Committee of this CP in February 1948 clearly cuts away from all notions of a class or labor party. It gives as reason for this that the official labor leadership must be rejected (since it already had come out in opposition) and calls for "united front from below." The official labor leadership is excluded in order to keep control and leadership of the new party in CP hands: "It (the new party) did not arise from a severe economic crisis, but was born in the course of the peoples' crusade for peace and civil liberty. It is not a labor party nor even a farm-labor party. It is a new type of peoples' anti-war and anti-monopoly party. . . .'

This resolution, which is as clear a statement on the Wallace party as one can find anywhere, acknowledges that the labor leadership is not in the picture and instead that this "unique party's" uniqueness is defined by this Stalinist leadership at its helm: "The third party and the Wallace movement have not yet the British Labor Party's formal ties with the majority of the trade unions. However, this new political alignment is developing under anti-fascist and anti-imperialist influences (the latest description of CP supporters! J. B.) and not under reactionary Social-Democratic and Redbaiting influences."

In fact the resolution warns of the danger of too obvious CP control of the new party: "In many cases they are compelled to organize on a relatively narrow basis . . . the laudable initiative of the most consistent progressives in helping to form the new parties does not, of course, give them "squatters' rights" and a monopoly on leadership or control."

This is the true history of this Wallace-Stalinist Party. It can be traced from conception to execution in the pages of Stalinist documents. It was born and organized to give an American weapon to Stalinist imperialist policy in his struggle against Wall Street and not out of the needs of American labor, not out of popular mass upswells of discontent, but of Stalinist politics of manipulating the peoples' legitimate desires for their own purposes.

The proof of this analysis is, of course, in the Wallace Party itself. In a subsequent article we will examine the leadership of this party and find the evidence of complete Stalinist control.

Congress Abandons DPs

By JESSIE KAAREN

There is no single item in the political record of American lawmakers that more clearly exposes the hypocrisy of election time slogans describing the United States as a land of free and equal opportunity for all than the action or rather the lack of action taken on the question of resettling the displaced persons of Europe.

Over one million homeless people who have no hope of returning to their native countries live in tin barracks, in makeshift huts, in shacks and hovels in Germany, Austria and Italy on handouts from relief organizations.

This figure includes a quarter of a million Jews who refuse to return to Poland with its post-war pogroms which the GPU cannot or will not control or to other police states behind the Iron Curtain. Added to this number are hundreds of thousands of Protestants and Catholics from the Baltic countries who chose the uncertainties of DP life to the certain misery of life in Stalinist countries. There are also Sudeten Germans and other ethnic groups who were driven from their homes by the so-called peace terms of the Allied countries. Because the United States emerged

from the war as the world's dominant power, it could not entirely ignore the fate of these million people. It helped set up the International Refugee Organization whose purpose it was to have been to resettle the war-uprooted million people. How successfully this organization has been able to deal with the problem may be judged from the frustrated comments of its director, William Hallam Tuck, that the countries of the world have "too little Christian" charity."

CONGRESS ERECTS WALL

After two years of discussion on special legislation to liberalize the rigid American quota restrictions in favor of the small numbers of DPs,

(Comrade Keller will analyze the dispute over Berlin in next week's LABOR ACTION.-Ed.)

Congress passed a bill which is so full of jokers that it is guaranteed to add a few more bricks to the traditional wall barring immigration to the land of "free and equal opportunity." To add insult to injury, the appropriation Congress made for implementing the bill insures that fewer than half of DPs allowed by the bill will be able to come in. The bill sets up a very complicated

machinery to make immigration as difficult as possible: The army must screen and investi-

gate applicants for "purposes of security. • The State Department then makes its own investigation before provid-

ing visas. • The Maritime Commission is put in

charge of providing transportation. The Justice Department is also given a hand in determining whether DP is fit material for the United States.

The Federal Security Agency is then to see to it that an immigrant does not take a job away from an American citizen nor take a home wanted by an American citizen.

