

LABOR ACTION

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Reuther 'Explains' the Election

By WALTER JASON

Seldom in labor history has any convention been as embarrassing to its leaders as this, the 12th annual convention of the CIO, taking place in Chicago from November 20-24.

The source of this acute state of discomfort was explained quite plainly by a labor reporter in one of his dispatches just prior to the opening of the sessions:

"Earlier, at a conference of Murray and the nine CIO vice presidents, it was decided to drop plans for an analysis at the convention of the failure of the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC) to live up to its reputation as a force in national politics."

Since the rank and file is not directly represented among the 600 or more delegates, all of whom owe their jobs either to President Philip Murray or one of the other top leaders of the CIO, it is unlikely that enough pressure from the ranks may arise, even indirectly, to force such a discussion.

But the United Automobile Worker, mouthpiece of Walter P. Reuther, did come out this week with a long editorial entitled "Lessons of the Election," and it may be circulated enough among the reporters and journalists at the convention to needle some of the CIO leaders into a discussion. It will be interesting to see if Walter Reuther, as leader of the largest union in the CIO, will dare present to the convention his views as expressed in the United Automobile Worker.

Reuther happens to be chairman of the resolutions committee, and should not have any difficulty ob-

For another Reuther on the elections—
See page 8.

taining the floor to speak.

Yet, even if Reuther does speak, he will not dare say what is the most obvious reason for the attempt of the CIO bureaucracy to avoid any analysis of its political program adopted last year at the 11th convention in Cleveland.

For the first ten points to be made in any analysis of CIO political policy is that it brought upon the CIO a disaster for which the ranks will pay heavily in the coming days ahead, and which signifies the bankruptcy of the CIO leaders in the face of the acute issues of today.

For the Murray machine, the face-saving event which is supposed to divert attention from the political debacle should be an announcement of a wage increase in the steel industry, to be followed, of course, by appropriate testimonial speeches at the con-

vention on the greatness of Murray's leadership.

Of course, the problem of a price freeze, the relative merits of flat wage increases versus escalator clauses, the probable steel price increase—these factors may intrude into the atmosphere of the CIO convention in spite of itself. At any rate, they will be harder to avoid.

Which is a greater indictment of the CIO leadership: The fact that it doesn't want to allow even such minor disagreements as those of Walter Reuther to be discussed at the convention, or the fact that in the entire CIO there is such little possibility, except in the Auto Workers union, to discuss the glaring inadequacies of Reuther's "Lessons of the Elections"?

OFF-YEAR ALIBI

As a very minor substitute for a CIO convention discussion, let us for the moment conduct a three-way symposium between a Murray man, Walter Reuther, and an independent militant, with Reuther as the chief protagonist. We can quote Reuther accurately, for his views are committed on paper. Anyone who ever talked to a Steel Workers' union porchopper knows how he thinks.

Reuther says: "The elections were NOT the sweeping victory for reactionary principles which most papers would have us believe. Despite the admitted and tragic setbacks in some cases, the basic domestic principles of the New Deal and Fair Deal were up-

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Truman Opens Up The Treasury To Finance Franco

The complete reverse of the Truman administration on financial support to the fascist regime in Franco Spain has now come to the 180-degree point. Washington is now definitely committed to underwriting the worm-eaten government of the totalitarian butcher who murdered the Spanish republic as the ally of Hitler and Mussolini.

When, last summer, Truman signed the bill passed by Congress for loans to Franco, his act was accompanied by a statement which was regarded as a clever maneuver by many liberals and labor-liberals. "I do not regard this provision as a directive," he said then. The liberals went around explaining that no money would actually ever get into Franco's hands; Truman would see to that.

When, a couple of weeks ago, the U. S. pushed through a decision by the UN to lift the ban on ambassadors to Spain and to admit Franco into UN agencies, it was explained as a necessary diplomatic step; and anyway why shouldn't totalitarian Spain be in the UN when the Stalinist totalitarians are in it?

The latest act of the Washington lovers of world democracy (in speeches) puts a quietus to all these apologies, rationalizations and excuses. "United States loan aid for Spain will get under way immediately," announces the Marshall Plan (ECA) statement in Washington.

As late as May of last year Secretary of State Acheson argued that it was necessary to maintain the anti-Franco ban as a "symbol" of the U. S.'s concern for human rights. The U. S. now embraces Franco as an ally looking toward the third world war—also as a symbol, of how it is ready to sacrifice any and all human rights (except those of the capitalist segment of humanity) in order to preserve its power in the world.

The new apology runs this way: the U. S. is granting aid to Yugoslavia, which is run by a totalitarian regime; why not also to Spain?

As we pointed out in an editorial earlier this year, we never raised any absolute principle about U. S. transactions with other countries, depending on the nature of its regime. Washington's crime with relation to Franco Spain is that it is going out of its way to prop up a regime which is in the process of collapse in the face of the hatred

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AT THE TROUGH



"Did You Ever See a City Die?"

By ABEL BAKER

There was a Korean town named Sinnuija on the south bank of the Yalu River. It is no longer there.

There also was a town named Coventry in England. In the early years of the last war, Nazi bombers launched a series of raids which pulverized it. Coventry became a synonym for indiscriminate bombing directed at the whole population, not just against military objectives. Coventry became the symbol of the Nazi horror in war, operating to destroy a people, not just its war machine.

But before the war ended, every air force that had the power had adopted indiscriminate bombing also. A new technical term replaced the name Coventry to describe the process: saturation bombing.

The means changed too. Bombers became massive, able to carry enormous loads over long distances. The bombs were no longer filled with explosives but with

naphtha. It was found that incendiary bombs could destroy more by fire than TNT could by blast. Fire spread quickly over an entire area and burned everything without discrimination. What had been a weapon of horror epitomizing Nazism entered the arsenal of all the warring powers.

Coventry was forgotten. There were hundreds of Coventries from the Urals to Tokyo and back to Warsaw and Rotterdam. The U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey found that incendiary bombing did more to undermine the will to fight than any other instrument because it struck at the hearts of the whole people.

With the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a new era opened for warfare and men's standards of what is or is not humane. The horror of fire-bombing on concentrated urban populations paled before the new Moloch.

All this is brought to mind by last week's reports from Korea

about the city named Sinnuija on the south bank of the Yalu River. It housed 100,000 people. A reporter who accompanied the bombers began his dispatch with the words: "Ever see a city die?"

With time-table precision it took 21 minutes to destroy 90 per cent of Sinnuija. We do not yet know how many people died. No atomic bomb was used—only naphtha fire bombs. A pillar of smoke 21,000 feet high hung over the rubble for days afterward.

There was no gasp of horror throughout the world. No violent tremor of fear shook the hearts of men. Sinnuija was not the first Korean city which ceased to exist through bombardment. No "peace petition" was circulated to proclaim that modern war and all its weapons—not only atom bombs—had become anti-human to a degree threatening civilization's survival.

To be sure, MacArthur may be many evil things but he is not Goering and Truman is not Hitler, nor is the U. S. to be identi-

fied with Nazi Germany. That for which Coventry was once a symbol has long since come to be "accepted."

So many other, greater, more fearsome horrors have been heaped on mankind since then. Human life has fallen sharply in the scale of social values. What happened at Sinnuija is not "unethical" in the year 1950.

This is the pass to which we have come by a decade of war and threat of war. War is a constant in our social and political calculations. It is so much with us that mankind's responses have been dulled. Atrocities and horrors have become so much the daily essence of politics that only some realizer can startle what have become normal tensions into an outburst of dismay.

It is this decline of human values which is the measure of the decay of world civilization today under capitalism and Stalinism.

Phone Strikers Win a Foothold

The 11-day nation-wide telephone strike, involving 17,000 maintenance workers and installation men employed in 43 states by the Western Electric Company and 16,000 employees of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, both subsidiaries of the giant monopoly American Telephone and Telegraph Company, was settled with wage increases in various categories fluctuating around the 11-cent level.

The union had demanded 15 cents but the final agreement was in line with the company's last pre-strike wage offer. This, however, is only part of the story. While the company had insisted upon a two year agreement, it was compelled to sign a pact which runs for only fifteen months.

The short-term agreement is of vital importance to the union, not only because it will allow for a speedier reopening of the wage question but also because it allows the union, the Communications Workers of America (CWA), a freer hand to strengthen itself in the industry. The CWA is a relatively new organization and is not yet firmly established in A T & T; it arose out of a federation of loosely related independent local unions which only recently affiliated with the CIO.

Only a small section of the 600,000 workers employed by A T & T were called on to strike; other divisions and locals of the CWA were not called upon to join the stoppage except sporadically and intermittently when the striking workers, employing their "hit-and-run" tactics, picketed individual long-distance exchanges for short periods. The long-distance operators respected the picket lines and, as called for by the union strategy, returned to work when the pickets moved on to other offices. The union obviously did not attempt to shut off telephone service but merely to make it difficult for the company to keep it in order.

These are obviously the tactics of a union which is not yet able to lead a unified and solid movement of all the workers employed by the company but which can win victories through its most advanced, best organized spearhead in the industry. And these groups are free to strike again in fifteen months if the needs of their union require it.

BIG FUTURE AHEAD

Full endorsement of the strikes was voted by the CIO Executive Board; and had the struggle continued, it is certain that material and financial assistance would have been forthcoming from all the major CIO unions, especially the United Auto Workers Union which heard a stirring appeal from its president, Walter Reuther, at its last national convention for all-out aid to the telephone workers.

The Communication Workers of America can become one of the decisive unions of the CIO. At a time when the membership of the CIO has been declining, approximately a million workers await organization into the CWA. Success in such a drive will make this union one of the largest in the CIO. In terms of its social significance it will have an even greater impact.

This union will have a membership organized into locals in virtually every town and city of any significance in the United States. It will enroll hundreds of thousands of women who have hitherto considered themselves not part of the working class but part of the so-called new middle class.

