

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

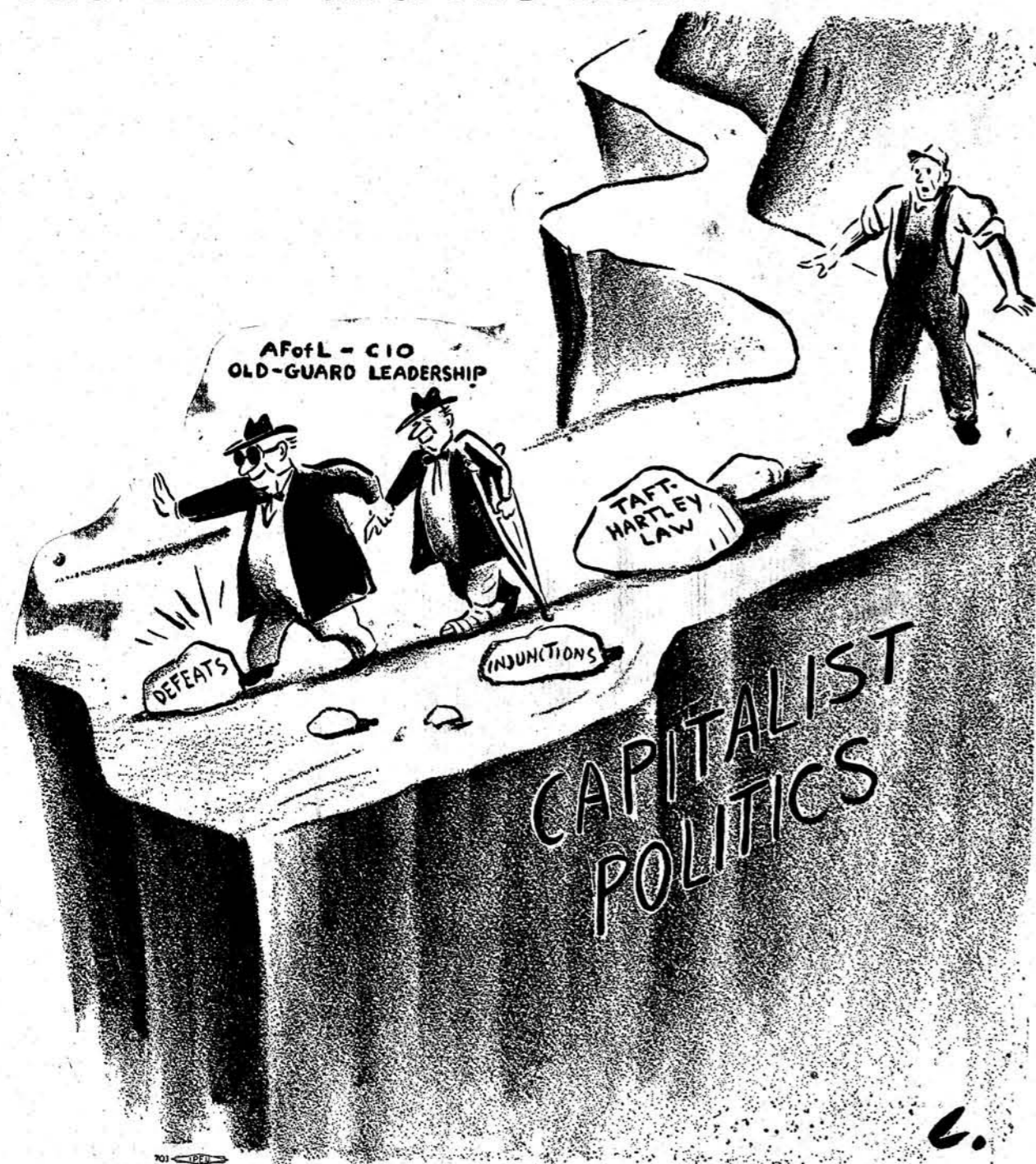
LABOR ACTION

JUNE 7, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

The Blind and the Halt!



LABOR SITUATION DICTATES UNIFIED UNION STRATEGY, INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

• Labor requires a unified union strategy to promote and coordinate its economic campaigns.

• Labor requires a weapon of political independence, a Labor Party, to defend and extend its economic and social positions through political action.

These are conclusions that issue directly from the current labor situation.

That situation is perhaps best illustrated in terms of the United Automobile Workers' settlements with General Motors and Chrysler. In the circumstances of today, the UAW settlements, notably that with GM, represent a victory.

Why? The union did not win its demands. The workers got something, but nothing like what they need and have a right to insist upon.

Why then a victory, however limited? Because in the context of the over-all labor picture, the UAW met the boss offensive head on, and compelled two of auto's Big Three to yield ground.

Where other unions in the circumstances of the boss offensive accepted nothing, or accepted only what the employers were willing to grant, the UAW wrested concessions in wages and, in the GM settlement, won recognition of boss responsibility for rising prices through an escalator clause.

Though the actual victory is a small one, its significance is far reaching. For one thing, other unions will benefit almost immediately; the electrical workers have already benefited in their settlement with GM which duplicates the UAW contract.

Vastly more important than that, the UAW proved that labor could fight back, could crack the boss front, could win. How? By fighting!

The UAW did this on its own! It received little aid from the CIO, except possibly some financial assistance.

• How much more could it have done had it appeared as the recognized spearhead of a unified labor strategy!

• How much more could the auto workers and workers in every industry have

Coordinated Union Effort

achieved had the representatives of the men and women in the unions met to coordinate their efforts, to buttress each individual campaign with the might of the nation's organized workers!

• How much more could it have won had its particular challenge to industry's nabobs appeared as part of a general political and economic labor offensive!

It may be that there are those who consider the political questions remote from the UAW problem in dealing with Chrysler or GM.

If there are, they can hardly be aware of what is going on.

It has been generally recognized that Big Business has been waging an offensive against labor.

The Offensive Against Labor Not to shatter the unions completely.

No. So long as there is a docile union leadership which can be relied upon to suppress labor militancy, industry has no need for that. But to intimidate the unions, to tame them, to paralyze them, to shear them of their ability to act in measure with their strength. All that—yes!

Industry would not have dared in this day and age to meet the 16 million organized workers purely on an economic plane. Industry did not have to.

• It has a government at its disposal, an entire political system which can be brought into play against labor—whether through the assignment of National Guard units to protect scabs, or through passage of a Taft-Hartley Law.

• It has a Congress at its disposal.

• And it has at its disposal labor leaders who will not break with employer politics.

Industry succeeded in getting the Taft-Hartley Law on the books without provoking the kind of nation-wide, unyielding protest that should have greeted the very first intimation of the law.

Industry succeeded in fixing injunctions on labor through the agency of the government without provoking that kind of enraged counteraction as should have greeted the very hint of an injunction.

Emboldened by what it sees as a supine labor movement, or at least as a supine labor leadership, it arrogantly refused wage increases, turned back the clock to scab herding. That is, it did all this until the UAW cracked through, and made the bosses realize that the greater strength still lies with labor.

Nevertheless, whatever the UAW settlements may have accomplished, it is not and cannot be enough.

We Must Have A Labor Party Everything that has happened is related to industry's control of the government and industry's control of the political system in the country.

To advance as we can advance, we have to smash that control.

• Smash it by meeting the political parties of capitalism with our own party.

• Smash it by meeting the government of the bosses with the announced determination to erect a government of our own.

Much can be done to hamstring the Taft-Hartley Law. Lawsuits can invalidate this or that part of it. To wipe it out completely, we have to tackle it at its source, through political action independently undertaken under our own banner.

There has been talk in some union circles, above all in the UAW, of forming a labor party after 1948. We have criticized this unwarranted delay most severely, and offered our opinion that those who proposed it cannot have been serious about forming a labor party.

