WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD! JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

LABOR ACTION A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

DECEMBER 13, 1948

Washington's China Policy: Groping in a Blind Alley

By JACK BRAD

Of all the receptions given to supplicants for American financial and political support-and they have in the past few years come from every corner of the globe-that given to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek is by far the strangest. This special emissary of the dying government of China is forced to maintain silence about her few interviews with Secretary of State Marshall, refrains from public addresses and cools her heels while Truman puts off a personal interview for which she has traveled 9,000 miles and which is of the utmost urgency. The atmosphere in Washington is unmistakably cool toward the Chiang regime-without, however, giving up the regime entirely. In its own fashion Washington has been waging a cold war against Chiang since 1947 when Marshall returned from Nanking.

A few instances will fill in the picture. The administration's foreign aid program submitted last year did not contain appropriations for China. 475 millions were allocated subsequently, after a furious behind the scenes battle. Despite the deterioration of

Chiang's military position, especially since the autumn offensive of the Stalinists, the Truman administration has not proposed any new program of assistance. A month ago Chiang sent a personal message to Truman asking for a policy statement of support and substantial help. So unfavorable was Truman's reply, from Chiang's viewpoint, that he refrained from making it public.

BASIC U. S. POLICY

This is the backdrop for Mme. Chiang's difficulties. It is improbable that she can overcome them in time or sufficiently. Her publicity agents have broadcast the tale that she carried the day against heavy odds, including Roosevelt's opposition, during her last visit during the war. However, the facts are to the contrary. Mme. Chiang tried at that time to reverse the American grand strategy from concentration in Europe to Asia. While she did get increased material assistance, she did not succeed in this basic and decisive objective.

This failure is also a clue to present American policy, which remains basically oriented toward Europe and will not commit itself elsewhere to the detraction from this basic policy. For, in the terms of American imperialism. China has not fulfilled the economic or political promise which America desired of it.

Until virtually the outbreak of World War II, America's interest in Asia was not very extensive. The peculiar nature of U.S. imperialism is to dominate by sheer economic weight rather than by colonialism. Thus, the United States did not develop a Pacific empire except for the Philippines, Hawaii and other islands. By virtue of its ability to control the world market and as the primary source of capital surplus, the United States, in effect, entered into the British and Dutch empires more or less at will. U. S. investment in Indonesia and Malava, the chief world source of rubber and major source of tin, oil and quinine, was about one and a quarter million dollars. U. S. trade was largely with Japan and the Southeast Asian colonies. Japan was fourth on the list of markets for finished goods from the United States.

The basic American economic stake was in South and Central America. But even in Asia its interests were elsewhere than in China. Thus, on a list of twenty primary markets for U. S. goods, China does not even appear. In ten years immediately preceding World War II, U. S. imports from China ranged between fifty-two millions and one hundred eleven millions annually and accounted for a negligible three to four per cent total import trade. The leading items imported were tung-oil, raw silk, some tinware, of which articles none are basic or irreplaceable.

It would be false to look at the picture from this one side. For in a year in which China imports from the United States accounted for fiftyseven per cent of all her imports, this same amount was a mere three and four tenths per cent of total U.S. exports. The same ratio holds for Chinese exports to the United States. Thus Chinas world trade relationship was so insignificant that her U.S. trade was relatively unimportant. The same is true of China as an outlet for capital investment. For in 1930 U. S. had a mere 155 millions

Socialists Win in Berlin; Workers Defy Stalinists! AN EDITORIAL

At the Risk of Their Lives ...

There is, we think, an important connection between the dramatic action of 2,000 administrative workers in Berlin's biggest electric power combine, Bewag, threatening to quit the Russian sector of Berlin unless their demands are heeded, and the huge vote polled by the Social Democratic Party in the Western sector. Both are acts of defiance directed against the Stalinists; both imply a heartening political understanding which includes, on however secondary a level at the moment, a repudiation of capitalism and its works as well as a repudiation of Russian totalitarianism; and one of them, at least, carries with it the gravest immediate personal risk for those involved.

For 2,000 workers in a key industry to rise against the Russian spies and Stalinist bosses and to make a mass migration to the British sector the price of failure to heed their demands, is an act of no mean heroism. Their demands include an end to Stalinist police supervision of their offices, and the release of six of their number who were arrested last week. There can be no doubt that they are risking their lives and the lives of their

That 86 per cent of the voters of the westcotted by the Stalinists is not too surprising. All the apparatus of political and economic

propaganda was on their side. But that nearly 65 per cent voted the Social-Democratic ticket is important. It proves their lovalty to class interests and the socialist idealhowever wretchedly those interests and this ideal are upheld by the Social-Democratic leadership.

Together with the Bewag protest and their demonstrations against the Stalinists several months ago, under the slogan of "foreigners out," the vote is a sign that the people who lived through the terrors of Hitlerism, through four-power occupation, are regaining the organizational and political drive which once made the German socialist movement the largest in the world.

The Bewag workers, it must be remembered, lived behind the Iron Curtain. We are sure that their daring will impress others who live in Eastern Germany. Their story will undoubtedly spread throughout Stalinland. As it percolates through to the peoples who live under the surveillance of Stalin's stormtroopers, it will certainly encourage other acts of resistance and rebellion.

Viewed in terms of their large significance, the Bewag action and the Berlin vote suggest that here are the elements of the Third Camp of socialist struggle against both the imperialist rule of Moscow AND Washington. We forecast that we will hear from these elements again and again, asserting, each time with increasing determination, their wish for a Unified and an Independent Germany.

The results of Berlin's Sunday elections are a stinging defeat for Russian Stalinism and its representatives in Germany. There can be no other possible interpretation of the fact that close to 11/2 million people, risking future reprisals from the Stalinist - GPU machine, went to the polls and by that very act recorded their opposition to Stalinism and its methods. With 85 per cent of those eligible to vote actually voting, only Germans living in the Eastern-Stalinist occupied section of Berlin were unable to vote.

FIVE CENTS

The results likewise affirm the determination of the Berlin population to continue the struggle against Stalinism. The Social Democratic party - 'the unquestioned leading party in western Germany-scored its greatest victory since the end of the war by swamping its two conservative parties by more than two to one. Two out of each three Berliners voted for the Social Democratic party, and put it in power over western Berlin. Since, with all its faults, the Social Democrats have been the most active and consistent opponents of Stalinism in Berlin this amazing vote can only be interpreted as a demand for a continuation of the struggle.

The election results, of course, have raised the atmosphere in Berlin to a new state of tension. The isolated and puppet government set up by the Stalinists already has its hands full in the strike of 2,000 Bewag workers, who run the city's largest electrical power plant. The split of the city is deeper than ever, and it is likely that two kinds of currency-excluding one anotherwill circulate in the respective sections of Berlin. Two governments, two currencies, two distinct administrations-this is the perspective.

Exactly how the Stalinists and Rusians will react to this body blow they have received is as yet impossible to say. Will they recognize their defeat and beat a temporary retreat, or will they continue with their policy of attempting to size power? To go ahead risking actual war and conflict, because there is little else they can do now beyond undisquised and overt attacks and provocations? Politically, they have been defeated. The Social Demcrats have indicated that while they will continue their policy of dependence upon the British and Americans, they will make a few demands of their own. They now demand a doubling of the volume of food, etc., brought in by the air lift, and thus indicate the pressure they feel being brought upon them by the Berlin workers who have gained a sense of independence and self-confidence from their successful defiance of Stalinism. The Social Democratic leadership, however, has also indicated its intention of continuing the present coalition government with the two conservative bourgeois parties.

Afterthoughts on the Convention Murray's Assault on the CP Marks End of a CIO Era

By GORDON HASKELL

The tenth constitutional convention of the Congress of Industrial Organiations marks the end of an era in the history of this great labor organization

? This was the decade in which the CIO has been led by two groups of men representing two clashing points of view. These groups have worked together with little friction. Their alliance has now been broken for good by the political and social conflict which is taking place on a worldwide basis.

On the one hand we have the folthese two groups of CIO leaders have

the run.

the open, and the Stalinists are on **BALANCE CHANGED** Why was the partnership broken? It is a well known fact that men like Murray always prefer a quiet deal to an open fight. For when the lead-

ers of great unions fall out, when they begin slashing each other's machines to ribbons, it always gives the rank and file a chance to break through the machine control and take matters into their own hands. That is what Murray and men who think like him fear more than a rival clique. That is why all these years

families. Nor are they safe once in the British sector. The Russian security police, whether they appear in native German garb or not, will never forgive those who rebelled against their tyranny. ern sectors of Berlin voted for the anti-Stalinist parties in the municipal election boy-

lowers of the theories, ideas and practices of the Communist Party (Stalinists). These men entrenched themselves in the CIO during the thirties. They were some of the most active and militant leaders during the years when the CIO was marching ahead, organizing the workers in the mass production industries. The influence and authority which they gained during that period put them in a position to take over organizational control of a number of international unions. Ever since then they have been hanging on to this control by a combination of ruthless, bureauratic rule, clever demagoguery and a minimum of service to the workers they represent.

FIGHT IN THE OPEN

Throughout its history in the CIO, this Stalinist gang (now commonly referred to as the "left wingers" by their rivals and the press) has pursued one consistent policy: to use its power in the CIO to promote the political interests of the rulers in the Kremlin. When these interests required militancy, they were as militant as any bureaucrats. When they required that the workers of America lie down and take everything the employers had to throw at them (as during the war years) the Stalinist leaders were the chief advocates of the no-strike pledge and every concession to the bosses.

The other group, which at this convention has broken the partnership and come into complete and unquestioned control of the national CIO as well as of most of the internationals in it, can best be described as liberal, capitalistically minded, labor bureaucrats. They too have their welloiled machines which operate to stifle opposition in their unions from any source, and to perpetuate themselves in power. Their policies also vary from militancy, when the bosses give them no other choice, to a fervent desire to make deals with the employers which they can sell to their memberships so as to avoid strikes and keep the rank and file as quiet as possible.

