

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

LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 9, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Government Uses Infamous Smith Gag Act to Indict Top 12 Stalinist Leaders

By EMANUEL GARRETT

In a move calculated to serve a three-fold purpose in its timing, a federal grand jury last week handed down indictments against twelve top Stalinist leaders on charges of conspiring to overthrow the United States government as defined in the provisions of the infamous Smith Act.

Though Assistant United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey denied direct administration pressure, he refused comment when asked if the indictments had been requested by Attorney General Clark. The circumstances of the indictments, and the subsequent arrests, cast a sharp light on administration responsibility. There is no indication that the grand jury, which has been hearing evidence in the case for over a year, had anything more to go on last week than a year ago.

Everything about them suggests that the indictments were timed:

1. To slap at the American Stalinists, to the extent of illegalizing their party in effect, by way of demonstrating U. S. firmness in its cold war engagements with Russia.

2. To outmaneuver the Republican election campaign by way of demonstrating that the Democrats yield to no one in "anti-Communism," that whatever the Republicans might hope to achieve with a Mundt Bill, the Democrats can do better with other means.

3. To coincide with the opening of the Wallace-Stalinist party convention, by way of seeking to frighten support away from that movement in view of the damage it may inflict on the Democratic Party campaign.

Whichever of the three was uppermost in administration calculations, the special shoddiness of the move is revealed throughout. Whether inspired by international policy considerations, or more narrow domestic elevation purposes, the Truman administration is clearly ready to make civil liberties a victim of its objectives. The menace that underlies this move is underscored by a recent statement of the Civil Liberties Union which notes the deterioration in civil liberties in 1946 and 1947.

BASED ON SMITH ACT

That the servants of a totalitarian master are involved in the case, namely the leaders of the Communist Party, does not in any way mitigate the blow delivered at civil liberties by the indictments. The more so as it makes use of a despicable instrument, the Smith Gag Act, which has already once been used against genuine socialists (as distinct from Stalinists!) in the famous case of the Minneapolis teamsters union officials and the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, and is certain to be used again against others in the labor movement—socialists, anarchists, militant liberals—if the precedent is upheld anew.

The terms of the indictment are so worded as to reveal an unmistak-

able threat to the socialist movement. Were the Stalinist leaders being charged with acts of espionage on behalf of their Kremlin master, their indictment would not at all be the concern of the labor movement. Espionage is the business of imperialist governments, a business in which every imperialist government—American as well as Russian—engages. Similarly the apprehension of spies. Spies operate according to the rules of their own "trade," and face punishment, if caught, according to the same rules.

Like every Communist Party in the world, the United States CP acts under the ultimate direction of Stalin's dictatorship and his secret police, the GPU. The GPU works through the Communist Party, and outside the Communist Party. Thus, it is an ARENA for GPU activity, as distinct from a simple agency of espionage. It is a political party, its principal purpose is to promote the political needs of Stalinism, primarily through winning support among the working class. It is this which makes it particularly inimical to labor because it subverts the needs of the working class to those of the Kremlin despots.

(The leaders of the CP in the U. S. take their orders from Moscow, from the GPU. That goes without saying. But to think that the GPU would assign such a one as William Z. Foster, national chairman of the CP, to some such thing as stealing atom bomb designs is to credit the GPU with lots less of acumen than it deserves—and to credit the accusers with much more intelligence than they possess. The GPU has many agents at its disposal, and it distributes its tasks. Foster's job is political—to curry favor with American imperialists or to build opposition to them according to the dictates of Russian foreign policy.)

That the working class must deal with Stalinism in its own way, by driving its influence out of the labor movement, and that it cannot permit the capitalist government to perform this job for it, are facts again demonstrated by the indictments. The indictments do not charge specific acts of espionage. They constitute a political indictment resting exclusively on the Smith Gag Act (passed under Roosevelt in 1940—Wallaceites, note!) which virtually makes reading of the Communist Manifesto a major criminal offense.

THREATENS LIBERTIES

The Smith Act was first used against the Trotskyist leaders, who were sentenced to terms up to eighteen months in the Minneapolis case. At the time, the nation's outstanding authorities on civil liberties named the act as a base violation of civil rights, notably of free speech. The defense cited Justice Holmes' opinion that "imminent danger" had to be proved; that is, that speaking for views, or distributing literature

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CONVENTION SHOWS GRIP OF CP ON WALLACE PARTY

NMU Vote Routs Rule or Ruin Gang

By N. GADEN

NEW YORK, July 27—Stalinist influence on the waterfront met a smashing defeat when the result of the National Maritime Union's biennial election was announced at that union's headquarters meeting in New York yesterday. The Stalinist setback was the result of a two-year struggle of the militant rank and file caucus against the "hacks."

During the war Stalinist collaboration with the shipowners and the government had completely discredited them in the eyes of a large section of the NMU's membership. This was clearly demonstrated when President Joseph Curran broke with the "hacks" after many years of close collaboration. The origins of the split lay in the high-handed fashion in which the Stalinists conducted their fraudulent Committee for Maritime Unity. Indicative of their policy in the CMU was the violation of the pact with the Marine Firemen's Union, which was left pounding the bricks after the Stalinists had made a separate deal to return to work.

RULE OR RUIN GANG

The struggle sharpened when Curran brought charges of malfeasance in office against Joseph Stack, vice-president of the NMU and Stalinist "hack" par excellence. Stack was expelled by the membership and the loss of his appeal to the 1947 convention of the NMU demonstrated that the rank and file had gained the upper hand in the union. The anti-Stalinist forces won a majority on every committee elected at that convention.

Assured of defeat in the elections that have just been completed, the Stalinists sought by every possible means to disrupt the functioning of the union. They turned every membership meeting into a riotous shambles. They spread slanders and lies against members of the Rank and File Caucus, and they sought to divide the union along racial and national lines. Their disruptive activity seriously weakened the union in its contract negotiations with the shipowners and caused a serious decline in working conditions aboard the ships.

That this rule or ruin campaign availed the "hacks" nothing is demonstrated by the results of the election vote. The report of the Honest Ballot Association reveals that the Rank and File slate was swept into office by a better than two-to-one margin. Curran received 28,043 votes against 9,640 for Blackie Meyers for the post of president. Ferdinand Smith, "hack" candidate for national secretary and incumbent, was snowed under by the 11,000 vote majority for Neal Hanley. Except for a few minor non-contested posts, the Rank and File swept the ballot.

At last night's meeting at Manhattan Center, the defeated Stalinist leaders, in conceding their defeat, nevertheless continued their slanders against the Rank and File. Curran and Stone indicated that those Stalinist leaders who had been guilty

of misuse of their office or misappropriations of funds or violations of the union constitution would be tried for their crimes against the membership. Curran has previously indicated, however, that there would be no reprisals against members of the union solely because of political affiliation.

It can only be on the basis of such unity in action that the strength of the organization can be regained and

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Being Squeezed in
CP Embrace



Backroom Deal Compromises Fight Between "Wallacemen" and CPers

By HAL DRAPER

PHILADELPHIA, July 2.—This is the story of the "underground" opposition at the Wallace convention.

Most of the dissent that openly hit the floor (and the newspapers) came out during the discussion of the new Progressive Party program. But the dissenters who made the record at this session and who there put forth the anti-CP motions embarrassing to the machine in control were not THE opposition.

By "THE opposition" we mean the group, headed by Tugwell, of non-

Stalinist New-Dealer captives with a more or less prominent position in the movement and in the public eye, whose open opposition would have meant a major break in the ranks. This group, who look upon themselves as the real "Wallacemen" in the Wallace party—as distinct from the Stalinist and fellow travelers who think of Henry as their tool—kept their mouths pretty much shut during the debate on program, for reasons we shall see.

The delegates who did speak up on the programmatic disputes were,

Ford Workers Win Wage Raise, Set Eyes on Next Year's Goals

By GIL MORROW

DETROIT, July 25—A settlement was reached here on Thursday after an all-night session between the United Auto Workers-CIO and the Ford Motor Company. Although the main item in the settlement, the across-the-board wage raise, followed the pattern set in the Chrysler contract, a number of fringe issues added to the economic gains of the workers.

Chief among these is an increase in afternoon and midnight shift bonuses to bring them up to par with the rest of the industry and the establishment of an insurance program to which the company must contribute \$3,200,000 a year. While the settlement shows many flaws, it is without doubt one of the best settlements won to date within the entire CIO.

Chief defect in the settlement was the straight 13 cents an hour increase won by the Ford workers. Although this parallels the Chrysler pattern, its weakness is indicated by the fact that the GM workers, who won 11 cents an hour increase AND an escalator clause, will soon be receiving an additional three cents an hour increase. Their wages will be adjusted every three months to the rising cost of living, while Chrysler and Ford

workers' wages remain stationary for the next year.

The insurance program is another step forward although a small one. For the first time, a major auto company will contribute to an insurance fund, and for the first time a union committee will have a few words to say about benefits. Not too many words and they must be said within a specified time, but the foot of the union is inside the insurance door. The bulk of payments will of course fall upon the workers and although they will run high, in general the cost of total coverage for family hospitalization will run below that of private hospitalization plans.

For the first time in a long time, negotiations between the company and the union were not kept a deep secret. Under the leadership of Ken Bannon, national Ford director, the Negotiating Committee refused to be bound by silence, a tradition established when Dick Leonard was national Ford director.

This had peculiar effects in Ford plants. Workers became accustomed to hearing reports of negotiations immediately. Thus, when toward the end, the sessions lasted long (21 hours, it is reported), and no reports

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PHILADELPHIA—The Communist Party apparatus completely controlled the founding convention of the Progressive Party. Despite restlessness of the Wallace-Liberal elements on several occasions and their brief attempts on the floor of the convention, the Stalinist machine at all times remained the body and soul of the proceedings. Its wishes triumphed. There were occasions when the liberals were worried about their virtue, but they were not in a position to defend it.