However, recognizing that valuable time has been lost, we have proposed and propose again that the machinery for starting a labor party after 1948 be started now during 1948!

• That way we can know that the men who propose it mean what they say.

• That way we can actually proceed to the work of building a labor party.

• That way we can exercise our influence immediately on the various fronts on which labor meets capital—wages, prices, legislation, etc. For capitalism will see a labor movement discarding the strings that hold it back.

(Continued in editorial column on page 3)

Auto Workers Union Debates Issues In GM and Chrysler Settlements

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, May 30—Out of the differences between the General Motors settlement and the Chrysler agreement has arisen a real debate in the United Automobile Workers - CIO, which is only beginning at the meetings to ratify the contracts. The UAW-CIO is in for another discussion period which should serve to further educate its ranks.

For an understanding of this debate, certain facts regarding the settlements are necessary. Although some details are not yet available, the main facts are:

GM's offer of an "escalator" or cost of living clause was a surprise to UAW-CIO circles, including the entire leadership. However, Walter Reuther gave a go-ahead signal to his two assistants in GM, John Livingstone, UAW vice-president, and Tom Johnstone, assistant GM director of the UAW-CIO.

Emil Mazey, acting union president, was not in the final negotiations, just as he stayed out of Chrysler negotiations, in order to allow the people in charge of those departments full credit for any gains. The GM agreement was signed before consulting the international executive board.

In spite of this situation, when the IEB did meet, they approved the idea of an escalator clause, and urged Norman Mathews, Chrysler director, to get a similar settlement.

One other important background fact: Over two months ago GM put out a feeler to Walter Reuther, asking if the UAW-CIO would take 9 cents an hour and some changes in the contract that would guarantee "production consciousness" among the GM workers. In an informal poll of the IEB, most of the members were willing to bite on the feeler. However, Walter Reuther and Emil Mazey spoke strongly against it, and they insisted that in this period of huge profits, the UAW-CIO must fight to get more.

Mazey's repeatedly expressed theory has been—as against those who were against any strikes ("the time is not now.")—that "if the UAW-CIO can't win strikes for higher wages in a period of relative prosperity and huge profits, when can it do so, during a depression?"

LEADERSHIP DIVIDED

Right after the GM settlement, the Stalinists began a real campaign against the escalator clause and the whole agreement. A stooge introduced a resolution in Plymouth Local 51, denouncing it. They put pressure on Mathews and Richard T. Leonard,

one of the Chrysler negotiators. Their main argument was that the UAW was accepting the principle of "wage cuts."

Mathews refused to go along with the idea of an escalator clause. "I haven't got any use for fancy economics," he told people, thus repeating a remark that the late, unlamented R. J. Thomas said a couple of years ago about the GM strike program, before the ranks retired him from leadership in this union.

Mathews accepted a flat 13 cents an hour wage increase in negotiations, turned down the idea of an escalator clause, and extended the present Chrysler contract, with its "company security clauses," for an extra year, namely June 1950, with an additional provision that wages might be re-opened once during this two years.

Thus the united UAW-CIO leadership found itself divided, Mathews breaking on this issue with the Reuther leadership. (Perhaps if Reuther had been active in the situation instead of being confined to bed with his injuries, this might have been different.)

What happened really is that Mathews succumbed to the pressure of the Stalinists, and his own lack of understanding of the escalator clause.

Instead of the Chrysler workers getting more than GM, in terms of cash, and an escalator clause, they find themselves without any safe-

guards against a rising cost of living.

One of the main arguments the Stalinists used against the escalator clause is that prices might go down, and then GM workers would lose 5 cents of their wage increase. Of course, in practice, the Stalinists go further than what appeared in the Daily Worker. They don't say that prices could go down, they say prices will go down, so GM workers will lose 5 cents, so the GM contract is bad.

However, in the Sunday Worker May 30, the resolution of the central committee of the Communist Party has a section outlining the reasons why in America today living costs will rise.

This double talk is typical of the Stalinists. Their only interest is to create confusion, and to try to exploit the situation for FACTIONAL gain.

Another criticism they made was that the GM contract was for two years, and two year contracts are bad (as they are!) Now that Mathews signed a two year contract, they either shrug off that argument, or try to minimize the company security clause in the Chrysler contract.

Certainly, after the GM settlement, the Chrysler pickets were in a good position to get MORE. They had Chrysler on the spot. Better handled negotiations could have achieved this result.

(Continued on page 2)

Mundt Bill Menaces Civil Liberties

If Passed, Will Be Used as Weapon to Intimidate All of Labor

By P. HOFFMAN

The hired agents of Big Business are taking the offensive again, this time in an effort to suppress freedom of speech and action through the vicious Mundt-Nixon bill. The bill represents a danger not only to the Communist (Stalinist) Party and its front organizations, as its authors and supporters would have us believe, but to every trade union, liberal and socialist organization.

Presumably the Mundt-Nixon Bill is directed against the Communist Party and its sponsored organizations; but the provisions of the bill are so ambiguous and the definition of communism so stretched that any organization whose political views conflict with those of Wall Street is liable to its anti-democratic sanctions.

Under its provisions, the attorney

general may label any organization "Communist." He is given the power to compel testimony and the production of documents. The organization is then guilty until proven innocent—significantly enough, the same undemocratic procedure utilized by Hitler Germany and Stalinist Russia. The power thereby concentrated in the hands of one man, the attorney general, is tremendous in scope and almost without precedent in American politics.

If a trade union, as a result of its struggle to raise the standard of living of its members should come into conflict with the politics of Wall Street, it might well find itself on the attorney general's list as a "Communist-dominated organization," though the union in question may have absolutely nothing whatsoever

in common with the Communist Party. This union, labeled "Communist," would then be forced to turn over a complete list of its membership and its financial records. Blacklisting, which the labor movement has fought since its birth, would be given invaluable assistance.

It is easy to understand in the light of this fact why the U.S. Chamber of Commerce so ardently supports this reactionary measure.

WEAPON OF INTIMIDATION

Liberal organizations—those fighting against Jim Crow, anti-Semitism, the poll tax, religious education in public schools, UMT, the draft, the vicious anti-labor Taft-Hartley Law, those fighting for civil liberties, better housing, rent and price control,

(Continued on page 4)

OIL ON TROUBLED WATERS

Big 3 Jockey for Palestine Stakes

By AL FINDLEY

The sixth UN Security Council resolution has been voted. Initiated by Britain and amended by the U.S., it orders both sides to cease fire in 72 hours, calls for a truce of 4 weeks, embargoing shipment of arms and men to Palestine and the States of the Arab League during the four week period. UN mediator Count Bernadotte is to use this period for

mediation. Immigrants are to be allowed to enter, but cannot be enlisted in the army until after the four weeks. If this move fails, the UN is to act under Article 7, calling for economic sanctions and eventual military action.

The main aim of this latest British move is to delay, and if possible prevent the lifting of the U.S. embargo.

Meanwhile, guns continue to blaze away in Palestine. The end of the first 3 weeks of fighting finds both groups entrenching themselves in the areas respectively assigned to the Jews and Arabs, and preparing for the real battle to come. Arab armies have taken weeks to advance across a small strip of friendly territory. The invading Arab armies have only nibbled at the perimeter of the Jewish areas, while the Jews have advanced only in Western Galilee assigned to the Arabs. A large part of the Arabs in Jewish territory have left. It is estimated that only 200,000 of the 400,000 Arabs remain. The Egyptian army has occupied all of the Arab coastal plain in the south and are moving to isolate the Negev.