At no time in the past have the Stalinists had the greatest influence in the CIO. The second group, led by John L. Lewis in his day and by Philip Murray since big John left the CIO, has always had the upper hand. But up to this convention, whatever disagreements there may have been were settled by deals in the back rooms. Now the fight is in vale Co., one of the smaller steel

quietly settled their disagreements without permitting the ranks even to know that a conflict was going on. At this convention of the CIO, however, the balance of power between the Murray and the Stalinist wings had been changed drastically in Murray's favor. During the past year the Stalinists have taken a whipping in two of the largest CIO unions (United Automobile Workers and National Maritime Union) and one of the smaller ones (Transport Workers). and their position has been challenged in several others where they had been in complete control before. This made it possible for Murray and his lieutenants to open an allout fight without having to fear that Communist Party adherents the would make serious trouble in any large unions except the United Electrical Workers, the International

Longshoremen & Warehousemen and the Fur Workers. The other unions which they control either have such powerful anti-Communist groups in them that the Stalinists would be afraid to stage an all-out fight or are so small and weak that even if the Stalinists should try to pull them out of the CIO the loss would be hardly felt.

(Continued on page 2)

invested in China. This was the highwater mark of U.S. investments.

DARK OUTLOOK

China never acquired a basic economic relationship to the United States. No substantial section of the American ruling class has an important stake in China. So that, in 1948, with his regime crumbling, the only spokesmen Chiang can find here are a handful of powerless, conservative politicians whose arguments are reduced to the doubtful defense of Chiang's "democracy" against totalitarian communism. But no one has made out a life and death case for the capitalist class. That is the basic weakness of Chiang's case. This is graphically emphasized by

post-war developments in China itself where the vampire-like expansion of the Four Families has brought most of China's economy under their bureaucratic-capitalist control. Both native and foreign businesses are being strangled to death by the crushing Kuomintang monopolies. In consequence, the hopes of sec-

tions of U.S. capitalism for a monopoly over a growing extension in the Chinese economy are frustrated to the point where the dominant senti-(Continued on page 4)

the word through the area that it

would keep the plant closed perma-

nently unless the men came back on

the company terms. The company

also spread the word to other em-

ployers in Philadelphia and no Mid-

vale man could get a job to tide him

of the threats, the length of the lock-

out and the economic hardship of six

months with no pay, the 2400 men

stayed out. They kept the plant shut,

But the men sat tighter. In spite

through the lockout.

As Unions Vote to Accept Contracts NEW YORK-With acceptance by cram down the throats of the memthe rank and file of the Marine Firebership. It has a 13 cents and 19 1-2 men (Independent) and the Marine cents straight time and overtime in-Cooks (CIO) of the newly proposed

East-West Shipping Tie-Up Ends

crease instead of 10 cents and 15 contract this past week-end, shipping cents. Four hours call-in pay for resumed out of the West Coast ports. mornings and two hours for after-This followed by one week acceptnoons instead of the previous two ance of terms by the International hours for the morning; one week Longshoremens Assn. (AFL) memvacation after working 800 hours, bership ending the East Coast strike. two weeks after 1,350 hours, where The International Longshoremen and previous contract called for one week Warehousemens Union (CIO). West after 1,359 hours; (All Ryan could Coast longshore union, had agreed do on this was one week for 1,250 to terms too last week, but maintainhours.); retroactivity to August 21 (contract expiration) rather than ed their pact with the other West Ryan proposal of Sept. 21. Coast Unions, not returning to work

While these new terms constitute only modest gains, the strike must be considered a tremendous victory for the rank and file. This strike proved that the ILA membership is powerful enough to force a strike of enormous proportions on an unwilling and corrupt leadership. This was the first widespread and official strike in ILA history and it has taught the ranks in practical terms what the strike weapon means to workers. It will be very difficult for Ryan to order these same workers through someone else's picket line as he has done in the past.

The strike on the west coast was a lot more complicated in every aspect. Of the three big unions involved, the top bureaucracy of two (MCS & ILWU) are completely dominated by the Stalinst machine. The strike began when the 80 day Taft-Hartley injunction ran out on Sept. 2. Since the election of Dewey was a foregone conclusion, the employers were determined to stand firm until the election was over and then break the strike with the aid of the Gov't. Originally the Stalinist leaders of these unions asked for contract renewal and nothing else. When the bosses refused even this and clearly wanted to attempt to break the union the Stalinists took up a more militant line. But instead of pursuing a policy that would attract the active support of the entire labor movement, they consulted with nobody but themselves and quickly integrated the strike with the Wallace campaign.

Labor Action reported in previous issues on the relationship between Bridges and the National Maritime Union (CIO) during this strike, the insistence on the part of the C P.

strike leaders of dictating a rotten policy to the NMU and refusing to consult on joint policy after repeated requests from the NMU. We learn now that toward the end of the strike, Curran, while in San-Francisco, made Bridges eat his words and retract his denunciations of the NMU at a longshore meeting. The three month West coast strike is now over. the economic gains made were not big. The union fought a defensive battle. But the strike ended in victory nevertheless. The union was not broken, the hiring hall remains intact and what the Stalinists probably consider the greatest victory of all, the Taft-Hartley Affidavits were not signed!

One very bad feature is the three year contract given to the employers. Had the people not voted against Taft-Hartley in the national election, this strike would very likely have ended in disaster. As things worked out the west coast unions won their biggest gamble. If the union had had any other leadership a strike at that time would undoubtedly have been more effective.

The struggle over Berlin enters yet another phase, and the real significance of the elections is that the people of the city, feeling their power more and more, are straining to assume this leadership in the battle against Stalinism and losing their former tendency to depend upon the military governments.

WP and SYL Picket Beigin Welcome Rally in New York

By AL FINDLEY

Menachim Beigin, former Irgun commander, received a welcome in New York-but not the kind of welcome he had expected. Expecting the honors accorded a VIP, he received a welcome befitting a fascist pretender.

The reason for Beigin's trip to the United States was to get financial and moral support for the Heiruth (Freedom) Party formed by organizational merger of the Irgun and the Revisionists in Palestine. There was no need for a political rapprochement, since the two groups both claimed the mantle of the Jabotinsky movement. It was a struggle of cliques. The Irgunists won, and now have the overwhelming control in the combined movement. They have installed as the editor - in - chief of

their newspaper Uri Zvi Greenberg, theoretician of the Brith Baryonim. The propaganda experts of the American League for a Free Palestine attempt to act as statesman and proclaim that Beigin, the "probable next premier of Palestine," is here on a good-will tour. Beigin did not fail to act also as the "commanderin-chief" and "review the troops" of the Betar, a semi-military revisionist youth organization.

Large advertisements appeared in the newspapers, announcing a welcoming committee of governors, rabbis, congressmen, preachers and Philip Murray. Many of these people (including Murray) later withdrew their names, under the pressure of Jewish labor leaders, the Einstein statement and the Lazaron open letter.

(Continued on page 3) ·

than the one Ryan originally tried to **Crack Midvale Steel's Anti-Union Drive Company Compelled to Retreat on Rate Cut as Workers Stand Firm**

By JOHN LUCAS

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28-The reopening on November 25 of the Midvale Company, the largest steel plant in Philadelphia, brought to a close one of the longest, least publicized and most important labor stoppages in this area.

In face of the rising cost of living, the Midvale Company announced early this year that it would cut the rates in several departments in its plant. The union (Federal Labor Union, Local 18,887 AFL) advised the company that it would stand for no decreases on any rates. On May 26, with the union contract still in effect, the company posted the decreased rates. The workers walked

out of the plant. The pay issue therefore became a secondary one in this struggle. The men were convinced that the Mid-

companies, was really out to break forced the company to pay them holithe union and to set the pattern for day pay for Decoration Day, Fourth an anti-union drive in Big Steel diof July and Labor Day, and collected rectly after the election. The comtheir full vacation pay under the conpany really picked the time for the tract that was still in effect. Even lockout: for, while there is generally now they are appealing their case in a shortage of raw steel, there has the. Unemployment. Compensation been a surplus of the fabricated prod-Bureau for unemployment benefits uct. Throughout the six months of since the stoppage was really a locknegotiation the company sat tight. It out. stuck to its wage cuts and spread

until everyone had signed.

whelming.

On both coasts the union leader-

ships hailed the new contracts as a

tremendous gain. While it is safe to

say that their respective memberships

were not quite as enthusiastic, the

votes for acceptance were over-

The ILA strike, which started as

revolt against a Ryan proposed

settlement, lasted 2 and one-half

weeks. The new contract is better

Suddenly, on November 24, the company changed its tune. It signed a new contract. The pre-strike wage scale was restored. In addition, nonproduction workers will get a ten cent an hour increase and the machine shop (one of the departments that was going to be cut) will receive increases following further negotiations. But more important than all this is the fact that one of the first real assaults against the basic principle of unionism has been stopped dead in its tracks.

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NEWS AND YIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT-

End of an Era in ClO...

(Continued from page 1)

That is the organizational side of the question, and it should not be overlooked. This weakening of the Stalinists in CIO did not take place chiefly through maneuvers by the Murray bureaucracy, but by revolts of the membership against Stalinist control. In two major cases, to be sure, these revolts were led by turncoats from the Stalinist machines (Curran in NMU and Mike Quill in Transport). But the fact that in these cases, as well as in the others, anti-Stalinist factions won out, is an indication of the fact that the Stalinists have begun to slip everywhere in the influence they have enjoyed in the CIO since the thirties.

Of course, this turn of the workers from Stalinism is not 100 per cent progressive, any way you look at it. No doubt thousands and even hundreds of thousands of them have been influenced more by the reactionary anti - Communist propaganda spread by the government, press and radio than by a clear understanding of the true nature of Stalinism. At the CIO convention in Portland the Murray faction's arguments and attacks on the Stalinists were about half legitimate and progressive and half reactionary and red-baiting. They are leading the workers away from Stalinism, but not toward a sounder, more realistic position of struggle for their rights and interests against their ruling-class enemies in this country.