The CP supplied most of the speakers and oratory for the convention. They supplied the organizers, the key men for the committees and a substantial number of the delegates. They not only wrote the program but they also wrote the songs. The same organization, People's Songs, Inc., that writes all CP songs, turned out a special booklet of them for this occasion. Not only the songs but the singers, Pete Seegers, who wrote the songs and led the singing, has been doing it for the CP since 1940, when he began in the American Peace Mobilization. (The CP supplied all the singers, that is, except one, Glen Taylor, who sang for the liberals.) And, when necessary, the CP supplied the audience.

Some 10,000 persons came from New York to fill Shibe Park at the formal acceptance rally for Wallace and Taylor.

It has been said that the Stalinists capture their liberals by surrounding them with a complete valet service. It is now in the business valeting the entire Progressive Party.

The convention was organized as a political rally. Only at brief moments, such as those reported in Hal Draper's article elsewhere in this issue, did it take on the festivity semblance of a serious convention. Between speeches there were songs by choruses, by Robeson, by Seeger and others. Cheering, parading, demonstrations were the order of the day. From the point of view of staff management and mass activity by the entire audience this convention was infinitely more colorful than the so-called, decadent stodge of the Democrats and Republicans.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL

The one point in the convention where it almost did break out in full strength was not in the discussion on program but in the Saturday morning discussion on the party constitution. This took place in what was expected to be a routine session, so that few reporters were even on the floor. A subsurface crisis was precipitated which was not resolved until the next day, in back rooms. Even what happened publicly on the floor has not appeared in the press in any detail.

The issue involved was clearly that of CP organizational control of the new party through a method of rigging the National Committee to be elected. The proposed constitution (Article 3) provided for a National Committee consisting of two from each state, plus additional committeemen for the larger states in proportion to their electoral-college representation.

No objection was raised to this part of the setup, since it is obviously more democratic than the old parties' system of equal representation from each state regardless of size—even though it was equally obvious that it works out to strengthen CP control, in view of the fact that it is in the larger states (New York, California, Illinois, Michigan, etc.) that the CP has the firmest grip on the reins.

But Article 3 also includes the following joker: "The NC, composed as provided above, shall elect forty additional members at large upon nomination by the respective functional divisions. . . ."—these divisions being

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Nor was this enthusiasm artificially created. The means were supplied and the occasions well handled. But the emotions were genuine. The Stalinists indeed had much to cheer and for the thousands of non-Stalinists present this was an enormous historic occasion in their lives.

It would be erroneous in the extreme to accept the simplistic thesis that this was nothing but a Stalinist convention. While Stalinism is the organizational and political core, it is in a position through the instrument of the Progressive Party to channelize and manipulate the profound discontent of hundreds of thousands of people. The daily cruelties with which dying capitalism abounds, the oppressions and uncertainties, the threat of atomic-barbarism and hunger—these are the sources which the Wallace movement tries to drain.

Not the mere backward or hesitant people are to be found in it. There are tens of thousands who never were in politics of any kind before but who have now found their voice and their hope. This is the very grave and terrifying reality. For those who have lost their capitalist illusions, Stalinism offers newer and shinier and more attractive ones.

Who was represented at the convention? The largest single bloc of delegates, if not the overwhelming majority, were Stalinist or their sup-

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Life's Ironies: How They Prove To Be Not So Little

When, in 1941, the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters Union were tried by the federal courts on the grounds of violating the Smith Act, which had recently been passed and which, in vaguest language, prohibited advocacy of "overthrow of the government," the American Stalinist party licked its chops with glee at the thought that some of its left-wing enemies might be thus eliminated.

Even though every single left-wing and liberal group of any significance whatever came to the support of the indicted Trotskyists and trade unionists on the grounds that their persecution was a violation of civil liberties and a threat to the rights of the entire labor movement, the American Stalinists—then smeared with thick red, white and blue streaks to cover their ugly appearance—openly applauded the Minneapolis trials.

The American Stalinists, in many issues of their *Daily Worker* and in special pamphlets, applauded the conviction of the Trotskyists. When they wanted to smear some of their militant trade-union opponents, they would call them "Trotskyists" and then point to the Minneapolis trials as evidence of how "subversive" Trotskyists are.

It comes, therefore, as a not-so-amusing irony to note that, according to a New York Times dispatch, the government intends to use this very same Smith Act as a basis for prosecuting the recently arrested leaders of the American CP, and what is more, intends to use the Minneapolis conviction as a precedent for its attempt to convict the Stalinists. Who, no matter how much he opposes the arrest and prosecution of the Stalinists, will be able to avoid a bit of a grin at the thought that these scoundrels are going to be tried on the basis of a previous prosecution of genuine socialists of which they, the Stalinists, approved?

The Stalinists will, in this case, pay the price for their shameful behavior at the time of the Minneapolis trial. And it seems not impossible that the government officials who allowed the above information to become public must themselves have been aware of the irony of this situation.

Readers of **LABOR ACTION** may remember that at the time of the Minneapolis trials, a reporter of this paper interviewed the chief prosecutor, one Schweinhaut, who admitted that the reason the Stalinists were not being tried was that they were super-eager-beavers in the suppression of independent labor activities during the war.

Now that, prompted by Moscow, they have changed their line, they are to be cut with a knife they helped sharpen.

Protests Beating of Negro, Is Arrested

Feeling Rises in Detroit Against Police Chief Sponsored Brutality

DETROIT—One of the cops involved in the killing of Leon Mosely, 15-year-old Negro youth, is going on trial on manslaughter charges. This is supposed to be proof that "law and order" takes its course, and that everything is well and good.

As a matter of fact, the trial of the policeman indicates that pressure and feeling over the Detroit police department's treatment of Negroes is so intense that some kind of gesture was required to placate, at least partly, the Negro community.

The blunt facts about the explosive relationship between the cops and the Negro community due to the brutality of the police are too well known to hide by any "legal" maneuvers.

If anyone in Detroit needed additional evidence of the kind of policy the Detroit police follow in relation primarily to Negroes it was furnished last week by two important events.

One UAW-CIO president of a local union was arrested and later released after being charged with "resisting an officer," after he protested the brutal beating of another Negro youth!

According to James Chichoski, the union official, he protested to the police when he saw two of them beating the Negro youth with clubs and their flashlights after they had handcuffed him hand and foot! "As a human being, I could not stand by and watch another human being beaten brutally and unfairly, whether he be white or Negro," Chichoski said.

Last Sunday night when three Detroit policemen arrested a Negro couple, allegedly fighting, a large crowd gathered and tried to release the prisoners. A rush call to the heavily armed riot squads succeeded in bringing such an array of armed might that the three policemen were able to take the prisoners to jail.

There is dynamite in the situation. Until Police Commissioner Toy is removed, and the whole police policy reversed, new tragedies are certain. It will do the labor movement no good to deplore "riots" after they begin. It is not too late to stop them now. A real campaign by the UAW-CIO, and every progressive minded citizen in Detroit, to obtain Toy's removal can bring results.

Petition Drive to Place Geltman On NY Ballot Off to Fast Start

NEW YORK, July 26—The campaign to place Emanuel Geltman on the ballot for Congress in New York's East Side got off to a fast start today.

Members and friends of the Workers Party turned out to collect the signatures. During the first day of petitioning, five hundred signatures were obtained. The turn out and support was excellent. At this rate there will be no difficulty in obtaining the goal of 6000 signatures by September 4. This is twice the required number.

The Program Committee finished work on the Workers Party Congressional program and this appears on page 3 of this issue. Ten thousand copies of this program will be distributed in the first part of the campaign. Thousands of copies of **LABOR ACTION** are also being distributed.

A feature of the signature collection today was the number of new friends who were made. Numbers of people expressed support for the idea of a Labor Party free of Stalinism, and several gave their names and addresses and pledged their support to the campaign.



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

NMU Vote Routs Rule or Ruin Gang —

(Continued from page 1) go on to further victories for the seamen. At the present time the union is in the midst of a struggle against the injunction hurled at them by the Truman-shipowner clique in an effort to stop the union's drive for better conditions and maintenance of the vital hiring hall.

The victory of the Curran forces greatly enhances the union's strength in this struggle. The inter-union strife created by the Stalinists had left the NMU weak in the face of the Taft-Hartley injunction. The clear victory of the Rank and File puts the union in the position where it can hit the bricks in solid fashion when the injunction expires a little more than a month from now.

PREPARED TO FIGHT

The membership of the NMU has already indicated that it is prepared to fight an all-out battle for the defense of the hiring hall, but it is necessary to look further ahead than the mere retention of what the seamen already have. It is necessary to go forward to the 40-hour-week-four-watch system, increases in wages and the improvement of working conditions. In order to defend their living standards against inflation the seamen must obtain the rising scale of wage.

In order to guarantee their right

to struggle for these legitimate goals the seamen must defend their right to strike from government intervention and anti-labor laws. The maritime workers of all unions must form in action a solid, united front to wage these struggles if they are to succeed. And above all, they must forge their own independent labor party, together with all the workers and working farmers of America, that will carry on their struggle on the political front even as the union fights their battles on the economic front.

The tradition which the NMU has already so well established of equal rights for all seamen, regardless of race or nationality, must be continued and extended if the waterfront workers of this country are to present a solid front against the shipowners and their Washington stooges. The attempt of the Stalinists to divide the union along racial lines must be eradicated by unity in action of all seamen. The union must continue its struggle to defend the right of aliens to ship and to obtain citizenship.

In the atmosphere of a witch hunt against the "reds" which pervades the country today, it was inevitable that a few reactionary elements would make their way into the Rank and File Caucus. These bosses' stooges

can be spotted a mile away by their anti-minorities attitude, by their attempts to convert the union leadership from a hard-hitting, militant voice of the membership into a fat-rumped bunch of bureaucrats. Sooner or later the rank and file in its fight for a bigger and better organization

will meet these characters in a head-on collision. The vigorous defeat which the militant seamen of the NMU inflicted on the Communist Party scab-herders indicated what lies in store for anyone who attempts to divert the seamen from their struggles in the future.

Win at Ford's —

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got out to the plant for about three days, a hot situation began to develop, with many workers fearing a sell-out. Throughout, rank and file workers followed the negotiations with active interest. Committeemen were besieged by the workers on all sides with questions about the negotiations.