It is hard to see how the Jews can defend the Negev. It can however be

easily retaken since there are few fortified points. The British led Transjordanian army (together with Iraqi troops) have occupied all of central Palestine and are making a determined bid for Jerusalem. Intense hand to hand fighting has taken place in the Old City resulting in victory for the Arab Legion. Capture of the old walled city is of little military importance but of great political and prestige value. The bitter fight for the Old City is proof that the Arabs will not have a quick victory in the new city.

Should the Jews and Arabs be left to fight it out, the war will be a long

and bloody one. Both sides are approximately evenly matched. The Arab League has about 200,000 men under arms, the majority being of the armed constabulary type, not equipped for war. Most of these are required at home, to control the semi-independent and rebellious tribes such as the Kurds in Iraq, and to control domestic affairs, such as in Egypt, where the police struck only a few weeks ago. Present Arab League plans call for putting 30,000 men in the field. In case of emergency this number can be doubled without spreading military equipment too

(Continued on page 2)

Figures Show Prices Are Still Rising - And Due To Go Higher!

By MIKE STEVENS

Publications issued by governmental agencies always try to prove that the cost of living has either gone down or is standing still. This has been one of the arguments most frequently used by the unions against government figures on the cost of living.

But the cost of living has continued to rise so rapidly that the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Reserve Board have both been forced to admit that everything went up in price during April and will continue to go up for many months to come.

According to the government figures, the cost of living in April jumped over the previous month and finished eight and one-half percent above April, 1947. This also means that the cost of living in April, 1948, was twenty-seven percent above what it was in April, 1946, and close to seventy-two percent above 1939. Government breakdown on just the grocery bill alone shows that the housewife in April paid \$2.18 for the same amount of groceries that she bought for \$1.00 in 1939.

Government figures, as indicated above, never give a complete picture (Continued on page 2)

Editorials

Labor Party -

(Continued from page 1)

By starting now, we mean the convocation of local conferences to lay plans for the big national conference—in 1949, if that's the way it must be—which will launch the labor party.

Let Us Get Started Now! By starting now we mean giving a demonstration of what the labor party will do by presenting local labor candidates in the coming elections wherever possible and by calling upon labor not to vote for any Democratic or Republican or Wallace-Stalinist candidate whether or not there is a labor candidate running for the particular office.

• That is to say, to vote only for independent labor candidates even if it means boycotting nine-tenths of the state.

• That is to say, to put independent labor candidates in the field for as many posts as are possible with full union support.

Such moves, executed today, will reflect themselves immediately, in our opinion, in improving labor's position in whatever economic struggles develop.

Such moves, executed today, will go far towards completely routing the boss offensive.

Such moves, executed today, will guarantee us irresistible advance tomorrow!

Two Elections

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on the recent election in U. S.-controlled Korea. It should be read alongside the news of the weekend election in Russian-dominated Czechoslovakia.

Two different countries, two different masters, two not very different Iron Curtains, two "free elections." In the land under the heel of the Kremlin totalitarians, the Communist Party sweeps the field with 80 per cent of the vote—where four months ago it was a minority party. In the land where 48,000 Japanese police their former vassals with U. S. arms in hand, the reactionary party of Syngman Rhee, Wall Street's Gottwald, gets 95 per cent of the vote.

Anyone who wishes to do so strongly enough—and Henry Wallace proves that not all such people are coordinated Stalinists—will have no trouble believing that Gottwald's goon squads (which translates into Czech as "Action Committees") freely convinced near 50 per cent of the Czech electorate to shift their opinions from west to east. Those who wish to will also believe that only five per cent of the Koreans are opposed to the terrible conditions wrought by American imperialism. Possessing the same blind faith as the Stalinists, they will be unwilling to understand that the U. S. can conduct the same kind of farcical plebiscite in Asia as the more practiced tyrants of Moscow stage in Eastern Europe. Unwilling to understand fully—and reply that "we must fight fire with fire"—meet the Russians on their own ground, "quit being softies," etc., that is, employ Russia's methods against Russia.

Some of the same people who will point to the Czech electoral comedy with indignation will greet the Korean result as evidence of the blessings of American rule. Interchange the names of the countries (and a few expressions of their respectively characteristic jargon), and a Daily Worker editorial will do for the bulk of the U. S. kept press.

There is this difference. Russia has been exporting its totalitarian terror. The United States has not and cannot export its precarious and decaying "democracy." Rather what we see is that America's democratic pretensions are BROWNING AROUND THE EDGES—most rapidly, most visibly and most thoroughly in the peripheries of the new American empire, but with far-reaching accompaniments in the militarization of political and social life at home.

That's why we say: "Neither Washington nor Moscow!" The real socialist movement fights both the totalitarianism which is being exported from the east and the totalitarianism which is gangrening the west. The third way out is the building of a socialist vanguard opposed to both the Kremlin and Wall Street.

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NEW YORK MEETING

Report on Europe

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Eye Witness Report on Political Forces

Hotel Diplomat June 25, 8 p.m.
43rd St., bet. 6th Ave. and Broadway
Auspices: Local New York WP

Denied A Visa!

"Comrade Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Trotskyist Parliamentary fraction in Ceylon, who recently left for Europe, has been refused a visa by the State authorities in Washington to enter the U.S.A. for a two weeks' visit. The self-lauded 'democrats' who run the Yankee imperialist regime have by this act demonstrated the haunting fear that they have not merely of the 'Communist' fifth-columnists of Stalin, but of the genuine proletarian revolutionary movement. More scared than his masters at home was the American Consul in Colombo who pretended to our Comrade that 'peaceful' American 'democracy' could, after all, never be sure that a Trotskyist might not toss a bomb at the Capitol in Washington! Hail Yankee 'Democracy'!" (New Sparks, April 3.)

News Item

NEWS ITEM: "The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British government is the majority shareholder, announced today that last year's net earnings nearly doubled 1946 profits—from \$38,499,752 to \$74,259,428." (AP)

Last January an article appeared in *Commentary* magazine by Jon Kimche, a British Laborite (and so-called "left-winger" to boot), which explained why the British Labor Party had reversed its policy on Palestine, from pro-Jewish to pro-Arab. According to this apologist it was all a "misunderstanding"—and the fault of certain Jews. It seems that the reason why conference after conference of the Laborites had come out for a Jewish homeland in Palestine (prior to their taking power) was because they had been assured by the Zionists that it was simply a question of justice to the Jews and no Arab question was involved.

But behold, the Laborites are voted into power, Bevin and Cripps take over the foreign office, and what do they find? Reports, reports and reports—from the Colonial Office, from Intelligence, from the Foreign Office, from the War Office—and all reports agree on one essential point which bursts like a flash on their understanding of the Palestine question, something they hadn't known before. This amazing new fact, discovered in the reports, is the fact that *British interests in the Near East were vitally tied up with Arab goodwill.*

And, Kimche actually tells his readers, Bevin and Cripps were so sore at the Zionists for keeping them ignorant of this important fact that they have been working off their peeve on the Jews ever since!

We presume that one of the said reports dealt with the facts of life about companies like the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Few people can equal some Zionist speakers today in their unmeasured denunciation of the British and "perfidious Albion." This is the rage of rejected suitors. We do not profess to be so shocked. Perfidious, yes—to any ideals of freedom and national liberty; but no one can accuse the British imperialists, Laborite or Conservative, of not being loyal and faithful servitors of the real rulers of England, the London City. If the Zionist "Socialist" leaders (just as "socialist" as their British brethren in office) had been half so loyal to the interests of the Palestinian working class, Jewish and Arab, the decade-long policy of crawling before British imperialism which has characterized the Zionist movement up through the Second World War would not have led to the present nightmare in Palestine.

