

LABOR ACTION

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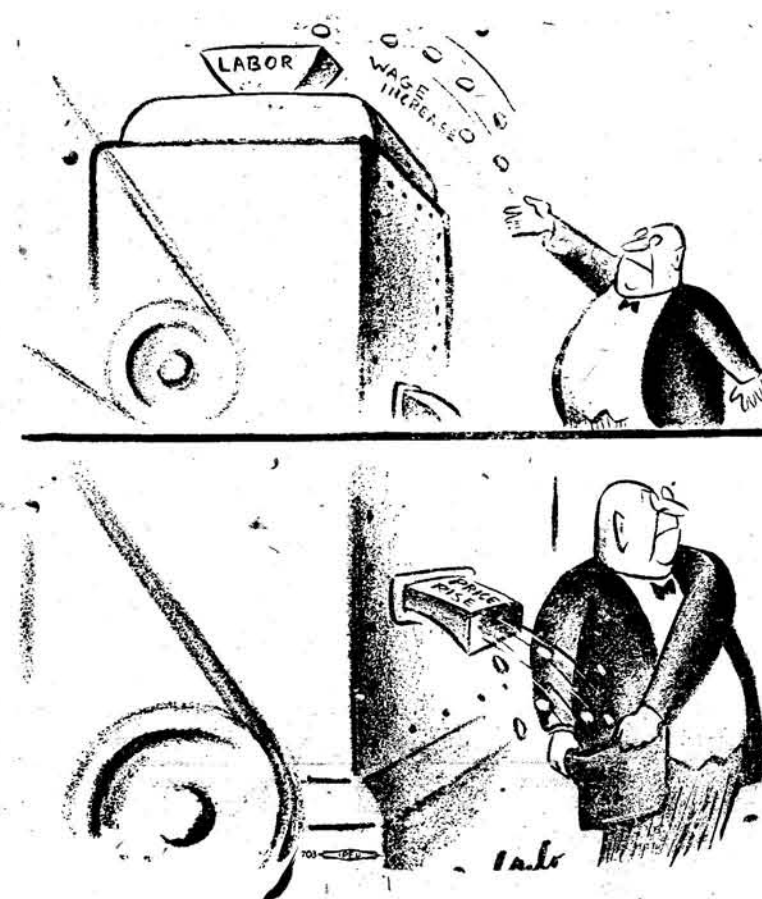
Now It's Syria: Point Four's Blind Alley

By HAL DRAPER

The main instrument of the U. S. government which is proposed to counter Stalinism's political appeal in Asia is the "Point Four program"—for technical aid, teaching of "know-how," and capital investments to raise the Asians' standard of living through raising production. It is also that aspect of the administration's "contain Communism" program which is most wholeheartedly looked to by liberals in particular.

This past week the case of another Asian country came up to demonstrate how and why this liberal white-hope is futile as a means of canceling Stalinism's anti-capitalist appeal to the Asian masses. The present case is Syria. [For Iran, see issue of May 28.—Ed.]

Not that there is anything wrong with the idea that the more advanced nations have the duty to make such contributions to the underdeveloped countries of the world, which badly need their technology and capital. On the contrary. From this point of view, the biggest count against the administration program is its picaresque character as compared with the need. Walter Reuther, for example, has proposed a Point Four program on the scale which bears some relation to the immense need.



But most basic is not the question of size at all but of the social relations under which Point Four is supposed to work. What we have emphasized [see, for example, the draft ISL resolution on Asia in last week's issue] is that no Point Four program can bring about a meaningful change without a sweeping and fundamental transformation of the social structure of these countries. An exceedingly interesting dispatch from Beirut, by N. Y.

Times correspondent Albion Ross (June 10), underlines this. Syria has flatly refused to accept Point Four assistance from the U. S. This, Ross reports, "was a victory for three special-interest groups that control the Syrian economy"—namely, "the leading group of Syrian capitalists, the French Levantine financial interests and by a semi-feudal group of absentee landowners."

This flat refusal to have anything to do with Point Four by the Syrian ruling classes and their French capitalist allies is, to be sure, an extreme case and only one variant. It took this form in reaction to a U. S. proposal (made through the Clapp report for the UN) for a TVA-type development of the Ghab Valley; "the French Levantine financial interests together with a group (Turn to last page)

Sure, a Price War's On: Consumers Get Their Pocketbooks Shot Off

By SAM FELIKS

While the headlines have given their major attention to the price war going on in the New York City department stores, there is another price war going on in Washington. The New York price war is slightly reducing some prices in New York, but the one in Washington threatens to shoot the consumer's pockets full of holes.

The recent Supreme Court decision, which in effect destroyed the "fair trade" pricing of retail goods, started the "price war" in New York that capitalized on the reluctance of consumers to buy at today's rising prices. With manufacturers unable to enforce a fixed price on nationally advertised goods, the price cutting on these selected articles began.

The effect of this price cutting was primarily to draw customers in to the store using the bait of a selected few reduced items—the so-called "fair-trade" articles. Of the estimated \$50 billion of nationally advertised goods on the market, only \$2.5 billion of them fit into the "fair-trade" category, and with the articles that are not nationally advertised the percentage is much smaller. The consumers, attracted by the announcement of the price reductions, were buying up many things there were not reduced or only nominally reduced—as was the aim of the price cuts on "loss leaders."

The manufacturers of the "fair-trade" articles began to threaten to cut off the supply to the price-cutting store. This led the watch manufacturer Longines-Wittnauer to run an ad in

the N. Y. Times entitled "The Economy of Our Country is Based on Live and Let Live." It went on: "If the employer did not pay the employee a living wage, the economy would fall; if the manufacturer or distributor did not cover his cost of doing business, the economy would fall; if the government did not collect its taxes, the economy would fall. Bargain prices will be no bargain if the result is chaos and depression."

Here was a chance, it would seem, for American capitalism to show that competition does work for the consumer, but instead the manufacturers are running to get injunctions against the price-cutters, and legislators are setting up committees to investigate the consequences and to revalidate the "fair-trade" law. However, one can agree in part with Longines that American capitalism is based on "live and let live"—that is as far as the monopolists are concerned. And it applies to the monopolists only in their price-fixing and market-sharing arrangements, but not when they are busy squeezing out the small producer and setting up their monopolies and cartels.

Amid the Washington scene where high priced lobbyists crawl (Turn to last page)

Ford Local Defies Reuther On Expulsion of Stalinists

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, June 12—The general council of Ford Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers has thrown out the verdict of its trial committee against five local union officials charged with being subservient to the Communist Party. The vote was a resounding 94 to 21 against the trial committee report.

Since this committee had been disbanded by the Ford local for failing to make its report within the prescribed time, its revival last week by the international union's executive board was interpreted in Ford local as an unwarranted intrusion by Walter Reuther into local union affairs. And the large vote against the kind of verdict that Reuther desired was an inevitable outcome.

Reliable reports are that Carl Stellato, Ford 600 president, personally voted for the sustaining of the verdict, but most observers view this action simply as a maneuver to keep Stellato from being accused openly by Reuther of having a working agreement with the Stalinists in the local union. Ford Local 600 led the opposi-

tion to the regime at the Michigan CIO convention last week, but was able to muster only 25 per cent of the delegates behind its candidates for office against the incumbents Gus Scholle and Barney Hopkins.

The biggest political event of the Michigan CIO convention was the adoption of a resolution, virtually unanimously, to support Governor G. Mennen Williams for re-election in 1952 on the Democratic Party ticket.

In addition, the big hit at this convention was made by Senator Blair Moody, the newly appointed U. S. senator, whose appointment had been a disappointment to the Reuther forces. Although Governor Williams received a greater ovation before his speech than Moody, the overwhelming bulk of the delegates later talked about the terrific impression that Moody made on them.

In that context, the speeches of Roy Reuther and Emil Mazey, which were quite critical of the Democratic Party and President Truman, unfortunately made little impression on the delegates, nor were their viewpoints reflected in important resolutions.

General Motors workers will no doubt be delighted to learn that their efforts made it possible for seven top executives of GM to "earn" a cool \$3,378,846 in salaries and bonuses. This does not include, of course, what these gentlemen "earned" from any GM or other stock or bonds they may hold.

Topping the list was Charles E. Wilson, president of the corporation whose salary was \$201,300. To this was added the paltry sum of \$61,205 in stock and the more substantial sum of \$363,795 as a cash bonus. A total of \$626,300 for the year.

Next came Albert Bradley, executive vice president of GM who rolled up a total of \$541,425 in

salary and bonuses. He was followed by a number of other vice presidents who had to satisfy themselves with more modest sums going down as low as \$271,200.

Of course, GM was not the only one to reward its hard working executives during 1950. Crawford H. Greenewald, president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours took in a total of \$539,550 in salary and bonuses. Eugene G. Grace, chairman of the board of Bethlehem Steel picked up a neat \$464,321 from the same sources, and J. C. Dellinger, Pacific Coast territory manager of Anderson, Clayton & Co., cotton brokers of Houston, Texas, got \$458,271 in bonuses alone.

Thirteen other business execu-

tives got over \$300,000, and the number who topped the \$100,000 mark would probably make up a full-strength company at the Korean front.

These figures come from listings by the Securities and Exchange Commission. The commission does not inform us whether these bonuses are for productivity or a sort of escalator arrangement to help the executives keep up with the rising cost of living. At any rate, it is known that they are deducted from corporation incomes before profits are calculated. We are sure that the union committees will bear this in mind next time the corporation representatives put on their "can't pay more wages" act during negotiations.

**Consider the Lilies of the Field:
They Toil Not, Neither Do They Spin; Yet Solomon
In All His Glory Was Not Arrayed Like One of These**

Back to the Caves in Korea

The expression, "the destruction of civilization," employed so often in recent years, even if abstractly, has taken on shape on the small scale of Korea.