SHAPE OF A NEW ERA

An era has ended in the history of the CIO. The question for every worker who regards this great movement as the strongest and most progressive wing of American trade unionism is: what is the nature of the new era which the tenth constitutional convention has opened up? The convention itself can't give a full answer to this question for the happy reason that the officials who represented their memberships there are not the only ones who will decide this question. The economic, social and political developments in America and in the world, and the way the rank and file of the CIO reacts to these developments will tell the whole story.

But there can be no doubt of the intentions of the Murray CIO bureaucracy in this matter. If they have their way, this will be the era in which the CIO becomes a powerful political force to prop up the capitalist system at home and abroad while gaining the most it can get for the workers while doing so.

They believe that the Democratic Party victory has ushered in the New New Deal. They forget that the old New Deal was not a rosy heaven for the workers. They have forgotten, or

has to offer the millions of men and women who pay the bills for the CIO.

WARNING TO DISSENTERS Of course, just as the nation is to be run by a bureaucratic partnership of labor leaders, capitalists, churchmen and politicians, the unions themselves are to be run by a partnership of anti-Communist bureaucrats. Any labor leader who tries to break this partnership by advocating policies contrary to those of Murray & Co. is committing a crime because when big-shots fall out the ranks may rally behind the factions and take things into their own hands.

The measures passed at this convention which give the National 'Executive Board great powers to intervene in the affairs of various internationals are now directed against the Stalinist leaders in some of the weaker unions. But the whole atmosphere generated at this convention along the line of demanding unquestioning adherence to the policies of the majority in political as well as all other matters can and will be used as a weapon against any dissenters who may appear in the future.

This is of vital importance to every thinking member in CIO. Already there is a "left" and a "right" wing in the Murray majority. However, the left wing went down the line with Murray at this convention in order to smash the Stalinists. They were silent when Murray violated democratic methods in running the convention. They were silent when Van Bittner and others made speeches which should make every thinking liberal, let alone people who consider themselves "radicals," blush with shame. They did not put forth one

in CIO.

OVER-ALL MEANING Yet they were there. As Murray's bureaucratic paradise reveals itself to the workers to be made of the same flimsy material as all other dreams, there will be more of them. As the ranks find out in the next few months that reliance on "their" president and "their" Congress, and their "American middle way" simply means that they have to carry the load of inflation or depression and, in any case, of the vast domestic and foreign military expenditures on their backs, the

left wing will become stronger. Of this there can be no doubt. Yet it is our contention that this tenth convention of the CIO will make the job of the left wing harder in the fu-

For this convention did not smash the Stalinists. As we have pointed out, that job was done to the extent it has been done before the convention, by vote of the ranks in key unions. The convention simply recorded this fact and gave the Murray forces the heart to organize further measures to smash the Stalinists from above. At the same time, due to the timidity, "practicality" and inaction of the real left wing, it put more power in Murray's hands and lent more prestige to Murray's name and through it to his theories about the future role of labor in America than he has ever had before.

NEW

CIO are bound by convention decision to be loyal to the political ideas of Murray's bureaucratic capitalism and to the Democratic Party which he hopes to make the vehicle for put-

ting these ideas into practice. That is the over-all significance of this convention of the CIO. That is the New Era which Murray thinks he has inaugurated at Portland.

The old era of Stalinist - Murray collaboration lasted ten years. We predict that the New Era will not last a quarter as long. It will end either in the destruction of the free labor movement in America at the hands of those whom Murray seeks as peaceful partners, or much more likely, in an upsurge of the CIO spirit of the thirties but this time applied to the political struggle against the capitalists which will go hand in hand with the economic struggle. When this Murray era ends, Mr. Murray and his closest lieutenants in CIO will be swept away with the dream which

Report on Operation Dixie blacklists against workers showing One of the important by-products of union interest. Operating against the

CIO are the segregation laws and police brutality against Negroes, with threats: "Stay off the streets after dark, N, or else!" Citizens' Committees, seeing red, organize themselves, and "loyal employee associa-Portland, Ore., provision was made tions" mushroom overnight.

Some preachers, working for the bosses, use the name of God in the ungodly pursuit of planing unreasoning hate against "those outsiders." William Weiss talks about the "maddening complacency" of textile workers trained from childhood to believe for this essential task. Judging by that mill-owners are all-wise and the accomplishments of "Operation know that "outsiders" can bring only Dixie" thus far and by the hercuharm. And there is the deep hesitanlean job still to be done in the South, cy of those interested in unionism, two million dollars a year-and more drawling "I think I'll wait a while -could not be turned to better use. before joining up." The most frustrating of all is when a favorable When "Operation Dixie" got on its situation is turned up-side-down as way in the summer of 1946, the CIO when an employer closes his mill staff of organizers, under Van A. the day before the NLRB election and Bittner, literally started from scratch. has that "heart to heart" talk with Using improvised offices and some-

his employees. Nor does the foregoing exhaust the versatility of the anti-union tribe. It is a fairly simple matter to plant dynamite in the vital parts of an organizer's car to blow it to smithereens. It is easy for an employer to use his influence locally to prevent the NLRB from hiring a place for a union election so that the election has to be held out of doors in makeshift booths. Neither is it too inhuman for boss-minded doctors to refuse medical service to the wife a striker, which happened in Rockingham, N. C., and a doctor had to be rushed from miles away to be present at a birth.

the campaign has been in the field of civil liberties. . . . The CIO Organization Committee has gone into court on many occasions to battle against local ordinances which abrogated freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. In not a single case has it lost a court decision.'

WIDE INFLUENCE

A case in point was the situation in ill-famed Gastonia, N. C. There organizer William Weiss was arrested seven times for distributing union leaflets. The CIO went to court to have the ordinance declared uncon-. stitutional. The legal victory went to the CIO.

In the field of wage rates, too, the influence of union organization, both CIO and AFL, has gone beyond the unions themselves. CIO organizers claim that the North-South pay rate differential has been eliminated in some industries and narrowed in greater or less degree in others. Such an accomplishment has a profound effect on all workers in the South and exerts pressure on all employers to raise wage rates.

Philip Murray, in his report, further points out that "The campaign also has done much to foster improved race relations and to eliminate abusive treatment of South Negro workers." And William Weiss writes that the CIO has made more progress in the field of race relations than "any other group that has operated in the South Many elements outside of the CIO and economic exploitation, but have would withdraw its request the agree that it has done much in the an equally important political motiv- YPSLs could not find another adefield of race relations and can do a great deal more. Indeed, the approach of the CIO on the race question and its militancy on other regional problems have won sympathy and support among many Southerners who are worried about their situation and look for constructive leadership. There is no doubt that in some parts of the South the CIO is becoming a liberalizing political force. Southern reaction would, if it were honest, undoubtedly agree with this. Boss Crump, for example, found out something about the effect of CIO on politics in the primaries before the

election and in the election itself. The

YOUTH and Student CORNER By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

TOTALITARIANISM AT PLAY

Stalinism in power is socially organized terror which has no rival for the totality and intensiveness of its repressive techniques. The brutality of the Nazi party and government was its closest competitor. Every aspect of social, political and economic life is held under the strictest surveillance inside of Russia, and the Kremlin objective in its satellite countries and occupied territories is to impose upon them this totalitarian pattern.

Totalitarianism has always paid close attention to the youth. It gives special "privileges" to the less experienced and more easily propagandized strata of the population, the youth, in order to find a more reliable popular base for itself: a supply depot of future police, army officers, factory supervisors, trustworthy technicians and "dependable" workers. The special favors given to youth are not granted outside of the normal totalitarian framework; freedom is not a special gift to young people designed to be automatons. On the contrary, there is the most vigilant regimentation of youth functions. All their activities are regulated from above - academic training, games, sports, culture-and everything is directed toward fusing the thinking, the attitudes and ambitions of young people with those of the totalitarian state.

In the Stalinist controlled sector of Germany, the Nazi tradition of regimentation of youth is being perpetuated by the Kremlin conquerors. In the November 22 issue of the New York Times a report is given of a recent Russian decree in Germany on sports which is symmetrical with the policies and objectives of their Nazi predecessors. The provisions of this

decree are as follows: 1. Chess clubs are required to register their members with the new controlling authority, the "Freie Deutsche Jugend" (Free German Youth), which is, of course, a Stalinist controlled youth organization sponsored by the Russian authorities.

2. Freedom in sports is forbidden. because, as the authors of the decree put it, the German youth are "politically too innocent." 3. All participants in sports are re-

quired to receive political and cultural training. Soccer players, wrestlers and boxers are expected to join "Jungaktivisten" (Young Activthe ists) and one of their functions will be to make the two year economic plan a success.

4. All sports clubs must be authorized by the "Freie Duetsche Jugend," 5. Authorized sport teams must apply a month in advance in order to. play in a match

freedom in sports, are not only for e obvious purpose of indoctrination

ian force to impress any organized group with the fact that they are being watched and thereby inhibit any "anti-state" individual or group from expressing "wrong ideas." Chess clubs and other cultural organizations which are non-political have often become centers of democratic and socialist undergrounds in totalitarian states. The Stalinists are well aware of this and therefore seek to stifle any independent activity requiring the participation of more than one person. ...

CHILD LABOR IN U.S.

Despite the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which was supposed to have minimized child labor, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of minors employed in industry and agriculture. In a report issued by the general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee it was revealed that there are 2,300,000 employed young people between the ages of 14 and 17. In 1940 there were 870,000 youths in this age category employed. Today the figure is more than twice that number.

A breakdown in these figures gives an interesting insight into how the world's richest nation "guarantees" a complete education for its youth:

Of the 4,160,000 adolescents in the country between 14 and 15 years of age, 20 per cent are either fully employed, looking for jobs, partially employed or are neither employed or in school.

For the 4,330,000 persons who are 16 and 17 years old, 47 per cent fall into this employed category. More than 1,000,000 of this age group do not attend school at all.

It should be emphasized that the report deals with only the 14-17 age levels. The figure of 2,300,000 would be considerably greater if the number of unschooled and working children below 14 years old were added to it.