The BOOK SERVICE Now Has These Hard To Get Items:

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P. A.—At It Again:

So long as British imperialism and its Empire are only in a state of decline and disintegration, rather than being put entirely out of their misery, there will be a Perfidious Albion to carry on the long tradition of treachery and cynicism associated with the Empire. His name today is Ernest Bevin and he seems hell bent, over the issue of Palestine, to outdo his numerous predecessors in hypocrisy and fraud. We do not know whether Bevin's particular villainy is due to his oft-remembered personal anti-Semitism, but we do know that even the original Albion might have shuddered at some of the special slimmings of Bevin.

Britain is waging war, at second hand, against the new born state of Israel. This is the blunt fact of the matter, and all else is concealment. British imperialism holds the key to continuation of the war or a temporary truce and arrangement. Her close ties with the three leading Arab states of Trans-Jordan, Iraq and Egypt are the medium, by way of treaties, by which Britain supplies the arms and equipment for the Arab invaders of Palestine. Britain has built these armies and now maintains them.

Other facts are well known: the supplying of English officers (the Arabs' strongest and key army, the Legion of King Abdullah, is officered in its highest ranks by Englishmen); an \$8 million yearly subsidy goes to Abdullah, the ambitious monarch whom Britain set upon his throne with a gift of a large hunk of the former Palestine Mandate. There is no question that Bevin desires a victory of its Arab armed forces over Israel and the imposition upon the Jewish people in Palestine of a greater Trans-Jordan, absorbing all or most of the present state of Israel and within which the Jews would be a national minority under the rule of Abdullah. This greater Trans-Jordan would then be entirely the product and creature of British imperialism and the bulwark of its Near East strategy, with Abdullah a grateful and obedient Quisling.

BRITAIN SHIFTS STRATEGIC POSITIONS

An Empire dies hard. The behavior of Britain in this situation is the consequence of its desire to hold on tight to historic positions, while shifting the centers of defense and power. The new, semi-independent status of India, Ceylon, Burma, and, to a lesser extent, Malaya, have given new importance to the Near East within what remains of the Empire.

"British diplomacy was striving mightily this week to prevent the British system of Middle East defenses, so

One Mangled, One Fired

The written grievance which follows is reprinted verbatim from the May 20, 1948 issue of the "Local 599 Headlight" published by the United Automobile Workers local union in the Flint Buick plant of the General Motors Company. We print it without comment. None is necessary.

STATEMENT OF UNADJUSTED GRIEVANCE—CASE E-603 GRIEVANCE 423172

Casper P. Kenny, 7054007, of Buick Motor Company has been employed by the Company for the past eighteen years on various types of work. He has also served as a Union Executive in several positions, to-wit: Vice-President CIO Council, Recording Secretary Local 599, Top Bargaining Committee Member, and District Committeeman in Buick Plants 18, 11, and 70. He also served as International Representative of the United Public Workers CIO, and was elected to the State Legislature for the years 1945-46 with the help of the CIO-PAC of Genesee County.

On Tuesday, April 13, 1948, Mr. Kenny was met by his Foreman as he prepared to punch his clock card and given a reprimand with a four weeks lay-off penalty for violation of Plant Rule No. 7 (Leaving the job without permission on 4-12-48).

This reprimand and penalty is not justified for the following reasons: About 9:15 a.m. on April 12, 1948, an employee came to the tool crib in which Mr. Kenny works and asked for a rope to lower a man down from a high cat-walk, who had been seriously injured. Mr. Kenny asked the employee who was injured and the employee answered, "Clyde Derr." Mr. Kenny was a very close friend of Mr. Derr and followed the employee out to the cat-walk to see if he could be of any assistance.

The workers in Factory 70 were then witnessing one of the most horrible tragedies in its history. Clyde Derr had become caught in an unguarded gear that had torn his leg out at the socket, and had mangled one arm to shreds. He had apparently been lying there for fifteen minutes. Had guards built for that purpose been placed in their proper place, this tragedy would not have happened, but employees were told to leave them off by Management as the affidavit in the Union's possession will prove. There are no facilities on this cat-walk to place a stretcher, and the mutilated body of Mr. Derr was lowered by the rope previously mentioned. He then was placed on a stretcher and taken to the hospital where he died on the operating table.

The death struggles and inhuman manner in which Mr. Derr was lowered was witnessed by all of the employees of Lines One and Two of the foundry. In addition, there were about two hundred other employees who came from different parts of the shop. Before the leg and other parts of the body were removed from the

cat-walk, Management requested that the line again resume operations. The leg was finally removed, but pieces of the arm still remained in the gear as the line resumed operations, and pieces of flesh and cloth were removed from the gear by third shift employees, and are in evidence.

The Union stresses the description of this tragedy to point out the emergency that existed and the fact that about two hundred other employees were on the scene but only Mr. Kenny was singled out for reprimand.

Mr. Kenny, in the grievance procedure, called Top Committeeman Nathaniel Turner and they discussed the grievance with Mr. Kenny's foreman, Mr. Davidson. The Union pointed out to Mr. Davidson at this juncture that Mr. Kenny was not out of line, as the reprimand indicated as follows: About 9:15 a.m. Mr. Kenny went to the scene of the tragedy, as did two hundred others, not as a Committeeman but as an employee. He returned to his job along with others, meeting Top Committeeman Turner on the way, and returned to his job about 9:55. At 11:00 A.M. Mr. Kenny went to lunch, and returned at 11:30. About 12:00 noon a group of employees approached Mr. Kenny and told him that they objected to Mr. Derr's leg being burned in the cupola and informed Mr. Kenny he should object. Feeling was running high, and Mr. Kenny looked for his Foreman and could not find him to report he was leaving on a grievance.

Upon nearing the First Aid, Mr. Kenny met the group leader of his department who officiates in the Foreman's absence, and told him where he was going. (The group leader, Albert Vermette, admits this.) Mr. Kenny then checked with the First Aid attendant to verify the fact that Mr. Derr's leg was not destroyed. Mr. Kenny then returned to his job and punched out at 1:01 for personal reasons, with permission from the Foreman.

Mr. Davidson in this first step of the procedure admitted to Mr. Turner and Mr. Kenny that all the time during the day was accounted for excepting the time that Mr. Kenny went to the scene of the tragedy, and that was the time for which he was given the reprimand, and that as far as he was concerned the reprimand would stand, and referred the grievance to higher Management.

Mr. Turner then called Mr. Burton Moore, Chairman of the Bargaining Committee, to assist on the grievance and further discussed the grievance with Mr. Hoover Bankard, Superintendent of Plant 70. Mr. Bankard asked to hear the facts of the grievance and they were related to him as they had been to Mr. Davidson. Mr. Bankard stated, "I never had a Committeeman in this plant before who used up so much committee time." Mr. Moore then asked Mr. Bankard, "Did he exceed the com-

laboriously contrived and so painfully defended during the past thirty years, from being shot to pieces overnight in Palestine." (New York Times, May 29.)

This lies behind the British actions. The physical withdrawal of British troops from Palestine has not changed these strategic interests since, in effect, the Arab Legion is now assigned the role of the very same troops that have been withdrawn! What are these interests? They may be summarized as follows: (1) Protection of the Suez Canal, still the route to the Middle and Far East. (2) Naval domination of the eastern Mediterranean, by holding on to its island of Cyprus with its naval bases. (3) Retaining control over a valuable source of food, raw materials and—above all else—oil; not to mention protection of one of the few remaining areas where British financial investments are still untouched. (4) Control over an important buffer area, to be used as a protection for British colonies in Africa and a defense against possible Russian imperialist advances into the Mediterranean. A system of alliances with the three Arab nations mentioned above has the fulfillment of these strategic purposes as its aim.