Almost as a fanciful exaggeration, many have symbolized the meaning of another (and atomic) war and its destruction by talking about a return of man to the caves from which they emerged in the dawn of civilization.

The atom bomb has not been used on Korea, just "saturation bombing" and such, but—

Behold Korea, 1951! A dispatch in the New York Times relates how one Korean community actually evacuated its completely demolished town and retreated to nearby hills where they dug in for the duration!

"As early as last December, the villagers began digging holes in the red clay hills outside the town to escape the barrage. As the sea-saw war intensified along the coast, whole families had to dig in permanently and set up a kind of primitive city of caves. . . ."

"The villagers, mostly women and children, did what farming they could by coming out of caves at night. . . . Some shells penetrated the caves and new caves had to be dug. Between most of the caves is a crude boardwalk camouflaged with pine trees, along which the cave dwellers crawled on hands and knees from one hold to another."

"Some caves have stubby uprights installed to ward off cave-ins from the shelling."

The dispatch describes a woman whose "fingernails were still raw and ugly from repeating digging in the clay."

The whole story has a gruesome aspect which might

"As in the case of so many Koreans on both sides of the parallel, many villagers here and in neighboring towns are not sure any more what is involved in the war and even who is fighting. They are too hungry, too sick, and too concerned with primitive survival to care any more."

Thus the Koreans have been "liberated."

remind one of 1984. A whole town living in caves which, themselves, are not completely free from shelling; small bits of farming done at night by disease-ridden bodies in fields no longer fit for cultivation; complete and utter desolation along an entire front.

Americans can remember, with whatever encouragement is to be derived from the fact, that the American Speleological Society has already made a survey of our resources, according to an announcement it made even before the Korean war. The society is devoted to a study of caves.

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"DRAFT-DODGING" RISES TO "SCANDALOUS PROPORTIONS"—

It's One Out of Five in California

SAN FRANCISCO, June 5—Big scandal here this past month has been "draft-dodging"—and the proportions it has assumed in the state.

So perturbing has it become to the authorities that the press has been giving headlines to the problem, and the U. S. attorney's office plus the FBI have been busier than ever.

"Draft evasion is far higher than in World War II, according to officials here," it was reported on May 27.

Instead of taking the socialist drive to oppose war policies and the road toward war, a good percentage of the young men are voting against the war with their feet.

To be sure, independent socialists do not favor conscientious objection and still less pure-and-simple draft-dodging, but what is interesting here is the fact that the draftable youth of California (and for that matter, the rest of the nation) are by no means enthusiastic about the war.

Figures given by Colonel K. R. Leitch, state draft director, show that one out of five in the state fail to show up for induction when ordered. Nine thousand failed to report, and just 40,000 have been drafted so far.

Lists of men wanted have been published in the papers by the FBI to help their roundup. In the Bay Area, the number is 210—enough men to make up an infantry company, pointed out Assistant U. S. Attorney Karesh. He called it "scandalous proportions."

"And these, he said, are only the cases that have gone to the last step before indictment by a federal grand jury and trial for draft evasion," adds the San Francisco Chronicle.

CLASS LINE In face of the situation, the authorities have been announcing a kind of bargain rate for non-reporters. Anyone who "voluntarily gives himself up" and saves the

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LABOR SCOPE

AFL UNION SICS FBI ON MINORITY AT CONVENTION

By LARRY O'CONNOR

A Midwestern labor paper reports an incident at the recent convention of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (AFL) which is worth some comment.

A resolution was presented to the convention which asked the delegates to "go on record urging the government to put an end to the criminal sacrifice of our boys in Korea and bring them back home." It is also reported as urging peace negotiations with China and Russia.

The report is quite brief on the circumstances in which this resolution was presented. The convention defeated it unanimously, and even the sponsors of the resolution did not support it from the floor. Without further knowledge of who these sponsors were, let us assume that they were Stalinists or some kind of fellow-travelers.

It would seem that so far everything was in order. A tiny minority in the union had presented a resolution which it did not even have the courage to defend. There certainly seems to be no danger that the advocates of these ideas will win the membership to their views in the near future.

But what was the reaction of

the leadership to these events? Did they, perhaps, decide to send one of their number to the lodge or lodges which had sponsored the resolution, to talk to the membership and convince them that their local leaders are following false policies and that they should elect other leaders? Actually, under the circumstances, even such action would seem to indicate an extreme sensitivity on the part of the leaders to the pin-prick of a very tiny and insignificant political minority.

What they actually did was to call the cops. According to the Summit County Labor News (Akron, Ohio) "union president Anthony E. Matz said following the convention that a report on these developments and those responsible for them will be submitted to the FBI for investigation. This is in accordance with the request of President Truman for transmission of reports to the FBI by loyal Americans of all subversive influences and activities they may find."

Then Matz went on to say: "We as an organization will do our utmost to investigate local unions or officers where in our opinion the officers or members are engaged in subversive activities. We

will expel any members guilty of such activities. We will revoke the charter of any local whose officers engage in subversive activities. We are an American organization from top to bottom."

The Firemen and Oilers, which has most of its members in round-houses on the railroads, may well be an American organization from top to bottom, but its officers are, apparently, doing their best to make it the wrong kind of an American organization, at least for workers. They are well on their way toward stifling within their organization the thing for which the best Americans in and out of the labor movement have fought since the country was founded: freedom of thought and speech.

We were about to write that this scandalous action by Matz shows the triumph of McCarthyism in at least one union in the country. But on checking the article, we find that reference is made not to the ravings of the Republican senator, but to the advice of President Truman himself.

It is a bad day for unionism when differences of political opinion within the labor movement are settled by calling on the FBI to investigate the dissidents.

Collector's Item

The following is for collectors of anti-socialist asininities, to add to the files.

It's Lesson No. 36 on socialism multigraphed by "The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.," consisting of a letter, by one Thomas J. Shelly, teacher of economics and history at the Yonkers High School. The beginning will be enough:

"As a teacher in the public schools, I find that the socialist-communist idea of taking from each according to his ability, and giving to each according to his need is now generally accepted without question by most of our pupils. In an effort to explain the fallacy in this theory, I sometimes try this approach with my pupils:

"When one of the brighter or harder working pupils makes a grade of 95 on a test, I suggest that I take away 20 points and give them to a student who has made only 55 points on his test. Thus each would contribute according to his ability and—since both would have a passing mark—each would receive according to his need. After I have juggled the grades of all the other pupils in this fashion, the result is usually a 'common ownership' grade of between 75 and 80—the minimum needed for passing, or for survival. Then I speculate with the pupils as to the probable results if I actually used the socialistic theory for grading papers."

The brilliant demonstration of the Yonkers teacher is liable to boomerang if he runs into a real live-wire free-enterpriser among the re-educated students. Why not, after all, similarly demonstrate the POSITIVE virtues of capitalism—by forming a student "corporation" to pool their funds (of information) during an exam, not to speak of the marks themselves?

WEEK by WEEK...

LABOR ACTION screens and analyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of labor and socialism. A sub is only \$2 a year!

FRANCO'S FASCIST STATE STILL IN DEEP CRISIS—

Lull in Spain? Forces of Revolt Incubate

By RICHARD TROY

On the surface the great upsurge of the Spanish people, which stirred the hopes of millions last March and April, has tapered off. For over a month now a relative calm appears to have prevailed in that much fought-over country, the scene of so much heroism and betrayal in the past 15 years. But to conclude from this lull that Franco has re-established his grip on the country would be entirely false.

From a new issue of the POUM newspaper, La Batalla, we are able to gain new insights into the events of last March and April, which re-ignite the enthusiasm and hope with which we originally greeted the news of "Barcelona" last March. The Spanish socialists rightly stress that the "general strike of Barcelona was not—could not have been—an isolated assault, determined by circumstances of local origin." In this issue we find the full story of two of the largest general strikes to follow upon the heels of the Barcelona demonstration: the huge Basque strike and the Manresa textile strikes.

They show again the main lines of the Barcelona events: a mass discontent of such proportions that a huge majority of the people are ready to risk their lives at the hands of the Franco police in order to demonstrate their hatred; a unanimity of spirit and action that astounds the most experienced revolutionaries; a weak, divided and vacillating policy on the part of the ruling forces in response to the strikes.

In the past, one writer puts it, "a movement such as the Barcelona uprising, would have been drowned in blood. Now this does not happen. Why? The Franco regime has understood better than anyone that the situation no longer permits it."

FRANCO POURS OIL The Franco regime, in short, knows it cannot face a real showdown of forces in Spain. They must vacillate, hedge, and, eventually, release the prisoners they have taken in reprisal. They cannot carry out their threats.

The Madrid government, with the new American ambassador Stanton Griffis as its counsel, tries to bolster the declining economy. Blame for the crisis is placed upon the shoulders of a few black-marketeers.

Franco recently made a speaking tour about the country to restore the morale and prestige of the country (a relatively unknown procedure for the tinhorn authoritarian who prefers to rule from his comfortable palaces in the capital). Franco asks his audiences for patience; he tells them conditions will get better, that new committees are at work on new programs to solve the pressing questions. All this frantic behavior—the sincerity of which can fool very few—attests to the fact that the crisis has not passed.

HIGHER STAGE AHEAD The significance of these factors as obstacles to immediate further action are obvious. "In

They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has especially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the ISL, at 114 West 14 Street, 3rd floor, New York City.

New York Discussion Meeting INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST POLICY ON POLITICAL ACTION Reporters: Max Shachtman and Ben Hall WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20 at 8:30 p.m. Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

reality," he continues later on, "we are experiencing a series of partial actions whose repercussions are enormous, but whose basic aim—the fall of the Franco regime—only can be felt later."