The greatest victory was won on contract extension. The Ford negotiators were dead set on a one-year extension of the contract (working conditions, etc.) and the union was equally set in opposition.

The union's position is based upon the necessity to revise many sections of the present agreement, primarily the section on "work standards." Under this section, the Ford company has instituted speed-ups near pre-union character. The union is determined to break this up and consequently could not accept the blandishments of the company, consisting of an additional bonus for afternoon and midnight workers if the contract would just be extended six more months. The Negotiating Committee rejected any and all proposals to extend this agreement which the company has termed "one of the best." The overwhelming majority of Ford workers supported the committee and will support ratification. The National Ford Council will meet here Wednesday and will without doubt ratify the agreement.

The strike votes taken just before the settlement consisted of substantial majorities, although in comparison to the union shop election the number voting was small. The local capitalist papers were making much of an "election scandal" at Local 800, where it was alleged that 1,000 "No" ballots in the strike vote were

burned. The Executive Board of Local 800 has denied that any such action took place, but the International Executive Board has decided to investigate to make sure.

It appears as though the Stalinists are going to oppose the settlement. At a meeting of Highland Park Local 400, the settlement was termed a "sell-out" by one of the Stalinists. But a motion to recommend "non-ratification" to the delegates to the National Ford Council was overwhelmingly defeated.

NEXT YEAR'S GOALS

Ford workers are now setting their eyes on next year. The general feeling among the militants is that there is going to be a strike next year. The company will still be in a bad bargaining position and the union intends to make the most of it. In the negotiations this year, a strike would have taken place over a penny or two. A strike next year will be based on the firm desire of all Ford workers to remove the speed-up clause from the contract. Such a fight is not measured in pennies but in years—the years that the speed-up removes from a worker's life—and no settlement will be possible until the company is willing to talk turkey on the key issues of working conditions.

The other goal that must be set is that of the escalator clause. It is true that the escalator clause has found much opposition among the secondary leadership of the union through lack of understanding. But as the GM workers show their economic gains over the next year, the Ford workers will become convinced that the only genuine way to win wage increases is to gear wages to prices with an escalator clause.

Wallace Convention Notes:

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 26. — A couple of sidelights on the Wallace convention:

The session with the most fireworks from the floor (in fact, the only session in which the affair looked like a convention and not a pep rally) was the one on program. Once the compromise had been reached with the important non-CP elements (see other story on this point), and no trouble was expected any longer from this quarter, the machine decided to permit the rest of the delegates to let off steam. The result was the blowoff by the Vermonsters, which made a lot of press copy but cut no ice at the convention.

The Vermonters first introduced a motion (in the name of the whole delegation) in favor of a UN police force to enforce decisions. Lee Pressman, for the Platform Committee AND the CP machine, stepped on that one quickly, explaining that the "basic problem" (that is, appeasement of Russia) had to be solved first. But shortly thereafter, three members of the same delegation, flattered the convention for a few minutes with the following motion:

"Although critical of the foreign policy of the U. S., it is not our in-

tention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation."

James Hayford, introducing the motion, said: "It seems to me that anyone reading this platform would draw the conclusion that we support Soviet foreign policy 100 per cent. I don't think we ought to support Soviet foreign policy 100 per cent. I don't support any foreign policy 100 per cent."

A few other delegates took the floor in support, including Mrs. Steel of Minnesota, head of the convention credentials committee, who emphasized that "we ought to criticize Russia also," and the co-chairman of the Massachusetts delegation who urged that "we should not be frightened, by phrases like red-baiting, into a failure to adequately consider our foreign policy."

Others would have followed up had the chairman allowed more discussion. In reply, the Stalinists bristled the knife on the floor: one warned the delegates to "realize the terrific import" of this mild motion, accusing the Vermonters of making "an insinuation against a friendly ally of the U. S." Another yelled "compromise with red-baiting," and a third said "this represents pressure from the outside."

Fire Godfredson From Packing Union Post

Svend Godfredson, unsuccessful opponent of Ralph Helstein for president of the United Packinghouse Workers-CIO, was fired this week from his post of educational director of the union. (Godfredson was defeated by a vote of 583 to 527 at the convention which ended on June 30.)

Godfredson had been the candidate of the CIO Policy Caucus for president. The name of the caucus spoke clearly of its policies—blind adherence to Philip Murray's leadership. Without an independent, militant program of its own, it appeared to the delegates as just another group of power seekers. Within the group there were men whose role in the past strike was anything but good. This enabled Helstein and the Stalinists to make the necessary deals, sign the T-H affidavits, hoodwink even Bishop Shell (who is probably kicking himself now) on Helstein's responsibility, and get all four top posts of the union. The Stalinists were not so successful in the districts, taking only four out of ten.

Helstein, who has never identified himself as a Stalinist, has nevertheless followed the Stalinist line completely. Even the timing of the affidavits was an unmistakable CP policy. Both the Farm Implement Union

and the Packinghouse Union signed affidavits the same week, and the presidents of the two unions did not resign but let underlings do so. (March Stern in Packing; Fields, Burns, Martin and Huff in FE.) He has consistently fooled many people.

Godfredson on his part has never violently opposed Stalinist practices, until of late when they conflicted with Murray policies. He talks of himself as a militant progressive, and he still has a chance to make up for his past wishy-washiness by returning to work at Hormel Packing in Austin, Minn., and organizing a caucus, not based on CIO policy alone, but on a fighting, militant, independent policy. This means a fight for a Labor Party, for contracts and wages to compare with the best in the UAW-CIO, for principled unionism and against unprincipled deal-making, for a progressive fight against Stalinism. He has six district directors out of ten if he wants to do a job, and he will get rank and file support if he fights with a proper program.

Chances are, however, that he will take the easier way out, and go into the national CIO office in some capacity. If he does he will give the

SWP Is Tied Up in Knots as Tito Refuses to Conform with These

By STAN GREY

One of the strictly minor consequences of the Tito-Stalin rift was a long editorial on the subject in the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonite) Militant for July 12. If it is worth a comment here, it is because it is such a clinically admirable specimen of the kind of evasive doubletalk which is necessitated by the "orthodox" Trotskyist views on Russia and Stalinism.

As a matter of fact, the SWP's first reaction was to shy away from the implications of the Tito break. The first week after the event, the whole affair was written off as a kind of Tammany Hall brawl between two fat politicians. But Tito's inconsiderate disregard for the fact that his actions ensnared the Cannonite in a net of theoretical difficulties has forced the Keepers of the Seals to face up to some vital questions:

What is the meaning of this rupture which the editorial labels "irreparable"? What kind of state is Tito's Yugoslavia? What light is shed on the nature of Stalinism? What attitude should Marxists take toward the events?

The editorial succeeds in answering not one of these questions. In all its length it is a model of political stutering and inimitable self-contradiction, even rivaling some of the hitherto matchless efforts from their own post. It is calculated to destroy, once and for all, the naive notion that there is a bottom to the abyss of political bewilderment.

TESTING THEORY

It is known that the SWP clings with catechismic devotion to the position that Russia is a workers' state (degenerated) but that its satellite countries in Eastern Europe are capitalist states. The former is a workers' state because property is nationalized, and because Trotsky said it was up to his death. The latter are capitalist states DESPITE the fact that industry is nationalized, and possibly because that's what they were at the time of Trotsky's death.

Only small minds burdened by a desire for consistency will object to this marvelous distinction. They will not understand that although you have tablets engraved with the commandment that Russia is a workers' state, you must yet take the position that the Eastern European satellites are capitalist—unless you are willing to accept the notion that Stalinism can be a revolutionary force capable of overthrowing capitalism and setting up new workers' states. This the SWP has THUS FAR refused to admit and so it remains with its "capitalist" puppet states of the Russian "workers' state."

That is, until the Tito events. Apparently this theory can now be found only tucked away somewhere in some unanimous resolution. You can scour up and down the editorial without finding a word which even suggests the "fundamentally capitalist structure" of Yugoslavia. Instead we have precisely the . . . opposite.

(1) "The Yugoslav workers and peasants [who] have in the main broken with capitalism."

(2) "Tito and his friends . . . know that an orientation toward Washington would spell the full restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia and this can be accomplished only after a bitter struggle, only by crushing the very same force in the working class and the peasantry upon whom Tito's regime itself now rests."

(3) "In Yugoslavia Stalin refuses to make any concessions even to a section of his own bureaucracy . . ."

(4) "These countries [the Eastern European] will suffer from the same pressures and the same contradictions as Soviet economy." (From the current issue of the Fourth International.)

It is an axiom, not infrequently mentioned by the SWP specialists in First Principles, that the test of theory is in practice, in its application. If Yugoslavia is "fundamentally capitalist," what is this enormous fear (suffered by Tito) of the restoration of what already exists, namely, capitalism? If the peasants and workers have "broken with capitalism" and Tito rests upon them (about which more later), what is it that is capitalist about the regime? If Tito is part of a section of the bureaucracy of Russia, and the bureaucracy of Russia dominates a workers' state, by what occult process does the Yugoslav bureaucracy become the ruler of a CAPITALIST state? If Yugoslavia will suffer from the same (degenerated-workers-state) contradictions as Russia—where are its own capitalist self-contradictions? If the Cannonites are making sense, why should anyone be put in a padded cell?

ADDING TO CONFUSION

The only explanation that comes to mind, without getting involved in abnormal psychology, is that the SYMPATHIES of the SWP are with Tito and against Stalin. Since it would not become these "revolutionary socialists" to favor a capitalist state against a workers' state, it became necessary for them to slur over their own position, to forget their own resolutions, to abandon their own theory and to dress up Tito so that he is acceptable.

In fact, not only is the "capitalist" character of Yugoslavia not mentioned, but the editorial throughout SEEMS TO imply that Yugoslavia is practically on its way to being a workers' and peasants' state already. I do not assert that the editorial does actually say that Yugoslavia is a workers' and peasants' state. That is precisely the marvel of the accomplishment: the editorial succeeds in stating nothing definite about the social character of Yugoslavia. But if one can measure degrees of ambiguity, the scales seem to tip in the direction indicated.