SYMPOSIUM POSTPONED

The New York youth symposium on "Which Road to Socialism? scheduled for this Sunday has been postponed until January 9. Three youth organizations were scheduled to participate: the Socialist Youth League, the Young People's Socialist League and the SWP youth group. The Social - Democratic Youth who had agreed to participate in the meeting, have reversed themselves. Evidently, the company doesn't suit them.

The SWP youth group asked for the postponesment of Sunday evening's meeting because their party is having a meeting in the afternoon of that day. Then it developed that the scheduled YPSL speaker had Such decrees as this, outlawing made another appointment following the SWP request and, according to the YPSL, even if the SWP youth



they are now dreaming. _THE JOB IS WELL BEGUN_

LABOR ACTION

By SUSAN GREEN When, twenty-nine months ago, the CIO announced its "Operation Dixie" the event was hailed by all labor elements as one of the most important in labor's history. And it was. At this year's CIO convention in

to build up an operating fund to continue this organization work in idea of their own which would lead the South and elsewhere. The idea the workers back home to realize that was to raise the per capita tax by Murray is not the only real leader three cents a month, two cents of which (expected to total two million dollars a year) is to be earmarked

Here is the story to date. times packing boxes for desks, the

ture, not easier.

would like their constituents to forget that in 1940, after seven years of the old New Deal, there were still from ten to fifteen million unemployed; that according to their own statements at the time these unemployed were never adequately provided for by the New Deal; that during the New Deal the CIO had to fight on the picket lines for most of the major gains it made; and that the old New Deal solved the problem of full employment only by drafting eleven million young Americans into the armed forces and putting the rest to work to provide them with arms and sustenance.

EFFECTS ON NATION

They passed a great number of resolutions at this convention which, if carried out, would vastly improve the standard of living of the American people. These resolutions on housing, minimum wage, civil rights for Negroes and other minorities, medical care, taxation, wages, participation by representatives of labor in controlling the Marshall Plan, etc., etc., do not differ materially from resolutions passed at any other CIO convention. The point is that they were never carried out in the bast because the CIO relied on the good will of the government with a little "pressure" from labor to carry them · out.

Now they know what socialists have been saying for a century, that labor can be the DECISIVE political force in the country. Yet their proposals, running through all their speeches, on how their program is to be put into action, are no different than they were before the Truman election.

Murray and his co-thinkers dream of a peaceful partnership with capital in industry and in government. In this partnership they, the official leaders of the labor movement, will put their feet under the table with the millionaires, military brass and the government bureaucrats to arrange the life of the nation. The workers in the factories and mines, on the farms and railroads of the country will go on working diligently, producing "reasonable" profits for their employers, contented and safe in the knowledge that their elected trade union officers are looking after their welfare at the top. This is the bureaucratic paradise which Murray

For the first time in the history of CIO this convention has 'established the principle that this great labor body can demand the loyal carrying out of all decisions not only in its basic field of trade union strategy and tactics, but also in the wider field of politics. And at the present postage. time this means that all leaders of

The anti-union opposition the CIO battles in the South is versatile and brutal. William Weiss, an organizer "Operation Dixie," in the November 15 CIO News tells with eloquence and feeling about the obstacles 'encountered in organizing the South. There are the attacks by the bosses in the form of wholesale firings and

CIO workers, consisting largely of

men and women inexperienced in the

arduous tasks ahead of them, dug

eleven Southern states from Virginia

to Texas. It was months before they

could obtain offices, and more months

before they gained know-how and the

support of hundreds of local volun-

teers as organizers assisting the regu-

lar staff.

November, 1948

INTERNATIONAL

THE RECORD OF TAFT-HARTLEYISM

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Review of Mills' "The New Men of Power"

703 TPEU

AND LABOR POLITICS by The Editors

THE TRUMAN UPSET

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by Anne Temple

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All these nuances are in addition to the many local and state ordinances against free speech, free assembly and the distribution of literature. And, of course, there is the union-crippling Taft-Hartley law.

900 LOCALS BUILT

The organizational work that the CIO has carried on, against these obstacles, has been signally successful. In the 29 months, 900 locals of the CIO have been established. New members joining CIO unions number 450,000, more than doubling the total membership in these states. The NLRB has on file 158 CIO petitions for certification, and in 127 mills and plants active organization drives are afoot.

concretize these accomplish-To ments, let us present the facts about "Operation Dixie" in the backward state of Mississippi. According to Robert W. Starnes, the state CIO director, before the drive only two small units of the .CIO existed, in the whole of Mississippi, namely, at Natchez and at Hattiesburg. Now there are CIO locals in a dozen cities. Out of 71 NLRB elections the CIO won 56, and the other 15 are by no means final losses. Union membership in the state increased more than ten times. In the industrial community of Laurel, with a population of 35,-000, the biggest gains have been made. There are now 6.000 CIOers. Through CIO contracts wages have been increased by more than \$5,000,-000 a year. The standard of living has gone up, as has the popularity of the CIO.

In his report to the 1948 convention on "Operation Dixie" Philip Murray said: "CIO has exerted an influence in the South far out of proportion to the number of new unions that have been granted recognition as bargaining agencies. . . .

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fact of CIO political influence is generally admitted. All this adds up to a very good report for "Operation Dixie" for the 29 months of its existence. However, as Van Bittner himself said, "the greater part of the job remains to be done." There are in the eleven Southern states in which the CIO Organizing Committee has dug in, 6,000,000 industrial workers, just industrial workers. With the further industrialization of the South, the number grows. Only 950,000 in all belong to the CIO. Taking into account also the union members in the AFL, the organizing task ahead is tremendous. The job of racial education is also only begun. Furthermore, the potency of the political influence of the CIO will increase in the South as elsewhere when it begins to follow the same class principles in politics as it does in its organization drive.

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ation. That is the need of a totalitar- quate speaker.



The Class War in Eastern Europe

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The offensive of Russian totalitarianism in the countries of "popular democracy" flows from the imperious economic necessity of incorporating all of Eastern Europe directly into the Soviet Union. From the socio-political point of view, it is the Kremlin's answer to the Yugoslavian resistance, and to the anti-Russian opposition in all the subjugated countries, bourgeois as well as proletarian. Precisely here the Stalinist regime of conquest exposes its weak and vulnerable sides. The Tito schism in Yugoslavia not only could not be subjugated and liquidated, but resists and attacks, giving rise to repercussions and echoes in all of Soviet Europe. Tito has shown himself a worthy disciple of the GPU, of the Wyszynski's, Beria'e, etc.; his secret police have defeated all the efforts of the GPU to liquidate and eliminate his regime; his party has been "consolidated" in the Stalinist manner, the proof being provided by the national congress which suppressed the opposition fomented by Russia, resisting the attacks of the Cominform and the Soviet press.

Now the Yugoslavian press has embarked on an open attack on the Russain press, including the sacrosanct organ, "Bolshevik," deploring its low level and tone, etc. A political emigration of more than 500 oppositionist Communists has gathered together under Tito's protection, and threat-. en to transform themselves into a center of anti-Stalinist political action. According to press reports,. Tito has concluded a pact of secret aid with the American government in case of aggression by Russia. The Soviet press has ceased its furious attack on Tito's "nationalist" deviation, leaving this job to the Cominform press. In "Pravda" there appeared an article signed by "Ceka," very conciliatory in tone toward Yugoslavia, and attributed to Stalin himself. For the first time in history the Stalinist bureaucracy has been forced to tolerate resistance and come to terms with it.

REPERCUSSIONS IN OTHER LANDS

0

The Yugoslavian schism is not a purely national phenomenon, but has had very serious repercussions in other countries. In Czechoslovakia, the Stalinist coup d'etat and the elemination of Benes' party were but preventive measures against the anti-Russian schism. In spite of completely dominating the police apparatus, the Stalinist regime was at the edge of the abyss. Both in the days of mourning for Benes, and during the anti-Russian demonstrations of the "Sokol." the police minister, Nosek, was afraid that the Stalinists would lose control of the situation. He declared that thousands of agitators were calling on the masses "to attack the headquarters of the National Committee, the Communist Party, and the police." Purges and suppression of the opposition parties, purges of the "Sokol" and the army, and even a purge of the ruling Stalinist party did not suffice.

A special law in defense of the Republic had to be passed, and its scope widened even further by another law in "defense of the Soviet Union." Thousands of persons have been arrested under these new laws, and dozens accused and condemned for subversion and espionage on behalf of the Americans. But in spite of these measures, the Czech and Slovak peoples have lost all sympathy for Russia, and hatred for the Russian occupier is uncontainable. In Slovakia, the situation is still worse. The Slovakian Communist Party had to be liquidated and incorporated into the Czech party in order to assure better totalitarian control over Slovakia.

In Poland, directly controlled by an important Russian occupation force and by the MVD (GPU) organization, the anti-Russian resistance penetrated the government party in the form of the Gomulka schism. Although the schism has been brought under control and its "leader" has confessed and recanted, the situation of the regime continues to be insecure. All the purges of the shadow-parties (PPS, two populist parties, democratic and labor parties) have aimed at exterminating the heresy and preparing the way for the formation of a monolithic Stalinist party. The "economic genius," Minc, continued to accelerate the economic offensive of the statified sector against the artisan and the peasant, but the struggle, especially in the countryside, is extremely difficult. The Polish state possesses scarcely more than 1,000 tractors which can work hardly 1 per cent of the farms. This technical poverty limits the anti-peasant offensive of the regime. This is perhaps the reason why it is said that Mine will be the first sacrificial lamb handed over to the Kremlin since his "successes" do not satisfy Moscow. Minc is one of the few members of the old Communist Party. He belonged to the "Majority" faction liquidated by Bierut, whose theory of "two stages of the Polish revolution" was stolen and rehabilitated by Stalin, notwithstanding the fact that the latter condemned this theory in 1929-30.

Poland ("the inspiration of the peoples," according to Roosevelt) to Russia.