OPPORTUNITY FOR BRITISH SOCIALISTS

The activities of Bevin and his UN representatives have been carried out to place the Arab armies in the best possible position for winning a quick victory over the Jewish state and thus reasserting British power in the Near East. This has been the objective of all the ambiguously worded UN resolutions for "truce" offered by Britain, and all her appeals to American opinion. As a consequence, the clash between American and British imperialism over Palestine has reached new heights. For the moment, America (for a variety of reasons) is backing the Israeli state but in the long run this backing will crumble before a common fear on the part of America and Britain that only Russian imperialism will benefit in the end by a continuation of the present conflict.

Although there is every reason to believe that there is much dissatisfaction with Britain's vicious role in the Near East in England itself, there have as yet been no open or direct manifestations of this. To our knowledge, there have been no popular demonstrations or meetings held protesting against this criminal policy by the Labor Government and its imperialist Ministers. A splendid opportunity exists, nevertheless, for revolutionary socialists and particularly for the English Trotskyist party to work against this policy and to grow in strength and influence not only by denouncing the imperialist actions of its government, but by championing and supporting the elementary right of the Jewish people in Palestine to national freedom and independence, if they so desire. Will they accept this opportunity, or remain silent as they have in the past on this issue?

HENRY JUDD

PACKINGHOUSE:

WE MUST ASSESS STRIKE'S LESSONS

By SUSAN GREEN

The packinghouse workers are back on the job. Some of them still nurse their wounds, received on the picket line. Some families grieve for their dead, killed on the picket line. After sixty-five days of brave struggle, the strikers returned to work with the nine-cent-an-hour increase the companies had originally offered, which is twenty cents less than the workers were asking to enable them to come abreast of the cost of living.

This unsuccessful strike must not be pushed into oblivion as rapidly as possible and forgotten. The determination of the big packing companies to break the strike was indeed an eye-opener. Who that has the labor movement at heart was not alerted by the frank and unashamed reversion to "good old-fashioned" strikebreaking methods resorted to by the companies unwilling to grant an adequate wage increase out of profits that had risen 430 per cent in 1947 over 1937?

It is an open secret that long before the end of the war the capitalist class was sharpening the swords with which to slash at the labor movement as soon as the war was decently over and it was no longer necessary to kid labor along. The anti-labor drive seemed, however, to be mainly to get anti-labor legislation on the books, to attack labor through "legitimate" channels. Thus, before long, thirty-six states had passed anti-union laws, climaxed by the passage of the federal Taft-Hartley law. The varied court action against the unions based on this hostile legislation, was expected. The injunctions, the fines, even the seizing of the railroads by the federal government, all were in line with the legislative advantage gained by the capitalist class. However, it was a jolt to see the raw, physical violence employed by the barons of meat to break the strike, methods that harked back to the most bloody struggles in labor's history.

VIOLENCE AGAINST THE STRIKERS

The companies used scabs and armed them. Company trucks and cars recklessly crashed into picket lines. Strikers were provoked to so-called violence as a pretext for calling in guardsmen to protect the scabs. Police beat strikers, destroyed union property, and terrorized a whole community. The paraphernalia of modern war stood as a threat against the strikers.

In South St. Paul, Minnesota, the national guard was called in after armed scabs had shot and killed three pickets. But the guardsmen did not direct their attention to disarming the scabs. They "roughed up" the strikers, then stood with fixed bayonets ushering scabs in and out of the Swift and Armour plants. The soldiers were also under orders to suspend the strikers' right of free assembly and prevented four or more people from gathering in public.

At Waterloo, Iowa, William Farrell, a striker, was shot from an auto that was entering through the plant gates of Rath Packing Company. The bullet also pierced the shoulder of a woman striker. Whereupon a state of "violence" was perceived by Governor Robert Blue who called out the State Guardsmen for anti-strike duty. At the East St. Louis, Illinois, plant of Armour, Ed Hucks was shot and killed while picketing. In Atlanta, Mrs. Marie Browder was run down and badly injured by a truck attempting to enter the Armour plant.

At the Armour plant in Chicago, the company attempted to run trucks through the picket lines. As reported by the CIO News, on order from Police Captain George Barnes to "step on it," a ten-ton truck hit picket Santo Cicardo, crushing him to almost immediate death. Cicardo was attempting to talk to the driver of the truck to dissuade him from driving through the picket lines. Barnes is reported to have said he would get trucks through "regardless of consequences."

The pogrom against strikers by the police of Kansas City, Kansas, received wider publicity than the other acts of strikebreaking violence instigated by the companies. Without provocation seventy police descended upon ten pickets, entered restaurants where workers ate, broke into the union hall. Skulls were broken, and bodies battered and bruised. An estimated one hundred union people were injured; ten had to be hospitalized; a woman needed five stitches in her head. In addition, the police smashed the door of the union hall, destroyed the loud speaking apparatus, broke dishes in the soup kitchen, shattered windows and chairs, carried away union records.

How did all this happen in Kansas City, Kansas? It is reported that the Chamber of Commerce had called upon the Mayor, protesting that the police were too "easy" on strikers. The police raid was "ordered" by the Chamber of Commerce from its servant, His Honor. The Police Captain, Eli Dahlin, is said to have told his men to "crack skulls." It is said. The climax of the story is that the Mayor of Kansas City, Kansas, a Republican, was endorsed by the... CIO-PAC!

TIME TO MAKE A CHANGE

Such reckless strikebreaking tactics testify to the deep-seated determination of the capitalist class to beat down labor to where it will "give no trouble." The atrocities of the packing companies also reveal how shallow and hypocritical is the so-called respect of the capitalist class for the workers' right to strike and to picket.

Yes, who that has the labor movement at heart was not alerted by these actions of the powerful meat companies against their striking workers? The CIO has instituted legal actions wherever possible to bring the culprits to justice. But what is capitalist justice in such a case? Will the real culprits, the meat companies and their politicians in the places of government, be punished?

Far better is it for labor to have its own people in the places of government. Far better is it for labor to organize its own class political party and cease supporting capitalist class politicians. There must be an end of electing governors and mayors, presidents and congressmen, who are servants of the capitalist class, to pass their laws and carry out their deeds of violence against the workers.

Furthermore, labor must advance in its ideals of solidarity and team work in economic struggle. One section of labor must not be permitted to get out on a limb, but by itself, to be battered as were the packinghouse workers. Financial support of some sort they did get from other CIO unions. But as for the actual fight, they stood alone, without even sympathy strikes to give them courage and to give the companies pause in their brutal tactics.

The conduct and outcome of the packinghouse strike, therefore, seem to say: *It is time for labor to change its political and economic ways.*

Citizenship Rights Are Restored to Fred E. Beal

GASTONIA, N. C. (WDL)—Citizenship rights have been restored to Fred E. Beal, framed union organizer, by the Superior Court of Gaston County, North Carolina as the result of court action brought on his behalf by the Workers Defense League.

Beal was convicted in 1929 on charges growing out of the Gastonia textile strike. The evidence in the case was of the flimsiest nature and, through the years, it became increasingly evident that the conviction was based on anti-labor prejudice. His fight for justice had been especially opposed by the Stalinists because of his repudiation of Stalinism after he had lived and worked in Russia for three years.

U.S. Korean Puppet Gets "Ja" Vote In Russian-Style "Free Election"

By JACK BRAD

Elections in U. S.-occupied Korea have just been completed. The returns are, on the face of it, an astounding vote of confidence in American policy and in the American-supported reactionary party of Syngman Rhee. Fully 95 per cent voted for this party. Such an overwhelming vote must be immediately suspect to anyone even slightly acquainted with conditions in the country. The election constitutes a political demonstration and plebiscite on the occupation under conditions of general terrorization and military rule.

The elections were restricted to South Korea solely. Russia refused to permit them in its northern zone. They were held in answer to the Russian demand that both powers withdraw their troops and end the occupation of all Korea. The Russian program placed American policy in an acute position. Under the slogans of reunification and withdrawal of all troops, the Russians had given the Stalinist parties a weapon which they used effectively to consolidate immense popular support in both zones, among nationalists of all shades of political opinion.