But there is more to the dressing up of Tito. The core of the analysis, if one can speak of a fog having a core, is that the "class struggle" has now broken out again, Stalin notwithstanding. "It took only a certain alteration of conditions—the extension of Stalinist power beyond the original Soviet frontiers—for the class struggle, which Stalin seemed so free to flaunt and cheat, to erupt into the open." Again and more of it: "There are many important questions connected with the Yugoslav events. But the aspect that looms above all others is the struggle for the independence of a workers' and peasants' Yugoslavia against Washington on the one side and Moscow on the other."

Is this "analysis" anything else than the reflex action of befuddlement? What class struggle is involved? Between what classes? Where does it spring from? If the SWP were not plugging holes with ritualistic formulas, these questions at least should have intruded themselves on the editorialist's mind.

By a class struggle is commonly meant a struggle between classes. In the present situation one of these "classes" would obviously have to be the Stalinist bureaucracy. But one of the hymns in the SWP dogology intones the dogma that the Stalinist bureaucracy is NOT a "class" itself but only a bureaucratic excrescence on the face of the Russian working class. What class struggle, then, are THEY talking about?

BY-PASS UNDERSTANDING

Perhaps this class struggle erupted within Yugoslavia? Besides the fact that this was obviously not what happened, we are reminded in this connection that, according to our subjects, Tito "rests" upon the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia. Although the phrase "rests upon" is of calculated ambiguity, the fact is that the SWP practically identifies Tito with the masses of Yugoslavia and thus labels Tito's revolt as a class struggle leading to a workers' and peasants' Yugoslavia (if it is not that already).

The editorial makes this almost clear when it suggests (never does it STATE) that Tito's action really

means that the people of Yugoslavia have struck out against Stalinism and for socialism. One "myth [shattered by the events—S. G.] is that the only choice for all people is the choice between Stalinism and 'democratic socialism.' . . . 'The people of Yugoslavia are now in a position where they can strike out on the road of socialism.' Now, AS BEFORE, under the totalitarian regime of Tito! How else can these lines be read except as a whitewash of Tito and a miserable attempt to tackle a problem by desperately striking up the drums?"

This is the way the SWP theory has met the test of the Yugoslav events. Where it has not been driven into hiding, it has come out with a position which firmly establishes it as utterly bankrupt in the face of the problems raised by Stalinism. Every new development of Stalinism adds another twist to the already hopelessly twisted line of the SWP. It is as if Stalinism is revenging itself upon the SWP for its refusing to baptize it as a product of history. For that is at the root of the matter.

To this day the SWP refuses, with clerical tenacity, to recognize that Stalinism has brought into being a new type of society, with its own dynamism, with its own contradictions. What has not penetrated the citadel of orthodoxy is that Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism is a dynamic social system (which is not equivalent to saying that it is stable or eternal).

The significance of the Tito rupture, which overrides every other aspect of the situation, is that for the first time, and sooner than could have been expected, there has appeared the first stumbling block to Stalinist expansion which originated from the very nature of Stalinism itself. There has indeed erupted a class struggle, but a class struggle about which the SWP does not even understand the nature of the classes involved. It is the struggle between the RULING classes of two bureaucratic-collectivist societies, the Russian and the Yugoslavian. What stands out is the struggle of a reactionary, totalitarian bureaucratic-collectivist class for its independence from the dictates of Stalin. It remains no less reactionary and no less totalitarian for its struggle.

SHEDS LIGHT ON SWP

If the Tito regime remains the reactionary totalitarian regime which it is, that does not mean that its STRUGGLE against Stalin in the name of the national autonomy of Yugoslavia does not have progressive consequences. It opens a rift in what was considered a homogeneous ruling class, ruling all of Russia and Eastern Europe. It revives again in the satellite countries the inveterate national aspirations of the peoples and highlights the focal position which the idea of national independence has in revolutionary strategy today, something the Workers Party has been underlining for some years. (The SWP, as chairman of history, has ruled the national question off the agenda.)

The Stalinist compulsion to expansion and the reaction of this expansion on Stalinism itself indicate that bureaucratic collectivism, like the exploitive societies which preceded it, is not exempt from the internal contradictions of its dynamism.

In that lies the hope, but that hope depends on an understanding of Stalinism. Of that the SWP has not a glimmer. If its editorial sheds no light on the Yugoslav developments, it should leave no doubt of the SWP's firm grip on the absurdities of its own position.

Indict Twelve —

(Continued from page 1)

for these views, regardless of what the government might think of these views, were protected by constitutional right so long as concrete acts of violence could not be proved.

According to the Smith Gag Act distribution of the classic documents of socialism which argue for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a workers' world, is a crime carrying penalties up to ten years in prison and \$10,000 in fines for each count in an indictment. Thus the tepid Socialist Party, which is accepted as respectable by such pillars of capitalism as the New York Times, could be indicted because its book stores sell the Communist Manifesto.

As we note elsewhere in this issue, there is an especial irony in that the Stalinist leaders are indicted under the Smith Act. The Stalinists applauded its use against the Trotskyists. Now, it is quite probable that the very same "evidence" used against the Trotskyists will be used against the Stalinists. There is an important difference in this use. The Trotskyists were unconstitutionally railroaded, but the charges had, at least, this much veracity—they did genuinely speak for the socialist doctrine which they were accused of spreading. The Stalinists may distribute the literature cited, but that is all their connection with Marxist-Leninist doctrine (as named in the grand jury indictments) consists of.

CP NOT MARXIST

There is idiocy in the charge that the Stalinists represent Marxism-Leninism, but much more than that too. The Stalinists are the greatest enemies of Marxism-Leninism in the world. No other force, no other, has done so much damage to Marxism-Leninism as have the Stalinists—precisely because they pretend to speak in its name while outraging with the greatest violence every aspect of Marxist-Leninist thought.

Whether the grand jury realized that to be so, or not, is beside the point. The brain of a McGohay may find some association between Marxism-Leninism and its opposite, Stalinism. But the text of the indictment is implicit repudiation of that canard against socialist thought. It is as well itself an indictment of the hypocrisy of the administration, proof that it yields nothing in chicanery, duplicity and venality to the Stalinists.

The indictment against the twelve CP leaders charges that in 1945 the defendants created the Communist Party, from which time on they are presumably guilty of seeking to overthrow the United States government. The date, 1945, is significant. Before that, for several years, the Communist Party was the Communist Political Association. Perhaps the gentlemen of the grand jury were stupid or merely uninformed. But every child knows, or should know, that the difference between the Communist Political Association and the Communist Party is exactly nil. It is certain that Attorney General Clark knows this. The Communist Party became the Communist Political Association when Stalin ordered it to, and became again the Communist Party when Stalin so ordered. In both cases, the order corresponded to the interests of the Kremlin.

What was the difference? From a June day in 1940 to 1945, Russia and the United States were allied in war. The Communist Party was altered then to fit the requirements of supporting that war. Roosevelt knew that. Even Harry S. Truman should know that. The CP was as much an agent of a foreign power in 1943 as in 1945 when the change in international relations was followed by a change in

the orders to the Communist Party. The difference lies in that in serving Stalin before 1945 it also served American imperialism. Thus, if the CP has nothing in common with communism or with Marxism, the administration has nothing in common with decent consistency or honesty.

So too it is quite likely that the administration understands very well that the last thing the Communist Party seeks to do today is to overthrow the government. Ultimately, it is the aim of the Communist Party to replace the capitalist system here with an image of the totalitarian system imposed by Stalin on Russia. But it is ridiculous to even imagine that the Communist Party with its feeble forces in this country, and with the international situation what it is, would have any such object as a practical objective for its current policy. That policy is rather designed to embarrass, harass and otherwise bring pressure against the policies of the United States. And that happens not to be a crime.

In the process the CP misuses, misleads and deludes the workers whom it influences or tries to influence. That is a crime against the working class. But it is no justification of the infamous Smith Act, and it is no justification of the indictments. We repeat, the working class will have to tend to the CP in its own way—as it has in the National Maritime Union, in the auto workers union and elsewhere — without benefit of the vicious assistance of the administration or its Republican rivals.

MUST CONSIDER ISSUES

Much is involved here, there are many angles to consider: the objectives of the administration, for one thing; the nature of Stalinism and its parties as opponents of capitalism AND the working class; and the broad issue of civil rights. To these we will return in subsequent issues of LABOR ACTION. In the meantime we must note the essentials of the case.

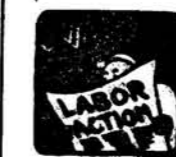
The Communist Party is a foul instrument working AGAINST the working class INSIDE the working class. Precisely for that reason it is particularly important that we estimate clearly the issues of civil rights, even as they affect the totalitarian bandits of the Communist Party, that are involved. In the final analysis it is the labor movement generally, and the socialist movement in particular, which has most to lose in any assault on civil rights. Especially is this so when the arguments used are such as those in this case.

It is, for example, unlikely that the Smith Gag Act would be used against fascists (and even if it were so used, we would be no more for it than we are now); and it is certain that fascists would not be charged with the literature of socialism. That the Stalinists use such literature, though they have no more honest connection with it than a Gerald K. Smith would have, is something we must consider by way of fully understanding the machinations of Stalinism. The Stalinists commit daily outrages against socialism. The Truman administration is out to commit an outrage against civil liberties. We must do what we can to permit neither.

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RENEW NOW EXTEND YOUR SUB

For a Socialist World Of Peace and Plenty...

Below we present the platform of the Workers Party for its election campaign in the 19th Congressional District of New York. The party's candidate is Emanuel Geltman, editor of LABOR ACTION.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

The world is divided into two war camps, led by Washington and Moscow. These two rivals for world empire extend their power; while the people everywhere yearn for freedom — from Russian totalitarianism in Eastern Europe and from Wall Street dollar imperialism in Western Europe, Greece, Turkey and the Near East.

Here at home both parties, sharing the political leadership of capitalism, drive the country along the road to war. No less certain to bring war, like Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler, is the Wallace program of appeasing the Kremlin dictator by a deal to carve up the world between Russia and America.