A well-entrenched CWA can give the CIO a powerful point of attraction among social groups virtually untouched by unionism up to now, and provide a base for the mass organization of of-

fice workers and government workers, a task which the CIO, despite its pronouncements when the CP-controlled unions were expelled, has hardly begun.

SCAB JUDGES AT WORK

Brief as the telephone strike was, it was lengthy enough to remind us of the fair-weather friends of labor, those faint-hearted, supple-spined politicians of the liberal wing of the Democratic party. While the CIO endorsed the strike, its many friends in the Democratic Party were too busy to take notice of it; they were musing over the results of the November elections and bemoaning the failure of the people to reward their luke-warm gestures on behalf of humanity. Meanwhile, they ignored the struggles of the telephone workers to bring a measure of workers' democracy and freedom into that industry.

The strike reminds us too, that our era of "enlightened labor relations" which recognizes the right of labor to organize is founded not on the generous philanthropic sentiments of "intelligent, forward-looking management," nor on the kind hearted tolerance of capitalist politicians who will magnanimously accept labor's vote. Labor's rights depends upon its own strength and willingness to fight.

Anti-picketing injunctions forbade all picketing in the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia and were pending in Kentucky and New Jersey. Nine-teen other injunctions were issued by various city and county courts against the union.

The company is "turning the courts into strike-breakers," said Joseph A. Beirne, union president. "They've threatened, intimidated, and locked out our members. Now that none of these has broken the spirit of the strike, they are using judges as strikebreakers."

The company had laid off all long-distance operators who refused to make advance pledges that they would not ignore the picket lines of the strikers. These workers were reinstated as part of the strike settlement.

NEW YORK Muted Scandal Grows in Dept. of Welfare under Hilliard

By FRED BISHOP

NEW YORK, Nov. 18—The city Department of Welfare has launched another attack on the welfare of its own employees. It is one of a long series under the regime of Commissioner Raymond Hilliard.

Some two years ago, when the New York press let loose a barrage of denunciation against the Department of Welfare, the now forgotten man William O'Dwyer brought Hilliard into the job as a new man who had made a reputation for efficiency in Chicago. One of Hilliard's first acts was to tell the department workers that he wanted their loyalty. Since then "loyalty" has come to mean a gag on all criticism, and silence about favoritism and discrimination in job assignments.

Unfortunately, almost the sole opposition to Hilliard's policies has come from the Stalinist-led United Public Workers which, lacking any support from the labor movement, has been an easy prey to repressive measures. Firings have been taking place on a scale unprecedented in New York civil service.

The grounds used have been technically justified but have never been used to dismiss anybody. On the other hand, other

LABOR SCOPE

Can Workers Organize Where the Government Is the Employer?

By FRANK HARPER

A national leader of a CIO union has called for a halt to government encroachment upon "free enterprise," at a time when the official policy of the CIO is to slavishly endorse the Fair Deal of the Truman Democrats. It is the kind of statement which highlights the failure of the CIO political program and simultaneously reveals the conservative social outlook of the particular union and its leader, James A. Fisher, national president of the Utilities Workers Union, CIO.

It was designed to give comfort to the Republicans at election time but it nevertheless posed a very real and serious problem that concerns all union people. It is impossible to build strong unions with genuine collective bargaining powers in government-owned or government-operated industry?

The article, "Labor's Case Against Public Ownership," written by Fisher, "calls for curtailment of government encroachment into private enterprise; and for return of the electric power business to regulated, tax-paying, privately owned companies." Fisher tells us that these sentiments were unanimously endorsed by the 400 delegates at a recent national convention of his union.

We do not say that Joseph Fisher writes with utmost clarity or highest intelligence or even with complete honesty. He equates "our traditional system of free enterprise" with that which "has made America a great nation and has provided for our workers the highest standard of living in the world." He pretends that government control or ownership is sufficient, of itself, to be labeled socialism. Even if we are extremely charitable, the best that can be said for his claim that the point at which "government encroachment can and must be stopped" is "here and now—in the field of electric power," is suspiciously selective.

THE PROBLEM IS REAL

The article does say some very important things about the existing government ownership of industry. Government ownership is

here and the conditions of the workers under such ownership is extremely unsatisfactory. "Government control is no longer 'just around the corner.' It is with us, an actual fact in a large number of plants in which we work, and is marching on with alarming speed toward the capture and control of them all.

"The members of our union have learned with startling realism that the first victim of public ownership is the labor union and its members. When real collective bargaining is driven out of the picture the standards of the American worker which the unions have built up in so many years of struggle soon go into eclipse."

Thus, because labor cannot function as a genuine collective bargaining agency in fields under government ownership, management or control it feels forced to record itself in opposition to such government intervention in industry. The UWA recognizes the problem but seeks an answer through returning to the days of free enterprise. No one can breathe life into this corpse.

For two decades the Democratic Party has proceeded step by step toward state intervention in business. Millions of workers are in government employ, cogs in the vast administrative apparatus of many sorts. These public enterprises, operating as they do from top levels and without participation of the workers involved, have lowered the wages and standards of working conditions. Government regulations make it difficult to organize these workers and impossible to bargain effectively for them. Millions of workers are becoming antagonistic to working for public enterprise and to the entire concept of public ownership.

What stands in the way of the desire of the unions to have gigantic powerful and active genuine collective-bargaining agencies in the fields of government service and industry? It is the political climate which demands patriotic subservience to every manifestation of the all-powerful government.

It is NOT impossible to build strong unions with genuine collective bargaining powers in government owned — or operated service and industry. But it is possible only if the union movement makes a sharp break with capitalist politics and builds a political party of its own. It is impossible if the unions continue to slavishly follow a political party which gags and ties millions of potential union members,

and be subjected to an FBI clearance.

The union which calls itself the Civic Employees Union (CEU) supported the loyalty oath with both hands. That is nothing unusual for it. Its leaders work closely with Hilliard and are recipients of the few "merit" pay increases which have been handed out; several of its better-known members are important functionaries in the department and owe their jobs to the commissioner, who can remove them at will.

The small AFL local opposed the oath and extra assignments on the ground that its members had to work at other jobs after hours, because of their low pay. And of course the Stalinist-led UPW launched a frontal assault on the oath. Hilliard answered in two ways. First, he made it appear that no compulsion was involved and denounced the Stalinists for disrupting the civilian-defense organization. Second, he resorted to repressive measures.

Personal turnover is tremendous; favoritism is rampant; salaries are low (an investigator gets \$50 a week and must be a college graduate). They cannot properly service clients because of the constant changes in methods of operation. The losses that result do not appear on the ledgers, however, to tarnish Hilliard's reputation.

New York saw a blowoff on its police scandal, but its Department of Welfare is no less a scandal, if a muted one.

to the extent that they set a high example for good working conditions and fair wages. Since the federal government is the largest single employer in the land, one can reasonably assume that wages and working conditions for government employees are setting the pattern for other workers.

Unions must, at least, establish a basis for existence: the right of every government employee to join and to participate in a union, and the right of that union to be a real collective bargaining agency with freedom to strike against the employer. The unions should also demand freedom of political expression and activity for government workers, for labor can hardly hope to win major political victories while millions of voices are gagged and votes are bound to the system of political patronage.

Socialists have a particular interest in these economic problems of the government workers. The miserable conditions of workers under nationalized enterprises are being used not only to undermine unionism but to discredit socialism. Government ownership without workers' control of production is NOT socialism, but tons of propaganda are poured forth giving contrary views. The Republicans, reactionaries and conservatives of every hue label each bureaucratic extension of government power as "socialism."

There are also contributors to the confusion from "socialist" sources. Norman Thomas for the Socialist Party good-naturedly accuses the Fair Deal Democrats of "stealing" his socialist ammunition, and the Socialist Workers Party's press hews stubbornly to the line that nationalization is equivalent to some kind of "workers' state."

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in determining eligibility and computing allowances." There is not a supervisor who is not equally guilty of this charge, but only those are to go who are members of the UPW. The reason for the errors of all is the speedup, the demand for the completion of big projects in less than a month, involving recomputing 150,000 cases in this time while still maintaining the daily work.

The situation will undoubtedly continue to grow worse. The employees fear for their jobs and are silent. Hilliard's reputation continues to grow—in the press, but he cannot solve the problems either of the employees or the relief clients. He has brought neither efficiency nor economy.

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PHILIPPINES Is Titoism at Work Among the Hukbalahaps?

By RICHARD BURGESS

As is the case with most of the Stalinist-dominated nationalist movements of Southeast Asia, little information has seeped out concerning the Hukbalahap movement of the Philippines. The recent receipt of several months-old issues of the Manila Times, containing the report of an interview with Huk leader Luis Taruc, helps to throw some light on recent developments of the movement. The interview was granted by Taruc to a Manila journalist, who was led to a hideout in the foothills of Luzon's Sierra Madre Mountains, there to reaffirm that Taruc was very much alive, despite President Quirino's contentions to the contrary.

The text of the interview was carried in full in the Manila Times of last July 5, and was paid scant attention outside of the country—although the single picture of the Huk leader taken during the interview was flashed around the world.

In his talk with the journalist, Taruc confirmed what has already been assumed—namely, that he was in accord with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, that the Huks follow this leadership, and that he considers himself a member of the Communist Party. What he did not say, however, was that he was a leader of the CP. This seemingly pleasurable point is not unimportant in the light of the pains Taruc took to deny the possibility of a rift between the CP and himself, in the following statement:

"Contrary to the baseless rumors spread by the imperialists and their puppets, [the Huks] . . . and the Communist Party leading it, have complete unity in their leaderships. As commander-in-chief of the Hukbalahaps and as a communist, I accept the leadership of the Communist Party of which Comrade Balgos is the general secretary. All the rumors that there is rivalry between Comrade Balgos and myself, and that while Balgos is an internationalist taking dictation from Moscow, I am a nationalist and a Titoist, are but the products of the delirious imagination of the imperialists. . . . These are pure fabrications." [Italics mine—R. B.]