For a people so long terrorized by a cruel and ruthless police, full confidence is only slowly restored and a general strike, with well-thought-out political objectives, embracing huge risks and a tremendous task of planning, is a course not easily embarked upon. "This series of dispersed and partial actions . . . is inevitable in order to pass to a higher stage. It is a prelude to an organized action, with more precise political objectives."

The first stage, in other words, only succeeded in establishing their potential strength and feeling out the enemy's. The first efforts were relatively "spontaneous," growing out of local hatreds and grievances, under the auspices of local organizations. "As a consequence nothing has been done in preparation" for a "broader-scoped struggle" but "as soon as the workers and anti-Franco forces in general acquire a consciousness of their force and feel the effects that their actions have on the entire country, the movement of protest will gain in strength, in coordination, in audacity . . . the enormous cracks that have opened in the Franco state [will become] apparent to the entire population."

REMEMBER 1931! The writer also touches upon a possible obstacle to further development of the Spanish revolution. He is concerned lest many of the leaders of the various underground organizations underestimate the extent of the discontent and the willingness, not to say anxiety, of the people to battle openly against their oppressors.

This underestimation among the leaders in Spain itself, he says, is understandable, due to the inevitable dearth of full information in a country in which the distribution of illicit publications involves huge risks. But for those in exile, with a perspective born of full information, it is inexcusable. He warns them not to be fooled by a temporary display of strength on the part of the rulers of Spain.

"We should not forget that the agonized monarchy, in 1930, suppressed the revolt of Jaca." And

every Spaniard, of course, remembers that the Spanish monarchy fell in—1931! "The state of anarchy that is so quickly created among the Spanish people, the significance of the recent mass movement, intervening after a long period of prostration for the great masses, can escape, for a moment, many militants."

He reminds them, furthermore, of the events of 1936 when the "working class was more alert in its political and economic realizations than its leaders had foreseen." Thus it is not excluded from consideration that one of the causes of the present "lull" is that many leaders are hesitant, fearful of another test of strength. Barcelona gave the "signal" for the last wave of strikes. Who will give the signal for the next?

The POUM leaders, despite all these difficulties, are absolutely convinced that the great displays of solidarity in power of March and April were not "isolated" incidents; that they point the finger toward greater triumphs in the

future seems certain. "We repeat what we said in the middle of March," writes Solano. "We are in the hour of action. And everything, absolutely everything, must be examined and determined as part of the final conclusion." To take action now—after the first stage is completed, means necessarily to face the prospect of a "final conclusion."

Thus today, it would seem, the task of Spanish militants is to prepare the masses for the type of struggle which can lead to the "final conclusion." The second stage in the struggle—the "higher consciousness" stage in the new chapter—may develop at any time. To make any precise forecast is impossible, but, with Batalla editor Solano, we can note with pleasure the prediction of the pro-Franco editor of Le Monde, Jean Creach, who saw in the future "a period of incessant strikes" culminating in a general strike for all of Spain.

Creach spoke with fear; Solano quotes him with confidence and hope.

Prosecutor to Cop to Judge: Murphy Rewarded — Medina Too

Medina and Murphy have gone to their reward. President Truman has promoted them for good and faithful services.

Judge Medina is named to succeed Learned Hand on the bench of the U. S. Court of Appeals, and Murphy steps into Medina's shoes in the New York district court.

Medina was the judge who presided at the trial of the eleven CP leaders and as such gained notoriety all over the country. He has, in fact, become a national symbol of enforcement of the infamous Smith Act.

Murphy was the U. S. prosecutor in the Hiss trial, after which he became New York City police commissioner. Both men have been lauded and feted all through the country.

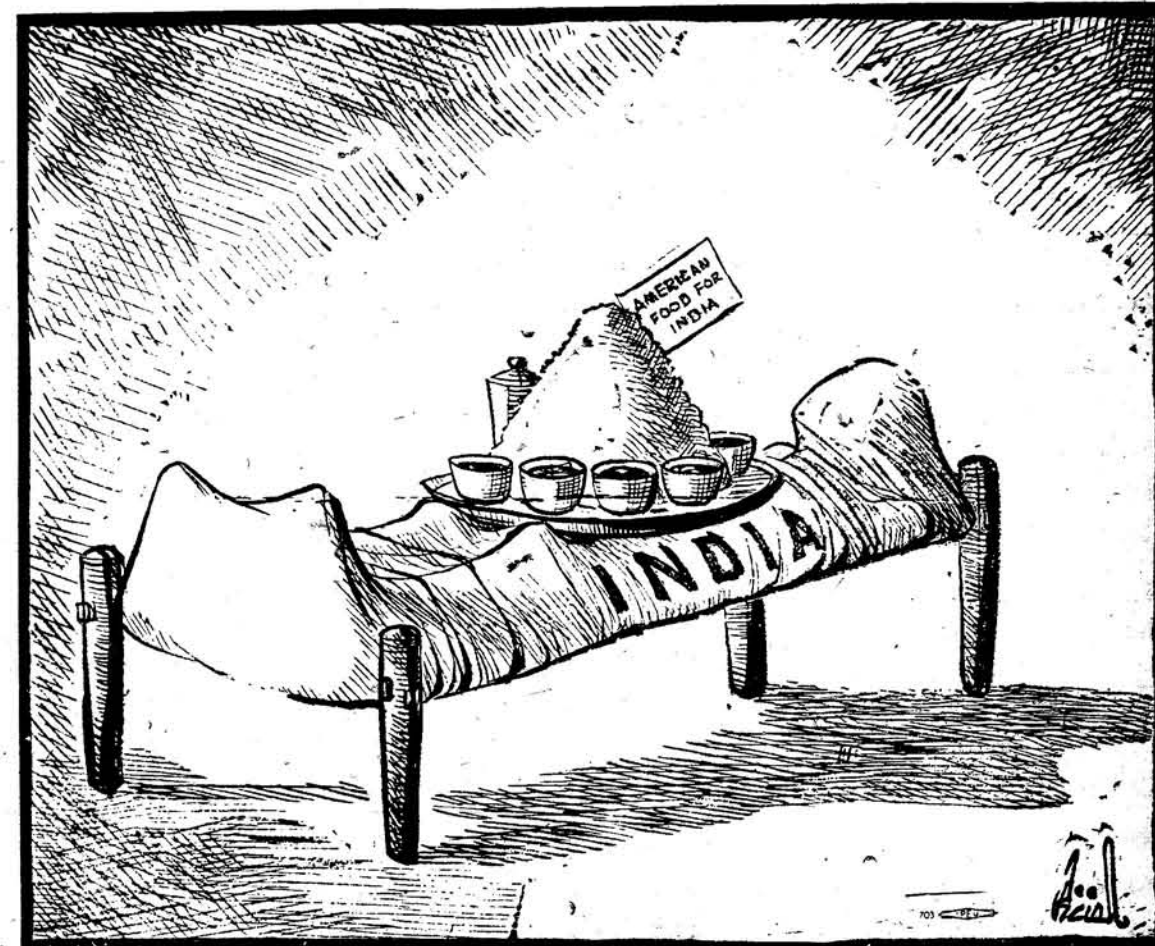
Quite apart from the personal merits of the appointees for their respective promotions, the press is not at all reticent in discussing Truman's act as politically motivated.

"... the dual appointment of Judge Medina and Commissioner Murphy," the New York Times correspondent commented, "would relieve the administration of any charges that it had domestic tendencies that could be tied up with communism."

Murphy, it may be remembered, is the man whose St. Patrick's Day speech lauding the Irish for being the only group not tainted by recent witch-hunting roused the indignance of millions.

It is interesting, too, to note that in selecting Medina Truman passed up the choice of the New York State Democratic organization, Lloyd Stryker. To explain this political fact it has been pointed out that Stryker was Hiss' original counsel, therefore a political liability. Truman was evidently not very concerned over the fact that the rejection of Stryker "would set a precedent of holding a lawyer responsible for the ultimate guilt or innocence of his clients," as the Times puts it.

AS THE INDIAN PEOPLE SEE IT



"BETTER LATE—?" That's the caption of the above cartoon, which appeared in the newspaper Amrita Bazar Patrika for March 30, published in Calcutta and Allahabad. It still goes.

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THOMAS AGAIN: SP LEADER CONTINUES FLIGHT FROM LIBERALISM ON SMITH ACT

By GORDON HASKELL

The Supreme Court's validation of the Smith Act was a blow at the Bill of Rights which was felt by every liberal who is still sensitive to the danger which confronts civil liberties in this country. And likewise the failure of some people, who in the past have been in the forefront of the fight for civil liberties, to react to this blow is a clear indication of the growing collapse of liberalism in this country in the face of the war atmosphere.

At the moment, we are thinking particularly of Norman Thomas' comments on this matter in the *Socialist Call* of June 8. In a couple of paragraphs, Thomas comes to the very brink of endorsing the action of the majority of the court, and goes well over the brink in actually distorting the meaning of the court's action.

"... I am still of the opinion," he writes, "that the trial was fair and that the 11 were proved guilty of what is essentially seditious conspiracy."

One of the main points of the dissents by Justice Black and Douglas was that the government had not even tried to prove this.

The trouble, writes Thomas, is that the Stalinist leaders were convicted for the wrong thing. "If they had been convicted under a law against seditious conspiracy, I should have had little protest. But the Smith Law is primarily directed to the advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence. It is a clumsy piece of legislation easily abused, and I am far from sure that the clear and present danger which the court still recognizes offers a sufficient guarantee against its abuse."

How much more clearly, vigorously and forthrightly the minority Supreme Court justices condemned the majority decision than does this leader of the *Socialist Party*? They said that the majority opinion made a mockery of the "clear and present danger" concept, and that it dealt a telling blow at freedom of speech in the land!

A Different View by "The Call"

"It seems to me," Thomas continues, "that in effect this decision outlaws the Communist Party unless it can and will dramatically change its conspiratorial nature. If I am right, I certainly do not think that communists can be required to register under the McCarran Act because so to register would be to incriminate themselves. We who love liberty even while we hate conspiracy must be on our guard to see what the Department of Justice will do."