However, in the camp of the resistance, both left and right, the program of "saving Polish blood" prevails. But in the region of Plock, attempts against the functionaries of the regime have once again occurred. It is quite possible that this is the work of the GPU itself, since Stalin fears the Polish resistance and its action in case of war, and would like to provoke it beforehand in order to carry out a bloody slaughter. The situation is further characterized by the effective and planned desertion of many Polish diplomats in the United States, Latin-America and Europe.

THEATRE OF SILENT WAR

All of Eastern Europe is the theatre of a silent war between the bureaucracy and the oppressed masses. It is a social war, a war of the lasses under new economic and social conditions. Although both the Stalinist and bourgeois sources present it as a war between "communism and capitalism," between the proletariat and the elements of the displaced bourgeoisie and pettybourgeoisie, in reality this schema does not at all correspond to the new economic and social structure of Europe. The outstanding characteristics of this new economic-social structure are:

1. The liquidation of big private capitalism and the displacement of the bourgeoisie as the dominant and possessing class,

2. The introduction of statified property in big and middle industry.

3. The existence of private property in almost all of agriculture, the former having a minority status in petty commerce, small industry and handicrafts in the cities.

4. The dictatorship of the bureaucracy, whose of reactionary Stalinism.

power is rooted in the disposition of the nationalized property and the police apparatus of oppression.

The economy of Eastern Europe is a combined economy, composed of socialist elements, a state-capitalist sector, and a petty-bourgeois sector. But the bureaucratic state directs the economic evolution not towards socialism, but towards bureaucratic totalitarianism, which liquidates both the socialist as well as the petty-bourgeois sector, leaving only the state-capitalist sector. Clearly, we are far from the final stage.

[Readers of Comrade Rudzienski's work are undoubtedly familar with his views on "state capitalism" in the Stalinist countries, as expressed in the above lines.-ED.]

With the bourgeoisie ousted as the dominating exploitive class, its place has been taken by the bureaucracy which directs the nationalized economy in its own interests. Consequently, the principal social antagonism lies between the bureaucracy and the proletariat, and petty-bourgeoisie (mostly peasant). The ex-bourgeoisie has been pushed back to the periphery in this war of the classes. Although the disorganized and disoriented proletariat does not present any organized resistance to the bureaucracy, leaving the leading role to the peasantry, its future historic role will be much greater than the capitalist politicians and ideologists think. The rebellion of the bureaucracies in the satellite countries against Stalin, aside from their own economic interests, has its roots in the resistance of the masses in the war of the classes which continue to be the motor force of this new society, and must lead to the annihilation of this class society, the annihilation



Madame Arrives!

Ten thousand miles across the Pacific and America has come abegging Madame Chiang Kai-shek, China's "First Lady." Hat in hand and artificial smile on her face, Madame is asking for nothing less than \$3 billions, at the rate of one each year for the next three years: The reception has varied thus far from a cool welcome to a downright frosty atmosphere in Washington, and Madame finds it slightly more difficult to produce the smile after each fresh interview. We freely predict that it will be entirely wiped off her face by the time the plane takes off to deposit her back with her nervously waiting Generalissimo. Time runs out on the General and his 'Missimo, and a couple of the world's most high-powered scoundrels and despicable frauds are about to be put out of business.

Since the end of the war, the sum of \$21/2 billions has been spent by American imperialism to bolster up the Chiang-Kai-shek-Kuomintang regime in its struggle against the armies of Chinese Stalinism. Everyone is familiar with the results. Operating behind the guise of a vast, popular and democratic people's movement. the Stalinists have moved from victory to victory and are preparing a perhaps final rout of the so-called official Nationalist government. But what else could have been expected? To anyone having the slightest acquaintance with Chiang and his regime, the result was foregone; the only question was how long would it take? Already, the Chinese Stalinist leadership talks with that confidence which emanates from power and their plans for China become broader and deeper in scope with each new rout of the sadly demoralized forces of the Chinese dictator.

TRIUMPHED IN COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The regime of Chiang and his consort, the Madame, was born in reaction and anointed with the blood of tens of thousands of Shanghai's workers. Andre Malraux has made this story familiar in his famous novel. 'Man's Fate." Chiang triumphed as the counter-revolution in 1927, and his counter-revolution has proceeded without end for the past 21 years of his hold on power. There is no need to detail the personal stories of Chiang and his Madame-much is known about them, and the personal evaluation of them by General Stilwell in his War Diaries as corrupt, rotten and utterly powermad individuals holds true throughout their careers. It is difficult to imagine a couple whose greed, desire for political and social power, ambition and aggressiveness can match that of China's "President" and 'First Lady."

The regime they have constructed over 21 years matches the structure of their personalities. A clique of politicians, doing the political work of an infinitesimal aroup of bankers, exporters and brokers, landlords and bureaucrats—this is the essence of the Chiang regime. In this era of political filth and moral corruption, it is doubtful if any regime in the world has sunk as low as that of Chiang. Surrounded by his murdering body of personal guards (the Green Shirts) and exercizing dictatorial power in appointments, legislation and juridical authority, Chiang (always with the smiling Madame at his side to exercize the necessary powers of charm) was a necessary and obliging cover for the corruption underneath.

As war and emergency relief passed through the various echelons of his administrative bureaucracy, his underlings dipped into the "gravy train" and helped themselves. Socially, Chiang's policy has been complete reaction-crushing of the labor movement, enforcement of traditional landlord power and procedure

(he has proved incapable of even developing an agrarian program in opposition to that of Stalinism, thus guaranteeing his social and military defeat in advance in his war with the Stalinists), denying of the most elementary democratic procedures (there has never been a popular election in China's history since Chiang took power) and refusing to consider the most meager reform measures.

I would say without much hesitation that Chiang Kai-shek and his Madame are the two most universally despised, hated and spit upon people in China today. These two bankrupts cannot even rally one serious segment of any of China's social classes to their banner! Their "supporters" (we mean those now fleeing to southern China, Hong Kong and Burma!) consist of the following groups and types:

Generals, warlords and military students. Bankers, factory owners and merchants who

deal with foreigners. Landlords, gentry, judges and administra-

tors. Criminal elements of the cities (brothel keepers are ardent pro-Chiangists!).

We doubt if the whole unwholesome crew amount to 2 per cent of the entire Chinese population of 450 millions.

HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

And now Madame is here, to plead her cause! The handwriting is on the wall and she knows it. She is far too shrewd to know otherwise, yet she hopes to secure enough aid to create-with the aging Chiang-a regime in southern China. But the rottenness is too far gone. And what may be the final act of her overlong political life again shows her in her accustomed role of treachery and cynical bargaining. In exchange for the \$3 billions she demands, she is offering American imperialism full rights over China! Nothing less than a revival of extraterritoriality, special privileges and everything associated with the early and most hated imperialist methods in China is what Madame proposes to America. Even those privileges which the Chinese bourgeoisie itself fought against, and partly succeeded in destroying, would be restored if only \$3 billions are shovelled out!

"I'd Like to Get You on a Slow Boat to China."

This is Madame's tune, but Uncle Sam imperialism will not fall for the seductive voice. He knows she represents nothing any more, that her power is crumbling fast. American imperialism would not hesitate one moment if it thought seroiusly that the expenditure of several (even 5 or 6) billions more would not only retrieve the situation, but would actually gain it a decisive foothold in China. Truman's hesitation and coolness has no ideologic or moralistic motivation; it is the consequence of his thinking on the problem of China as a risk: a poor investment, to be written off with a pious wish.

Let the Madame return to China and to whatever miserable fate awaits her. Everything about her and what she stands for is hypocritical and corrupt; the departure of this pair of scoundrels and their supporters will be no loss. The real tragedy, of course, is the colossal victory that Stalinism's conquest of China will represent for Stalinism. The meaning of such a victory will have to be assessed at a much later time, when Mao Tze and his fellow Stalinists more clearly reveal their policies and politics. Meanwhile, the lot of China's workers and peasants, who are about to exchange the yoke of one reactionary regime for another, despite the obviously tremendous social differences between them, is something that demands much thought and reflection. Henry JUDD

Stalinism in Great Britain

By GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Appeal

LONDON-Systematically and tirelessly, with all the means available to one of Stalinism's most valuable pressure groups and propaganda machines, the Communist Party of Great Britain, from its King Street headquarters in the centre of London, feeds the pipe-lines to its agents, who are to be found in most of the major industrial towns of the country.

At the moment, the top-line operation of British Stalinists is their "peace" campaign and, in the interests of a phony conception of unity on this subject, many pacifists have been lured into supporting this nefarious venture. These people must be entirely devoid of the faculty of memory if they have forgotten so easily the Stalinists' record of hypocrsy and treachery during the last war, when they labelled such pacifists as the friends of Hitler and demanded their incarceration. However, with their usual opportunist and dishonest tactics, the Stalinists have succeeded in exploiting a situation in which Russia is made to appear the victim of cunning Western diplomacy, to the extent of gaining some support from well-meaning but muddle-headed people.

Every facility is being used to bombard the public with this spurious propaganda but, so far, the mass of the people have refused to acknowledge a party which has bedevilled so many sections of the Labour Movement. This speaks well for an awakened political sense in the rank and file of the Labour Movement, and demonstrates that they are not prepared to yield to a party which follows slavishly a line dictated from outside.

the movement as a whole, that any member should serve on Communist Party industrial committees, or on national committees of the Communist Party, while holding executive or delegate office in the union.

Apart from the hints of intended action, the statement makes a more carefully considered analysis of Communist Party tactics than is to be found in any previous statement issued by the General Council.

But while the Stalinists are notoriously ambitious, they are also, on occasions, realistic. They know, although they never publicly admit it, that the British workers will not abandon their loyalty to the Labour Party at a time when rival interests (Tories and Stalinists) are conducting an offensive against it. They know that the workers would never willingly allow them, the agents of a foreign power, to usurp the title and functions of labour leadership. These factors compel the Stalinists to tread warily in certain fields of activity and it is here that the work of the fellow-travellers is invaluable.....