Other provisions of the law are: Every prospective immigrant must prove that a job and a house await him in the United States before he is granted a visa. The cut-off date for designating a prospective immigrant as a DP is December 22, 1945. This automatically excludes Polish Jews who fied for their lives to DP camps to escape pogroms, and it excludes large numbers of Jews who drifted in from other countries where they found it impossible to remain.

Another bad feature of the new DP bill which President Truman "reluctantly" signed is that a major portion of the DP quota is to be reserved for natives of Baltic countries. This has the purpose of excluding Jews and Catholics and completely ignores the actual proportion of national groups in DP camps. The bill also stipulates that a large percentage of

the special DP quota be given over to farmers. This was also deliberately inserted to discriminate against Jews. To use the words of Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, a very conservative committee of liberals who were willing enough to settle for a token gesture from the United States toward settling the DP problem, the new bill is a "threat to democracy," its humane features are "a transparent shield for racial and religious bigotry," "hate and racism" are the price exacted for "the salvation of human lives" and the bill "will long be remembered as a betrayal of American principles."

Mr. Harrison furthers says that the bill shows "the tortuous and devious methods adopted to abandon the displaced persons and permanently close our doors to those who need a haven."

Workers who take this problem to heart and want to bring the matter up on the floor of their unions should impress their listeners with the fact that of all the countries in the world which have permitted a trickle of Europeans to enter since the close of the war, the United States-richest country in the world, ranks only fifth. About 35,000 displaced persons were admitted as permanent residents to this country under the terms of its immigration laws since the end of World War II. These people received no assistance from the American government. They either paid their own way or were assisted by relatives or American organizations.



5. Congress refused to increase the legal minimum wage, at a time when a fourth of the American people are going more deeply into debt each month.

6. Congress refused to enact a government health insurance program.

7. Congress refused federal aid for education, at a time when the nation's educational system is grossly inadequate for the needs of the people.

Even in the little things, Congress catered to selfish interests. After making handsome gestures, it left the silly and unfair taxes on oleo; jammed through high tariffs on wool and other commodities; continued farm legislation in the interests of the big farmers.

TRUMAN'S RECORD

Truman was not a shade better than Congress. The Democrat in the White House exercized equal energy in kicking labor in the face.

Truman's criticism of the Republican Congress is as phony as the counterfeit \$10 bills which have recently been flooding Chicago.

The Wall Street Journal in its June 22 editorial took care of Truman on this point. After listing some of Truman's "must" legislation which Congress dumped, that paper stated:

"Now each of these passed-over measures was first suggested by the late President Roosevelt at a time when he had as complete control over Congress as any President has ever had. Mr. Roosevelt had a Democratic Congress and the bills weren't passed then.

"President Truman took over the Roosevelt program and proposed all these same things to Congress while he, too, had a Democratic majority in both Houses. Again the Congress rejected the administration's plans. Curiously, although both Presidents Roosevelt and Truman included these matters in their messages to the Democratic Congresses, THERE WAS NEVER MUCH PRESSURE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FOR ENACTMENT UNTIL A REPUB-LICAN CONGRESS CAME ALONG (my emphasis-J. R.).

"It strikes us that if two Democratic Congresses were dubious of the wisdom of the social legislation offered by a Democratic President it is hardly justifiable suddenly to berate a Republican Congress for showing the same cautions."

Neither the Democratic nor Republican wings of the boss political monopoly can criticize each other with either justice or grace. But the workers who are fleeced by the capitalist political machines can certainly do so.

That's the record of the President and the legislators who were elected to office, most of them with the support of the conservative trade union leadership.

That record provides new proof that what labor needs is not a new deal, but a new party-a national labor party-to take over Washington and form a labor government. We'll never get justice from the Wall Street-dominated old parties.