We who love liberty need not hold our breaths very long on this account. The Department of Justice has already announced that it plans widespread arrests of Communist Party leaders. And of course Thomas is well aware of the fact that before the CP leaders were tried on charges of violating the Smith Act the Department of Justice had already tried and convicted the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the teamsters' union in Minneapolis on the grounds now validated by the court. In the above context it is even hard to tell whether Thomas thinks it is good or bad that the Stalinists will not be able, in his opinion, to be required to register under the McCarran Act.

Does Thomas express the views of the vast majority of the Socialist Party members on this matter? In the same issue of the *Call* Herman Singer has an excellent article on the same question in which he vigorously and forthrightly attacks the decision of the majority of the court. In it he points out that Chief Justice Vinson had cited the conviction of Gene Debs and Abrams as a precedent for sustaining the Smith Act. He points out, further, the distinction which must be made between the espionage activity of Stalinists and the political activity of the C.P.

"When a Soviet agent taps a likely-looking Communist or fellow traveler for espionage," he writes, "the first step outlined for the potential spy is dropping all Communist Party activities." He points out that despite the boasts of the FBI that they have penetrated deeply into the CP machine, not a single lead in the recent espionage cases was turned up through these sources.

We trust that Singer is expressing the views of the vast majority of SP members. But these same members cannot ignore the fact that Norman Thomas still stands in the public mind as the party spokesman.

The Standard Biographical Work—

"KARL MARX"

by Franz Mehring

British edition, cloth-bound—\$3.00—while they last
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WORLD POLITICS

FRANCE: THE MCF AND THE 'ARTISANS DE LA PAIX'

By PAUL ROBERTS

The French elections this month will be complicated by the presence of a new party, the French Communist Movement (MCF).

The MCF is led by former Stalinist deputy Darius LeCorre, and the movement has taken somewhat of a Tito-like line in general. In addition to combating the Stalinists in the electoral field, LeCorre is also active in the "peace" field. Here he has helped organize a group called the "Artisans of Peace," in opposition to the Stalinist front "Partisans of Peace."

The "Artisans of Peace" have succeeded in a few months in drawing many of the leftist intellectuals, left Catholics, etc., who are usually fodder for the Stalinist-front mill. Its paper, *La Paix due Monde* (World Peace) carries articles by unorthodox Catholic Party senators like Léé Hamon and even by our own cloudy O. John Rogge.

While the articles carried in the paper are often more pointed against the Stalinists than

around religiously to show to all their friends (and particularly to awe unorthodox revolutionists who were unable to manipulate "massive" CP fractions with a paper and everything), and pointed with pride to the fact that not only did *La Lutte* reprint speeches by Moshe Pyade but it also carried articles copied from *La Vérité* (organ of the French Trotskyist party).

The official Trotskyist love affair with *La Lutte* did not survive their Yugoslav honeymoon. As soon as the Yugoslavs—and *La Lutte*—abandoned the line that Russia was still some kind of workers' state, the Trotskyist leadership's love for them began to wane. And so now *La Vérité* denounces the MCF as a capitalist diversionist trick to steal votes from the poor Stalinists!

The same issue of the official Trotskyist paper which denounces LeCorre, also carries, without comment, Stalinist Chinese communiqués about the war in Korea. At least the Stalinist radio will never say that Stalinist states are not workers' states!

reaches beyond the issues of today." In the clearest words possible Judd was giving his own (and our) proposal for what the Bevan group should do, and not predicting what it would do.

Comrade A. V.'s report on the immediate line of the Bevan group is interesting; we should like to hear from others as well. We note that he says "The Bevan group is waiting until the inflationary spiral really begins..." and in the same paragraph makes the flat prediction that "there is no possibility" that it will systematically organize its supporters, develop a positive program, etc. There appears to be a contradiction.

Most important of all, it is not a question of idealizing Aneurin Bevan or not, but of organizing and clarifying the left wing in the BLP behind him. If A. V. proudly reports that the "left wing" has affected the policy of the Labor government, surely he should not be so hopeless about its influencing the policy and course of the Bevan group. A "left wing" which plays down, derogates or sneers at Bevan's fight and its significance is not likely to get far, we think, even if it also supports pro-Bevan resolutions.

With regard to the "official Trotskyist" clique in England, and anyone else who takes its point of view, we doubt whether it would recognize a fellow traveler if it saw one, since that is precisely its own role (defense of the North Koreans' war, Russia is a workers' state, and the rest of the "official Trotskyist" pro-Stalinism in foreign policy above all). In speaking of the hopelessness of this group, it is not in the first place a question only of its bureaucratic internal life but of its politics.—Ed.

Readers Take the Floor...

FROM ENGLAND: ON BEVAN'S GROUP

To the Editor:

I have just received the copy of LABOR ACTION, dated May 14, containing an article by Henry Judd entitled "Will Bevan Group Organize Its Supporters Inside BLP?" I think that the article in question gives a false view of the actual situation inside the British Labor Party following the resignation of Aneurin Bevin.

The repercussions of the resignation itself were felt all over the world. Most of the initial enthusiasm that was aroused at the time of the resignation has died out. This is not to say that the left wing does not pass pro-Bevan resolutions in the various constituent Labor Parties and trade unions. The left wing has managed to affect the immediate policies which the government was pursuing which led to Mr. Bevan's resignation. The government has actually retreated on the teeth-and-spectacles issue, and withdrawn in the face of a concerted backbench revolt on the pensions controversy. The partial victory won by Bevan has, as it were, dampened the violent reaction consequent on the violation of the Free Health Service principle.

Contrary to the impression given by the author of the article on the Bevan group, there is no possibility that it will "systematically" organize, educate... supporters, develop a positive program," etc. Nothing could be further from their intention. The so-called *Tribune* group is a tight-knit little clique which is strictly controlled by its parliamentary supports. The possibility of influencing them is almost zero. The *Tribune* people—Michael Foot, Lee, Bevan, Mikardo, etc.—are not broadening the front of their assault. They simply reiterate the statements already made. The Bevan group is waiting until the inflationary spiral really begins to cut deeply into wages. Meanwhile, Bevan sits on the back benches, absolutely refusing the temptation to build, organize and develop any current, tendency or grouping within the party.

The sentence which "we" are supposed to be sore about—"Bevan is not a figure to be taken in hand by infiltrating Stalinist fellow-traveler elements (now fairly numerous in the Labor Party), or by self-styled Trotskyist cliques"—misses the mark. This

apart from the absolute untruth about the "numerous" fellow-traveling elements in the BLP.

We have been subjected to criticism from both the right and left; we have been attacked by people who have never been in the Labor Party and know nothing about it (except from reading books and journals). The "cliques" referred to are no more cliques than the *Tribune* group, "Victory for Socialism" Group, or the Labor Pacifist Fellowship. The opposite is the case, whilst the latter groups become more rigid every day, the former become less rigid and less sectarian.

Sectarianism is a terrible affliction, whether it arises as the result of factionalism within the Labor Party or whether it springs from an abysmal ignorance of conditions within this wonderful field of socialist endeavor. In future, commentators on the left wing within this country should confine themselves to impressions of the nation's situation, rather than distort the reality to fit in with their own sectarianism.

A. V.

London, June 4

Our British friend above should re-read Comrade Judd's article without getting "sore." It nowhere said that the Bevan group "will" systematically prepare, etc., but presented the view that "they must now systematically organize," etc., if their fight is to be made effective. Indeed, it immediately asks "Will they...?" and answers "We cannot know this" but expects that Bevan has "a perspective in mind which

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THE VINSON DECISION ON THE SMITH ACT—

Law as the Servant of Cold War

By STAN GREY

The Supreme Court of the U. S.—the "court of ultimate conjecture," as it has been called—has finally ruled on the infamous Smith Act and has stamped it constitutional. There could have been very little conjecture about the outcome in this case. After Judge Learned Hand had validated the act last August, it was a virtual certainty that the Supreme Court would follow suit. Where giants like Hand succumb to the necessities of the cold war, who will expect resistance from the pigmies?

The majority decision handed down by Chief Justice Vinson is a judicial atrocity, in both form and content, and marks a major step in the wasting away of bourgeois democracy. It is the capstone of many decisions of the last few years which have nicked away at our civil liberties; and because it is the crucial decision it underscores the fact that capitalism will not and cannot permit the details of democratic rights to hinder its life-and-death struggle with Stalinism.

The Vinson decision resolves the dilemma of democratic capitalism in the only way that it can be resolved by capitalism: by the use of totalitarian methods; for it is a dilemma posed by the necessity of fighting Stalinist totalitarianism with a bankrupt social program.

That the Vinson decision was not simply a matter of some abstract "law" should be plain enough. Most of the civil-liberties decisions of the past few years have referred indirectly or explicitly to the atmosphere of the cold war, and Vinson, in this as in every

Bending the Holmes-Brandeis Doctrine

The Vinson opinion follows the pattern of previous decisions also in its mutilation of the Holmes-Brandeis "clear and present danger" doctrine. As befits the ultimate court, this is the ultimate mutilation. It is hard to imagine the possibility of any further dismemberment of the liberal doctrine.

It is an axiom of politics that wars are fought to preserve peace, that armaments are stockpiled to prevent wars—and that liberties are destroyed to preserve freedom. This is true not only of capitalism, of course, for Stalinism too has its "people's democracies."

Thus, it is not enough for Vinson to shoot his blunderbuss at the First Amendment; it is also necessary for him to demonstrate that the "clear and present danger" doctrine was not being violated.