It is difficult to estimate the number of people who work faithfully to the Kremlin line yet who indignantly deny that they are Communists, but one can say with confidence that there are hundreds of them. Among these people are the worst type of political tricksters, some of whom, if they are not paid agents of Russia certainly give the impression of being so, and they too must be named and exposed before the British Labour Movement can effectively rout Stalinism.

The Stalinists' chief organ of propaganda is the Daily Worker, which has recently taken a facelift; its general appearance is now much more attractive. Sales are in the region of 100.000 daily, easily the lowest figures of any national daily in Britain, and there is considerable financial loss. This loss is never given out but experience tells us that it is impossible to run a national newspaper in Britain without a loss, with a circulation of under 300.000. There is a Special Fund to which readers are asked to donate and which the Daily Worker claims reaches its target every month. Only the most naive believe this and it is evident that the paper is heavily subsidized from other sources. And your guess as to the main source is as good as mine! Other Communist Party publications include the Labour Monthly, (Editor: Palme Dutt), an action, there was friendship and coinsigificant journal, Challenge, the organ of the Young Communist League, Soviet News, and a number of duplicated news sheets. The latter are issued under such innocuous titles as China News Agency and Czechoslovak News Letter but a mere glance at their contents reveals quite clearly the source of their origin.



(Continued from page 1)

mer Hatzair called on the people of ing itself Heiruth (Freedom) Party. The long-awaited public appear- the U. S. "to boycott Beigin and the Some of the other slogans were: "De-Irgun." Despite many positive fea-

tions of loyalty to the policy of the union, and to

NATIONAL RESISTANCE SEETHES

More than 11 members of the Central Committee of the Pseudo-PPS have been expelled from the party for various deviations, the most important being the theory of the "third force." According to this theory, the PPS would constitute an intermediate factor between the PPR (Stalinist party) and the PSL (Mikolajczyk's peasant party). In addition, the Populist parties have been purged of the old pasant leaders, such as Kiernik, Putek Wrona. etc.

The tightening of the screws in the totalitarian machine in Poland have not remedied the situation, and according to trustworthy sources; the anti-Russian underground is growing in strength and attractive power. This underground may very well turn out to be a time-bomb, which will explode against Russia in line with the old traditions of Polish national resistance. Its temporary calm can be explained by the disillusionment of the masses with the "Western Allies" who so cynically sold

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Emanuel Garrett Geltman.

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However, although it has failed dismally on the political field, the Communist Party has succeeded, by carefully prepared tactics and incessant propaganda, in capturing important positions on the industrial field.

STALINIST INFLUENCE IN THE UNIONS

Pride of place in this achievement goes to National Union of Mineworkers. A product of Arthur Horner, the General Secretary of the the South Wales mining area, where the Stalinists are comparatively strong, Horner had established himself throughout the years as a leading spokesman for the men and a carefully prepared campaign ensured his election to this post, which is permanent.

But there is no doubt where Horner's loyalty lies. During the 1940 Citrine libel case Horner was asked. "If the body at Moscow sends instructions to the component parts, it is their obligation to carry those instructions out?" Horner replied. "That is so!"

Much less spectacular, but in no way less important, is the number of Stalinists who are members of the national executive of the Communist Party and who hold important union positions. Besides Arthur Horner, these include A. F. Papworth (Transport Workers, and TUC General Council); A. Moffat (Miners); J. Gardner (Foundry Workers); J. R. Scott (Engineers); F. Maxell (Electrical Trades Union); and J. Horner (Fire Brigades Union).

Stevens and Foulkes, Secretary and President of the Electrical Trades Union, are both party members, as are Hannington, Crane and Barridge, organizers of the Engineers. Within the Civil Service Clerical Association, where L. C. White, although denying he is a party member, is on the editorial board of the Daily Worker, two fulltime officials are Stalinists. In each of the unions mentioned, there is in the branches and district committees considerable Stalinist influence.

So far, the general unions, the Transport Workers and the General and Municipal Workers, have successfully resisted all Stalinist attempts to capture these organizations, but numbers of Trades Councils (local associations of trade union branches) are completely under their domination. Parallel with these activities have been the efforts to control shop steward committees at the factory level.

FELLOW-TRAVELLERS COME IN HANDY

The political meaning of this Stalinist influence within the unions has at last been appreciated: the General Council of the TUC on which there is only one Communist Party member, is in a position to dictate terms and intends to do so. After a special meeting on November 24 to consider the problem, the General Council issued a six-page statement in which it declared its intention to fight out the issue.

The statement contains a number of suggestions, the most notable of which is that unions should consider whether it is consistent with the obliga-

This is the setting in which the Communist Party has matured. There have been violent changes of policy but, apart from the time when the party outdid even the Tories in jingoism (1941-45), its campaigns have never commanded any great support.

LOSING GROUND IN MEMBERSHIP

The party, of course, continually proclaims how well things are going but, if the membership figures are used as the barometer of its effectiveness, it is losing ground. During the war, it claimed 50,000 members but, at the present time. the declared membership is around 35,000 and more than half of these are said to be in the London area. These figures, like all the party statements are unreliable, but it has to be admitted that the party has an effective organization in London's East End. Most of the members there are Jewish people who have joined the party in the belief that it is the vanguard against Fascism.

Taken by itself, this brief survey of the Communist Party of Great Britain would be interesting perhaps only as a minor aspect of the country's political affairs. But, in view of the complete obedience of the party to the Kremlin, its significance should not be minimized. It seems obvious that a party which has such a record of treachery and hypocrosy would have little hesitation about sacrificing the workers were it in a position to do so.

Therefore, it is obvious that trade union leaders and others who, consciously or otherwise, confuse the welfare of the workers with the interests of Russian foreign policy should be promptly cleared out of their positions.

They have done enough damage already! In subsequent articles I hope to show how the Labour Movement should fight this menace.

ance-and the only one scheduledtook place in Carnegie Hall on Monday, December 6. Despite the huge build-up, the comparatively small hall was only half filled.

PICKET LINE IN ACTION

In front of the hall, the audience were handed leaflets distributed by Hashomer Hatzair, copies of "Haganah Speaks" distributed by Habonim (Paole Zion youth group) and a Workers Party statement. They were also confronted by a spirited picket line of over 45 people. Last minute attempts by the Workers Party to unify the actions failed. However, in ordination of the militants of all three groups.

"Haganah Speaks" carried an article attacking Beigin with the main theme that the Irgun had "jeopardized Israel-UN relations.". It mentioned that Irgun squads, in 1946, knifed the textile strikers at Petach Tikyah. It also deplored the fact that the official Zionist leadership did not speak out against Beigin and his par-

The Hashomer Hatzair leaflet was better. It branded Beigin as a gangster with a "gun for hire," "schooled in the tenets of the Nazi primer,' who had "once courted British pounds and Italian lire and now looks for American dollars." It accused the Irgun of trying to smuggle arms on the Altaleno for a coup d'état against the Israeli government. The Hasho-

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tures, the Hashomer leaflet was wrong in its complete dismissal of the role of the actual fight the Irgun did carry out against the British. The Workers Party leaflet, repro-

duced in full in this issue of LABOR ACTION, admitted the fight of the Irgun, but pointed out the reactionary and fascist aims of its leadership. The high point of the evening was the picket line. Manned mainly by enthusiastic members of the Socialist Youth League, the picket line was one of the most impressive and disciplined ever arranged for political purposes. The rest of the participants in the picket line were members of the Workers Party, plus some student members of Hashomer Hatzair.

IRGUN POGROM RECALLED

The placards carried by the opponents of the fascist Beigin reminded the people of the only pogrom organized by Jews-the Irgun slaughter of Arabs at Deir Yassin: "Remember Deir Yassin, the Mufti's only victory." Another placard read: "For Arab-Jewish cooperation - against Deir Yassins." The main theme of the signs stressed the fascist danger of

fend Israel's democratic institutions,' "Mr. Beigin, are strikes treason?" "Beigin's Party, a threat to Israeli democratic institutions."

The spirited demonstrators shouted the slogans written on the signs and chanted such slogans as "No welcome to Mussolini's friends." The enthusiasm of the demonstrators was so great that new slogans kept bubbling up from the ranks. In addition, the pickets turned the jeers of the enraged Irgunists into new slogans: "Go back to Moscow" was met with the spontaneous slogan: "Washington, Moscow, keep out of Palestine!" "Agents of Bevin" got the response "Down with Bevin-Down with Beigin!"

It is interesting to report that after the picketing ended, LABOR AC-TION Reporter Al Findley, who acted as picket captain, entered the meeting to cover it for this paper. No sooner was he in the hall then he was "invited" to leave, and was given a sturdy escort to the door.

The barring of the L.A. reporter prevents a fuller coverage of the actual meeting. But press reports show that Mr. Beigin was forced to devote the major portion of his speech to repudiate the charges of "fascist" the Irgun-Revisionist Party, now call- which have been made against him.

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3

L'ABOR ACTION

Sees Militancy Key to AVC Growth

VET AND CITIZEN

No Welcome To Beigin...

Following is the text of the leaflet distributed by the Workers Party and Socialist Youth League at the Menachim Beigin meeting. See news story on page. 1.

No welcome to the terrorist leader whose Irgun squads carried out the only Jewish pogrom—Deir Yassin!

No welcome to the disciples of the totalitarian Jabotinsky movement which sought to smash the Israeli trade-union movement!

No welcome to old admirers of Mussolini and his corporate state, who seek a "national dictatorship" in Israel!

Many Americans, including some sincere liberals, were so dazzled by the anti-British fight of the Irgun Zvai Leumi that they overlook its totalitarian program. They unwittingly support an ostensibly new political movement, but one which actually has a long history of anti-labor violence, strikebreaking and imitation of Mussolini and his fascist squadristi.

Let's examine the record.

ITEM: Official Irgun statements clearly show that the Irgun considers itself to be disciples of Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of the Revisionist movement. Jabotinsky declared: "EVERY LABOR STRIKE IS TREASON" and wrote "I REMOVE THE STIGMA ATTACHED TO THE EXPRESSION 'STRIKE BREAKING' IN PALESTINE."-(Rasiviet No. 43, 1932).