Page 4

LABOR ACTION

GOP Bets on Two-of-a-Kind: Dewey, Warren; New Yorker's Machine Flattens Opposition

By WYATT LEE

The highly touted free-for-all fizzled out in a walkaway for Governor Thomas E. Dewey at the Republican convention last week, with all the contenders and "favorite sons" scrambling aboard the band-wagon in undignified haste. The "stop Dewey'' move- Tries Again

ment crumbled by the end of the second ballot: the third found the GOP delegates voting with a unanimity that would have delighted Herr Hitler or Generalissimo Stalin. After all the •

fury of the pregle anti-Dewey delegate held fast for his own candidate to the end!

ر کھ

The day before the convention found it even easier to vote approval, again unanimously, for the platform. Labeled pretentiously as a "Declaration of Principles," this document is a conglomeration of generalities that can be interpreted to suit any purpose, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the committee which drafted it, said proudly, "It's a tent big enough so everybody can get under." He might have added that it is worded so vaguely that any candidate can get "out from under" any promises in case of election.

With the nomination of Dewey safely out of the way, the delegates patiently waited while "the boys" picked a vice-presidential candidate for them. Once more the "hopefuls" milled around frantically and rumors spread through the hotel corridors. Erstwhile presidential timber now became saplings bowing to Dewey's whim. Stassen, who at 41 evidently feels able to outlive Dewey at 46, let it be known that he could be "drafted." Martin of Pennsylvania and Halleck of Indiana, both of whom had jumped on the Dewey caravan at opportune moments, angled for the plum. But the man chosen in Dewey's suite and accepted by acclamation by the docile delegates was Governor Earl Warren of California.

The two men who head the Re- keen eye for publicity and political of Oakland, and he has been at it won by the maritime workers. There publican ticket have similar histories. Both are governors of the largest and politically most potent states of the eastern and western seaboards. Both became public prosecutors soon after entering the bar and both have tenaciously kept a place on the public payroll ever since. And both have been loyal servants to their true master, the capitalist class.

To most people, Dewey remains the original "Mr. District Attorney" and the prototype of all "gangbusters." As a brash young man with boundless ambition, he became an assistant U. S. Attorney in New York just before Prohibition was repealed. A determined effort was being made to wipe out powerful gangs which had risen during Prohibition and the "prosperity" years of Harding and Coolidge. Young Dewey soon proved himself a ruthless and determined prosecutor who would not let a legal technicality_stand in his way while cajoling or extorting confessions from the underworld.

.But other men at least as able and even more courageous had battered away to no avail at corruption in New York in decades gone by. It is not generally understood why Dewey was so successful.

Previous to Dewey's appearance on the New York scene, the leading financiers and industrialists of the city had decided that the political methods of corrupt Tammany leaders, allied with the gangs that infested the city, were too costly. The stock market crash of 1929 and shrinking profits during the depression that followed dictated economy to these gentlemen. Their gigantic holdings were in peril as the city government faced bank-

ruptcy. The show opened with the famous Seabury investigation and was followed by a wave of "reform" pressed by the city's financial overlords. Wall Street and the Real Estate Board picked up some queer fish in their fight to oust the Tammany Tiger. La Guardia was one of them, and Dewey was at first only a minnow. From 1931 to 1935 he was content to prosecute beer-runners and bootleggers, usually for income tax evasion. Then he was appointed as spe-

cial assistant attorney general for the

state and raised his sights. With a

prestige, he obtained convictions of a number of racketeers. Finally he administered a decisive blow to tottering Tammany by the convictions of James J. Hines, one of the last of the old style district leaders. When, in 1937, he sought for the first time a public job by election, Dewey had the support of the Republican Party, the Fusian group AND the American Labor Party.

Entrenched in the esteem of New York's capitalists and fixed in the public eye as a cops-and-robbers hero, Dewey began his trek through the jungle of American capitalist politics. He has never achieved genuine popularity and his cold, calculating shrewdness has earned him many enemies in his own party, but last week in Philadelphia he cleared the next .to last obstacle in his marathon race for the Presidency. WARREN'S TREK UPWARD

Warren of California never became as prominent in the public prints as Dewey. He first began eating and living off the taxpayers in 1919, when he was named deputy city attorney

By ALAN WINTER

their just demands.