This program took concrete forms last February when conferences were held in North Korea to prepare for the formation of an all-national provisional government. So powerful was the attraction of such a prospect, that even the opportunists of the right in the South could not resist. Kim Koo, former president of the Korean government-in-exile and Kim Kuisic, former chairman of the Interim Legislative Assembly in the South, two liberal leaders, sought to participate. The U. S. army prevented them.

RUSSIAN AIM

The general Russian aim is clearly to eliminate the Americans and establish a mass base supporting their policy, thus controlling an all-national government which would be beholden to Russia. This was probably not the immediate purpose since such an outcome must depend on the larger aspects of the Russian-American conflict.

However, the means were established, the course laid, and the future of American occupation made increasingly difficult, more costly and resting on decreasing support. In effect, Russia, no less than the U. S. seeks a partition as the first step toward complete control. Russia sought to accomplish this with the maximum of political capital.

On May 1, the Russian political offensive came to a head. A constitution was adopted by a Stalinist-organized congress in the North claiming jurisdiction over all Korea. Thus there exists a Russian sponsored regime which, in the name of national unification, will be enabled to keep South Korea in constant political turmoil. This regime has a Russian organized army of 100,000 Koreans with modern arms captured from the Japanese. North Korea contains one-third the population but almost all the industry. On the other hand, this industry can only be maintained viably in close inter-dependence with the agriculture and small consumers goods - artisan production of the South.

U. S. COUNTERATTACK

The U. S. zone, while largely agricultural, contains the best ports in the country, the largest cities, and two-thirds of the people. Partition is an unjustifiable crime economically. Politically and culturally Korea is an entity. The sole and single basis for tearing the country in two is inter-

imperialist conflict which is hardening all the world into two camps.

The recent elections were the political counter-attack of the U. S. to the Russian program. After considerable jockeying in the UN during which the U.S. sought to penetrate the Russian zone with a UN committee which would supervise the elections, the UN Commission finally received authority from the Little Assembly, over Russian protest. The Russians declared the Commission illegal and refused to admit it to the North. It is this Commission which served as the legal cover for the American plebiscite.

K. P. S. Menan, Indian Chairman, of the Commission "was highly critical of the state of civil liberties in both zones." "Commission members were highly skeptical about the possibility of holding anything resembling free elections in Korea." (Foreign Policy Bulletin, May 14) Imprisonment for political activity in the U.S. Zone is common. Although the occupation established habeas corpus, Mark Gayn, Chicago Sun correspondent, reports that it is on paper only.

BITTERNESS MOUNTS

When U.S. troops marched into Korea they were welcomed as liberators. The masses rose against the Japanese police and disarmed them, "collaborators" were killed or jailed. A great wave of joy swept over the long suppressed nation and freely constituted organizations began to develop. Every remainder of the 30 year Japanese tyranny was stormed, attacked and renounced. One of the first acts of General Hodge was to re-establish the hated Japanese constabulary as the police arm of the occupation. "Collaborators" were released. In all Korea the Army could discover only a single "war criminal." Today, 48,000 Japanese patrol their former colony as U.S. assigned police, and are fully armed.

The promise of the Cairo Conference that Korea would have full independence was interpreted to mean "eventual independence." Korea was divided artificially at the 38th parallel. The welcome for the liberators turned into bitterness at the new conquerors. Allen Raymond, Herald-Tribune correspondent reports "As for American troops—Koreans by the thousands hate them—" Lone sentries are frequently stoned.

Economic consequences of the imperialist truncation have been equally devastating. Neither half of Korea can exist independent of the other. National unification is a slogan which also means bread, clothing and economic reconstruction. Today, South Koreans are wards of the U.S., dependent on those notorious humanitarians, the U.S. Congress, for their daily bread. It is no wonder then that starvation is chronic and hunger so universal, even among the wealthier classes. It is the general opinion of most observers that Korea is today economically far worse off than it was under the heel of the Japanese.

Without manufactures, consumers goods are practically non-existent. The consequence is rampant inflation. During 1946 alone prices in the U.S. zone increased 400 per cent and during 1947 they rose another 400 per cent. In the main port city of Fusan in 1947 the following price indices prevailed (1945, a high price year, as 100): vegetables 883, meat 972, spices 2150, canned foods 1298, cotton cloth 6275, household heating fuel 3586. These are city prices indicating the burden of the working class.

The Fusan Chamber of Commerce has determined that a minimum wage of 4500 yen is necessary for subsistence for a family of 3. The Fusan chief of police received 3500 yen. In such an economy, corruption, venality, black marketeering and looting are the normal methods of avoiding starvation.

PUPPET RULE

Because these are the conditions of South Korea and because the American ineptness and cruelty is so patent, it is difficult to accept the 95 per cent vote which the U.S. sponsored candidate received as valid expressions of political sentiment. One member of the UN Commission described civil liberties in the two zones as resembling Tito's Yugoslavia via one and Franco's Spain in the other. Rightist terrorism has received tacit support from the U.S. Army.

Syngman Rhee is an American puppet. His party is that of the reactionary landlords with some merchant

compradore support. It is doubtful that a landlord party closely tied to the hated occupation could receive such an overwhelming endorsement. Rhee's program is one of collaboration and nothing more. He recently demanded nationalization of industry. And well he might since almost all of consequence is in the north.

The elections in the U.S. Zone are meant to provide a legal basis for the partition and endorsement of U.S. policy of perpetuating its inter-imperialist conflict on Korean soil. Partition will continue to tear apart the ravished land until both invaders are expelled. Social revolution has great appeal for the Korean masses who have a record of unremitting struggle for national existence. The Korean revolution must begin with a struggle against the new conquerors and their quislings on both sides. Its strategy requires close alliance with the uncommitted workers of China and the new mass labor movement of Japan.

Army Brass Prepares Blueprints On Manpower Control in Next War

The army brass, in preparing for the next war, is already carrying on its surveys and drawing up its blueprints on how to shackle a worker to his job and prevent him from behaving as a free man. The fact that there are not tens of millions of unemployed has the brass worried. The brass doesn't dare talk openly about "manpower controls" at the present time. It knows that there would be a terrific reaction against it, but it is working on its plans, quietly and carefully.

In a front page article in the April 30, 1948 Journal of Commerce, the Washington Bureau of that paper reports that "confronted with this problem, top military officials now are studying blueprints for various types of manpower controls. Some of them go far beyond anything created during the last war. Since they must view the present as potentially a 'prewar' period for purposes of their 'just-in-case' planning, these officials are wondering where to find the additional manpower needed atop the present near-60,000,000 person now

employed." A report of this type appearing in the Journal of Commerce means something because it is a paper with some knowledge of what is going on. For LABOR ACTION readers who are not familiar with the Journal let us inform them that it is a full-sized, forty-page daily published in three cities, often has supplements with as many as fifty pages on just one subject alone and dutifully reflects the reactionary interests of the industrialists that it serves.

The Journal article continues with the various factors that make the problem "more complex" and says that the army officials have a program but that, "standing in the way of such a program, however, are stiff Congressional cuts in appropriations for the agencies that would do the job, the lack so far of any form of manpower control, and the rock-bottom scarcity of housing for migrant workers."

All this of course ties up at the moment with getting workers to leave their present jobs and go to

the out-of-the-way factories where war production is going on. Also to get workers to the farms. This will be tied-in with Universal Military Training if that legislation goes through. Certain factories and certain areas will be considered vital in "security planning." If a worker goes to these factories or areas to work he may be deferred and will not have to go into the army. That will undoubtedly be the form the first phase of peacetime manpower control will take—stricter forms will follow.