ITEM: The Revisionist movement, of which Irgun was an organic part, acted to smash free Jewish trade unions by organizing a "yellow" dualunion federation, a la the German Labor Front. The function of this "Histadruth Ovdim Leumit" was to prevent strikes, furnish scabs, act as a company union and smash the real Histadruth.

ITEM: Many of the leaders of the present party of the Irgun, Heireth, are former leaders of "Brith Bryonim" and "Revolutionary Zionists," who in the early '30s called for a "NATIONAL DICTATOR-SHIP." Their programmatic statement says: "Mussolini is the man who saved humanity from Communism. For ten years we have been looking for a Jewish Mussolini."

Question: Have they found their Mussolini in Menachim Beigin?

ITEM: The official fascist news agency, Arienta Maderna, reported in 1935: "Their (Revisionists) newspaper, Hayardein, stands on the side of Italy in its conflict with Ethiopia because the Revisionists are extreme Nationalists and outspoken enemies of the official labor movement.

ITEM: Abraham Stavsky is the assassin of Palestine's labor leader Chaim Alassaroff. Stavsky was one of Beigin's deputies.

Enough has been cited here to show the truth about Beigin & Co. Look behind the false mask

PROTECT DEMOCRACY IN ISRAEL! PROTECT ISRAEL'S FREE LABOR! Issued by Workers Party and Socialist Youth League PROTECT DEMOCRACY IN ISRAEL! PROTECT ISRAEL'S FREE LABOR!

By WILLIAM BARTON

tions.

The Third National Convention of the American Veterans Committee, held in Cleveland over the Thanksgiving weekend, makes one again aware how much can happen within a short time in our hectic era. It was less than a presidential campaign ago that we began to hear of the new, unique veterans' organization mushrooming among those already discharged and those still in uniform. We saw it first mentioned in an issue of "Stars and Sripes," or found a passing reference in an article in a stateside paper, or picked up an item from any army or navy informational bulletin on veterans' organiza-

Some Reflections After the Convention

As we looked around at our buddies, subjected to a continuous, if often subtle, barrage of anti-labor, racially - prejudiced, super - nationalist propaganda, we were overjoyed that we might have a nucleus from which to influence their future attitudes and activity. We had much hopes in this likely coalescence of those among the veteran population to whom the tradition of the Legion and the planned openly-fascist veterans' groups of Coughlin, Gerald Smith, et al. did not appeal. We pleasantly envisaged veterans, advertising as such, helping to protect instead of breaking picket lines, expressing solidarity with their Negro comrades instead of hostility, fighting the Coughlins and Smiths instead of espousing them, pleading international unity instead of antiforeignism.

In the short dramatic period since that time. AVC has shown that it can be done. On the other hand, the plans of the fascist demagogues have fallen flat; their groups never got started. Of the billion and one World War II veterans' outfits begun around the V-Days, only AVC and Amvets re-

Legion, VFW, etc., recruited large numbers at first from the families of World War I veterans. But they too are losing their recent adherents.

This is in the tradition of American history, going back to Washington's disbanded army after Yorktown. Wartime lovalties remained alive for the period immediately after Armistice; then, with return of relative stability, ex-servicemen became average citizens, not very distinguishable from anyone else. A crack in that stability brought a newfound interest in any possible basis for an action grouping. What was more logical than uniting with former combat comrades? A recent clear example was the sudden spurt of the Legion with the bonus campaign of the depression, despite the fact that the national Legion was officially opposed

to immediate payment. Up to now the American structure has always been able to right itself from such difficult situations. We have thus never had the hundreds of thousands of displaced veterans becoming a powerful social force, as was true of Germany in the twenties and early thirties. Remembering that example, as well as the early history of the Legion, the founders of AVC were aware that the usual appeal to veterans to organize was deeply enmeshed in super - patriotic, anti - democratic, anti - rational overtones. The much-vaunted Mohawk Plan of Remington - Rand had as a cornerstone the use of veterans to break strikes.

The new organization was to emphasize that veterans are not a distinctive social group, that their place is with other elements in the population pushing for social progress, that a peaceful world that would create no more veterans was a "must." With that approach, it quickly attracted the best politically-conscious vets. The entire country took note of this strange, apparently successful new entry on the American scene -the organizational expression of the idea that veterans were more than a special interest group to be maneuvered into an anti-democratic role while being feted with carefullyplanned orgies.

Taking a progressive stand on major issues was only part of its special character; it actually took the, lead in many campaigns and activities. In the summer of '46, it was a leading activator in the campaign to save price control. The National Housing Conference was an AVC idea. Weak though this gathering may have been in terms of potentialities, it was the best advertisement of the housing shortage seen.

WHY THE DECLINE?

From all over the country from time to time came reports of vigorous AVC initiative. In Oakland, it sponsored an anti-Gerald Smith picket line that other organizations then

main. The old-line vets' organizations, bers was only an incidental qualification.

POST-WAR ISSUES

The history of AVC can be measured by the surrounding political environment. As the war came to its gratifying conclusion, the better GIs were filled with an encouraging optimism. The previous years had been grim and rough, but there was no reason why those who had so decisively defeated the military enemies could not as easily contribute to the building of a peaceful, prosperous world. Some agitation, much tolerance, great interest, fervent hope and wide education should be able to move the men of good will everywhere to the desired path. But, the post-war world has not

worked out that way. The cold war has forced the taking of sides; in AVC, the virulence of the Stalinist issue can be almost entirely related to this development. That the allegiance to one side of the international lineup has become ever more intense was shown by the support much of the national leadership gave to the current Selective Service Act.

On the domestic front, although the strange, chaotic boom has continued, so has runaway inflation. The strenuous efforts of AVC to establish effective price control were not successful. Nor has AVC activity been able to solve the ever-growing housing shortage. Other important foundation ideas of the body took a beating with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the persecutions by the Un-American Affairs Committees, the government loyalty boards.

If AVC had counterattacked with the original militant spirit, it might actually have gained from these apparent setbacks. But the leadership adapted itself by becoming respectable. This is not an attack on their motives or sincerity. They tried to act in something resembling the newly-accepted fashion, and gave up much of the old dash and verve in the process. This lost the opportunity for establishing a base outside the politically conscious core. An organic connection with the labor movement might have overcome these deficiencies, but this did not begin until very recently and in incomplete and sporadic fashion.

There is still hope. The convention delegates were, by and large, amazingly high in morale. The 1948 elections seem to have given many a new lease on life. They believe there are more of "their kind" of people in office now, including some leading AVCs. LABOR ACTION expects disillusionment with "their government" sooner or later. In the process of acting again as a militant force to pressure that government, the hoped-for increased ranks of AVC will learn how to operate in the political arena. These will then become one of the important centers of coming political realignment. Socialists must be with them, building their organization, furthering its

London c

December 13, 1948

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-by GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Leader-

LONDON, Dec. 3-Some hundreds of people come every day to Church House, Westminster, form a docile double line and wait patiently in the hope of entering the building to hear the evidence that is being given at the Judicial Tribunal which is investing alleged corruption by high Government officials. But yesterday and the day previous, the queue was much longer and not quite so patient. The reason was that the star witness. man of mystery, Sidney Stanley, was in the witness box.

Most of the witnesses already heard have been visibly unnerved by the rapid-fire cross examination of the various counsels, but Stanley gave the impression that it was a pleasure to be there—a pleasure unmarred by what newspapers say, or what the public and the Tribunal think of him. He gave the impression of delight in defying the tradition of sham that often surrounds these procedures; he provided entertainment with his disclosures.

When asked whether he had lent George Gibson, (ex-Chairman of the Trade Union Council) money, he caused an outburst of laughter by replying, "Lend Gibson money? A Director of the Bank of England?"

In answer to a further question, Stanley protested that he saw nothing wrong in giving Ernest Bevin 20 cigars. "I didn't ask him to declare war on anybody," he exclaimed.

ANXIOUS MOMENTS FOR GOVERNMENT

This investigation is the topic of the week in Britain and the newspapers are devoting a very large amount of space to full reports of the evidence. Sometimes the headlines are very amusing. Last night's London Evening News carried a banner heading "BELCHER'S PATCHED TROUSERS."

Stanley, ex-bankrupt mystery man behind the scenes, has made some startling disclosures which, if true, contain serious implications against George Gibson and John Belcher, These are anxious moments for the Labour Party headquarters. It will need all the adroitness the party chiefs can muster to succeed in winning the next election against this sordid background. The public has a short memory, it is true, but the opposition can be expected to jog their memory when the occasion arises. And the last thing austerity Britain wants to hear is that Government officials have been dining and wining most lavishly, while the mass of the people are hard put to make ends meet. All in all, this investigation may be the death warrant of the Labour Government if it is fully exploited by the Tories.

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES SERVICE BILL

In such an atmosphere it was to be expected that the week's most important debate in the House of Commons would be unnoticed by the public. The subject was the National Service (Amendment) Bill-to increase the period of conscript service from twelve to eighteen months.

When this matter was last before the House, in October 1947. 74 backbenchers opposed the Government and the period of service was reduced to twelve months.

On the present occasion there were 431 votes cast for the Bill and 53 against. Of this 53, 40 were Labour members and it is estimated that 100 Labour members abstained from voting.

The Government's insistence on this increased period of service brings into bold relief the domestic problems before Britain today. Britain needs schools, hospitals, better transport, increased coal production and millions of houses. Indeed, the housing shortage is so aggravated that millions of people are living under conditions that cry out for amelioration. Nevertheless, it seems evident that the Government intends to sacrifice some of the political and social interests of the people in an effort to keep in step with America's military plans in return for economic assistance. But there are already signs that the Government is overplaying its hand in these matters.