In other portions of the interview, the 36-year-old peasant leader stressed the point that the Huks, while welcoming Stalinist support—and following Stalinist leadership—have no organizational connection with the other Communist Parties in the rest of the world. Although the validity of this statement may certainly be questioned, it is at least indicative of the feelings of the leader of the Huks.

TITOIST RUMBLINGS

The rest of the interview, devoted to political questions, brought forth a vitriolic attack upon American imperialist policy in the Philippines and its support of the decrepit Quirino government; and called for support "of the forces fighting for the maintenance of the peace under the leadership of the Soviet Union"—in the best Stalinist tradition.

The reply of Quirino's government—which, with the support of the United States, had helped outlaw the Huks and drive them further into the arms of the Stalinists—was similar to the anguished cry of a rejected lover. Said Quirino's secretary of defense:

"Those who know Luis Taruc well cannot but discern a new note in his statement . . . whereas before, Taruc's brand of communism had a hard core of nationalism, now he admits pitifully and helplessly, complete and abject surrender to the tenets of the Communist International. This transformation must have been a

bitter pill to swallow. After all, Taruc had always been imbued with a feeling of idealistic nationalism and to submit now to the leadership of that die-hard Stalinist, Balgos, must be a severe blow to a sensitive and proud man that Taruc is. The blow is more painful still when one considers the fact that Taruc, who built the Huk organization, must now submit to dictation by Balgos, a new-comer and an ex-convict."

The government then released to the press a story that allegedly had been told to army authorities by a former Huk squadron commander who had surrendered. According to this story, "In a meeting held in the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre Mountains, attended by almost all the leading commanders of the Huk hierarchy and the political bureau directors and propagandists, Taruc and Balgos argued whether to accept Balgos' complete Stalinist line or Taruc's version 'which is akin to that of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito. Taruc

lost out in the voting, after which everyone in the conference swore allegiance . . . to Stalin's faith."

The increase in industry will be financed by the "hidden financial reserves," that is, by an increase in the exploitation of the working class. Moscow has promised a credit of two billion rubles, but its realization is questionable because of the Kremlin's autocratic and imperialist policy in its satellite states and refusal to permit any control by them over financial operations. Polish coal deliveries to Russia can cover any Russian "financial aid"; it would be difficult to say how much is "loan" and how much is payment for goods delivered.

For Russia, Poland is now an industrial base for war prepara-

tion. The increase in Polish industry means also an increase in the movement of goods between Poland and Russia by 60 per cent over the present level—that is, an increase in Russian exploitation of the country.

The Polish workers must work in accordance with Russian plans and instructions, and Polish industry will be built according to Russian orders. Moscow's technicians and engineers elaborate the detailed plans to the last comma, and the Poles can change nothing.

At July's plenary session of the central committee of the ruling Stalinist party, Minister Minc demanded a 60 per cent increase in labor productivity for industry and 85 per cent for building and public works. In the whole country a widespread campaign is carried on against "idlers"—which is the term by which they refer to the workers who rebuild the national economy.

GERMANY Elections in Two States Show Socialists Gain on Arms Issue

By GORDON HASKELL

The German Social-Democrats made impressive gains in the state elections in Hesse and Württemberg-Baden on Sunday, November 19. Since they had campaigned mainly against the government's policy of remilitarization in Germany, their victory at the polls gives additional proof of the fact that a large section of the German population opposes any remilitarization of their country under present conditions.

The Social-Democrats are following up their electoral victory with the demand for an immediate national election.

It appears that the election showed a definite swing of the population away from the center party of Adenauer and toward the right and the left. Significantly, the Socialists failed to benefit by this tendency and went down to a smashing defeat.

The first reports of the American press services indicated that in Hesse the Social-Democrats may have a clear majority of seats in the state parliament, and could thus form a government of their own if they choose. They increased their number of seats from 88 to 47, while Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union dropped from 23 seats to 12.

In Württemberg-Baden, the Social-Democrats got 33 per cent of the vote, while the Christian Democrats got only 26.3 per cent.

At the same time, the parties of the right gained also. In both Hesse and Württemberg-Baden the right-wing parties joined up with the Association of Homeless and Those Deprived of Rights (BHE) whose appeal is directed towards Eastern refugees, former Nazis and other rightist dissidents. Just what this alliance may signify for the long-range perspectives of Germany's political future it is hard to say at the present time. It is clear, however, that this vast uprooted population is bound to be an unstable element in German politics for a long time to come, and that all political programs will have to take it into account.

Right now, however, the Social-Democratic victory presents the American policy makers with a very distasteful fact. German resistance to their plan to include a large German military force in the contemplated Western European

EAST EUROPE Polish Currency Reform Soaks Workers Again

By A. RUDZIENSKI

Polish national economy was rebuilt to the pre-war level by its Three Year Plan for reconstruction. Now Industry and Commerce Minister Minc has presented a new Six Year Plan, which looks toward an increase of 50 per cent in industry over the 1949 level and an increase of 29 per cent in agriculture.

The increase in industry will be financed by the "hidden financial reserves," that is, by an increase in the exploitation of the working class. Moscow has promised a credit of two billion rubles, but its realization is questionable because of the Kremlin's autocratic and imperialist policy in its satellite states and refusal to permit any control by them over financial operations. Polish coal deliveries to Russia can cover any Russian "financial aid"; it would be difficult to say how much is "loan" and how much is payment for goods delivered.

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GEARED TO RUBLE

The Polish worker has gotten between 15,000 and 20,000 zlotys a month, while a dress costs 30,000 zlotys and a dollar is 4000 zlotys on the black market. The Stalinist government was obliged to institute a currency reform, to extend its control over wages and far products.

The new zloty is now equal to the Russian zloty—four to a dollar. Thus the same currency now exists in both Poland and Russia under different names, zloty in Poland and ruble in Russia. Workers who got 15,000 zlotys now get 15. The currency reform will be covered by the increase in workers' exploitation, in favor of the Stalinist bureaucracy and Russian imperialism. It is its main meaning. It will also mean another step in the gradual political and economic incorporation of Poland into the Russian empire.

The new norms for labor productivity will be introduced by the bureaucracy into all industry. There are three kinds of norms: by industry, by branch of an industry, and by individual factory. The first is decreed by the government, the second by the respective ministers, and the third by the factory managers.

The creation of such a force would be no easy task. But the first prerequisite is the creation of a social force in the United States itself which is seeking an alternative to armed force in the struggle. This could only be a labor movement which rejects the military and political policies of the United States government, and which offers to the workers of Europe and the peoples of Asia its full support against their present political and economic rulers.

ALTERNATIVE TO ARMS

It is frankly admitted that the figure of 30 divisions is based more on an idea of what might be possible than on sober military estimates of what would be needed to stop a full-scale Russian attack. Yet such is the political and economic condition of the European nations that even to suggest the larger figures as eventual goals is considered politically inexpedient.

Out of this disparity between

military needs and political possibilities arises the question which all serious people must ask themselves: If it is impossible to raise a military force in Europe capable of resisting the Russians, what other means are available to prevent World War III from breaking out?

The American labor movement, which docilely follows United States foreign policy, might waver the German elections and the estimates of the military leaders. If they think about it hard enough, it should become increasingly doubtful to them whether Stalinism can be defeated with arms in Europe. But it can be defeated through the creation of a social force which could undermine its appeal to the workers of Europe, on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The creation of such a force would be no easy task. But the first prerequisite is the creation of a social force in the United States itself which is seeking an alternative to armed force in the struggle. This could only be a labor movement which rejects the military and political policies of the United States government, and which offers to the workers of Europe and the peoples of Asia its full support against their present political and economic rulers.

If the currency reform does not raise workers' real wages and standards of living, the norm of Polish economy will become the slowdown—the tortoise pace—and nobody will be able to do anything about it.

To inspire the men with "enthusiasm" for the new norms, the government has issued a new decree against turnover in the factories and job-changing; no one can change his job without the permission of the factory manager. The labor-book has been introduced in Poland as in Russia as the means of control.

The Stalinist hangmen's rope tightens daily around the throats of the Polish people, who look for their salvation and for the destruction of the Russian occupation to a new war or some other cataclysm.

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The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

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BUSINESS GETS A PLUM FROM TRUMAN

By THOMAS CRONIN

One of the largest sections of the gravy-train special for business is the new tax schedules the government has drawn up. It is the 5-year amortization or write-off period on new investments.

It works this way, according to *Business Week*: "normally a foundry might have to be written off over 40-50 years—over an annual rate of 2.5 per cent or 2 per cent; a drop forge (in the eyes of the Bureau of Internal Revenue) might have a life expectancy of 10-20 years and a corresponding write-off rate of 10 per cent or 5 per cent. But if you were to build either of these plants today to fill a defense contract, you could get permission to set an annual depreciation rate of 20 per cent on all new facilities."

This means that business would pay less in taxes during this 5-year period. If an excess-profits tax were enacted, because of higher costs in the annual depreciation fund, there would be less profits, and thus smaller taxes. And the company would have the new plant paid off at a time when taxes are high. It is the same deal that worked during the last war.

To show how this works: the National Security Resources Board is negotiating with the aluminum industry for a one-billion-pound increase in capacity. The NSRB promises that it will buy the entire output for 5 years and that it will allow the new plants that are built to be written-off in this 5-year period. These new plants are really being built at government expense, and then handed over to industry. All that remains for industry to do is to operate them and rake in the profits.

The government also wants the steel industry to expand production by 20 million tons. But steel is holding out for these favorable write-off rates to be applied to them, and then it will act in the best tradition of "free enterprise" and expand production.

WHO'LL BITE ON THIS ONE?