Taruc put forth their demands for

real national independence, the ar-

rest and prosecution of the collabo-

rators with the Japanese, the reha-

bilitation of the farmers whose goods

and farms had been ravaged while

they were away fighting, in the hills,

and the distribution among the farm

workers of from 50 to 100 hectares

of land to be taken from Japanese

collaborators, from friars' landed es-

first time in three years.

a "gangbuster" and the official biography released to the press is filled with references to gamblers, waterfront thieves and corrupt government officials sent to jail by the fearless prosecutor of Alameda County.

Oddly enough, no reference made to the King-Conners-Ramsey case, the one that made him the darling of the California Republicans more than a dozen years ago. As reported in LABOR ACTION last week, Warren convicted three Marine Firemen's Union officials on charges of murder that were denounced by the labor movement as frame-ups.

Times change and Warren can spot a political trend in time to veer with the wind. When he sent three union officials to San Quentin, Warren was a prosecutor in an area where the waterfront employers used thugs, goons, the National Guard and even public prosecutors to break strikes and crush militant workers. But the waterfront unions grew strong and the bosses-and their political stooges -learned to accept the conditions

ever since. He, too, makes claims as are more subtle ways to undermine the unions than outright violence and frame-ups.

> Warren became a "friend of labor." As governor of a state whose tax coffers were enriched by an influx of war industries and war workers, he sponsored a series of "social security" measures. Nor did he forget his real friends: taxes were cut by about \$90.-000.000 a year. Under his Benign rule. peace and harmony superseded the class struggle and Harry Bridges proposed a perpetual no-strike pledge. Harry Lundeberg, once-militant head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, is reported to sleep with his Warren button pinned on his nightshirt.

How long Warren will be able to maintain his pose as a "friend of labor" is open to question. Probably not long after the first Tuesday in November, if he is elected. As presiding officer of the Senate, he will be under the evil influence of Taft. The day might come when he will relinguish the chair to make a speech about the King-Conners-Ramsey case, now so conveniently forgotten.

By SUSAN GREEN

The kleig lights glaring in the convention hall in Philadelphia illuminated the hypocrisy of big-party conventions. The nominating convention is supposed to be the democratic way for the whole party to choose its candidates. Nothing was clearer at Philadelphia than that the goingson in the hall were window-dressing, the real business being conducted well to the back of the store or, we

might say, under the counter. The facts that the reception given Dewey was cool, that Taft aroused no more enthusiasm though a bit more noise, that Stassen's streamlined stunt brought out more real feeling, these facts meant nothing at all. Once it was established that Dewey and his aides had in the past few years succeeded in getting their hands on the switches that control the Republican machine, there was nothing left to do but to trade with the man at the controls. His stock in trade is jobs, jobs in the Republican campaign that he can hand out as nominee and the juicier jobs he can bestow if elected president.

Already Representative Scott of Philadelphia was rewarded with the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, in recognition of the Pennsylvania delegation going over to Dewey. Newspapermen and radio commentators are bristling with predictions of other pay-offs. Senator Martin, who was the first to relinguish his candidacy in favor of Dewey may be placed as Secretary of Defense, if Dewey wins; Senator Taft has been promised a seat on the United States Supreme Court; and the president of the Chase National Bank is slated for Secretary of the Treasury, just to assure Wall Street that it made a good investment in Dewey.

But what am I saying? Didn't Dewey himself deny, in his acceptance speech, that he made any deals!

One of the most maddening aspects of the convention speeches was the assumption that a Republican victory in November is in the cards. Some of this was, of course, for psychological effect, but not all. Unfortunately the political history of the country gives the Republicans good ground for assuming the victory will be theirs. It is the custom for the mass of the voters, when they want a change, to flip the coin of capitalist politics from one side to the other. The statisticians also point out that in the past century or so, six out of the seven times that congressional control has been voted to the other party, the next presidential election also turned the old party out of the

administration. The people in this country who have the responsibility to change this deadening routine, have done nothing about it. They have left it to the Stalinists to offer their stooge, the Wallace third party, as the treacher-

Congress was in before pressing his much advertised social measures, for not passing which he now upbraids the Republicans.