The "clear and present danger" doctrine, first enunciated by Holmes and later supported and

Philosophy of the Police Mentality

So, where Holmes and Brandeis did not believe in the prohibition of speech per se but insisted on the "clear and present danger" test, Vinson, the Flexible One, says "speech is not an absolute above and beyond control by the legislature when its judgment, subject to review here, is that certain kinds of speech are so undesirable as to warrant criminal sanction."

And further: "To those who would paralyze our government in the face of impending threat by encasing it in a semantic straitjacket we must reply that all concepts are relative."

With this profound philosophic insight, Vinson dismisses the "short-hand phrase" of the Holmes doctrine as a semantic straitjacket and fashions a very tangible straitjacket of his own into which civil liberties are trussed up and incarcerated.

It is quite clear from the Vin-

son decision, despite the generally successful freedom from lucidity which distinguishes it, that the "presence" or "imminence" of the "danger" which so concerned Holmes and Brandeis concerns the Flexible Philosopher not at all. For Vinson himself admits that any attempt at revolution is "doomed" in advance because of the circumstances.

"We reject the contention that success or probability of success is the criterion." The danger does not have to be present or imminent: it does not even have to exist. What then is the crime? The crime is simply and clearly the advocacy—not even that, but the conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force. Thus, six people conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government at some far future indeterminate time: would be guilty of a crime.

There can be no doubt about

else, follows the pattern. It is the "inflammable nature of world conditions... the touch-and-go nature of our relations with countries with whom petitioners were in the very least ideologically attuned" that are the decisive motivations for the decisions. About this there can be little question.

It would be a serious error to conclude that the decision is any the less "law" for having this political motivation. What emerges in its sharpest form is the final destruction of the myth of "law" as some objective embodiment of justice mysteriously and mechanically transmitted through the corporeal media of judges. It establishes and underlines emphatically that laws of liberty and freedom are no more stable than the society in which they function, that in proportion as the ruling class loses its confidence in its ability to rule in the old "democratic" way, the law will be altered to fit the new requirements.

It is no less "law" for that, for law is essentially the servant of the ruling class in its control of society. It is in moments of crisis that its servitude is stripped of all its pretense and camouflage.

The Vinson decision, like others before it, makes no attempt to conceal the fact that the legal traditions of freedom must not hinder the government in carrying out the task it has appointed for itself. Thus in the legal domain is reflected the overwhelming irony of our time, the fact that democratic capitalism knows no other way than the scuttling of its own democracy to fight against totalitarianism... in the name of democracy.

Judge Hand: End of a Tradition

The opinions of Douglas and Black, the two dissenters, are eloquent expressions of the meaning of freedom and its applicability today. Douglas pointedly and effectively demolishes the putsch-panic which compels the repression of a handful of ineffectual Stalinists and takes a stand squarely on the traditional Holmes-Brandeis doctrine. Black emphasized that there was no punishment for any act but the majority in effect would throttle freedom of speech. That "Holmes-Brandeis" are again in dissent is a measure of the disintegration of the court.

One further aspect of this case remains to be mentioned and not the least important one. While the Vinson decision is the final and ultimate one, it was the Hand decision of last August that had greater symptomatic importance.

For Hand was the great judge and liberal, the humanist and philosopher, a pioneer in the struggle for freedom of speech. As was pointed out in LABOR ACTION at the time, when Hand permitted himself a conscience-saving formula to uphold the Smith Act, it signified the extinction of the main liberal tradition on the bench.

Max Lerner: 'It Is a Sad Reflection...'

Lerner writes: "It is a sad reflection that this monstrous backward step in the history of American free speech has been taken by a Supreme Court majority largely appointed by a Fair Deal President." Is it not even a sadder reflection that one as acute as Lerner should still think it a "sad reflection" for Truman to behave so, at this stage, after the loyalty oaths, the subversive lists, the executive orders, etc? Why this shock and this disappointment?

It is not enough today to be bitter about Vinson and attack his mockery of freedom; it is essential to understand why Leonard Hand must support a Smith Act, why "liberals" throughout Washington have joined hands, some with a

firm clasp, others with a loose embarrassed grip, in the joint repression of civil liberties... It stems from no oversight or misuses but rather from the fact that these liberals support the politics of a regime which has no, and can have no, other way of combating Stalinism than by Stalinist methods.

The alternative to the method of repression and force is the power of ideas, the impact of a social program against which Stalinism can make no headway. But the only social program capitalism knows is capitalism and that has lost its credit throughout the world. The politics of repression is the desperation of social bankruptcy; and liberalism, in clinging to the latter, has capitulated to the former.

with the majority, wrote his own opinion, in which he seemed to oppose the act but could not rule it unconstitutional. He said that "much that should be rejected as illiberal, because repressive and envenoming, may well be not unconstitutional." Clearly this judge has wrestled with his conscience and if his conscience was pinned to the mat, it is a tribute to the overwhelming pressure of events upon the liberally inclined mind.

For here were two judges who question the wisdom of the act but manage somehow to deem it "not unconstitutional." Strange indeed when the history of the court is strewn with decisions in which judges established constitutionality not by any mechanical formula of comparisons but precisely by judging the social wisdom of the act. That, in fact, is the norm of judicial interpretation and not the exception. The resort to some non-existent strict letter of constitutionality by these two judges is a measure of their capitulation to the requirements of the state. That they are conscience-stricken only highlights their futility but makes the outcome no less repressive.

Frankfurter, who also voted

for freedom of speech. As was pointed out in LABOR ACTION at the time, when Hand permitted himself a conscience-saving formula to uphold the Smith Act, it signified the extinction of the main liberal tradition on the bench.

Some liberals have reacted vigorously and sharply against the Vinson decision. Max Lerner, to take the best of them, wrote two excellent pieces on the case in which he exposed the hypocrisy of Vinson and the muddled thinking of Frankfurter-Jackson. Despite his courageous and effective affirmation of the liberal tradition, Lerner misses the fact that it is not only Vinson who approved it but Learned Hand as well, that is, it is not only the pigmy reactionaries who are destroying liberties, but the great liberals as well. It is not only the McCarrans but the Trumans who are the organizers of the witch-hunts and the supporters of the Smith Acts.

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PRO AND CON: A DISCUSSION PAGE

Surrebuttal by McKinney

By E. R. MCKINNEY

In LABOR ACTION for May 14 Comrade O'Connor put a question to me: "What does Comrade McKinney think should be the attitude of socialists toward the support of the U. S. war with Russia?" I was of the opinion that I had already answered this question. I thought that I had answered it in former pieces during this discussion in LABOR ACTION. I have been attempting to set forth what in my opinion is the proper way to win workers from support of Washington and to the support of a revolutionary socialist program. I have said this over and over. I even gave what Comrade O'Connor called a very "modest" program for aiding in this development.

Many, many weeks ago I turned in a statement entitled "The War and the International Situation. A Statement by E. R. McKinney to the PC." This statement ran to 15 pages single-spaced; certainly long enough to have supplied an answer to Comrade O'Connor before May 14. I will quote from this statement:

"For the Third World War the whole earth will be covered by two vast military networks: the Russian network and the network organized and controlled by the U. S. . . . It is and will be an imperialist struggle engaged in by the two camps. . . . The content of the imperialism of the two camps differ. . . . The imperialism of the democratic nations aims primarily at the protection of capitalism against Stalinist confiscation. . . . Within the framework of imperialism one side struggles to maintain capitalist production and bourgeois democracy; the other to establish bureaucratic totalitarian anti-capitalist Stalinist regimes."

MARKXISTS' DUTY

Revolutionary socialists should point out the differences between bourgeois democracy and totalitarianism. "The delineation of this difference . . . should not be left to the bourgeois-democratic imperialists. They will only use the distinction . . . for implementing their own imperialist designs. Furthermore they can only speak of . . . democracy as an end in itself, whereas for the masses of the world bourgeois democracy should be an antidote to totalitarianism and a means for carrying on the class struggle."

"It is the duty of the Marxist movement . . . to attempt to influence workers away from support of their own bourgeois imperialist governments and at the same time save them from going over to Stalinism, because Stalinism is anti-capitalist."

I say that this was written months ago long before I began the discussion in LABOR ACTION. I have been trying to deal with the method by which living human beings, in a certain concrete situation, might be changed from one way of acting to a different way of acting.

"This whole epoch may come to be known as the age of the struggle against totalitarianism. . . ."

U. S. Department of Arm-Twisting

The newspapers of Bagdad, capital of Iraq, have accused the U. S. of intervening "in the internal affairs and sovereignty of Iraq," reports the AP (June 10). They revealed that the State Department had sent a note to the Iraqi government putting pressure on it "to seek an early settlement" with the Iraq Petroleum Company instead of waiting to see how the Iranian oil crisis is settled. The Iraq Petroleum Company is owned by American, British, French and Dutch capital.

For the masses it will be a struggle for 'democracy' . . . revolutionary socialists must participate in this struggle. . . . It is the business of revolutionary socialists to interpret to the proletariat what content it should put in the term 'democracy', how its demands should be formulated and what it should demand of the bourgeois imperialists. . . . There is no possibility of winning any support whatsoever for socialism if this attitude of the masses is not made, in a positive way, the initial approach to the winning of the masses from support of bourgeois-democratic imperialism. . . . It must be central and remain central throughout the struggle between Russia and the U. S. This is the framework in which adverse criticism of the government at Washington must be placed and kept."

THE CRUX

The masses know there is a real difference between "American democracy" and Stalinist totalitarianism. That is why they support Washington. They will not, however, understand this distinction from the pages of LABOR ACTION. They are more likely to draw the conclusion that they are being told that bourgeois democracy and Stalinism today are equally reactionary "twins." Adams and Cohen in their article of May 14 ask would a military victory of the U. S. in Korea "be a victory for democracy in the

Defend Democracy? Yes!—Defend U. S. Imperialism? No!

By LARRY O'CONNOR

This article by Comrade McKinney, more than either of the preceding two which have been printed in LABOR ACTION over the past few weeks, indicates the political dilemma in which he has placed himself.