Here is another version of the "preventive war" psychology. This time it comes from one of the financial writers of the N. Y. Times on November 12:

"There is a growing feeling in the country, perhaps, that we should stop 'biting the stick' which is being poked at us and go after the man behind the stick. After all, we are not just a pup that knows no better. We might serve notice on the nation that is poking at us that the next poke means war—with everything we have and that means our A-bomb superiority."

PEAK IN PERSONAL INCOME (NOT YOURS)

Personal income in September reached the all-time record high of an annual rate of \$228.3 billion. This is \$2.9 billion higher than the annual rate for August.

The personal-income figures include payments for wages and salaries, farm income, rents, profits and interest.

The largest factor in this rise was a \$3 billion increase in dividend payments as a result of the recent wave of dividends and extra dividend payments. It also reflects the swelling profits of business as a result of the Korean war boom. This is part of the rush of business to pass out dividends to stockholders before the higher tax rates are applied.

Manufacturing wages, however, showed an increase of \$400 million, or only about 13 per cent of the increase that went to dividends. In August there was a \$1.9 billion increase in factory wages, but this represented an increase in employment. The increase in wage rates has not even begun to approach the increase in prices in recent months and the fabulous profits that business is raking in.

HARD FACTS ON STEEL PROFITS

The steel industry which is clamoring for an increase in steel prices is sharing in this general rise in profits. The twenty top companies which represent 85 per cent of ingot production report profits for the first nine months of 1950 at \$541 million, a 35 per cent increase over the same period of 1949. Since total profits in all of 1949 were only \$527 million, in 1950 the total should reach close to \$800 million. And the steel industry is crying that if it raises wages, prices have to go up too.

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WORLD POLITICS

SOCIALIST PARTY OF INDIA SUPPORTS THE "THIRD CAMP"

By JAMES M. FENWICK

The Socialist Party of India is of more than passing interest, not only because of the exceptional role any socialist party could play in a key colonial country such as India, but because of the closeness of its position to that of the Independent Socialist League in many respects.

Following the coming of the Congress Party to power, the Socialist Party, which had been its left wing, broke with it and began an independent existence. In 1947 the general council of the Socialist Party issued a policy statement. The succession of political developments which the next two years witnessed mandated a revision of the statement in 1949. This program is the latest full presentation of the Indian Socialist Party's position which is available to us at this time.

The policy statement begins by defining the "objectives of the party as being (a) the establishment of a democratic socialist society in India; (b) the eradication of imperialism, racialism, colonialism and other forms of national oppression and economic inequality among nations and the creation of a democratic socialist world." This democratic socialism is distinguished from totalitarian Stalinism. A distinction is made between the policies of the Indian Socialist Party and those of the pre-Hitler Social-Democracy. "The Socialist Party, therefore, while firmly believing in democratic socialism and fully aware of the dangers of totalitarian communism, adheres steadfastly to the path of revolution. The party sees no conflict between democracy and revolution."

Basic Marxism in Program

Under socialism, the statement continues, capitalism and feudalism will be abolished and replaced by a classless society. Production, exchange, and banking will be socialized, technological advancement will take place at an accelerated pace, production will be planned, the discrepancy between rural and urban areas will disappear, the princely status will be abolished, tribal peoples will have cultural autonomy, religion can be freely practiced, the caste system will be abolished, and women will have equality with men. Socialism will, of necessity, have to exist on a world-wide basis.

Of the transition to the socialist society, the statement has the following to say: "The class struggle is the motive force in the transition to socialism. . . . Insurrectionary means must be distinguished from terrorist action, putschism or conspiratorial violence. . . . To put it historically, for an insurrection to take place and to succeed, the philosophy and technique of the Narodnaya Volya must be transformed into the philosophy and technique of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. . . . Democratic means can be used for the capture of state power only where full political democracy is functioning and the working class, the peasantry and the lower middle class have reached a high level of maturity and have created a powerful political party. Where these conditions do not exist, democratic methods must be ineffective and inadequate and sometimes dangerous."

"In the achievement of the Socialist order of society," the statement continues, "the working class has an important and increasingly responsible role to play. The labor policy of the party therefore forms the core of the party's policy statement." The labor movement must be organized in free, democratic, independent trade unions, adequately financed and with full-time officials. Given the backwardness of the Indian worker, a prime task of the Socialist Party is to develop a workers' education movement.

Key to Foreign Policy

The key to Indian's foreign policy is seen to lie in the policy of the Third Camp: "victory of neither of the power blocs will lead to the emancipation of mankind. And therefore, no choice or preference is indicated. India should not therefore do anything that is likely to increase the influence of either of these blocs but strive to create a Third Camp of active neutrality and try to expand the area of this Third Camp as far as possible."

The Indian Socialist Party rejects unity with the Communist Party: "The Communists in this country, as elsewhere, are often described as leftists, but they are neither leftists nor rightists; they are merely Russian nationalists; and they swing from either extreme to the other with the utmost ease, as dictated by the swings in Russian policy."

"To all the democratic forces in this country," the statement concludes, "we extend a cordial welcome to join the Socialist Party in building up a united socialist movement. Two socialist parties have already merged with the party and a considerable part of another. Every effort shall be made to continue this process and it is hoped that as the mass basis of the party broadens this process would be further facilitated."

There are some obvious gaps in this program. (For example, the Pakistan question is not touched upon; there is no section on the youth and student movements, which are of much greater importance in colonial countries than in metropolitan ones; the program for economic reconstruction seems frag-

mentary; and little is said upon party structure.) But in the context of collateral pamphlet material, articles in *Janata*, and practical activity, these lacks do not assume critical importance. There are, moreover, political criticisms which can be made—such as, for example, an ambiguous attitude toward the United Nations.

But what is decisive is that in a reactionary period, when socialist remnants of all types are lining up with either U. S. or Stalinist imperialism, a socialist party of an important country maintains a Third Camp position.

Active in All Fields

So far as we can tell at this distance, the party enjoys a democratic internal regime. Not only are the pages of *Janata* open to opposing points of view, but a party discussion bulletin is published as well. Further, the editorial staff reprints articles from the foreign socialist press of various persuasions, LABOR ACTION among others. This is indeed heartening in an epoch when the pressure of imperialism has crushed the creative life out of more than one revolutionary organization.

It is obvious that the party has roots in the masses. It intervenes actively among the peasants, the urban workers, and the students, as a succession of dramatic stories in *Janata* demonstrate.

Political tendencies within the party would seem to range from a sentimental socialism heavily infused with Gandhism to Trotskyism. In general, there is a lack of over-all Marxist background such as we, who have been close to the European tradition, have become accustomed to finding in the most advanced socialist cadres. The reasons for this lack, which lie in the colonial history of the country, could be easily developed.

The interest evinced by the Indian Socialist Party in socialist thinking abroad is very encouraging. This interest has its basis not only in a desire to assimilate the socialist thought of the West but in a realization that the solution of internal Indian problems daily becomes more and more a partial function of international developments. The Korean events have obviously posed some thorny problems, which the most recent events in Tibet and Nepal can only serve to sharpen. Their proper resolution can go a long way toward an ultimate fusion of the best elements of the Indian tradition with scientific socialism.

From the Stone Age

As a postscript to the foregoing we must mention receipt of several issues of *New Horizon*, organ of the Bolshevik Mazdoor Party of India, the official representative of the Fourth International. Despite the obvious sincerity and self-sacrifice of the comrades of this tendency, their politics can be charitably characterized solely as stone-age Trotskyism. Here are two typical political potsherders we stumbled over: "Chinese Stalinism not only preserves and protects the indigenous capitalism but also the foreign capitalism." And: "It is absurd to believe that Indian capitalist class and its party the Congress can provide free and fair elections in an era of precipitate decline of capitalism and its democracy."

Though we are unacquainted with the Indian situation in detail, we can without hesitation suggest that the comrades of the Bolshevik Mazdoor Party of India enter the Socialist Party, as did leading Indian Trotskyists some time ago. Archeology is no substitute for politics.

As this article goes to press, we have received the documents of the Indian Socialist Party's convention for this year. We expect that WORLD POLITICS will discuss these in an early issue.—Ed.

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THE PRO-TITOISM OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT—18

Tito's Workers Council Law: the Jokers

By HAL DRAPER

The preceding three articles have explained the Titoists' drives toward the measures which gave birth to the new "workers' councils" setup. The last point emphasized was the role of such measures in developing new cadres for the administrative bureaucracy. Of special interest was the comment which we quoted from Trotsky, ending with:

"Of greatest urgency to the Kremlin [read: to the Titoist bureaucracy] is the extraction of a new administrative apparatus from among the toiling population. . . . This task can be solved only in several stages. The first stage is the peasant committees and the committees of workers' control."

[Incidentally, the last sentence was misprinted last week, the typographical error reading: "The first stage is the peasant committees of workers' control."]

If the Russian Stalinist development has shown that "committees of workers' control" of a certain type can exist within the framework of Stalinist totalitarianism, indeed as an instrument of that Stalinism, it is surely incumbent upon the pro-Titoist apologists to examine Tito's workers' councils a little more critically than their naive hallelujahs have indicated.

What CAN "workers' councils" mean in a regime in which a worker has no right of political opposition or criticism? So the workers in a factory are, by decree, to elect their representatives to consult with the factory managers: this is the basis for the hallelujahs. But no more than anyone else do these representatives have any rights as against the sole and real power in the country, which is also the sole owner of the factory: the Tito-Stalinist regime. They will be consulted, on how efficiently to carry out the aims of the regime.

The Myth of "Economic Democracy"

This is what is represented, in the words of some, as "economic democracy" as distinct from "political democracy." It is the formula of Henry Wallace (in his neo-Stalinist days at least) and of the Wallace type everywhere. True (they say), no "political democracy" exists and that is deplorable, but "political democracy" is not the only type of democracy, and after all there is also "economic democracy" and "ethnic democracy" and 57 other varieties of democracy, and shall we get overheated if Stalinism lacks one among all these assorted types of democracy?