How The People Had

Their "Choice" Picked

The political finagling of both major parties and their failure to solve vital problems for the people because of loyalty to capitalist profits and interests, have left a mark on the people. With strong, independent working class leadership in the form of an independent labor party, the working people can be broken of their tweedledee and tweedledum political habit.

If the mood of the convention speeches was emphatically optimistic, the theme of most of them was anti-New Deal. This was beating a dead horse merely for the sake of venting anger. For many Republican politicians and their big business backers nurture such a blind hatred for anything favoring labor or advocating government intervention in pressing social problems that they cannot see that the New Deal has been dealt and that the Democratic Party is no longer a New Deal party.

The tragic thing is that the leaders of organized labor had hitched their wagon to the New Deal, though it was apparent from the start that it was simply a political technique for pulling American capitalism out of a severe crisis by making pacifying gestures toward the working people. who were restless under the denression. The Democratic Party has made it amply clear that the New Deal was no star, only an empty balloon. The Republicans, in jumping on the poor, deflated thing, are actually showing their sentiments toward labor and the working people who had mistakenly looked to the New Deal for permanent progress.

All politicians are very mindful of the fact that women cast a great. percentage of all the votes. The efficient Mr. Dewey and his aides are all out to create good will among the fair sex.

One of the most disgusting spectacles at the convention, as reported in the press, was the bargain counter set up by the Dewey managers to win friends among the women gathered in Philadelphia. The get - something - for - nothing craze created by business advertising in radio quizz and other programs had a field day at the Dewey headquarters.

Great baskets of articles contributed by business supporters of Dewey were carried about by ushers, and women delved into them to grab something to take home. Then, every thousandth woman to enter the headquarters was hailed as a queen and presented with something really big from the bargain counter. The bedlam was worse than a sale of nylons in Klein's on New York's Union Square. Everybody came in and went out several times not only to

cracy and Stalin's loss of prestige ished economy, the Pan - Balkan may do more to embolden them than dreams of the new Yugoslavian rulany event in the last two decades. ing elass, the uncertain composition Rumors of friction between Molotov of the latter, the peasant character and Zhadnov take on more serious of Tito's mass base, and Yugoslavia's proportions in the light of the Yugoinvolvement in the civil war in Greece. The background and immediate cir-

The rapidity with which events are

Blow to Kremlintates, and from cleared forest lands. These were not the demands of Russian war, the lure of Marshall outlaws bent upon murder and pill-Plan aid for Yugoslavia's impoverage. These were the simple demands of workers and farmers who wanted to rear their families in peace. "We will give up our arms," said the workers and peasants of Luzon, "when the government has fulfilled its promises-not before."

WORKERS SHIELDED RESISTERS

ment and 50,000 troops trained by the lief measures. Food, clothing, funds American army, led an all-out attack Luis Taruc, a duly elected senator upon the Philippine labor and peasto the Philippine Congress, appears

Philippine Rulers "Forgive" Huks

Amnesty Loaded with Danger for Valiant Resistance Rank and File

ant movement. openly in Manila this week for the The leaders of the Philippine equivalent to the CIO were jailed In April, 1946, Luis Taruc had been or hounded into the hills of Pomelected to the Congress of the Philippanga. Battalions of Philippine MPs pines by the workers and peasants of were dispatched to arrest the leaders Pompanga. The long, bitter years of of the PKM, the peasants' party of Japanese occupation had ended and 1,000,000. A warrant for the arrest the workers and peasants, who had of Luis Taruc on the charge of murfought without pause against the der was issued by the courts of Roxas Japanese under the leadership of and a reward was offered for the Taruc, elected him to the Congress so capture of Taruc, dead or alive. that he could be the spokesman for

Taruc was forced to flee to the rice paddies and hills of Pompanga. Thousands of men, the people who had elected him, half clothed, naked feet scuffing along dusty roads, carried their captured Japanese rifles, their bandana full of cartridges, to the defense of Luis Taruc and of their organizations.