But the atomic devastation of a third World War is not inevitable — if the people take a new road, in support of neither Washington nor Moscow! The people's road to peace lies through the fight against all imperialism, all exploitation of man by man, whether it be by the capitalists or the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Fight for a Socialist World of Peace and Plenty! Don't waste your vote! Cast a Socialist Vote for

EMANUEL GELTMAN

Program of the Workers Party

FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM:

Stop the Militarization of the United States

Army brass and big business rule U. S. foreign policy. Atom bombs are stockpiled. The Democratic Republics voted 21 billions for war preparations. Wallace spouts "peace" but favors an army of "a million men." We propose to:

- Repeal the draft law.
- Stop plans for universal military training.

Stop Wall Street's Master Plan to Control the World

The Truman-Vandenberg Doctrine and the Marshall Plan prop up reactionary governments everywhere with bayonets and dollars, to convert Western Europe into American imperialism's war base. The people of Europe don't want to be used as

pawns of Wall Street or Russia. We propose: Economic aid without political strings. Withdraw all armies of occupation.

Support Israel's Right to Live

Oil imperialism forces a nightmare of bloodshed on Palestine. The Washington-Wall Street gang plays Arabs against Jews and Jews against Arabs while its British ally supports the effendis. Russian imperialism talks of International Trusteeships in order to get a foothold for itself in the Middle East. We propose:

- Unrestricted immigration to Palestine and U. S. Full recognition of the State of Israel.
- To lift the embargo on arms to Israel.
- To strive for a reunited Palestine where Arabs and Jews live peaceably together with full independence.

DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME:

Fight for Civil Liberties

The Republicans offer nothing. Truman writes programs but he and his party do nothing to enforce them. Wallace talks too, but his cabinet departments in Washington were among the most Jim Crow. To enforce political equality for all minorities we propose to:

- Abolish discriminatory quotas in housing projects and schools.
- Make all religious and racial discrimination and segregation a criminal offense.
- Pass an anti-lynch law with teeth in it.
- Abolish the poll tax.
- A national Fair Employment Practices Act.

DEFENDING LABOR'S POSITION

Fight for Labor's Rights

The government is attempting to destroy labor's organizations by strike-breaking, injunctions, court suits, and interference with collective bargaining.

- Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act!
- Defeat the Mundt Bill!

Job Security for All

The Department of Labor states that \$65 per week is the minimum necessary today to keep a family supplied with the essentials of life. Enactment of a minimum wage law is only the first step. Labor

produces all wealth and is entitled to a decent life. We propose:

- A minimum wage of \$1 an hour.
- An automatic wage increase to come from profits to meet the increased cost of living.
- A planned rise in the standard of living to guarantee an annual wage of \$5,000.
- Weekly unemployment insurance benefits of \$35.
- Increased old age pension and retirement age lowered from 65 to 55.
- A national health program with full coverage for every family.

PLENTY FOR ALL

Pull Down the High Cost of Living

The 1948 dollar is actually worth only 58 cents. The record high prices of today have one basic cause: profiteering by the huge corporations. To smash the profiteers we propose to:

- Roll back prices to 1939 level.
- Recover the five-cent fare.
- Establish trade-union and consumer committees to control prices.

Raise the Money by Taxing Concentrated Wealth

- For a 100 per cent tax on all profits over 5 per cent on invested capital.
- For a ceiling of \$25,000 on all incomes.
- Tax the real estate interests for building improvements.

Nationalize the Monopolies

The Big Capitalists have proven their inability to provide plenty and security for the people. We propose to:

- Nationalize the banks and the Steel Trust.
- Nationalize the food companies, railroads and construction industry.
- All nationalization under the direction of democratically elected workers' committees.

Build an Independent Labor Party

The two boss parties cannot and will not represent the interests of the people. The Wallace-Stalinist Party represents nothing more than the needs of Russian foreign policy. Long ago the working class learned the necessity of organizing their own economic organizations — the trade unions. Today these same trade unions must take the initiative in organizing a political party of their own — a Labor Party which will fight for these demands and for the first time declare labor's independence from capitalist politics. This is the first important step on the road to

A SOCIALIST AMERICA

Today the machines produce only for war and capitalist profits. Tomorrow they shall produce for the needs of all the people.

COMING SOON

LABOR ACTION will shortly begin serial publication of an excellent pamphlet on the Labor Party by Jack Ranger. The

pamphlet as a whole is scheduled for fall publication. Comrade Ranger is known to readers for his popular column, "Topping the Wall Street Wire," and for his many first rate articles.

WORLD POLITICS

The Struggle for Berlin

The struggle for control over Berlin is only in the last analysis one for the spoils of Germany of which Russia is in such urgent need. It has already taken a form by which it can become a major lever in the political alignment of the European masses in the next period, if not the next war.

The London six-power agreement by which establishment of a tri-zonal German government with relatively broad powers was authorized, together with the recent currency reform in the Western zones, definitely marked the beginning of Western Germany as part of the Western bloc. The division of Germany, while not formally consummated, became a fact designed to enhance the power position of the U. S. versus the Russians. As such it cannot become a subject of negotiations.

The Russians replied to the Anglo-American action by cutting off those sectors of Berlin under its control from the Western zones. While the official Soviet Military Administration gave "technical" reasons for thus shutting off the supply lines, the German Stalinists denounced the Western powers for splitting Germany and demanded that they evacuate Berlin. In other words, the Anglo-Americans were to be forced out of Berlin by "popular" demand. (The reasons for the Stalinists' failure to rally substantial masses to this demand will be gone into in a future article. It suffices to note here that the Berlin Social Democratic Party was able to gather tens of thousands in protest rallies against the Russians and their German stooges.)

UNITY IS CENTRAL ISSUE

For the Anglo-Americans to give in to Russian pressure would seriously impair their prestige everywhere. The military's sensitivity to this fact, as well as its usual eagerness for "action," were expressed succinctly by General Donovan, who recently visited General Clay in Berlin, when he lamented the "failure" of the American people to grasp the "seriousness" of the situation in Berlin—a failure impeding the smooth functioning of military plans which are, of course, secret in the "public interest." More important, Frankfurt, one time seat of the National Assembly of 1948, cannot become a serious competitor of Berlin. The latter remains the political heart of Germany, the living symbol of its unity.

Unity remains the central issue in Germany, especially since there is but the haziest perspective that Western Germany's "integration" with the Marshall Plan countries can be successful. The withdrawal of the Anglo-Americans from Berlin would formalize, notwithstanding all their probable protestations to the contrary, the division of Germany. Under the conditions that would follow the Germans might well consider unity under Russian domination preferable to the black insecurity and hopelessness of a semi-colonial rump Germany in the West.

On the other hand, to the tired masses of Europe, Berlin is a German city located geographically in the Russian zone. A war over its control is unthinkable to them. Hence, the erstwhile reluctance of the French to back up General Clay's adamant insistence that the Western powers stay in Berlin. Hence, the general apprehension in Europe when the West European foreign ministers conferred in The Hague last week over the implementation of the Vandenberg Resolution, the military supplement to the Marshall Plan; or when the U. S. landed 60 B-29 airplanes in England. Despite this show of strength, or because it must not allow itself to be suspected of aggressive intentions, the U. S. gave in to the Russian demand that a conference on the entire German situation take place, provided the Berlin blockade is ended. It will be remembered that the U. S. in its note to Moscow two weeks ago, wanted the subject of any conference confined to the Berlin situation.

FORESHADOWS AGGRESSIVE RUSSIAN POLICY

There is no reason to believe that such a conference will be any more successful than past conferences of the Council of Foreign Ministers, especially since the American position in Germany has become more crystallized. This may well be a reason for the hesitancy of the State Department in agreeing to such a conference. The Russians can still rally a certain degree of sympathy for the vast devastation of their country and, while the continued spoliation of Germany cannot contribute to any permanent rehabilitation, the Stalinist parties can stir up enough nationalism to veil that fact. At the same time, the onus of a deadlocked conference may fall on the U. S., no matter how sharp-wittedly it insists, as the Kremlin in the past, on the legalisms of previous agreements.

At this writing, it cannot be said whether the Russians will or will not accede to the American condition that the Berlin blockade be lifted before a conference on Germany takes place. What appears to be the demise of Marshal Sokolovsky—who frequently evidenced a conciliatory attitude towards the Western powers and did not seem to favor the native German Stalinists—and his substitution by Russian military men who more closely reflect the current stand of the Moscow Politbureau, foreshadows the evolution of a more aggressive Russian policy in Germany.

This policy would not merely envision industrial deliveries and reparations payments from the Western zones as the problematic fruits of a conference. Rather, it would aim relentlessly at the expulsion of the Western powers from Berlin with the intention of achieving the consequences outlined above, plus the passive or active acceptance of the Stalinists by the German masses as leaders towards a reunited Germany.

To all of which there needs to be added President Truman's observation of last week: "The chances for peace are excellent." Excellent, indeed!

Eugene KELLER

Civil Rights and ADA's Principles

'Twas a Famous Victory...

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the funeral sessions of the Democratic convention was the so-called victory that its "liberal bloc" won on the civil rights issue. This liberal bloc, mainly composed of followers of the Americans for Democratic Action and claiming about 100 delegates or roughly seven or eight per cent of the convention, forced through an addition to the Democratic platform which congratulated President Truman for his "strong" civil rights stand and urged the further development of his program. Most observers did not seem to expect the ADA bloc to take the matter to the convention floor, and few would have believed it capable of winning out on the issue.

Once this bit of grand strategy had triumphed, however, a great hullabaloo was raised about the "principled" stand of the ADA bloc and its devotion to ideas, rather than mere jobs or power. We would be the last ones to scorn devotion to ideas, even to ideas we might not fully agree with; and we would certainly be the last ones to scorn devotion to such a worthy idea as a program for full civil rights for Negroes. Let us, however, check back on the ADA record at the Democratic convention and see how devoted it actually was to principles, even to what may be taken for its principles.