We need not go into any general dissertation on the distinction between political democracy and economy democracy, because the whole point is this: *It is under Stalinism that no such distinction can possibly exist.*

The Stalinist system is characterized precisely by the fusion of economic and politics—i.e., it is the state, the political power, which also owns, controls and directs the economy.

Under capitalism, the political power and the economic power are related but not identical. Under Stalinism they are identical: the same power, the same personnel.

Under capitalism it is possible to speak of regimes ("Bonapartist regimes") in which the ruling class has been politically expropriated while still remaining in possession of its economic and social power by virtue of its ownership of the means of production. Under Stalinism, the very concept does not make sense. It is not wrong, it is not right, it is simply meaningless.

Under capitalism, the state bureaucracy acts essentially as the agency ("executive committee") of the ruling class. Under Stalinism, the state bureaucracy is the ruling class.

Under capitalism, or at any rate democratic capitalism, political democracy can exist without economic democracy (and therefore, incidentally, can never be real and thoroughgoing political democracy). But even under capitalism, no one has ever seen the reverse: the existence of economic democracy in any sense without political democracy of any kind!

And yet it is claimed that this can be true in a social system where political power and economic power cannot be separated at all, by the very nature of the system!

A Close Look at the Law

To date, all that has happened with Tito's workers' councils is: (1) The new law has been decreed; (2) Speeches have been made hailing, etc.; (3) Councils have been elected. That is all anyone has to go on at present. We therefore turn to examine the law, analyze the speeches, and take a look at the composition of the newly elected councils.

The setup established by the law is as follows: (1) The workers in an enterprise elect their workers' councils; (2) the council elects a management board for the enterprise; (3) the manager of the enterprise is appointed from above; (4) all these are under the general control of the industry-wide apparatus, called the "higher industrial association," which is established by the state, and of the state organs themselves.

The powers of the workers' council—a central point, of course—resolve themselves into two parts after a careful reading of the law: (1) questions upon which they can make decisions and act; (2) questions upon which they can only express consultative opinions. Titoist expositions of the law deliberately and systematically confuse these two.

As I. F. Stone has pointed out recently, the first set of decisive powers deal with matters relating to speedup, increasing production, efficiency, etc., and are general. On other questions, the council is in effect limited to consultation. On many of these, the language of the law is so vague and wide-open that a team of horses could be driven through it; it will mean whatever the state decides that it means.

In the direct list of powers of the council (Article 23) the only one which begins forthrightly with "Makes decisions . . ." is this: "Makes decisions concerning the management of the enterprise and relative to the realization of the production plan."

The same article says that it "makes the rules of the enterprise" but this only on confirmation by the industry-wide or state organs. The other powers listed are too vague to mean anything at all, especially in view of other sections scattered through the law which specifically give decisive powers to the appointed manager or the outside top authority.

The management board, which is elected by the council, a step removed from the workers, likewise is given a number of general "powers" to make proposals to the manager (on working hours, for example); but the heart of its powers is the following:

"Takes any measures necessary for the advancement of the production of the enterprise; and particularly for the rationalization of pro-

duction [speedup], for increase of productivity of labor, for bringing down the costs of production, for improving the quality of production and for economy and minimization of waste and scrap."

The management board can submit objections (to the upper state organs) against decisions by the industry-wide association, but has no power to hold these decisions up (Article 32). On the other hand, the appointed manager can veto any decision of the management board until it is passed upon on top (Article 40).

The management board is bound (Article 5) to obey "the instructions or directives" of the top organs—it is not responsible for the execution of the law and of all other legal prescriptions and all orders of the competent state organs," etc. The appointed manager, incidentally, is an *ex officio* member of the management board.

The workers' council, says the law, is elected by secret ballot, but the election is specifically rigged so that no minority can possibly gain a single member on the council! This is done (Article 19) by a list election whereby different slates of candidates can be put forward but "Those candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes on the list of candidates for which the majority of the workers and employees voted are considered elected. . . ."

Furthermore, "a list of candidates is signed by those who put it up" (Article 14). Somebody may have use for the names. Finally, the electoral commission which runs the election is "appointed by the trade-union organization" (Article 16), not by the workers of the enterprise or any of their organs.

The above does not pretend to exhaust the list of jokers and gimmicks in this law, not even the obvious ones, but we do not mean to lay primary emphasis on such jokers and gimmicks. A subtler formulation of the law or amendments to it will not change anything which we have already discussed about the role of "workers' councils" in a totalitarian political structure.

Composition of the Workers' Councils

The speeches about the new law dealt with platitudes about "fighting bureaucracy" which we have already discussed, but the composition of the workers' councils is or should be enlightening. It should not have been unexpected, however.

The criterion laid down to qualify workers for election to the council's has nothing to do with their ability or suitability to represent their fellow workers in anything. The criterion is how good and productive they are as workers.

Thus, a *Tanjug* dispatch when the new law was announced: "The resolution adopted at the end of a meeting of the Rad construction enterprise in Belgrade says: 'The day when the construction enterprises will be led by the best masons, carpenters and other workers, these enterprises will more rapidly achieve their tasks than they have been able to do up to now.'"

Discussing the new laws, the workers bring out the experiences of the workers' councils which have already been formed in the enterprises, and stress that the workers who know their jobs thoroughly can solve all the problems in the enterprise." [July 1. My emphasis.]

This one is entirely typical. It is the bureaucracy's means of letting the workers know what kind of "representatives" they are supposed to elect. In following up, the Tito press bore down heavily on the same theme in their reports of the council elections as they took place. *Rad*, the central organ of the trade unions, gave some figures on the results in 215 factories and mines. Of the workers' councils members elected, "2178 are shock workers, 108 innovators, 316 efficiency experts, 19 inventors, and 1060 bear decorations as workers." (Quoted by *Yugoslav Fortnightly*, June 9.)

Glas, the organ of the Serbian People's Front, reported on the elections in Serbia in the largest enterprises: "62 per cent of the members are workers, the rest engineers, technicians and salaried employees. Almost half the members of these councils have been decorated with the Order of Labor, or designated as shock workers, innovators and rationalizers." (*Tanjug*, June 19.)

Back in 1949, Kardelj's *On People's Democracy in Yugoslavia* had already foreshadowed the workers' council law. He called for further development of "regular conferences on all questions of factory management between the directors and groups of the most efficient workers." The aim is "further improvement in the socialist methods of business management," he said.

But still, workers have the "right" to put forward lists of nominees on any other basis, don't they? They can, if they wish, propose a slate of candidates who, say, are opposed to the economic (even political) aims of the regime, can't they? They need not take the hint of the regime that they are supposed to be "represented" by Yugoslav Stakhanovists, speedup artists and judas goats. This right they have in such abundance that the Tito regime will hasten to provide a special place for them to exercise it in. That is the omega, if not the alpha, of "economic democracy" under a totalitarianism.

The regime may very likely succeed in developing suitable bureaucrat-material out of some of the shock workers, innovators, rationalizers, and Order of Labor speedup heroes elected to the councils. It is less likely that, over a period of time, labor productivity or efficiency will be measurably increased by them—at least no more than American company unions succeed in making the workers contented and happy. It is least likely of all that the workers represented by the Heroes of Labor will be deceived about their "democracy."

(Next week: Trade unions, Stakhanovism and women's rights.)

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The Gray Report: Manifesto of American Imperialism

By SAM FELIX

The Report to the President on Foreign Economic Policy, by former Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray, shows the methods that the United States will use to organize and dominate the non-Stalinist world in preparation for a third world war. It also indicates similarities in the methods used by both the United States and Russia in the exploitation of their respective camps.



The Gray report is a further indication of the contradictions of the American liberal in formulating an economic and social policy that is capable of defeating Stalinism and making the world safe for capitalism. It is his support of American foreign policy and its preparation for war that destroys what he believes to be the way to defeat Stalinism: increasing the standards of living of the people throughout the world.

The central idea of the report lies in the statement: "It was essential after the war to restore political and economic stability in the areas disrupted by the war. It is now essential to build adequate military strength..." This indicates the relationship of the Gray report to the earlier Harriman report of mid-1947 which was the basis of the Marshall Plan.

It is appropriate that the man whose name symbolizes the dominant trend in U. S. foreign economic policy, George Marshall, was secretary of state at the time of the first part of this statement, and now is the secretary of defense when it is time to build "military strength." For the Harriman report was to the Marshall Plan what the Gray report is to the North Atlantic Pact.

Calling the Tune—Aloud

At the time Gordon Gray started this survey, in March 1950, the North Atlantic Pact discussions were already under way for the rearming of the United States and Western Europe. The problem of how to distribute the burden of rearming was already pressing, but it was the Korean war that speeded up the time-table. To a great extent the main lines of this report would have been the same without Korea; it is the tempo of development that has been quickened.

The new problem that is introduced is that of rearmament. "We have now entered a new phase of foreign economic relations," says the Gray report. The new phase is that the U. S. will have an ever-increasing voice in the determination of policy for the rest of the non-Stalinist world. The U. S. has been calling the tune for the past five years, but now its hand is to be more open. Increasingly there have been loud demands from the bipartisan supporters of American foreign policy that the Europeans stop pussyfooting around and get down to the business of rearming.

This increase in rearmaments appears to the Truman administration as requiring a shift in the use of economic resources and the necessity to increase the importation of strategic raw materials. "The diversion of American productive effort to military defense will reduce the supply of goods for civilian consumption in this country. It will also reduce the quantity of civilian goods which we can ship abroad. This means that our demand for civilian imports from other countries will increase."

It is this last sentence that offers an important clue to what this American foreign economic policy means to Western Europe. The United States, the richest and most powerful country in the world, will have to decrease its production of civilian goods in order to rearm, and in turn it proposes to get back part of this shortage through imports from Western Europe.