This was not the first time they had done this. For the three years 1942-45 they had fought under the leadership of Taruc against the Japanese oppressor-now they were going to fight against their own home grown oppressor. For three more years they fought with less and less cartridges, rusting rifle barrels, knives-their bare hands. They were without medical supplies, sufficient medical care and subject to tropical disease. But they were not conquered. They were not conquered because the

workers and peasants of Luzon supported them, gave them food, offered them hiding places, at great personal risk and sacrifice to themselves. QUIRINO OFFERS AMNESTY A few months ago, President Elpidio Quirino offered them a full amnesty. This week. Luis Taruc, according to a New York Times report, flew down from the hills and stood for the first time in three years in the halls of Malacanan Palace. "Mr. Taruc's men," says the Times, "retained their arms, including submachine guns, rifles and side arms, until they reached Malacanan." One can imagine with what reluctance the Huk (Hukbalahap) fighters stood defenseless before their implacable foe. All dressed up in the majestic phaseology of the law, the amnesty "forgives" the workers and peasants of Luzon for "crimes of rebellion, sedition, assault upon, resistance to and disobedience to persons of authority and/or illegal possession of arms." In return for this, the Huks "shall present themselves with all their arms and ammunition" to government authorities within 20 days. "You are forgiven," cries the Philippine capitalist and landowner, only come down out of the hills, give up your guns, we will protect you." Says the New York Times, "The way is left possibly open, however, for prosecution of crimes against persons not in authority, theluding murder, rape and robbery."

will be needed so that the peasants can once more till the soil and the worker ply his trade.

The American labor press can focus attention upon the Philippine situation and keep the American worker informed of the danger to our Philippine brothers. There must be no massacre of the Huk fighters. Complete freedom must be granted the Huk leaders. The words of the

Tito Splits-

(Continued from page 1) opposition and directed specifically at Bulgaria itself.

No doubt Tito is counting on the existence of a strong bloc within the Bulgarian CP to back up his invitation and to attempt to carry that country along the same road that he has taken. The fact that the Bulgarian CP has adopted the obligatory "unanimous" resolution supporting the Cominform means, of course, nothing more than that the Moscow machine is still in control in Sofia. ISSUE OF GREECE

This might also be considered as accounting for the fact that Tito's proposal for a Balkan union is specifically directed to Bulgaria and not

amnesty alone cannot guarantee this.

pounded of many factors, making up in their totality a complex picture. They involve the unique origin of the Yugoslavian regime, created with-Yugoslavia's severe economic problems, internal opposition to Tito's police regime, Yugoslavia's vulnerable position in event of an American- sible course of events.

slavian events.

(Continued from page 1)

cumstances of the crisis are com- unfolding and their profound implications make it impossible to analyze these factors at this writing in anything but a tentative and speculative vein. However, the crucial moves out direct Russian military assistance, now being made will crystallize in a more definite pattern in the next week and our next issue will give more extensive treatment of the pos-

The then president of the Philippines was one Manuel Roxas, archcollaborator with the Japanese and lackey of American big business. Roxas and his hirelings refused to permit Luis Taruc, senator by right of his election by the people of his constituency, to take his seat in Congress. Instead, Roxas, with \$50,000,000 supplied by the American govern-

NEED U. S. LABOR AID

What will happen to these valiant fighters? Will Taruc and the other Huk leaders once again be jailed and left to rot in a tropical dungeon after a few weeks of freedom? Will the half naked, straw hatted Huk squadrons be once more massacred before their stacked rifles as were their fellows before them? This must not come to pass. The workers and peasants of Luzon will, of course, do all in their power to prevent this. The workers and farmers of the United States must offer them aid.