The first serious move of the ADA group was to try to find a substitute candidate for Truman. It should be emphasized that in trying to dump Truman the ADA bloc did not do so on any principled grounds; it found little to disagree with in his record, but rejected him largely on the grounds—hardly those that might be expected from principled people—that he had little chance to win.

EISENHOWER STRATEGY

Its first strategy was to try to draft Eisenhower. This itself was an extraordinary move. Traditionally, liberals—even weak-kneed, weak-minded, weak-hearted liberals—have been skeptical of military men in politics. And not without reason. Military men have been trained in a thoroughly undemocratic atmosphere, they are extremely caste conscious, their thoughts almost always tend to run in extreme reactionary directions. Having had little contact with the masses of people directly, they are almost always antagonistic to labor and, though they do not often publicly say so, are known to feel that the best way of handling labor problems is to "call out the troops."

Now, whether Eisenhower thinks this way or not we don't know. Nor does the ADA know. Nonetheless, this highly principled organization was ready to take Eisenhower without questions asked, without so much as trying to find out where he stood on any of the pressing issues of the day. If that's being principled, we'll

eat the Declaration of Independence and the Communist Manifesto thrown in for good measure.

What was especially shameful about the ADA campaign for Eisenhower was that it jibed in neatly with a similar campaign by the Negro-hating and anti-civil-rights Southern Democrats. If Eisenhower was acceptable to them... then he should not have been acceptable to principled liberals who believe in civil rights. But the ADA went blandly ahead, mitted in paw with the Southern politicians.

What was, however, even more nauseating was that Eisenhower had spoken up on ONE issue: he had come out against the abolition of racial discrimination in the army. In other words, on the crucial aspect of the civil-rights issue, Eisenhower spoke up for the view of the Southern Democrats and against what is supposed to be the view of the ADA. But that didn't bother the ADA, apparently; it knew that Eisenhower could win and seemed to consider that sufficient for its purposes. Principles are for Sundays.

SWITCH TO DOUGLAS

Once it became clear that Eisenhower couldn't be lured into running, the ADA switch to Douglas, who is supposed to be a "real" liberal. But if he is a "real" liberal, whatever that might mean, why didn't the ADA fight for him from the beginning? Because it knew he couldn't win? Or did it consider "victory" more important than principles? Once the convention came around, the ADA opposition to Truman collapsed like a punctured tire. Our heroes had frightened themselves with their own bold talk. Whipped back into line by the party bosses, the ADA supported Truman... and Barkley. But who is Barkley, if not one of those Southern Democrats who, though more discreet about it, still stands in opposition to civil rights for Negroes?

In other words, one of the people to whom the ADA was ready to entrust the execution of the civil-rights program was Senator Barkley, a Southern Democrat. And if it had had its original choice, it would have been ready to entrust that program to Eisenhower, who had specifically denounced the abolition of segregation in the army. A really principled group, eh?

No wonder Arthur Krock of the New York Times kept writing needling pieces during the Democratic convention denouncing the ADA group as a collection of petty political maneuverers whose devotion to principles was certainly not as rigorous as the devotion of the Southern Jim Crow gang to its "principles."

But one final question arises: how did the ADA bloc manage to win

on the floor of the convention on the civil-rights issue? By itself, it didn't have sufficient votes. It won only because the big-city Democratic bosses, the corrupt ward-healers and grafters, supported the ADA on this issue. Now we see, then, that the ADA was ready to entrust its civil-rights program not only to Eisenhower and Barkley... but also to Frank Hague of Jersey City and Jake Arvey of Chicago and Tammany Hall of New York. Now THAT'S what we call being real principled-like.

That the big Democratic bosses were ready to support the ADA motion on the floor indicated that they thought the Southern delegates could not be antagonized any more than they already had been and that most of them would swing into line once the showdown came along—as in fact they did. It indicated further that the Democratic bosses were hoping by this maneuver to get themselves a batch of Negro votes up North, not enough to win for Truman (that would require a more miraculous intervention) but enough to elect some local Democratic slates. And for this maneuver the great idealists of the ADA were waiting to be plucked.

After that the New York paper closest to the ADA, the Post, was able to talk about ADA principles. Whether anyone takes such nonsense seriously is hard to say. What the Democratic convention actually showed was that the "liberal bloc" was ready to swing along with the most extreme reactionaries of North or South so long as it was offered a few carrots. As it was, most of the carrots turned out to be rotten and all the donkey could do was to bray.

'Twas a famous victory, all right, all right... The liberals lost nothing but their souls, or whatever had been left of those. And now, all huffily-puffed and blown up with its own rhetoric, the ADA will support... strike-breaker Truman and Jim Crow Barkley.

Did we hear someone say something about principles?

Our Apologies...

—to our contributors who have sent in discussion articles and letters. We regret that we have not had the space to print them. They will, however, appear in coming issues.

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Stalinland:

POTS AND KETTLES BUSY NAMECALLING

By WILLIAM BARTON

The breaks in the feeble cast-iron structure of Stalinist totalitarianism become more striking every week. Most apparent is the deepening of the rift between the Yugoslavian Communist Party and its sister organizations in the Moscow-dominated Cominform.

The current party Congress in Belgrade has actually formally attacked Pravda, the official organ of the Communist Party of Russia, for spreading insane reports that a delegation of "Swiss Trotskyites" was attending the Congress, and for charging the Ministry of Interior under General Rankovich with "tyrannies" against opponents. The irony of the Russian Secret Police criticizing its most faithful pupil for learning too well is, at the moment, less important to the world than the evidence that the break between the Moscow and Belgrade rulers has been officially declared.

Marshal Tito took time out from the Congress for a personal interview with former Governor Olson of California. The Yugoslav chieftain declared his desire for improved commercial relations with the United States if no political strings are attached. Whether Tito had previously shown an inclination for an economic deal with the U. S. and thereby precipitated his clash with the Cominform cannot be decided at present. What is clear is that the various countries of the Eastern bloc, whether in the complete embrace of Moscow or showing some signs of independence, must turn to the "West" for the economic aid which Russia cannot supply.

The Yugoslav Congress also heard their Macedonian representatives demand autonomy for Bulgarian Macedonia, attack elements of the Bulgarian Communist Party for having territorial designs on Yugoslavian Macedonia, and charged their Bulgarian erstwhile colleagues with betrayals against the Yugoslavs in Macedonia during the German occupation. Commentators have emphasized traditional "Balkan nationalism" in their analyses; much more important a drive behind these conflicts is the need of local Stalinist masters to increase their inevitably shrinking loot, even at the expense of their bosom buddies of yesterday.

NEW PURGES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Reports from Czechoslovakia reveal even more serious difficulties behind the Iron Curtain. Seventy-one people have been arrested for "foreign espionage" and "terrorism." Military leaders are escaping the country one by one. Some 8,000 refugees have crossed the border since February. An emigre Czechoslovakian Relief Committee announced that 500 Czech war veterans are rejoining the British armed forces. A London dispatch reports evidence of an active Czech underground press, directed mostly towards working class readers. To what extent it is oriented towards Anglo-American imperialism is not clear; with the background of the Czech workers, there is little doubt that it will gain support only to the extent that it is independent of both imperialist camps.

Rumors have President Gottwald, Foreign Minister Klementis and Interior Minister Nosek headed for the skids on orders of the dissatisfied Kremlin bosses. As significant as all these, however, is a little item from "Trace," official paper of the Stalinist-run Czech General Confederation of Labor, which upbraids Czech workers for their negative attitude towards production and the resulting failure to achieve quotas in the projected two-year plan. The paper claims that over a million hours of work were lost in May because of absenteeism.

Occasional bits of information creep out of the Russian heartland, itself, showing all is not rosy. Russian workers are being admonished to be careful of sabotage on the railroads. The railway system is probably the weakest feature of the Russian Stalinist industrial set-up. Seapeacocks are generally sought whenever there is widespread resentment. Either some people are about to be "purged" of their jobs or a propaganda campaign against "saboteurs" begun. Life is not too easy behind the Kremlin walls and it isn't likely to get any better.

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Specter of Tito Appears at Wallace Confab; Youth Chairman Douses Light to Gag Dispute

By JACK BRAD

PHILADELPHIA — The Stalinist Steering Committee at the Progressive Party convention acted as a political police force on all programmatic questions. Every word and punctuation mark was carefully screened from even "implied deviations."

There was a single bad slip on the Macedonian issue and the handling of this apparently secondary and unimportant matter is illustrative of the political policing done. There were several other incidents. The three described below are illustrative. There were others, but none of these matters concerned central controversies. The Wallace-Tugwell group was not concerned with these matters. It is this that makes them so interesting. Precisely because they were not controversies, but only had reference to the CP line.

The Macedonian incident has been most widely reported, but the details and their full significance were sloughed over in the daily press.

LA REPORTER INTERVENES

The original program presented by the Program Committee contained the following sentence: "We support the aspirations for the unified homelands of traditionally oppressed and dispersed people as the Irish, Armenians and Macedonians."

Immediately after the reading of the program, Lee Pressman, well-known Stalinist spokesman, stepped to the mike to present several amendments which had been accepted by the Program Committee. The last one on the "Peace" section was "to delete Macedonia" from the sentence cited above. There was no explanation.

Your reporter realized immediately that something was afoot and approached Rex Tugwell, chairman of the Program Committee, for an explanation. Tugwell not only had no explanation, but apparently did not know that Macedonia had been eliminated. He in turn asked Pressman, who said that the deletion had been made at the request of Louis Adamic, long-time Stalinist expert on Balkan affairs and active in Balkan-American circles.

This reporter then tackled Adamic, who hemmed, hawed and spluttered something about the complete unimportance of the matter and about how the Progressive Party should not become involved in controversies in the Macedonian and American societies. No real explanation was given.

Adamic's and Pressman's uneasiness, however, confirmed the growing suspicions. In one sense it was a matter of no importance since the majority of delegates certainly expressed no great interest. However,

it just so happens that Marshal Tito has called for a greater Macedonia under his domination, and for a unification of the Macedonian areas of Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to form such a state. This imperialist demand of Tito's is one of the sharpest controversies within the Cominform since it is part of the Balkan Federation scheme. Also, the Macedonian CP in Yugoslavia sent delegates to the Yugoslavian CP convention and supports Tito's stand against the Cominform.