If during the last war the workers felt that they were tied down, because they couldn't get a "release" from a war job—and to leave it, or strike or complain could mean cancellation of deferment—they ain't seen nothing yet. For, to once again quote the Journal of Commerce, the paper of big business:

"Top military officials now are studying blue-prints for various types of manpower controls. Some of them go far beyond anything created during the last war." What are you doing about it?

PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

What Is the Marshall Plan?

I wish to add a few comments to your discussion of the Marshall Plan in the issue of May 17. I address my remarks especially to James T. Farrell and Albert Goldman who, I believe, are not fully acquainted with the real content and practical meaning of the Marshall Plan. I consider your own comments more or less correct, but too abstract and with too many essential points lacking to be fully convincing.

I agree with Farrell that even capitalist reconstruction in Europe is better than no reconstruction—and better than reconstruction under an authoritarian, police-state Stalinist control. But the Marshall Plan does not ensure or even make possible capitalist reconstruction. Reconstruction of Europe can be undertaken with some hope of success only by a cooperative union of free and independent national units. The Marshall Plan provides, not for capitalist reconstruction, but for the transformation of half of Western Europe into a kind of India—as pre-war India was at the height of British imperialism.

Until the London Conference (1947) the practical meaning of the Marshall Plan was mysterious. Neither Marshall nor anyone else could say what they intended by their "plan." The very idea of a plan had arisen because of the danger of financial and political collapse in the Western European countries and because of the reluctance of Congress to vote money for continuous stop-gap aid without some "constructive plan."

At this time Foster Dulles prepared a "plan," which was really the basis for the Marshall Plan and for behind-the-scenes discussions at the London Conference. The idea as it developed was to create a strong anti-Communist France and a Germany subject to French imperialist aims. This meant a Germany whose Ruhr coal deposits would be exploited in accordance with French imperialist aims, and German potentialities of industrial reconstruction would be denied.

It was then left mainly to the French and British representatives to determine the concrete nature of the Marshall Plan and the role that Western Germany would play in it.

LABOR ACTION invites its readers to contribute discussion articles on the Marshall Plan. Contributions must be limited to 1000 words!

SUPPRESS PRODUCTION

It should be pointed out that the terrible economic conditions in Europe are largely due, not to the consequences of the war itself, but to the post-war policies of the victorious powers. The suppression of reconstruction in Germany, suppressive measures designed to starve the Germans, the dismantling or administrative immobilization of the productive forces have deprived Europe of her richest source of reconstruction possibilities. German mass production of fertilizer, of manufactured goods, building materials and synthetic products would have been possible had it not been for the U.S.-Russian policy of deindustrialization. The economic losses effected by this policy far outweigh the trickle of Marshall aid now provided.

It may be argued that the intent of the Marshall Plan is to counteract the effects of this policy, and that we must take up our argument from the present point. But this is not true either. The Marshall Plan provides for further suppression of the productive forces of German industrialism and for continued industrial dismantling, in accordance with the French imperialist aims and British and American competitive interests which largely determine the concrete nature of the plan.

With the loss of a strong German industrial economy, Western European industries will be forced to export more industrial goods, for they will have lost their inner European marketing basis. They will be driven more easily and more quickly into a new depression.

Less American aid with no plan would have provided greater economic benefits to Europe than more aid with the Marshall Plan. Thus: 15 tons of coal can produce one ton of nitrate fertilizer. One ton of fertilizer can produce 75 tons more grain production. Under the terms of the Marshall Plan up to 40 per cent of the Ruhr coal will be shipped out of Germany. And for this the Germans will be repaid with a fraction of the additional grain that could have been grown with the aid of fertilizer produced by that coal. The supporters of the Marshall Plan only notice the grain that is shipped and never the grain that is never grown.

MUST SEEK THIRD WAY

Stalinism will not gain control of Western Europe—not because of the Marshall Plan but despite the Marshall Plan. The fate of the Communist movements in Western Europe was sealed before the Marshall Plan went into effect. A direct Russian construction of satellite regimes may have been possible immediately after the war, but not now. Even at that time Russian imperialism would have found it difficult to digest these areas, with their vast industrial populations which, cut off from the world economy and without a realist socialist reconstruction, would have been thrown into the worst kind of economic chaos. The aim of Russian imperialism is not to control but to neutralize Western Europe and prevent it from becoming a military base for the United States.

Success or failure of this Russian policy will be determined in Germany. Continuous occupation and partition of Germany combined with the economic strangulation provided by the Marshall Plan will assure a Stalinist victory in Germany—not on the basis of a Communist revolution but through Russian organization and support of a nationalist nature. Anti-Stalinist mass movements in Western Europe must seek for a third way out, which is not the Marshall Plan way and not the Stalinist way. For the Marshall Plan way is

not to reconstruct Europe but to consolidate the vested interests in the destruction of German industrialism. Without the Marshall Plan, as much or almost as much actual relief would have had to be shipped to Western Europe anyway, to meet the recurrent political and economic crises. But, without the Marshall Plan, there would have been a growing demand inside Europe for real reconstruction on a truly cooperative basis. The Marshall Plan heads off such a demand and creates new illusions. It is significant that details of the Marshall plan discussion or the official documents on the plan were not published in Western Germany.

The confusion in Western Europe concerning the real nature of the Marshall Plan seems to be as great as in the U. S. The danger is that the disillusionment and disappointment with the outcome of the plan will turn the mood of the European masses to a violent anti-Americanism that will be exploited by new candidates for dictator as well as by Stalinist movements.

S. LEDER

Defends Editorial On Marshall Plan

Dear Editor:

Although motivated from opposite viewpoints, the critical letters of comrades Goldman and Hall published in last week's LABOR ACTION, equally reject LABOR ACTION's editorial stand on socialist policy with respect to the Marshall Plan. In my opinion, these critical letters only serve to bolster the approach of LABOR ACTION, and do not challenge its validity. Recognizing the difficulty and complexity of the problem, LABOR ACTION attempted to avoid the equally undesirable doctrinaire - sectarian approach (that of Hall), and the short-sighted, narrow conception (that of Goldman) by evaluating the overall meaning of the Marshall Plan and properly placing, within the framework of the Plan, the aspect of material and economic aid which is a part of it. While it is true, as Ben Hall remarks, that LABOR ACTION's position is much closer to that of Goldman than his own, this is irrelevant since the fact is we reject both approaches!

GOLDMAN'S POSITION

Let us consider the objections of our critics. First, those of comrade Goldman. According to him, LABOR ACTION is opposed to the Marshall Plan "... because of the motives of its proponents"; and, in the same vein, because the "conditions and strings" attached to the ERP Bill make it necessary to oppose it. Goldman has read our editorial, no doubt, but he apparently has not understood why we are against the Marshall Plan in general, and would have voted "no" on the ERP bill in particular.

Let us reiterate the basis of our opposition. Considered as a whole, the Marshall Plan in all its aspects is the concretization of American imperialist strategy in our day. Our principled opposition to imperialism makes it mandatory to oppose the Plan in imperialism; the Marshall Plan IS imperialism, the imperialism of 1948. The "conditions and strings" in the ERP Bill itself are of SECONDARY importance; they are but the symptomatic evidence of the disease itself and certainly do not determine, by themselves, our attitude towards this Bill. They help us only to diagnose its real nature. If Goldman would take the trouble to read the ERP Bill itself, adopted several weeks ago by Congress, he would understand this. He seems to think the Bill is a simple act of Congress appropriating \$5 1/2 billions for material aid, and nothing else. Let him read the Bill, its preamble stating its purposes, the various clauses and conditions etc. and he will learn why, in the concrete circumstances, we

consider this specific act part and parcel of the imperialist cloth of the Marshall Plan and why, therefore, we express our "no confidence" in American imperialism and its Plan by voting against the very Bill which symbolizes the Plan itself.