It is fairly typical of the dilemma of all socialists who want to continue the struggle for socialism in the capitalist world, but at the same time feel that they have no alternative but to support the military struggle of capitalist imperialism against Stalinist totalitarianism.

First, it is necessary to dispose of one charge made by Comrade McKinney: that LABOR ACTION tends to identify bourgeois democracy and Stalinism today as "equally reactionary twins." Actually, any reading of the paper refutes this charge.

Even the quotations reproduced by McKinney do not substantiate his contention. They do indicate the fact that LABOR ACTION insists that both Washington and Moscow pursue basically reactionary policies, and that a victory of either one of them will have reactionary consequences.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AS LESSER EVIL

And specifically with regard to the Korean war we have insisted that such is the physical, moral and political devastation and atomization to which that nation has been subjected by the nature of the war fought over their backs by both sides that a prompt end to the struggle is more desirable than its continuation, regardless of which side remains in possession of the devastated land.

Of course, all this has nothing to do with identifying or "equalizing" the evil represented by these two social systems. We certainly prefer bourgeois democracy to Stalinism, and have made this clear a thousand times in writing as well as in action. But war policy cannot be determined by such a lesser-evil preference. Above all, we do not and will not make the mistake of identifying bourgeois democracy and capitalist imperialism, and the further mistake of sup-

porting the latter in the name of the former.

Is it not this which Comrade McKinney is actually proposing, in effect? He is anxious to propose a policy which will "attempt to influence workers away from support of their own bourgeois imperialist governments and at the same time save them from going over to Stalinism, because Stalinism is anti-capitalist." With this objective we can concur heartily. We also agree that "for the masses it [our epoch] will be a struggle for 'democracy' . . . revolutionary socialists must participate in this struggle . . . it is the business of revolutionary socialists to interpret to the proletariat what content it should put in the term democracy. . . ."

CONTENT OF DEMOCRACY

But it is precisely the question of the "content of democracy" which precludes, for us, support of the war aims of capitalist imperialism and hence of the war which it is fighting or is preparing to fight for these aims.

In all his writing on the subject, Comrade McKinney seems to exclude the possibility of the formation of a Third Camp, the possibility that the workers and peasants and colonial peoples can struggle themselves to struggle against both war camps: "The Asian masses can do worse than support U. S.-UN bourgeois democratic imperialism, they can sup-

democratic imperialism, they can support Stalinist imperialism. Should the Asian masses go over to Stalin we will never get any support of American workers by telling them the Asians went over to Stalinism because "Stalinism has a political appeal to masses throughout the world who are seeking a way to rid themselves of capitalism." (Haskell article, May 21.) Or that the Chinese Stalinists "also intervened militarily in Korea" because they were "taking a leaf out of the American book." (Shachtman article Dec. 18.) Whose book did the North Koreans take a leaf from when they marched into South Korea?

We cannot draw workers away from Washington by telling things they know are not true. They see U. S. imperialism in Japan and they do not see what they do see in Poland and Czechoslovakia. They haven't heard of any forced-labor camps in Japan. The worker therefore says to himself: "I'll support the U. S. because I like what I read about in U. S. Japan better than what I read about in Stalinist Poland." I say that such a position taken by a politically immature worker is the beginning of political un-derstanding for him. This is the only way the politically immature worker can initiate a political defense against the insidiousness of Stalinist anti-capitalist propaganda.

To end this article I want to quote again from the Gates-Cohen article of May 14: They are pressing the demand for the withdrawal of U. S. troops:

"There is no purpose served in standing appalled before the realization that this would leave Korea a prey to Stalinism. Korea is a dead duck as far as that is concerned—because of the policies followed by U. S. and Russian imperialism up to now. The problem of stopping Stalinism does not revolve around the Korean peninsula, but around how to stop Russian totalitarianism in the rest of Asia and in Europe, all over the world."

I stand "appalled" before the flippancy of Gates and Cohen. "Korea is a dead duck. . . ." It may as well be released to the Stalinists. Why? Aren't there still hundreds of thousands of Koreans? Aren't they entitled to have their country back and to have some aid in rebuilding and rehabilitation? I ask Comrades Gates and Cohen; where are they most likely to get this aid: from capitalist U. S. or totalitarian Russia? And do you believe that it makes no difference who wins the military struggle in Korea?

LESSER EVIL FOR WHOM?

What is wrong with all this? The first thing wrong with it is the mixing up of American bourgeois democracy and American imperialism.

For the Chinese worker, or the Indian, or even the French worker the alternatives are certainly not between American bourgeois democracy and Russian Stalinism. For the Chinese the alternatives, as long as they are limited to the choice between support of Washington or of Moscow, are actually the alternatives between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao; for the Indian, between Indian capitalism-landlordism and the blandishments of the Indian Stalinist movement. And for the French worker, the choice thus limited seems a choice between support for the armament program and war under his capi-

talist government counterposed to a struggle against this government under the leadership of Stalinism.

It is precisely the hopelessness of these alternatives which has driven and will continue to drive so many of these peoples and workers into the arms of Stalinism. That is, they turn to Stalinism precisely because they feel that American imperialism proposes to fasten their present misery permanently around their necks, and to add to it the misery of the Third World War. They therefore rally to Stalinism as a movement which offers them radical social change.

NEITHER CAMP DEFENDS DEMOCRACY

American workers do not understand this. They cannot understand why the foreign policy of their government, with all its billions of dollars poured into the shaky capitalist economies of the world, cannot rally the workers of other nations to its support.

They have it in their power to change this, but they can only change it if they too cease supporting the foreign policy of their government and, through their own political organization, create a government which will back up as radical a social change throughout the world as is now supported by the Stalinists.

The fact is that the "content of democracy" for Asia and even for Europe is not and cannot be a system patterned after the bourgeois-democratic capitalism of the United States. "Democracy" cannot be brought to these peoples in the wake of American armies. It certainly will not be brought to them by Stalinist armies, either. That is why we are against both war camps.

But to be against both, without proposing a positive program for these masses would be futile. Those socialists who have lost any hope for or confidence in the ability of the masses of the world to organize and struggle on their own behalf for the "content of democracy," are driven to support, however critical, of American arms in the third imperialist world war.

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A Draft Resolution for the ISL Convention— NATIONAL-STALINISM AND YUGOSLAVIA

The Positive Outcome of Titoism FOR YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE

(1) Independent Socialists give unconditional support to the struggle of the Yugoslav people and government against all forms of domination by Russia and for national independence from any power.

A people has a right to national independence, and deserve the support of socialists in the fight for it, even if it is also under a government at home which is exploitive, oppressive and dictatorial (cf. Chiang's China versus Japanese aggression).

In all of the Russian satellites it is a task of the socialist opponents of the regime not only to fight the policies of the native puppet governments but also to demand that these governments break from Moscow's overlordship. If the native Stalinist bureaucracy does so, even if it does so in its own interests and out of consideration for its own power, prestige and revenue as against that of the Russian bureaucracy it is incumbent upon socialists to support such a struggle against the foreign power, though without any political reconciliation with the native ruling class.

In this respect, our position is analogous to that of Marxists with respect to the colonial struggle against capitalist imperialism.

DEFENSE OF YUGOSLAVIA

(2) We reiterate our position on defense of Yugoslavia against Russia in event of invasion by Russian power, either directly or through its manipulation of its satellites.

In such a war, limited to a duel between the two states, the politics from which the conflict would flow would be that of the defense of national independence on the part of Yugoslavia.

The likelihood is recognized that such a Russian invasion, in the present international situation, would not remain a localized war but could quickly become the focus of war between the U. S. bloc and the Stalinist bloc, in which the national Yugoslav element would be swallowed up and subordinated; and in which it would be impossible to defend Yugoslavia without giving support to the overshadowing war of the Western bloc. In this event the decisive consideration ceases to be any specifically Yugoslav question but the position of the ISL on the looming third world war itself, irrespective of the particular forms in which it begins.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

(3) The Tito-Stalin break has been and is of the highest importance about the developments of the post-war period because it brought out into the open, for the first time, one of the most important disintegrative forces working to smash the Russian Stalinist empire from within.

Unlike capitalist imperialism, Russian Stalinism has had no long period of expansion before its fatal contradictions have been brought into view. The Yugoslav break marks the beginning of the end of Moscow's power—not because it can be predicted that that power will founder the day after tomorrow, but because it points the way, and marks the first big step, toward the disintegration of Russian imperialism as a result of its inner contradictions.

Marxist socialists therefore hailed this break and look forward with hope and encouragement to the spread of national-Stalinist ("Titoist") disaffection in the Stalinist movement and in the Stalinist states, as a break which opens up the possibility of further disintegration of Stalinist power.

The importance of such a spread of national-Stalinism does not depend on the possibility of national-Stalinism actually seizing state power in any of the countries but equally on its objective role of serving as a focal point for anti-Stalinist discontent and revolt within the CPs. Above all, whether it succeeds in taking power or not, wherever it flares up it marks a crack or break in the tops of the ruling apparatus, a crack or break which permits the revolutionary people to surge through the openings thus created, from below, in their own self-movement; and it is this which can consummate the end of all their oppressors, native and foreign.

On the propagandistic plane, the Tito split has been valuable through the exposures of Russian Stalinist policy which have been thus brought to view, both through the repressive policies followed by the Kremlin to put down this revolt in its own family and through the revelations which have been made by the Yugoslavs for their own purposes. The Marxists have thereby acquired a new weapon and new ammunition in their own mortal combat against Stalinism.

"TITOISM" OUTSIDE STALINLAND

(4) In the countries outside the Russian orbit—in Western Europe, America, Asia—the phenomenon of national-Stalinism and the potentialities for national-Stalinist disaffection are also of prime importance.