The deletion makes sense solely against this background. This is underscored by the lack of official explanation.

PRESSMAN TAKES OVER

When Delegate Spodick from New Haven rose to ask, "Why was Macedonia eliminated?" he was ruled out of order. But in the meantime the press benches had seized hold of the story and the radio and television men were sending it out as well.

When Spodick rose again, he was permitted to ask his question. He was answered by Adamic as follows: "This is one of the least important questions before the convention." (Just a few minutes before the convention had widely applauded a speech for unification of Ireland. There was an audible gasp when Adamic slapped the delegates into line with this sentence.) Adamic went on: "Personally, I favored not naming any specific people, Irish, Armenian or Macedonian. I was not present at the discussions, however." The heart of his explanation was this: "I had no idea there were two factions in the Macedonian - American groups. There was some objection from one group . . . we do not want to involve ourselves in dispute between two groups of Americans."

Adamic also explained that the deletion was made "about 3 a.m. Friday morning." The significance of this is that at that time Pressman had taken over the committee and Tugwell had gone home.

Spodick then made a motion to include Macedonia. He based his motion on the unsatisfactory explanation and a fear of how the press would interpret the deletion.

Chairman Albert Fitzgerald, UE president, then took the vote, but not on Spodick's motion. Completely ignoring the motion from the floor, he immediately took a vote on the report as a whole.

With some bitterness, one delegate remarked that this looks like "the same old steamroller but a different engineer."

The second incident that deserves attention was "non-controversial" in a convention sense but indicates the

careful surveillance by the CP machine.

Minneapolis Delegate Walter Frank proposed the insertion of an amendment to the section on rights of political expression. He proposed to add to the section that not only does the party "fight for the constitutional rights of Communists and all other political groups to express their views" but also to "fight for the restoring civil rights to those deprived of them for their political views." An apparently innocent democratic and liberal proposal.

Fitzgerald seemed uncertain about this amendment. However, Pressman, who is a key Stalinist in the Progressive leadership, came over and whispered to Fitzgerald, who boomed out in new-found certainty: "Who's been deprived of them?"

Pressman then took the floor to explain the amendment away as "superfluous." The proposal was lost in the shuffle.

What were the Stalinists afraid of? Why could this innocent phrase not be inserted? When Delegate Frank was interviewed and asked if his clause would apply to the SWP, he replied: "It would apply to anyone." But for the factional interest of Stalinism, no such admission of Trotskyists under the category of the persecuted was admissible.

The fact that Wallace specifically said he would fight for the restoration of these rights was not even whispered.

YOUTH SILENCED

The third incident we wish to report concerns the youth organization convention. This story is so monstrous in many respects that it was carefully checked several times for verification. The youth convention to organize the Young Progressives of America met after the adult organization had adjourned. The permanent chairman was Christine Walker, a member of the Stalinist-controlled United Office & Public Workers of America and of the Wayne County Industrial Union Council, the body from which all non-Stalinist locals have resigned.

As the selection of committee members was announced to the opening session of the conference, several delegates from Minnesota rose to point out that rural youth was not well represented on the committees. A Bronx delegate followed this with the complaint that teen-age youth were also poorly represented. The chairman tried to thrust these objections aside with the statement that the recommendations had been submitted by state delegation chairmen.

Finally the chair took a voice vote which was not decisive. A second hand vote was likewise indecisive. Christine Walker then ruled the original proposals as carried. Delegates leaped to the floor in protest, demanding recounts and protesting the ruling. Cries of "railroading" and other exclamations resounded.

The chairman stated that the point had been concluded and that Glen Taylor and Wallace were waiting to speak. Several delegates shouted, "Let them wait" and "We want to speak!" A motion that the discussion be continued after Taylor and Wallace had spoken was set aside by the chair without a vote. When the delegates persisted in their point, the lights were switched off and the ushers were ordered to clear the aisles.

This unbelievable act was committed at the first session of this convention for the formation of a new youth organization! Only the beginning of Senator Taylor's speech, which began in the dark, stilled the uproar. The Philadelphia Inquirer

reported that twenty youth were ejected because they were "outsiders only here to cause trouble."

This incredible scene did not conclude the infamy of this roughshod drive of the Stalinist machine, which was in complete control. Several Socialist Youth League members had been detected by young Stalinists present. This was communicated to the chairman who obliged with a warning from the rostrum to the effect that there were some people present whose sole purpose was to disrupt the new organization and that the delegates had better be wary to whom they spoke and that the delegates must be alert.

Some individuals, one a Poale Zionist, not Trotskyists, were pointed out by the Stalinists as "hugs." In short order a hysterical atmosphere of fear became general. The factional terrorism of Stalinism was introduced at this first session. Terms like "disrupter, hugs, Trotskyists" were introduced as common language of accusation.

Backroom Deal Compromises Fight

(Continued from page 1)

The Labor Division, Women's Division, Youth Division, etc. In addition, the article places the nine national officers on the NC (and of the nine officers later elected by the convention, six are long-standing CP party-liners).

John Abt, the Stalinist machine's whip on the Rules Committee, justified the forty members at large on the ground that it was necessary to insure proper representation for "labor, youth, etc." but the opposition rightly understood that here was the main channel through which the NC was being packed. They pointed out that according to another provision of Article 3, 50 per cent of the NC constituted a quorum for the transaction of business and that the total membership of the body would be about 180; in a quorum of 90, the 40 members at large were not only enough to swing a majority but would almost BE a majority.

OPPOSITION DEFEATED

The fight was led off by James Martin, co-chairman of the Maryland delegation, a New Dealer who has been in high government positions, who carefully restrained his words to dry technical considerations as if there was nothing involved except some routine details. But he made a motion to recommit the section to

the Rules Committee for revision. A delegate from Michigan, George Carpenter, also criticized the article. But blood was drawn when Scott Buchanan, a prominent member of the Massachusetts delegation, rose to say:

"This article allows for minority control of this party. If we [that is, the PP] want to do that, I think there'll be some of us walking out of this party."

These two sentences were his full speech, and were greeted by a loud chorus of boos and hisses (the only occasion on which a delegate was booed at the convention).

The motion to recommit was voted down, and a second attack was launched by a delegate from the Illinois delegation, Leonard Stein, assistant to the dean at the University of Chicago, with a motion to delete the sentence about the 40 ringers and a request for a rollcall vote on the question. It was Stein who made the point about the size of the quorum in connection with the fact that the 40 "will be appointed rather than elected democratically."

Fitzgerald (UE president acting as chairman of the convention) ruled this motion out of order. This must have stuck in the delegates' throats: when Stein mildly asked the reason, he received a substantial burst of applause. Fitzgerald gave the specious ground that the INTENT of his motion was the same as that of the Martin motion just voted down! Thereupon Stein, sticking to his guns, appealed the chair's ruling; an eye-no voice vote was so indecisive that a hand vote had to be taken before the appeal was sustained (by at least a 4-1 majority, however, in spite of the lung power displayed in the voice vote).

Sidelight on the above: Immediately after the vote, Stein (with his floor microphone shut off so that he could be heard only a few feet away from the chairman, where he stood) repeated his request for a recorded vote. Fitzgerald answered: "You missed your chance," although Stein had never been given a chance.

REMAIN LOYAL

What did not come out on the floor was the fact that the CP's original proposal (made in the Rules Committee's preliminary discussions by Hugh Bryson, secretary of that committee and head of the California Wallace party and of the Marine, Cooks & Stewards Union) was that the number of NC ringers be SIXTY. This number was whittled down to 40 when the captive Wallaceites protested, and, it is reported, were backed by C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager. The opposition, expecting the constitution to come up Sunday, were caught unprepared when it was taken up a day in advance, before Baldwin (and perhaps Wallace himself) could be mobilized to apply some pressure on the CPers to change their tactics.

Buchanan, questioned after the vote about his walkout threat, made clear that he was not walking out but referred in general to what might be done by "some people" if such tactics accumulated. Martin, interviewed, said that in his opinion the business of 40 "functional" members at large on the NC was a "hierarchical action-committee kind of representation," obviously referring to the Stalinist "action committees" in the Czech coup.

Like the rest of this New-Dealer opposition, they regard themselves as a loyal opposition to the CP within the Wallace movement. They obviously hope against hope that a mushroom growth of the Wallace movement will eventually swamp the CP forces, but they feel that they have to live with the latter and tolerate them ("use" them, no doubt, is the phrase in their own minds) in the meantime. Their education on the question of tail-wagging-dogs is still ahead of them.

N. Thomas, Newspaperman, Puts Wallace on Spot Re Smith Act

PHILADELPHIA—Henry Wallace again revealed that his interest in civil liberties is limited, and decidedly partial, at his first press interview on arriving in Philadelphia.

Norman Thomas, in his capacity as a reporter, asked the "Progressive" leader if he agreed that the Smith Gag Act was a bad law. Wallace agreed that it was.

Thomas then asked Wallace: "When did you say so first?" To which the great liberal replied that he had never said anything, one way or the other, about the Gag Law. This is certainly true. In 1940, when the law was passed, Wallace had nothing to say, although it was a blot on civil rights then as now.

Wallace's first denouncement of the Smith Act was made last week when he protested the indictment of the 12 Communist Party leaders, who happened to support the Progressive Party.

Thomas then noted that Wallace had not spoken up when the Smith Law was used to indict the Trotskyists in Minneapolis in 1941. It should also be noted that the Daily Worker, at the time, applauded the imprisonment of the Trotskyists and supported the use of the Smith Law.

Thomas then asked Wallace: "Would you support restoration of the (the Trotskyists) civil rights?" To which Wallace replied: "I do, indeed." However, when this matter was raised on the convention floor, Wallace was silent and it was pushed aside and not even taken to a vote.

Stalinoid liberalism is very particular about who gets civil liberties. At this same interview, incidentally, Wallace repeated his demand for a fuller debate with Dewey and Truman. When Thomas asked him if he would accept a debate with him, Thomas pointed out that he had challenged Wallace to debate and been ignored.