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THE ELECTION TREND IN BRITAIN

With the 1950 election in mind some of the smaller parties here are putting their ears to the ground in the hope of hearing something favourable to their chances. After the Dewey debacle everyone is fighting shy of political prophecy and I am certainly no crystal gazer. But, unless there is a serious economic collapse or any untoward event, the issue will be fought out by the Conservative and Labour parties. The others haven't a chance of collecting more than a handful of votes and will be generally ignored by the electorate.

And, despite all I have said about the grave disquiet the present investigation is causing the public, if the Labour Party does a real job of work during the next twelve months it can still win.

Yes, this is austerity Britain. Our bacon ration is one ouce per week, our meat ration one shilling's worth per week; we are still rationed for clothes and milk and eggs, but it is a Britain with hardly any unemployed. And the men and women who remember the days of unemployment and hunger before 1939 are heard to say, "Things are not good, prices are too high, but, we have a job, the price of a packet of cigarettes; we can pay the rent and go to the movies occasionally."

This is the Britain of today, not happy yet not completely despondent.

strong central government capable of ment of U.S. and Chinese capitalists ruling a unified nation. With the U.S. is anti-Chiang and is willing to gamble on Stalinism. Guenther Stein writes as follows in September 1947: "Now, however, a good many American businessmen seem to be nearer than they had ever been to dispairing of China and of the chances of developing within the forseeable future sound and broaden-

ing business relationships. Another new factor, too, is that a greater number of independent Chinese businessmen than ever in the past are reported to be in agreement with them on the darkness of the outlook."

An American banker is quoted in Business Week (Nov. 20): "Maybe they (the Communist Party) will welcome us for continuous trade. After all, China must trade-and the Communists are realists." The New York Times' Tientsin correspondent reports

as the sole dominator of such a state it would gain for itself a pre-eminent position in Asia. The history of the intervening years is the record of the failure to unify China politically, to create a strong, centralized state or to establish American hegemony. General Marshall spent a year in China trying to bring an end to the civil war and establish a coalition regime in which the differences could be contained within a viable political framework. When he failed he placed the blame equally on the "dominant reactionary group in the government and the irreconcilable Communists."

MARSHALL'S DIFFICULTIES

There are three reasons for Marshall's failure and therefore for U.S. policy. The historic error of Ro

does not have the means of putting into effect a policy of its own. It is being driven out of Asia but it is helpless to stop it. The name of America has become synonymous with foreign oppression. For, as part of its policy of restoring European capitalism, the United States also supports actively the restoration of British, French and Dutch rule. In China it is completely tarred with Kuomintang would have fallen long ago.

Harbor was the establishment of a China policy, or, more accurately, it

mud, for everyone knows that without U. S. dollars the Kuomintang With America committed to Europe it is unlikely that it can send to Chiang enough to make a difference, even if it would help. The present estimates of one million dollars a year for three years that Mme. Chi-

ang is reportedly asking is meaningless come-on bait. If the United States were to accept the commitment im-

U. S. Policy in China....

(Continued from page 1)

Page 4

on December 5: "Both Chinese and American businessmen here are bluntly outspoken in their criticism of any proposal for further U.S. aid to the regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Both groups, talking in terms of trying to do business with the Communists, say that further U. S. aid now would make U. S.-China trade impossible later." One U. S. businessman is quoted: "I am willing to take a gamble. It can't be worse than trying to do business under the present regime."

STRATEGIC VALUE

These are the economic realities. Native and foreign capitalists are alienated from the Kuomintang and see no future under it. There is no pressure from these interested groups for support of Chiang; quite the contrary is true. The entire prospect on which U. S. policy was based has reached an impasse. In the late 1930's Carl Craw wrote a book entitled 400 Million Customers whose title exemplified the aspiration of U.S. imperialism in China. Henry Ford once - said that if the Chinese could be made to wear their garments one inch longer, it would provide such a market as to solve the crisis. In February, 1940, a survey report stated that in ten to twenty years China may become "the biggest single market for American capital," taking at the rate of "several billion dollars a year." (America's Future in the Pacific, p. 44.)

Thus China was forever the potential market. The post-war years have been disillusioning; the prospect is dimmed and effort futile and unprofitable. In addition to the historic dislocations, which prevented establishment of a firm axis between U.S. and Chinese economy, is added the new and specific anti-capitalist program of the Kuomintang feudal-bureaucratic monopolists.

China has mainly a strategic significance in the inter-imperialist cold war. The collapse of American policy is a result of Chiang's weakness as an instrument in such a cold war. Since he cannot serve this elemental need, his maintenance in power becomes meaningless to U.S. imperialism. The plain truth is that Chiang and his Kuomintang are not suitable instruments for any war, not to speak of the complex world struggle in which America is engaged with Russia.

America's China policy since Pearl

seven at Yalta. Basing himself on the erroneous idea that the war would be a continental one in Asia, he gave to Russia a sphere of influence in Manchuria similar to what it had in czarist times. This area became the base from which Chinese Stalinism could consolidate and expand.

(2) Completely misunderstanding the Kuomintang, Marshall did not see that it was primarily a feudal bureaucracy whose first interest was in preventing any social change, especially in land. This was not a negotiable antagonism. In China's context this meant the Kuomintang was committed to war to the death with Stalinism. Therefore, American aid to Chiang could not go, as the United States desired, to national unification but went into expanding the civil war.

(3) The basic problem of China is the land question. Marshall understood this only vaguely. He understood it enough to know that some "reform" was necessary but he thought of it in terms of elimination of graft, of streamlining, etc. The social revolution which Chinese Stalinism has inherited and distorted is an overwhelming force undermining and destroying the props under the Kuomintang.

But, while the United States sought to find other "liberal" groupings to support it, it had to continue to hold on to Chiang. Thus, in the first two post-war years the United States poured two and a quarter billion dollars into China. U. S. planes carried Kuomintang troops to the civil war fronts. Since it could not develop an alternative to the Kuomintang and since this state no longer served any useful political purpose, the U.S. was gradually left without any alternatives. It has not been able to bring the social revolution in agriculture into its own political orbit. For that reason, everything it has built turns to sand. It cannot find a way of abolishing feudalism without aiding Sta-

CAN'T BE STOPPED

linism

The basis of colonial policy for all imperialist powers has been alliance with native feudalism. The United States arrives late on the colonial scene; feudalism's day is done as is the day of the empire. An alliance with feudal China does not suit the needs of the cold war.

Today the United States has no

plicit in this proposal it could not stop at any fixed sum. It would have to assume whatever needs arose from the struggle. It is doubtful whether this is possible without taking full control of China. As a matter of fact, the despicable and treasonous proposals of Premier Sun Fo, and of Chiang himself, call for a "MacArthur for China" and complete U. S. control of the crumbling Kuomintang armies.

Such a commitment would have a double-barreled effect. Instead of becoming a positive factor in the cold war, China would become a united force behind native Stalinism against the American invasion and its puppets. Secondly, it would not only give Russia this additional political weapon but would chance the possibility of World War III, meanwhile further alienating Asia's masses.

TWO-SIDED APPROACH

The State Department is gradually moving toward a two-sided approach to its dilemma in China. While waiting to see what the future will bring it assumes a Stalinist victory. While not wishing this victory, it will do nothing to create an irreconcilable antagnosm between Chinese Stalinism and itself. It hopes that the economic needs of the new regime will force it to some kind of "Titoism." In the meanwhile, U. S. capitalism gains something even more substantial than eventual Titoism, for the policy of the Chinese Communist Party has been summarized by two of their slogans: "Protect the Property of Foreigners" and "Factories to Their Owners." U. S. capitalists on the scene are being assured freer operations than under the Kuomintang. While there are few illusions as to how long this will last, at the mo-

ment it represents an improvement over Kuomintang rule. Secondly, the United States continues to search for support in all directions. It sends another thousand marines to Tsingtao in the North. It siphons all aid funds to T. V. Soong in Canton. There are rumors of direct

deals with several warlords like General Fu. These are not elements in a policy but a search for strong points as a means of obtaining operating tools for maneuver.

To complete this picture it is necessary to examine Chinese Stalinism. This we hope to do next week.

joined. In Atlanta it successfully agitated for the inclusion of Negroes on the police force and against the illegal seating of Gene Talmadge Jr. as Governor. In Washington it opened the only non-Jim Crow clubhouse in the nation's capital. In New York it organized demonstrations in front of real estate offices. Such work brought a cumulative membership of over a hundred thousand, a conspicuous figure, with all the difficulties to be overcome.

Yet the Cleveland convention found the current membership down to less than 30,000. The Stalinists, becoming less and less important nationally and being daily battered into insignificance all over the country, were a serious menace that had to be squelched by spurious organizational methods. The technical questions involving their seating and ousting took up the major part of the convention business. By the time the platform was considered in plenary session, all were too exhausted to be attentive. The weary delegates left anxiously asking "what next?"

It is incumbent upon every member and friend of AVC to ask why AVC is in the straits revealed at Cleveland, Blaming Stalinist "disrupters" is a weak crutch. The importance of the Stalinist question in the organization merely indicates that AVC had not grown strong enough to deal with them with ease. Disgust with their tactics would not have driven people away if AVC had been viable enough to make them appear as mildly annoying parasites. They became menacing only because the organization was weak enough to provide them with an excuse for their antics.

Geographically, the areas with little of a Stalinist problem have fared no better than others. The point of hottest contact, the New York metropolitan area, remained healthier than many other places. (To avoid any grandiose Stalinist claims, it should be pointed out that their near exclusive bailiwick of Los Angeles suffered one of the more conspicuous membership drops.)

What has happened to AVC cannot be laid to its totalitarian minority. It can only be partially explained by the typical fate of veterans' organizations a few years after all wars. AVC was designed as a permanent pressure group intervening in all areas of political life. Veteran status of mem-

militancy, furthering their education. The first years of AVC history were swift and dramatic. The coming period, marked by a growing liaison with the organized labor movement, can be at least equally exciting

Many are cynical of the Labour Government but those who are conscious of what is happening to their comrades on the continent of Europe will continue to be loyal to a Government who, if it has not served them as well as they expected, has certainly served them better than any other.

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