On the one hand, it is true, the impulsion to open defiance to Moscow by the decisive strata of the CP bureaucracies is less, because, being without state power of their own in event of the success of their defiance, they would be left to the attack of the Russian Stalinists on the one hand and of the capitalist class at home on the other. In the capitalist countries a national-Stalinist group inevitably faces a fight with both war camps, regardless of its own desires or in spite of them, unless it capitulates in one direction or the other. A national-Stalinist group in these countries, without state power,

Like the resolution "On Independent Federation in Asia" printed last week, the accompanying is a draft resolution adopted by the Political Committee of the Independent Socialist League for presentation to the coming national convention of the League. It is the fourth (and last) section of the International Resolution. See last week's note for further explanation.—Ed.

therefore, would tend to move either in the direction of abandoning its national-Stalinism in favor of capitulation to the bourgeoisie, or in the direction of the Third Camp and the accompanying clarification of its political views on socialism and Stalinism.

It is true, therefore, in view of the nature of the CP bureaucracies, that such a move on the part of the leading sections of the CP bureaucracies is scarcely to be expected, in spite of the existence of pressures upon them (as on their brethren in the puppet states) to be restive under Moscow control and dictates.

But it is not a question, for us, of the possibility of the conversion of whole CPs in the West to national-Stalinism. The real possibility is the drive behind elements of the Stalinist movement to move in this direction, splitting off from the Communist Parties; the most significant example of such a movement has been seen in Italy (the Magnani-Cucchi group).

Furthermore, it is also a question of the effect of such tendencies and impulsions not only on elements among the CPs but also on pro-Stalinist sympathizers and fellow travelers among the workers and intellectuals and on the climate of pro-Stalinist sympathy in such countries as France or Italy in general.

This kind of "Titoism," in this context, is by no means to be equated with the "Titoism" of the national-Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia. It can be a road, for such elements, away from Stalinism and toward socialism, regardless of whatever illusions such elements may maintain for a time about the Moscow regime or the Belgrade regime.

It is only necessary for the Marxists not to foster these illusions but to counter them; wherever the conditions indicate, to meet these tendencies half-way in comradely discussion and joint work, to seek to bring them over all the way to the Marxist position and movement.

In this connection, it is necessary to emphasize the need for a clear political and theoretical position on the nature of Stalinism and Yugoslav Titoism; apologies for the Tito regime, which must be in the last analysis based on acceptance of or glossing-over of the fundamentals of Stalinism, cannot educate such elements to that understanding of Stalinism which is essential to their further clarification, but it can only act as a brake on their development.

National-Stalinism in State Power

(5) The basic features of our view of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia as a national-Stalinist totalitarianism are squarely founded on our view of the Stalinist social order as a NEW social system antithetical to both capitalism and socialism.

It is not inherently a peculiarly Russian phenomenon, though we have seen it up to recently only in its national Russian form. As a social system, it is not nationally limited to the boundaries of any one state.

This analysis necessarily, therefore, by its very statement raises the question of the national forms which can be taken by bureaucratic collectivism when it is divorced from the Russian state—the question, that is, of what is fundamental to, and what is adventitious to, the system of bureaucratic collectivism as such. It must be borne in mind that the wide and important differences between (say) British capitalism and Japanese capitalism point up the problem, by analogy.

(6) Analysis of bureaucratic collectivism has been hampered and limited in the past precisely by the fact that there has been only one national specimen of the system to be examined.

Since the virulent outbreak of Russian expansionism following the Second World War, a series of Stalinist states were set up under Moscow's aegis; to some extent these show steps toward adaptation and modification of Stalinist forms, but to only a slight extent, since these puppet regimes were as quickly as possible placed under the Kremlin's police control and compelled to ape Russian forms slavishly, if indeed they are not destined for total incorporation. From the scientific-theoretical point of view, most instructive would be a bureaucratic-collectivist state which has arisen completely independently of the Russian power and Stalinism. From this angle, the Yugoslav development is in-between.

All of its origins and the formation of its leading personnel are in Russian and Russian-controlled Stalinism. But its break with Moscow, while still remaining on the basis of the same system, has shown us, for the first time, a bureaucratic-collectivist state and system setting out to adapt Stalinism to its own national needs, interests and conditions. Yugoslavia is developing toward the first non-Russian-type bureaucratic collectivism, the first truly national-Stalinist state.

(7) But here too it is necessary to disentangle the basic elements from the adventitious (national peculiarities). Specifically, Yugoslav national-Stalinism arises in a poor, small and ultra-backward country, at a cross-

roads in the heart of Europe, in the midst of a cold war which is heating up toward the third world war, in which the opposed giants of imperialism, the U. S. and Russia, leading their respective blocs, seek to bend every country under their domination, having at their command pressures and bludgeons unprecedentedly powerful.

YUGOSLAVIA IN TRANSITION

(8) Tito-Yugoslavia, then, is in a process of transition, from Russian-type Stalinism to Yugoslav national-Stalinism. The direction of this transition is toward adapting the social system which first arose in Russia to another country; to slough off and purge those features of the system which are peculiar to its country of origin, and unnecessary to or even harmful to Yugoslavia. This process of transition is far from completed.

(9) It is this state of transition which both impels, and explains the content of, official, Yugoslav Titoism and its political and organizational experimentation in various fields.

It must be understood that much of recent developments in Yugoslavia is due to precisely such experimentation and improvisation on the part of the Tito bureaucracy, as was also true in the hatching of Russian Stalinism. It is not all necessarily of one piece or in a straight line, for this reason alone.

(10) But there are other reasons also why this is so. A second is the tactical veering of the bureaucracy in the clashing winds of the cold war. A third is the improvisations and maneuvers enforced upon the bureaucracy by economic crisis and famine. And these are still relatively minor compared to a fourth.

(11) This is the fact, of great importance in understanding the forms of the Yugoslav Titoist phenomena, that the break with the Cominform naturally gave rise to (though it was not decisively motivated by) an upsurge of feelings, hopes, aspirations and illusions on the part of the people, of elements of the CPY and even perhaps of the lower reaches of the new bureaucracy itself.

These were hopes and illusions that the regime's break with Moscow meant also a break with the Stalinist system at home, and with totalitarianism.

At the same time, the regime's break with the Russian power deprived it of that back-support which shores up the satellite regimes—the weight of the armed force, or the threat of the armed force, of the Kremlin; the break put the regime on its own vis-à-vis its own people, dependent on its own repressive apparatus and institutions alone, and therefore weakened; while, at the same time again, the Cominform blockade, in the context of Yugoslavia's adventurist economic plans, caused and stimulated increased economic pressure and want among the people, especially among the peasantry who constitute the overwhelming proportion of the people.

The immediate internal task of the Titoist bureaucracy, on the heels of the break, therefore was double: to mobilize the support of the people behind it, as against the Cominform, by refraining from exacerbating and indeed by placating them (the peasantry in particular); and at the same time to make clear that while a very important change had taken place, no fundamental social change was due in the internal regime, to swing the helm as quickly and skillfully as circumstances permitted toward the quelling of all maverick tendencies to make or demand fundamental changes in the political system (particularly in the CPY's monopoly of politics and in the monolithism of the one-party state) whatever other concessions might be made in forms or in words.

NO THEORY OF 'BUREAUCRATIC REVOLUTION'

(12) While, therefore, before the break Tito's power in the country had already been thoroughly consolidated, under Russia as big brother, the break itself—its circumstances and its consequences—unsettled that power and poised it on a knife-edge.

In terms of stability, the regime was hurled back to a stage having much in common with the earlier years of Stalin's rise to power, a stage then too marked by tactical shifts and changes, zigzags, experimentation and improvisation.

This analogy must be tempered, however, by the consideration that Stalin was then in the process of becoming a Stalinist from a different past and was empirically working out a new system; whereas Tito had, figuratively, the day before, been a case-hardened Stalinist hatchetman for decades and had before him the advanced model of his system in Russia.

(13) It is important to stress, therefore, that Yugoslav national-Stalinism can NOT be crudely equated with Russian Stalinism; it is precisely the DIFFERENCES described which, both from the scientific-theoretical and political standpoints, are vital to an understanding of the nature of Titoism, and therefore to an understanding of the BASIC identity of the two social and political systems.

This is especially important in order to avoid the error—based on the absurd assumption that if Titoism is a form of Stalinism, then it cannot differ from Russian Stalinism in any important respect—that any departure from Stalinism from the Russian "norm" is a "break" with Stalinism. On the contrary, it is precisely the differences, and an understanding of their scope, which highlight that which is common, the system of totalitarian bureaucratic collectivism.

(14) There is a second political consideration which points to the unbreakable connection between the concept of Stalinism as a new social order and the analysis of the Yugoslav regime as a form of Stalinism. It also points up the far-reaching consequences of rejecting this analysis. It is irresponsible to speak of the Tito regime (since

(Turn to last page)

Resolution — —

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the break) as a regime of democratization—that is, a regime tending toward socialist democracy—without facing the political and theoretical conclusions which directly and immediately follow.

If yesterday Yugoslavia was a Stalinist state and today it is a workers' state—or if it is on the road to becoming the latter through an organic development of the present state and bureaucracy—then a social revolution has taken place or is taking place. This "social revolution," however,—the break with Russia and its aftermath—has been indubitably a movement carried through by the tops of the bureaucracy, not only without a revolutionary upsurge of the masses but without their active mass participation, except as objects.

The theory of the "bureaucratic socialist revolution" or the bureaucratic road to socialist revolution directly follows.

Furthermore, if this road has been possible for the Yugoslav Communist Party, it is possible for any other Communist Party.

And if the first "socialist revolution" since the post-World War I period has been in fact accomplished through this road, and not through the road advocated by the Marxists, then there is little or less reason for a revolutionary worker to break from the Stalinist movement, in anticipation of this possibility. The independent organization of the Marxists ceases to have its historical justification, and the path that is indicated is that of becoming a left, "Titoist" wing of the Stalinist movement.