That would sound plausible if it were not that Western Europe is being faced with the same problems in its own rearming. The question is: Where is Western Europe to get these civilian goods to export to maintain the American standard of living?

What Will It Mean for Europe?

The effects of the program of rearming on Western Europe are stated by the report:

"In the case of Western European countries, rising raw-material prices and the growing scarcities arising from their own rearmament could put heavy pressure on

their economies. These countries must continue for a time to increase their exports in relation to their imports in order to achieve self-support. Inflationary prices for imports will increase the burden on their exports.

"Moreover the fact that a substantial portion of Western European resources will be required for defense production will increase import requirements and at the same time tend to reduce the amount of goods which they can export. Western Europe may be caught between the rising costs of its imports and the falling level of its exports, so that its present progress toward economic self-support may be undermined. Furthermore, these trends involve a serious risk of inflation in the Western European countries and may handicap their military effort."

To ask the question "Where is Western Europe to get these exports?" is almost to answer it. It will be squeezed out of the living standards of the masses which are still below the pre-1939 depression levels.

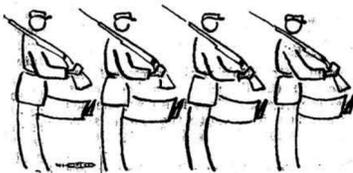
The formulation of this idea of the relations between the U. S. and Western Europe shows the similarities in the way both the United States and Russia view their satellites. While there are important differences in detail and in the extent to which the U. S. will be able to carry it out, it nevertheless indicates certain fundamental patterns of action.

What is common to both imperialisms is the subordination of the welfare of their "allies" to the needs of strengthening their own war potential. Both operate from the point of view that it is their industrial and military strength which is decisive if the other is to be defeated. That is true, but this means trampling over the national sovereignty of those within its camp.

Marshalling the Dollars

It is true that the United States does not have to set up "Sovrom" companies in order to milk the wealth of these countries, nor does it have to send in a Rokossovsky to act as a proconsul. The United States, instead, does it through the market operations of capitalist economy. The wealth of the United States does not necessitate the dismantling of factories in England or France and their shipment to the U. S., nor the use of slave labor.

Instead the United States wants the manpower of Western Europe and Asia, it wants the raw materials, it wants the rest of the world to rearm according to its



time-table so as to preserve the basis of capitalist society. These things it has accomplished because of the power of the dollar and the devastation of the rest of the capitalist world. The conditions that it has laid down for further economic aid, as stated in the Gray report, show that if Western Europe does not agree to performance standards as established by the United States, this aid will be cut off. And now there is a proposal that Western Europe increase exports in relation to consumer goods at a time when its own living standards are decreasing, this time in the name of "self-support."

This proposal is in line with some recent indications of developments in the North Atlantic Pact Council. France in recent months has been objecting to the rearmament of Western Germany under conditions which would weaken France's hoped-for hegemony over continental Western Europe. The N. Y. Times Paris correspondent, on November 12, reported on a proposed compromise with the United States: The U. S. proposed that if France would remove her objections to German arming, the U. S. would allow France to produce a larger amount of heavy manufacturing goods than now allotted.

Setting the Mold for Europe

This gives the outlines of a plan whereby the United States would be the primary producer of heavy manufacturing and capital goods and Western Europe would tend to concentrate on light manufacturing and consumer goods. It is this type of division of industrial power that would place Western Europe even further under the domination of American capitalism. In return the U. S. has promised increased shipments of war materials and even a continuation of a modified Marshall Plan.

The Gray report states the effect of this increased arming: "Western European countries can, and undoubtedly will, make sacrifices by forgoing consumption and investment, but there are limits beyond which they cannot go without drastically undermining their economic health and their political cohesion. A sufficient rate of armament will probably exceed these limits, and to the extent that it forces a reduction in their exports, it reduces the only means they have of becoming self-supporting."

It is at this point that the benevolent American government will step in, with its offer of "economic aid," after it has imported these consumer goods from Western Europe. And all of this will be accomplished through the "invisible hand" (sic) of the market.

Setting the Mold for Colonies

One of the main concerns of the report is "to increase the production of raw materials necessary for defense. It is not enough simply to buy existing supplies—new capital must flow into the raw-material-producing countries to increase production. Moreover it is vital not to lose the sources of these needed raw materials to the forces of Communist aggression."

First, this is the justification for the prosecution of future "dirty wars" like the one the U. S. is supporting in Indo-China. The decisive question, to the U. S., will be: Are there vital raw materials in this country? and not the aspirations of the people for national independence. This was the same reason given for the continued occupation of Germany—the strategic necessities of the cold war.

Second, the above statement from the report comes after mention of the decreased amount of capital available for investment in the "free" world because of armament, and the necessities of raising the standards of living of the "backward areas," i.e., colonial and former colonial countries. Therefore what capital is available for investment will go into the development of the raw-material resources of these countries.

This is the typical capitalist-imperialist relation toward these colonial and underdeveloped countries. It is the development of the raw-material resources at the expense of industry, and the creation of one-crop economies which are entirely dependent on the imperialist country's economy.

Imperialism's Yardstick

Formerly such a country suffered the effects of the business cycle of the main industrial countries because its prosperity depended on the industrial country's prosperity. Now it suffers the effects of inflation; for the raw materials it produces there are no manufactured goods in return. This too will go under the holy name of Point Four.

The U. S. is not only concerned with the increased production of raw materials but also its distribution, that is, the fear of the inflationary effect of competitive bidding for these scarce materials. On this point the Gray Report makes two recommendations:

"11. In addition to necessary and properly administered domestic measures within the United States, methods for international collaboration should be promptly established for guiding supplies of scarce materials among the free nations in the manner best calculated to contribute to the common defense.

"12. In administering such export controls as may be necessary adequate steps should be taken to assure the delivery of goods required by other countries for purposes that support broad United States interests." (My italics.)

Not only will the United States attempt to determine what shall be produced and who shall produce it, but also who is to get it—all judged by the yardstick of "broad United States interests."

In the section on "how should our foreign economic program be administered," the report modestly points out:

"We must not lose sight of the fact that our economic health is itself vital to attaining the objectives of the free world."

(Next week: the Gray Report and Europe's will to fight.)

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New Elements in Stalinist Theory

A Study of Recent Changes in Official Russian Theory on Marx's 'Obsolete' Ideas

By Vs. FELIX

In the post-war period, Russian Stalinism has clearly begun to make changes in its official ideology. This new course or new "general line" of the party has come into being without being preceded by the smashing of a new opposition or deviation in its ranks, and without any tragicomic show trial (leaving aside the liquidation of "cosmopolitans" in science and literature and the mysterious death of Zhdanov). It goes without saying that there was no public discussion of this new "general line" even inside the party. The conclusion can be drawn that this new course is the natural successor of the old course, arising from a Bonapartized regime whose degeneration is complete.

The new elements in the Stalinist ideology of today are the following:

- (1) A new attitude toward Marxism and its further falsification.
- (2) New theories about the state and its functions in socialist and communist society.
- (3) A new theory about the so-called "political economy of socialism."
- (4) The theory of a "new road" to socialism on a world scale.

"Break with Obsolete Ideas"

Not long ago Moscow's dictators began to put frequent emphasis on the fact that the doctrine of Marxism is 150 years old. It can scarcely be believed that they have only now, suddenly, noticed this lapse of time; something else is evidently involved. In the same way, they began to recall with equal frequency that Karl Marx always lived in a capitalist society whereas Josef Stalin has built socialism and is now leading the people to communism. In this connection they often point out that a man's consciousness is always determined and influenced by his social being and existence.

A bit of light may be thrown on these mysterious emphases and references by the following statement in *Bolshevik*, the central theoretical organ of the party:

"Marx and Engels (having lived in capitalist society) ... could foresee only in its general features the need of creating a new ideology conforming to the social relations of communist society..."

"The Soviet reality shows the concrete forms in which there comes to life this great process of a break with obsolete ideas, the process of constructing a new social ideology." [*Bolshevik*, No. 4, 1948, page 40. My emphasis.]

Up to now we were told that there is not, never has been and never will be anything better than Marx's doctrines for every kind of society, not only for communist society; but now it suddenly appears that there is a "need of creating a new ideology." In point of fact, we do indeed see such an ideology being created today in the Russian reality, and what is taking place is indeed a "great process" of a "break with obsolete ideas." Without being in the least demagogic, we still would like to ask *Bolshevik*: With what obsolete ideas of Marx's does it want to break? Was it for this reason that it has been stressed that Marx lived and wrote within capitalist society, in the very far and obsolete past?

On this point, we have gotten an answer from Stalin himself:

"In the course of its development Marxism inevitably enriches itself with new experience and new knowledge; therefore, its different formulas and conclusions cannot remain invariable in the course of time but must inevitably be replaced by new formulas and conclusions which conform to new historical tasks." [Stalin, in *Bolshevik*, No. 14, 1950.]

In essence, this statement is an old and well-known truth, but why has Stalin seen fit to spring it only now? Because he—the creator of those "new historical tasks," that "new ideology," etc., as the chief cook in the kitchen of Marxist falsification—wants to utilize that thought to untie his hands at long last and to begin, without camouflage, to replace the "old" and "obsolete" formulas of Marx with the new ones of his, Stalin's, own manufacture. Everyone knows what a brilliant career he has had in that field.

"Communism in One Country"

One need not go very far to look for evidences of Stalin's new falsifications of Marxism. The best proof for it is the new ideology itself. The next element of that ideology to be considered is the new theory of the state.

It is well known that Marx considered the state as an "organ of class force." With the elimination of class violence and with the resulting creation of a classless society (socialism and communism), the state as he

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instrument of coercion has to die away, giving place to the self-governing society, the commune. That is Marx's theory. Engels and Lenin said the same thing. Quite the opposite says Stalin:

"Comrade Stalin has destroyed the anti-Leninist, right-opportunist theory of the gradual dying-away of the state in the epoch of socialism." [*Pravda*, March 31, 1950.]