No one believes that the Philippine capitalists will give to the workers and peasants of Luzon what they could not get with arms in hand. The struggle of the Philippine worker and peasant for land, livestock, the right to organize and for freedom, will go on unabated. The American labor movement can help a great deal by organizing the necessary re-

to Rumania, which also has a common border with Yugoslavia. Added factors may also be:

(1) The Rumanian regime, much more than the Bulgarian, consists primarily of hand-picked Stalinist quislings on top with little or no mass base of their own before being installed in power.

(2) The question of Greece also undoubtedly plays a role. The Cominform denunciation clearly indicates that there has been some kind of difference between Moscow and Belgrade over their attitude toward the Greek Stalinist rebellion. While the Cominform accuses Tito of sabotaging General Markos, reports have more generally been that it is Tito who favored a stronger and more aggressive attitude in that situationwhich presumably means more open aid to Markos from the two satellite neighbors of Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. It is to be seen whether Tito will seek to play an independent role also in aiding the Greek Stalinists to win the power and thereby bringing them into his own fold.

If such indeed be Tito's perspective, it must be added that Stalin has never yet permitted himself to play along with such a game. It has hitherto been part of the essence of the totalitarian method to insist upon 100 per cent subordination to the Boss's decrees, and to consider a loyalty which is only 99 per cent sure as tantamount. to.. declared.. treason. There is little room for stable junior-partner relationships between rival totalitarians. The alternatives for Tito may still turn out to be limited to complete capitulation and overthrow, on the one hand, or a sharper turn toward Western imperialism.

SOME OUGHT TO BE SEEN AND NOT HEARD

A radio columnist for the Democratic New York Post reports that television "opened his eyes" to the phoniness of the speeches, demonstrations and bored hoopla of the convention. He concludes that he will not vote Republican and he hopes that the Democrats and the Wallace party will "profit by the experience of the Republicans."

What does he suggest-that they cancel the television broadcasts?

ous alternative. The labor movement has itself to thank for Republican cocksureness.

What of the fact that the Republican - controlled eightieth Congress elected in 1946 made a record of attacks on labor's position, of serious infringements on democratic rights, of irresponsibility toward the urgent

needs for price control, housing, health insurance, civil liberties? Well now, Dewey was not in the Congress, was he? Neither was Warren, was he? So these good men and true are not responsible, are they? On the other hand, what really can be expected of a Republican Congress hampered by a Democratic administration? So will run the campaign bunk of the Republican Party.

While Truman has capitalized on the Republican record in Congress and the Democratic campaigners will squeeze it dry for their own purposes, the person who follows political events remembers that after the end of the war the Democratic seventy-ninth Congress made no haste to put into law the "new democracy" for which the war was naturally fought. Also, President Truman was careful to wait until a Republican

make a second and third grab into a basket, but to try to be a thousandth woman to enter the headquarters.

On this high level did Dewey appeal for support.

However, Mr. Dewey is a man who leaves no stone unturned. He also appeals to the better nature in. womankind by promising to include a woman in his cabinet.

Perhaps this appeal to the betternature is more insulting even than the other, because at the bargain counter the woman did carry away some material thing. But putting a Republican machine woman in the Republican cabinet will be as important to working women and women in general as putting a machine man in the same place, no more and no less.

Mr. Dewey expects that women will not know or will not take to heart that the Republican platform sidetracks the issue of the cost of living, has pebbles in its mouth on the housing question, spouts only generalities on women's rights, civil rights and so on. What a compliment to the women of America!