To this request Wallace replied that it was a matter of conserving his physical energies. Thomas then asked if Wallace would be satisfied with a similar answer from Dewey or Truman. There was no answer.

Wallace Party in Firm CP Grip —

(Continued from page 1)

porters from the main urban centers like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago. There were very few ordinary working men or shop stewards from outside the Stalinist trade union arena. Trade unionists present were largely from CP fractions. And workers were not present in such overwhelming numbers as to give the convention a labor coloration. It was not a "labor" convention.

The outstanding characteristic of the assemblage as a whole was its youth. Every commentator has noted the attraction of youth in colleges and in offices to the Wallace party; not the working or industrial youth, but students and white collar or professional youth.

SEEK NEGRO SUPPORT

While the bulk of the delegates came from the great population centers, there were small but significant representatives from every section. The Progressive Party has made a definite impression in the South. An obvious effort was made to get a large number of Southern Negro delegates. This was only partially successful. There were very, very few Southern Negro rural delegates. But there were Southern Negroes—from Georgia, Florida, Virginia and Texas.

With its special talent for exploiting the grievances of oppressed minorities, the CP has directed much energy and organization into the South. It is difficult to estimate its effectiveness. However, the Progressive Party is the only non-segregated, bi-racial party in the South. It has as one of its leading figures Paul Robeson. The convention keynoter was a Negro from Iowa, Charles P. Howard. Its meetings everywhere are non-segregated. One of the chief slogans is "Jim Crow Must Go."

The South is going through great political changes. The Progressive Party is the first political organization in decades which permits Negroes to take part in these changes in an active, equal and dynamic manner. There are not hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes in this party but there are hundreds. These people are not concerned with Stalinism but with the struggle against

their disabilities. Their future in the party depend, however, on many things and is another matter entirely. It would be decidedly premature to grant to the Progressive Party the leadership of the Southern Negro.

From New England and some of the Midwestern states came middle class people. Many of them were middle-aged women, many small business men or farmers. They had joined in conscious reaction to the squeezing of their lives in the narrowing vise of war threats, high prices and monopoly oppression. They were people who, together with the bulk of the youth and Negroes, would form the natural reservoir of support for a genuine Labor Party and for whom this was the distorted substitute. For them, it was the myth of Henry Wallace, the messianism of the "peace crusader" that was the attraction. They were not too numerous or articulate. In a separate category is the Townsend movement, which was previously allied to Gerald L. K. Smith and which was present to push its special program.

The fifth and smallest group was the handful of obsolete New Dealers epitomized by the aging, compromising and dulling Rexford Tugwell. They are the pathetic remnants caught in the split which the CP engineered two years ago in the NC-PAC, the corporal's guard who did not go with ADA.

A revealing light is thrown by the manner in which the question of CP control was spoken of by many non-Stalinist delegates. Among themselves they understood and spoke of the Stalinists. On the floor they occasionally walked about it indirectly and by implication only. In private conversation they hinted vaguely at "the others." To the press they were adamantly silent and hostile and defensive on the question. An outsider who raised the question was a red-baiter. The CP has openly and without the slightest subterfuge declared that it was the initiator and leading influence in the Progressive Party, yet for any "outsider" to say so is considered red-baiting. Not only the liberals but many, many of the rank and file innocents think in such terms.

The CP has not only supplied the ideology and program, it has interlarded it with defensive emotional tissue so that the slightest objective critical approach throws one into the camp of the enemy. For the Stalinists have helped distort the real passions of people rebelling from the established order to their own needs. The Wallace arena is increasingly open to Stalinism as an ideology.

The name of Henry Wallace has acquired a mystique of almost revivalist proportions. This too, is not solely a natural expression but is deliberately fostered. For it is the CP that wrote the incredibly saccharine song "Friendly Henry Wallace." It was the CP speakers who referred constantly to "our great leader," "the man who's of and by and for the people." Wallace's name serves them well and the CP has a real interest in its maximum exploitation.

COMMITTEE COMPOSITION

The color and membership of this convention was that of an amorphous Stalinist "peoples movement." Not a labor party, nor a farmer labor party, nor anything like the Populist movement which was adult and rural—but a melange of different social strata held together by the pervading machinery of the CP apparatus. The CP managed by direct mechanical control of the committees of the convention as well as by its ideological and emotional and stagecraft leadership.

The composition of the Committees of the convention is revealing. Key members of the Rules Committee were Vito Marcantonio, chairman; Hugh Bryson, West Coast Stalinist and admitted party card holder, secretary, and John Abt. Abt was the liaison man between Sidney Hillman and the CP in the formation of the New York ALP. Now he serves in a similar capacity between Wallace-Tugwell and the CP.

The Platform Committee, which drew up the program was under the practical leadership of Lee Pressman, though nominally Tugwell was chairman. Scott Buchanan, a liberal from Massachusetts, complained bitterly to this reporter that Pressman had his way as against Tugwell on all decisive issues. In addition to Pressman, the Platform Committee

The whole episode, however, rubbed sore the relations between the Stalinists and their naive bedfellows, with the discussion of the program due the next day. Let us take a look now at some of the programmatic disputes which were likewise agitating the combination behind the scenes of the convention.

BURY ERP DISPUTE

First (and best known)—and buried most thoroughly—is disagreement on the Marshall Plan. Tugwell told reporters before the convention, "It is well known that I have made speeches in favor of ERP," but he added that it is "not important enough to fight over." Tugwell (who wants to line up with American imperialism rather than with Russian imperialism) may be the only man in politics who thinks the Marshall Plan is not important enough to fight over—if we trustfully take his words at face value—but he is also aware of the fact that his CP friends do not hold that opinion. Certainly, disagreement on the Marshall Plan played no or little part in the disputes around this convention. (It is, by the way, revealing to find out that many of the rank-and-file innocents around the hall have been set against the Marshall Plan primarily on the basis of the reactionary appeal which crudely runs this way: Why should we shell out for those foreigners?)

Also subordinate but interesting was the clash between Tugwell and Marcantonio at the closed meetings of the Platform Committee on the question of independence for Puerto Rico. Tugwell was for "self-determination" and some form of home rule, but against independence. Without mentioning Tugwell (a concession to the forms), Marcantonio thundered: "Self-determination is a term of the imperialist demagogues," and later again, "it has been used by the imperialist demagogues for two centuries."

Calling the chairman of your Platform Committee an "imperialist demagogue" (even, or especially, when it is true) does not make for inner-Wallaceite harmony, but the Stalinists were making no concessions on this—not out of principle, to be sure, but because as Russian patriots they were more interested in anti-U. S. agitation in Puerto Rico than they were in Tugwell. Tugwell swallowed hard and took it, taking consolation only in the fact that the platform as adopted did not call for "immediate" independence as the Stalinists had proposed. No breath of this dispute ever came before the convention.

The same is true of the fight in the Platform Committee over nationalization of industries, with Frederick Schuman in opposition.

The same is true about Wallace's ideas on "progressive capitalism," which the Stalinist press has been sharply criticizing. One of the "Wallace Wallaceites" on the Platform Committee attempted to concretize this in the form of a proposal for labor-management-government economic planning committees to fix prices, wages, etc. But the CP machine in the committee, herded by Lee Pressman, would buy none of it. It was this project which had been attacked as "utopian" and "absurd on the face of it" by Max Weiss in the May issue of the CP's magazine Political Affairs. This did not stop Wallace himself from mauling at length about "progressive capitalism" at his press conference on Friday.

BACKROOM DEAL

These issues were all buried by the opposition for the purposes of the convention. It was two other questions on which they focused and which led to a last-minute backroom deal. The less important of the two was the question of going beyond the United Nations to world govern-

ment. Naturally the Stalinists have no more use for this idea than have their Russian masters, unless and until they are in a position to control such world government; but they figured that as an expression of general sentiment it was harmless and a cheap sop to the suckers. The other issue was more touchy: the proposal by the Wallace-Wallaceites that the PP program lay blame upon BOTH the United States AND Russia for the deterioration of international relations.

Here they cut into sensitive tissue. It goes without saying that the CPers would rather run Foster and Ford in the campaign than yield to this. EVEN WHILE THE PARTY PLATFORM WAS ALREADY BEING READ TO THE CONVENTION (it took an hour), the Platform Committee was thrashing this out in private. A deal was reached on a 500-word addition to the foreign-policy section of the program. After the program was read as it had been mimeographed, Lee Pressman read the addition to the delegates as an amendment, without further explanation.

The compromise which bought the silence of the opposition went as follows:

(1) On world government: "the abandonment of the principle of the coercion of sovereignties by sovereignties" is described as "the only ULTIMATE alternative to war"; a "world federal legislature with limited but adequate powers" is described as a desirable "principle"; but "the unity of the great powers" is thrown in as a prerequisite just in case. The opposition felt they had won a victory "in principle" and the Stalinists knew that they had conceded nothing but language.

(2) Not a syllable about blaming BOTH sides went in. The opposition settled for a sentence which read: "Responsibility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States," and another phrase about seeking a settlement "without appeasement of saber-rattling on either side." And for good measure the Stalinists extracted an antidote to mix with this poison: "our nation . . . has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war"—and the compromise was shaken well and served.

STRIKING OMISSION

The presentation of this compromise formula to the convention (even though only those on the "in" could have understood its purpose) was prepared for by an immediately preceding but formally unrelated speech by Tugwell designed to convey to his supporters that all was well. It was also half an apology. Not all members of the Platform Committee, he said, agreed that the program "was satisfactory in all respects," but it was all right in the main. "I would remind you of the value of solidarity and the danger of contention," he went on. "It is better to fight the enemy than to fight your friends. And anyone is your friend who will fight with you in the main. . . Parties are what you make them; this party can be what you make of it."

It is interesting to note that Tugwell himself, the most prominent non-Stalinist at the convention, was not named for any of the nine posts in the top leadership of the party—not even as one of the four vice-chairmen, nor to speak of the chairman or two co-chairmen. This is probably the most striking omission from the slate, though this correspondent cannot say whether it was by his own request.

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