None of the theorists of Marxism ever spoke of the possibility of communism being built or existing in a single country. Quite the opposite says Stalin:

"Comrade Stalin has brought the Leninist theory of building socialism in one country to the point of admitting the possibility of building the highest stage of communism in one country." [*Bolshevik*, No. 4, 1948.]

"Comrade Stalin has pointed out the inadmissibility of the general formula about the dying-away of the state through the concrete example of building communism in one country." [*Ibid.*]

In connection with these statements, the state—is this "organ of class coercion"—is presented in the new ideology as the highest value of human society, as the alpha



and omega of social life. Having proclaimed the state's immortality, Stalinism legalizes its totalitarianism and absolutism:

"Just as the socialist state is the basic force of Soviet society, so it makes it possible to move forward to complete communism. Under the conditions of the socialist system, the state is the source of progress in society, the moving force of development of all economic and cultural life." [*Bolshevik*, No. 4, 1948.]

"The Soviet state is a new type of state unprecedented in history. It embodies the unity of political power and economic power. In its hands is united not only the whole political power but also all the means of production. Our state ... sets in motion all the factors of social development: economic, political and ideological." [*Pravda*, March 31, 1950.]

Piecework under "Communism"

The next element of the new ideology is the theory of "socialist political economy" as a science.

As is well known, the Stalinists claim that they have already completed the construction of socialism in Russia and that they are now building communism. Stalin says that communism can be built in one country. (The popular quip in Russia comments: "Sure he can build it—but who'll be able to live in that country?") The new ideology deals extensively with concretizing the social essence of that Stalinist "communism."

"The difference between them [between the socialist and communist stages of society] lies precisely in the stage of economic maturity. Insofar as we move from socialism to communism, a rapprochement will take place between the two forms of property [state property and cooperative-kolkhoz property]. The only condition for that rapprochement is ... the strengthening of the leading role of state property in the economy." [*Bolshevik*, No. 4, 1948.]

Thus we see that the state stands above everything. Another difference between the socialist and communist stages of society is the disappearance, in the latter, of the separation of manual work and mental work. In the opinion of *Bolshevik*, this condition exists right now in Russia, since Russia has "liquidated the monopoly on knowledge" and the "right to education" exists for all. In reality, as everybody knows, the special laws of 1940 established the right to education for the privileged bureaucracy only.

Another difference between socialism and communism pertains to the distribution of the social product. Under socialism the formula is distribution according to work performed; under communism, according to need. *Bolshevik*, which we have been quoting, cunningly extricates itself from the toils of this question by the help of its own "dialectics." In an imaginary polemic on the subject of liquidating the separation between manual and mental work, it argues that this process is going on now, not through dismembering productive functions or decreasing specialization but, rather, precisely through the increase in specialization, through the deepening of knowledge. That is correct, but it adds further:

"Whereas under socialism the leading principle of social life is distribution according to work performed, under communism appears the principle of distribution according to needs. This feature of the highest stage of

communism comes into being in the dialectical way: not through the weakening of the socialist principle of distribution according to work performed but, on the contrary, through its thoroughgoing strengthening and deepening."

And further: "The gradual transition to the highest stage of communism requires the steady development and stern realization of the socialist principle of labor payment."

As everyone knows, the dialectical "contrary" proves that in their "communist society" there will continue to exist the present "socialist" principle of payment: the Supreme Council member receives 12,000 rubles a year, plus numerous privileges, plus 150 rubles a day during sessions; and—such is the power of "dialectics"—the manual worker, on the contrary, gets only 150 rubles a month.

Bolshevik states: "Communism does not deprive anyone of the possibility of appropriating the social product; it only eliminates the possibility of exploiting anyone's labor in consequence of that appropriation."

It would be hard to imagine anything more cynical than that statement!

"ECONOMIC LAWS OF SOCIALISM"

Besides the theory about the "gradual transition to communism," the new science of "socialist political economy" also comprises the theory of the so-called "economic laws of socialism." This theory is closely bound up with the theory of the state, for in practice, economics and the state are closely tied in Russia. This phenomenon, this unity also exists afield in capitalist states during the imperialist stage of their development, as Lenin said. This phenomenon was acknowledged by *Pravda* on March 31, 1950: "The basic principle of state rule over economics in the USSR is the unity of economics and politics."

"The economic laws of socialism," according to the new Stalinist ideology, take the following forms: different forms of wages (inequality in payment for labor); the law of value, which "has great importance in the struggle for the most effective utilization of the basic and turnover funds, for the planned accumulation" of capital; the law of "socialist (?) accumulation" of capital, etc. According to Marx's and Lenin's theory, the same economic laws exist in monopoly capitalism in the stage of imperialism.

But in Russia, unlike private monopoly capitalism, these laws are not set in motion "by themselves," that is, in consequence of their inner contradictions. In Russia these contradictions exist also, but they are regulated from above by the plan, they are bridled by the unity of economics and the totalitarian state.

In *Pravda*, we find the following statement: "The organizational functions of the Soviet state in economics consists in acting as a decisive factor in the conscious application and utilization of the economic laws of socialism, which cannot be realized by themselves."

The capitalist laws of economic relations (accumulation of capital, law of value, appropriation of surplus value through unequal distribution of the social product, etc.), regulated by the state, are therefore the phenomena which characterize the system of state capitalism, as this was mentioned by Engels in his *Anti-Duehring* and thoroughly studied by Lenin and Bukharin. One need only add that this state capitalism calls itself "socialism" and is different from that analyzed by the Marxist teachers in its unprecedented political despotism. This despotic essence of Stalinism is not denied even by the Stalinists themselves. *Bolshevik* writes about "the measures of a transitional character which are realized after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through despotic interference into the rights of ownership," etc. For over two decades we have seen this despotic interference of the Stalinist dictatorship into the workers' right to own the products of their own labor.

Another "New Road"

The next element of the new Stalinist ideology is the theory of the "People's Democracies," indeed, the theory about a "new road" to socialism. The "People's Democracies" are considered to be the new forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is added that the dictatorship of the proletariat, and socialism too, can be established without any revolution and without any civil war. Up to now, this had been maintained only by the Mensheviks and social-democrats. Now it is put forward by the Stalinists—but with a stipulation, stressed especially after the "accident" with Yugoslavia:

"The regime of People's Democracy is able to fulfill the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat only on condition of preserving and strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union." [*Pravda*, January 5, 1950.]

The extremely interesting study published above is translated from *Vpered*, the organ of the Ukrainian anti-Stalin resistance movement, No. 13, 1950. No other socialist movement or periodical follows the development of Russian Stalinism as closely as do the comrades of *Vpered*, and we hope to bring our readers other such studies of timely value.

Our readers will note, we think, that the discussion of "state capitalism" at the end of Section 3 is, from our viewpoint, quite confused, but the same section cogently emphasizes the "unity of economics and politics" in the Russian system, a basic characteristic differentiating the Stalinist exploitive system from the capitalist.—Ed.

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Reuther 'Explains' Election --

(Continued from page 1)

held and supported in far greater strength in 1950 than they were in 1946—the last off-year election, and the only basis for comparison.”

The Murray man (to himself): Redhead was made chairman of the resolutions committee. Sounds good the way he says it.” (Out loud:) “This is an accurate statement of the situation. Don't pay too much attention to the newspapers.”

The militant: “Your statement is beside the point. Two weeks ago you and President Murray said the New Deal and Fair Deal supporters would win! They would defeat Taft. You predicted, not a defeat like that of 1946, but a big victory! Why was your prediction completely wrong?”

“Why this off-year alibi routine? You knew this was an off-year when you made your predictions. You expected, with the big registrations in states like Ohio, to beat Taft and his kind quite badly. You expected that labor and most other people would follow your advice and vote the way you said. Perhaps you aren't as popular among the workers as you think? Maybe your whole approach to political action is wrong?”

“Just one minute,” says President Reuther. “The elections this year were in terms of foreign

policy. A jittery, fearful and uncertain American people were duly and understandably alarmed by developments of the last year: the announcement in September 1949 that Russia had the A-bomb; announcement of the H-bomb last January; and the uncertain and frightening course of events in Korea. . . .

“America needed in this period more than ever, a bold imaginative and constructive program that would have filled with positive values the moral vacuum created by these real and human fears. . . .” The so-called “tough program” did not sufficiently catch the imagination of the American people. It did not “fill the vacuum.”

WHO FAILED?

The Murray man nods his head in agreement.

The militant critic declares: “President Reuther, you sound like a character from Orwell's '1984,' a Mr. Doublethink and Mr. Double-do. What party was in power (having won in 1948 according to you) and what president failed to ‘fill the vacuum’? Yet you asked the voters to support the Democratic Party and Harry Truman!”

“As a matter of fact, the CIO has been seeking to hide whatever minor differences it had with the Truman administration. It pretended that there was no vacuum. As

for such a bold idea as a Labor Party with independent candidates, you were positive it could only lose—while the policy of being the tail-end of the Democratic Party would work.”

Reuther interjects: “McCarthyism filled the vacuum.”—“Of course,” replies the critic. “Let's talk about McCarthyism. What is it? How can labor fight it? You admit it won in Maryland.”

Reuther explains: “The absence of a bold, constructive program made it possible for the lies, the malicious slanders and the carefully calculated distortions and half truths of McCarthyism to prey upon the fear and uncertainties of the people. . . .

“Because of his position as chairman of the Senate Committee that investigated the McCarthy charges, he [Tydings] was seized upon by the Republicans as the symbol of the forces opposing McCarthyism. And he was defeated.”