In opposition to this point of view, which means the evisceration of the fight against Stalinism and the rout and confusion of revolutionary socialism, we pose the unremitting struggle against all forms of Stalinism and Stalinist ideology. It is only through the greatest emphasis on the indissoluble connection between socialism and democracy that the socialist movement can be reborn as a mass force and lead the struggle for the self-emancipation of the working class.

Two Stalinist Poems on Tito — —

BEFORE AND AFTER

1945

I know that on my return from Belgrade
To my sunny fatherland
Eager looks will seek me out:
"Friend, tell me, have you seen Tito?
Tell me, did you have that honor?"

"Were you at least able to speak to him?
Shake hands with the intrepid warrior?
Meet his audacious gaze?"

Proudly will I say to my friends:
"I confided my thoughts to him.
On a foggy evening, in a dark trench,
Both of us shot at the enemy."

"I saw Bosnia, the Croats,
Stripped fields, destroyed villages.
All the men swore to their motherland:
'Side by side with Tito, we are marching toward
liberty.'"

I know that on my return from Belgrade
To my sunny fatherland
I will read looks of envy.
I have seen the intrepid Tito.

Radoy RALINE
Bulgarian Stalinist
Resistance Poet

1950

The Tribunal of the People of Hungary
Have just passed judgment on Laszlo Rajk,
But his clique has not been exterminated:
Other guilty ones are still agitating around him.

Their abettor Tito has lost his appetite.
Reading the record of the trial,
In fury he begins to grind his teeth,
A dribble of furious slime runs down from his lips.

Sunk in the mire of perfidy,
With traitors and deserters,
How will he end his life
On the nocturnal roads of fear?

Hitler swallowed rat poison,
Mussolini was hung short and high,
Thus will little by little disappear
Those who have chosen the color black,

Those who are marked by the fire of the curse,
All the traitors, criminals, all the vile spies
Who try to shake the democracies'
Unalterable unity.

Nicholas ASSEYEV
Russian Poet

There's a 'Price War' On — —

(Continued from page 1)

over one another's back in the attempt to gain more favorable consideration for their special interest, the Defense Production Act is up for revision and extension. Although this is one of the most important pieces of domestic legislation affecting the living standard of the people, there have been persistent rumors that Congress will merely re-enact the present law for a one-year period, or rewrite the present act.

LOCUST PLAGUE

A locust plague of special-interest lobbyists have descended upon Washington to cooperate with their favorite congressmen in the writing of a Defense Production Act that will further emasculate the living standards of the American people. Live-stock breeders and the meat trust are attacking meat ceiling prices, the cotton senators are attacking cotton ceilings, the real-estate lobby is fighting rent control and a housing program, and the giant oil corporations are dickering for favorable tax exemptions. So formidable was the profiteering and "racketeering" that a number of congressional investigations had to be started.

The "equality of sacrifice" speeches made by the Truman administration are strictly reserved for those gullible enough to believe that the Fair Deal administration (with or without the minks and deep freezers) would lessen class privilege.

In a letter to all CIO affiliated unions Phil Murray points out, "The American people have a long way to go to achieve equality of sacrifice that is essential to victory in the years ahead. Both laws and administrative policies are still loaded against the consumer, including wage earners and millions living on fixed incomes." The only thing that was not included in that letter was a mention that it is the policies of the Truman administration that are loaded against the consumers.

In the hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, it has been the antics and brazenness of the beef trust that has captured the headlines. It began in May when Price Stabilizer

DiSalle took the first concrete step to control prices. He ordered a step-by-step roll-back in the price of beef to the level of 135 per cent of parity from the high of 150 per cent of parity. (Parity is a relationship between the prices of agricultural commodities and industrial commodities.)

The big increase of beef prices took place through the increased profits by the giant packing companies. While the eight largest packers made \$28 million after taxes in 1949, they made \$45 million after taxes in 1950, and the profit per head of cattle in the last 12 months has been the highest in the history of the industry.

The packers in their opposition to controls have charged that it is the small cattle raiser that is causing the price increases, but the commodity prices show otherwise. For in the period March 20 to April 24, 1951, the livestock price index went up .9 point—the price that packers pay to the farmers. But the packers, when selling to the consumers, went ahead and increased their price 3.2 points on the index—an increase of almost 4 times over the price they paid.

CALL FOR BLACK MARKET

It was before the Senate committee that the meat-industry spokesmen made their most brazen statements. Speaking against the ceilings placed on beef was Loren C. Brambert, president of the American National Cattle-men's Association.

"Under the circumstances, the only thing that can save the live-stock producers and feeders from a disastrous situation is the development of the black market which apparently is increasing day by day."

This open admission of intent to flout the law, and the subsequent backing up of this threat by refusing to place beef on sale, has caused an investigation of the beef ceiling. In Washington it is widely predicted that the solution to this impasse will be government subsidies to the meat industry to guarantee their profits. The first sign of the Truman administration's weakening before the threatened beef strike was the increase in sausage prices granted to the packers, and the release of cattle for market on June 12.

The meat packers were brought into court in 1948 in an anti-monopoly action, which means

that a verdict can be expected in 1955 or thereabouts. The Big 4 of the industry—Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson — were charged with price fixing, a conspiracy to monopolize the meat industry, market sharing and regulation of the amounts of meat to be sold annually. This is the big reason beef prices have increased 15 per cent in the last year, almost twice as much as the price increase for the rest of the economy. And in Congress, the legislators from meat industry states are threatening to hamstring extension of the act unless beef ceilings are relaxed.

The hearings on the Defense Production Act indicate to what extent the present period is serving as a grab bag for big business.

James Carey, secretary-treasurer

of the CIO, pointed out that from the first quarter of 1950 to the same period of this year, wages in manufacturing industries increased 14 cents an hour or 7.8 per cent. In the same period, the gross profit on the labor of these workers increased from 65 cents an hour to an astounding 90 cents an hour, an increase of 38 per cent.

Carey further showed that the share of the national income going to wages in this same period dropped from 62 to 61½ per cent despite an increase in the labor force by 7 million people.

Business Week magazine on May 5 published a note to investors and stockholders that the record-breaking dividends of the last quarter of 1950 will probably be repeated again and that "the first three months of 1951 saw

the golden flow reach the highest levels ever recorded in the first quarter," and the levels of corporation profits after taxes is today, at a point nearly double to the profit level in World War II.

A major responsibility for the price increases has been the type of "freeze" that has been applied. It is not a "freeze" on dollars-and-cents prices, but on a profit margin. As cost went up in order to maintain the profit margin the price went up. But at a higher cost with the fixed profit margin, a great dollars-and-cents profit was made. This type of "freeze" had a built-in price-and-profit-increase mechanism, but Price "Stabilizer" DiSalle often passed it off as a means to "roll back prices" as in the recent increase allowed in wool and shoe industries.

Point Four in Syria — —

(Continued from page 1)

of wealthy Syrians" had their own plans to develop the area as a quick-profit venture. Hence the sharp clash. There were other areas where the Syrian ruling classes felt that Point Four "experts" and snoopers would stand in the way of their exploitation of their own country.

The U. S., of course, is not particularly interested in lining the pockets of its fellow capitalists in Syria, let alone the semi-feudal landowners. Its experts, we have no doubt, sincerely would like to bring about some kind of land reform there, as elsewhere in Asia—as indeed some of its representatives tried to do in Korea before the war. But everywhere they find that it cannot be done without a social overturn.

SHORTSIGHTED?

Ross's last comment is interesting: "The situation is recognized as rather paradoxical. The purpose of Point Four is to help defend the capitalist system. Point-Four experts are feared in Syria primarily because it is felt they represent a threat to capitalism as it is practised in Syria." (End of article.)

Actually there is nothing paradoxical about the situation at all. The whole point is that the "pur-

pose of Point Four," as Washington applies it, is to help defend the interests of American capitalism. It is geared to accord with and mesh with U. S. imperialist interests. As such, Washington is perfectly ready to step on the toes of its Syrian brethren. The Syrian exploiters have a more tender regard for their own toes.

The State Department experts and leaders, of course, wall that the Syrian capitalists are being shortsighted in putting their immediate profit above the "general interest" of staving off the Stalinist threat by land reform. They need only look at the policies of U. S. capital with regard to its own vested interests to see the model which the Syrians are following. Or they might try to enlighten the Syrian exploiters by adducing some example of a ruling class which has nobly put the "general interest" above its class interests . . . if they can find one.

Or take Honduras. The article by James Rorty on "Point Four in Action" in that country in the current *New Leader* is thin and not very serious (apart from the fact that it reads like a *Fortune* magazine writer's paean to American imperialist benevolence); but just in passing Rorty mentions that the "situation [which] is the real bottleneck of the conservation problem" there is the fact that "in the valleys much of

the best land is either half-used or held out of use by absentee landlords," while "numbers of dirt-poor mestizos" destroy the mountain cover trying to scratch a miserable existence from the portion of the earth's crust left over to them.

EMPHASIS ON ARMS

Meanwhile "Point 4 Faces Loss of Identity by Agency Shift to ECA," announces the press on June 11. A message by Truman said that he was considering transferring the Technical Cooperation Administration (the specific Point Four agency) into the ECA (the Marshall Plan agency): Reasons:

"In the present unsettled state of the world, the White House does not want to fix the permanent pattern for such an agency. Furthermore, while the threat of a world war exists, the emphasis will remain on rearming and on the stimulation of industrial production." (Times.)

So Point Four will continue to report "great successes" in teaching backward peasants to control agricultural pests, lend airplanes to dust crops, etc., and in general have as much effect on making the peasants of Asia immune to Stalinism as private charity has on the abolition of poverty under the capitalist system.

Read THE NEW INTERNATIONAL