HAVE	
YOU	J
REA	D?
THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA by Ciliga	\$1.50
THE LEGEND OF HENRY FORD by Keith Sward	\$5.00
THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF E	UGENE V. DEBS
by Jerzy Gliksman A ROOM ON THE ROUTE by Godfrey Blunden	A series of the second s
LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square	
Long Island City 1, New York	
Name Sfreet	
City	one State

What Charges Really Say-

(Continued from page 1) ordinated, as was the case with Czechoslovakia. Russia permitted Prague to make gestures of diplomatic independence, because Moscow knew that such gestures would be made on a decreasing, not an increasing, scale. Stalin could afford to wait patiently, because he knew that Czechoslovakia would soon be "in the bag." However, the reverse process was taking place with Yugoslavia. It was escaping "the bag." Patience and toleration could only facilitate its escape. What was required was swift and drastic action. The Cominform resolution was the result.

SELF-INTERESTS ENDANGERED

In seeking to understand what motivated Tito, one must begin from the premise that no ruling class willingly submits to dictation from another power when it receives nothing in return. The compradore classes in colonial countries have traditionally accepted imperialist domination of their foreign policy and; in less measure, their domestic policy, because the dominant imperialist power provided them with economic advantages by permitting them to share in the exploitation of the material and human resources of the country.

Russia had nothing to offer to Yugoslavia in this sphere. It could only take from it and give nothing in return. Furthermore, Yugoslavia was forced to deny herself the economic advantages of unrestricted trade with the capitalist world, not to speak of the possibility of Marshall Plan aid, solely in the interests of Russia's strategy against the western imperialists. The new bureaucratic ruling class of Yugoslavia would tolerate this situation only as long as it was forced to tolerate it. As soon

alization of small shops and trade as as Tito felt safe in doing so, he began to cast loose from his Russian moorings and seek means of resolving his problems at home without regard for Russian interests. Aside from the fact that no rul-

ing class plays an altruistic role and pursues its own interests whenever possible. Tito found himself in a posion where adherence to Russia's interests at the expense of those of Yugoslavia endangered his own regime. The deep-seated national sentiments of the Yugoslav peoples, fired by their liberation struggle against Germany, were not conducive to acceptance of subordination to the interests of Russia.

The references in the Cominform document to "a hateful policy toward the Soviet Union" on the part of the Tito leadership have their origins in this attitude. Tito came to power as a Yugoslavian hero and exploited nationalism in the most shameless manner to consolidate his regime. Much of his mass support and a large section of the officialdom is heavily saturated with such Yugoslavian nationalism, only slightly varnished over with devotion to Stalin's version of internationalism. A policy that ran counter to these sentiments would find mounting dissatisfaction in the ranks of Tito's supporters and undermine his position.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Another factor that forced Tito's cow's efforts to control the Tito rehand was the economic crisis in the country, related in the minds of a sought to recruit agents from among large section of the population to Communists and other citizens of Yugoslavia for purposes of espionage the economic measures forced upon Yugoslavia as part of the Molotov upon the regime. Tito's break, suc-Plan for Eastern Europe and to Tito's cessful as of this writing, indicates program of "Sovietization" of the that secret police controls are excountry. Though Tito carried through ceedingly difficult to maintain against further measures of extreme nationa regime that is itself a police state.

late as April 27, measures which practically wiped out any enterprise employing labor, he has followed an extremely moderate policy in reference to the peasants, who form the overwhelming majority of the population and furnish the regime with a large part of its mass support. An active policy of collectivization on the Russian pattern would jeopardize this base. The accusation of the Cominform that the Yugoslavian CP is a "pro-kulak" party stems from this

situation. The possibility of a break-away by one of the satellites was not ignored by Moscow. However, their means of

preventing it were limited, in the main, to infiltration of the Yugoslavian party and state apparatus with secret agents, directly under Moscow direction. Tito was fully aware of this technique of Moscow control and took steps to offset it by pitting his own secret police, the OZNA, against the GPU operatives. The Cominform document's charge that Cominform representatives in Yugoslavia, including its head representative, Judin, together with Russian military and technical specialists, were kept under constant suveillance by Yugo-

slavian police agents, is rooted in

The reply of Tito to this charge

confirms the fact that the secret po-

lice played a decisive role in Mos-

gime. Tito's reply states that the GPU

this situation.