The critic: “What conclusion do you draw from that? The politicians now have a lesson, in the major parties, of what happens to anyone who tries to oppose McCarthyism. Your friend Mrs. Douglas will tell you that the next time you visit California. Isn't the crisis going to get bigger—and then won't the vacuum get bigger, with McCarthy, flushed with victory, doing ten times as much to fill the

vacuum with more McCarthyism? “Will Truman and the Democratic Party furnish the bold, new program you say is necessary?” the militant inquires further. Reuther remains silent.

“Will you, at the CIO convention, or at the next UAW convention, furnish a bold new program to fill the vacuum?” the critic persists. More silence.

ANSWER IN OHIO

The discussion turns to Ohio. Reuther brightens up. He has an answer here:

“The first lesson to be learned is that, in an election of this importance, progressive and liberal forces cannot hope to win without a candidate of outstanding ability and force. . . .

“Another lesson is that labor must have a far broader approach in all political campaigns than it displayed in this contest. . . .

“In Ohio, Taft got the benefit of McCarthyism. . . . although the newspapers have pictured the campaign as being based on the domestic issue of the Taft-Hartley Act, the fact remains that Taft campaigned largely on the basis of foreign policy and attributed his victory to the fears aroused by the international situation. . . .

“A final reason for Taft's victory, which also must be faced frankly by labor and liberal for-

ces, is the obvious cross-deals made between the Republican and Democratic Party machines in Ohio.”

The Murray man's role in this discussion has been reduced to nodding his head in agreement every time Reuther speaks, although he doesn't agree with him. Privately he thinks: “Maybe we ought to stay out of politics. Too damn much trouble.”

The critic: “Everything you claim has been learned in Ohio was known one year ago. And you knew it, so why did you support Ferguson against Taft? Sure, you played around with Murray Lincoln and Professor Busch, but you knew that the Democratic Party machine said no and would take only Ferguson. That is what I mean, among other things, when I say your policies make you the tail of the Democratic Party. You supported Tammany in New York, the richest cop in the world in Chicago, the corrupt Democratic machines everywhere. By you, I mean not just you as an individual but the CIO as a national organization.”

“How much greater would be the effect of a campaign in Ohio in which you, or someone like you, ran as an independent candidate of labor against Taft, and you debated him on all issues, with a new, bold program against his pro-capitalist policies?”

No public reply by Reuther. His “braintrusters” explain privately, in a stage whisper: “What! and antagonize Phil Murray, and Harry Truman? In this period of reaction Walter's got to play it carefully and safely.”

4 VAGUE POINTS

Meanwhile, the world finds itself fearfully being dragged toward World War III, where Reuther's dreams of safety and care appear like the hollow mockery of the dead to the living.

Let anyone claim that Reuther's theories on the “Lessons of the Elections” were not presented fairly in our imaginary discussion—and this kind of discussion is not imaginary but occurs in the UAW with Reutherites—let us see a summary of the United Automobile Worker editorial.

(1) “We must see to it that corruption and racketeering in our large cities are cleaned up, so that they can never again infiltrate into and influence or control political parties.”

(2) We must have candidates of stature, force and ability.

(3) “We must conduct, not only during the campaign themselves but throughout the months between campaigns, a positive fight on the clear-cut domestic issues designed to provide the whole population with ever-increasing measures of social and economic justice.”

(4) We must meet the fear generated by the international situation and fed by McCarthyism with a bold, aggressive program to check Communist aggression. Such a program must include positive action to win the loyalties of people throughout the world to the cause of democracy through economic aid to and cooperation with the underdeveloped nations of the world. We must meet both the threat of Communist aggression and the hysteria of McCarthyism with positive action, with the propaganda of the deed, with a vital, constructive program that recognizes human values and meets human needs.

So went the editorial. The simple truth of the matter is that if Reuther were to begin to work even for this abstract, over-generalized and vague program, the result would be (1) a fight with the Murray leadership of the CIO, (2) a clash with McCarthyism in the UAW-CIO, loyalty oaths, etc., (3) and a break with the Democratic Party.

And the CIO convention will demonstrate exactly how much fight there is left in Reuther for his own program.

Briggs - UAW Militants Work Out On Election Alibis by Roy Reuther

DETROIT, Nov. 14—A lively discussion on the significance of the 1950 elections was held at Briggs Local 212 (United Auto Workers) Town Hall meeting last night, at which Roy Reuther, UAW-CIO PAC director, was guest speaker.

In an informal speech, Roy Reuther outlined the factors which he thought played an important part in the reverses suffered by the labor movement in its 1950 campaign, and he suggested a course of action, likewise informally, which provoked much discussion.

Using the argument that, for an off-year election, the results were not as bad as painted by the reactionary press, Reuther compared the 1950 election results with the 1946 fate of the Democratic Party as proof of his contention. He attributed the setbacks to the deficiencies of the candidates in Ohio, Illinois, Maryland and elsewhere. But he insisted that in Michigan at least the union movement obtained a record vote and did apparently re-elect Governor Williams.

As a matter of fact, Reuther was quite critical of the whole CIO campaign, its lack of a constructive program, and its tie-up with various machines.

For the future, he suggested labor enter the primaries to be certain that strong candidates be chosen. (He was as critical of Joe Ferguson of Ohio as most CIO leaders have been.) And he felt that in 1952 the Democratic Party would make a strong comeback.

LABOR GAVE NO ANSWER

But as the first speaker who took the floor pointed out: “The whole argument about an off-year election is besides the point.” The speaker, B. J. Widick, co-author of *The UAW and Walter Reuther*, told Roy Reuther that two weeks ago the labor movement knew the 1950 election was an off-year election and yet expected to defeat Taft.

“Every top CIO and AFL leader, including the UAW officials, were positive that Taft, in an off-year, would be defeated. His majority speaks for itself. How does the

CIO leadership account for the fact that Taft carried every industrial community?” the speaker asked. And this question was never answered satisfactorily.

“The CIO convention in Chicago next week won't answer this question, because it involves a critical self-analysis of which the CIO leaders are no longer capable. Can they say they lack the confidence of the rank and file?”

“Why did the UAW support Tammany candidates in New York and the corrupt Democratic machine in Illinois? And Ferguson in Ohio? Because it was the tail-end of the Democratic Party, and nothing else,” the speaker pointed out.

Widick added: “Can the CIO admit it lacks a program to meet the crisis we face today? Reuther says the world situation, Korea, etc., hurt the Democrats. Isn't that world situation going to get worse, not better?”

“Labor has no independent peace policy, world policy, domestic policy—how can it attract political influence in that case? At a time when people are confused and dissatisfied, they look for a fresh answer. Labor leaders give them no satisfaction.

“How can labor leaders fight McCarthyism when they use the same technique within the labor movement?”

“Labor leaders fail to understand that the labor movement is no longer considered the attractive social progressive force that it was in the middle '30s, when it was very influential, because labor has no alternative answer to the burning problems of today.

“Above all, the CIO leaders can't admit to themselves or the public that they have lost the confidence of the men in the shops.

“Instead of a rosy picture, the fact is that unless labor changes its course drastically the union movement is doomed to more defeats. Running on an anti-labor program is popular these days. Ask Taft. And it will remain so until labor takes up the offensive and proves itself to be the force of social progress in the future.”

Another speaker, Sam Fish-

man, committeeman from Ford Local 400, used a devastating argument against the policy and outlook which Reuther had suggested.

“The picture that Brother Reuther paints is a familiar one. If only we get out the vote, we'll elect a Democratic Congress and president and we'll make progress. But isn't that what happened in 1948? And where is the progress?”

Fishman added that nowhere did labor show the slightest independence from the Democratic Party, and that its leaders were stuck everywhere with the scandals that helped defeat the Democrats.

“I don't know when there will be a Labor Party but I do know that the time is past when the labor leaders can pass off one of the two capitalist parties as a pro-labor party. Everyone knows the Dixiecrats too well to be taken in by that talk. Why continue to talk about the Democratic Party in that way when it only perpetuates a myth?”

“We can't start on the right road of independent political action as long as we keep marching the workers down the wrong road. And the deeper we go down the wrong road, the harder it becomes to get on the right road,” the speaker suggested.

James Lyndahl of the Packard local spoke of his disillusionment with PAC policy, and also criticized the red-baiting in the CIO as helping the Republicans to win.

Ken Morris, president of Briggs 212, advocated building labor's own ward clubs and having all-year round activity, instead of a flurry just before election time.

In Michigan, the CIO leaders are consoling themselves with the fact that they did re-elect Williams and that this was better than any showing by labor anywhere. But the Republicans did increase their hold on the state legislature, and at least two of the congressmen in the Detroit area who won with labor support are showing every sign already of saying “Thanks for the votes and goodbye,” so that actually little comfort, even from the CIO

leaders' viewpoint, is possible.

Some of the UAW politicians who did not attend this discussion are advocating the policy that labor must stay out of the front in politics. It must let the old-line Democrats be the front, otherwise labor will lose.

It is certainly clear that the discussion on this has just begun in the UAW, no matter what policy the national CIO convention adopts.

TRUMAN OPENS UP FOR FRANCO —

(Continued from page 1)

and resistance of its own people. Washington's aid to Yugoslavia, though proffered in the U. S.'s own interests, will help the Yugoslav people to maintain their independence of Russian imperialism. Whatever else may be said about the two cases, the use of the one as a whitewash for the other is either dishonest or stupid.

The CIO and AFL are pledged to fight U. S. aid to Franco Spain. Where are their voices now?

What have they done? What has happened to their fervent vows on the subject?

How do they expect their representatives in Europe, who are traipsing all over the Continent “teaching democracy to the European workers,” to be regarded there, when American labor stands by in shamed silence while the government it supports thrusts a dagger into the backs of the Spanish workers and people?

And will Walter Reuther, the CIO's No. 1 internationalist, continue to be equally muted—while continuing to make rip-roaring speeches about countering Stalinism with democracy?

Or has shame a limit?

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