But, at the same time, Goldman is just as wrong when he interprets our position to signify that we would oppose such a Bill or a similar one "... even if our vote means the defeat of the bill proposing aid." There is nothing in the editorial justifying such a conclusion, particularly since it discussed a specific bill on which a specific vote had taken place in Congress under the circumstances of today. Although far too much emphasis has already been placed upon this question of Congress, voting procedure and parliamentary tactics (all of which is subordinate to the real issues involved), let me try to make one thing clear, if only to avoid further misunderstanding. There is nothing that says our present attitude toward this particular bill must be eternal and never-changing. If the inconceivable circumstance (to me, at least, inconceivable) had arisen where ours would be the decisive vote, determining whether any aid at all would go to the peoples of Europe, then in my opinion it is quite conceivable we would vote "yes," because THEN the issue would be one of aid, or no aid, rather than the actual, now-existing issue of a vote of confidence or no-confidence. But it is obviously the latter issue which was involved in the real vote that took place, not Goldman's imaginary vote. Thus it seems to me that comrade Goldman has failed to properly relate the Marshall Plan (Truman Doctrine, ERP Bill, military aid etc.) and the immediate question of economic aid to Europe, hence his argument.

HALL'S POSITION

Our differences with comrade Hall are more serious. Although he shares with comrade Goldman the fallacy of equating economic aid to Europe with the Marshall Plan, he carries his principled opposition to an impossible extent, falling victim to that system of "logic by extension" which invariably leads to absurd extremes. If imperialist war will be the continuation of the imperialist Marshall Plan (as LABOR ACTION has stated), then how will LABOR ACTION's policy on the Marshall Plan mean continuation of its opposition to imperialist war, when and if it begins? The implication of this "devil's logic" is that since, according to Hall, LABOR ACTION is at present critically supporting the Marshall Plan, it will therefore critically support the war that follows from it. What is wrong with this, of course, is that LABOR ACTION does NOT give "critical support" to the Marshall Plan, as does, for example, the Socialist Party.

We have explained, over and over, that we are against the Marshall Plan, but we are for full material aid to Europe, supplied and furnished by the present, capitalist government. Contradictory? No more "contradictory" than any other immediate demand (such as a housing program, higher social and unemployment insurance etc.) Marxists make upon the government. Why should comrade Hall be for a housing program from the government—one which would yield huge profits to contractors, etc? His position is reminiscent of that of some early Marxists who, "on principle," voted against any and all government legislation. They quickly abandoned this when its absurdity became apparent. We raise the demand of full aid to Europe in the same sense as any immediate demand upon the government, regardless of its composition. Is this the same as the Marshall Plan, or support of it? Hall, by attaching as a qualification, "... in principle, the necessity to install a workingclass government to aid the non-imperialist reconstruction of Europe" makes out of our immediate demand a transitional slogan whose realization lies

in the future, whether near or remote.

But why must the question of aid to Europe become a matter realizable only under such circumstances? The imperialist character of Marshall Plan aid lies not in the actual physical food and material itself, obviously. Material goods are "neutral." The question is, how are they utilized, for what purposes and by whom? That issue will be resolved by the evolution and pursuit of the class struggle in Europe itself and by our concrete struggle against all efforts by America to make use of these goods for its imperialist purposes. Is it not legitimate to also point out that carrying out of Hall's slogan means, practically speaking, no aid to Europe today?

"The chief task of American socialists in regard to the Marshall Plan is to expose these (humanitarian) pretensions," says Hall. We disagree, because we conceive of TWO chief tasks, of equal importance: (1) To oppose American imperialism, its imperialist Marshall Plan with all its connotations and implications, its war aims and its pretensions. (2) To fight for economic aid to the masses of Europe AT THE SAME TIME, as absolutely vital and essential for the revival of the European revolutionary movement, the only movement that can possibly defeat Stalin's obvious intent to conquer the entire old Continent. Does Hall accept the validity of our second proposition? How interesting that in his entire article there is no mention of the danger of Stalinism and, least of all, of a general strategy for overcoming this danger! Why? Because Hall is looking at the world through only one eye and this one eye sees ONLY American imperialism. We see the twin, dual and equal menaces of both American and Russian imperialisms and this gives us a truer picture of the situation.

The revolutionary movement is pressed harder than ever on two sides by the great weight of the two Powers. If this movement is to survive and grow, it must be able to maneuver and tack within the free space still left to it. This "free space" exists because of the contradictions between the two Powers. One of these contradictions, at the moment, compels American imperialism to pour billions into Europe for its reconstruction and stabilization. We would be supreme idiots not to take advantage of this. No, we want this aid to Europe, we demand more and more of it! It will help our class brothers there and give them the possibility of lifting themselves up once more and gaining that bare physical and moral level from which they will have the strength to combat, on an independent basis, both imperialist war camps. Prostitutes, Black Marketers and paupers can't make a revolution!

Thus we must reject Goldman's position because it would mark a break in our consistent political opposition to American imperialism; and thus must we reject Hall's position because it would shunt aside to another planet the need for a concrete struggle on behalf of the European workers. The position of LABOR ACTION is: against the Marshall Plan as a whole; for the fullest immediate economic aid to the peoples of Europe.

Comradely,
Henry JUDD

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The current New International carries special articles on the Czech events.

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Menaces Civil Liberties —

(Continued from page 1)

etc.—would be subject to the same procedure should the attorney general decide that these struggles represent a danger to the real rulers of America and therefore label them "Communist."

The bill's definition of a "Communist organization" includes a measuring rod which reads: "the extent to which it supports or advocates the basic principles and tactics of communism as expounded by Marx and Lenin." This means that socialist organizations, those whose concept of socialism has nothing in common with the totalitarian conception of the Communist Party, would be hounded.

The publishing of lists, turning over of financial records, exclusion from federal jobs and labeling as "Communist" are all means of intimidation. There are those who argue that the Mundt bill does not want to drive organizations underground. It wants, they say, only to bring them out into the open. It is a sad fact of American life that political, social and economic sanctions (not to mention occasional physical violence) are used against those people believed to be "communists," that is, in any way identified with the struggle for a better world. Registration with the attorney general on the basis of the requirements of the Mundt bill can only mean that or-

ganizations thus singled out would be driven out of existence.

MUST BE BLOCKED

Readers of LABOR ACTION are well aware of the fact that we are not defenders of the reactionary totalitarian Communist Party. The Stalinists at home and abroad are nothing more than the tools and hirelings of the exploitive Russian ruling class. Stalin has but to nod his head and the CP of every country rushes to do his bidding. A mere glance at the phenomenal record of flipflops in political line undertaken by the Communist Party, to the beat of each successive change in Russian foreign policy, is more than adequate testimony to this fact. But we know well that the Stalinists must be fought by superior socialist politics. They cannot be fought by governmental suppression.

Mundt-Nixon want to start the ball rolling with the Communist Party. They don't say which organization will come next, but we may rest assured that the passage of this reactionary bill will see a resurgence of hysteria comparable to the infamous Palmer Red Raids of post-World War I fame that will put them to shame.

We must block the attempt to make the Mundt-Nixon Bill law. It has already been passed by the House and is now before the Senate. Pro-

tests must be made to Congress in the form of letters, delegations and demonstrations. Every progressive individual and organization, every trade union, must enter this fight. The Stalinists have already taken over the leadership of the anti-Mundt bill drive in many places. Their record on civil liberties, not only in Russia but in this country, is abysmal. They cannot be trusted to lead a real democratic struggle. They must be swept aside and a progressive leadership must spearhead the fight. The time is now. WE MUST DEFEAT THE MUNDT - NIXON BILL!

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