UAW Cracks Boss Front

In GM Pay Settlement

Three Years of the United Nations!

## A Lesson in Arithmetic — Profits Up 90 Percent in 2 Years, Wages Only 13.3

By SUSAN GREEN

The capitalist class does not change its greed for profits any more than the leopard changes its spots. What better proof of this is needed than the present brutal determination of capitalists to beat down the wage demands of the workers? From the 1947 peak of \$17,000,000,000 profits after taxes-more than three times the 1939 profits of \$5,000,000,000 after taxes-the masters of industry look down their noses at the workers and snarl: "You can't have the share of this that will help you live a little more decently." The workers, remember, are the guys without whose labor there could be no profits at all for the capitalists.

It is essential for an understanding of the present wage struggle between capital and labor to have the complete profit picture in mind. Let us look at it from several angles.

### PERCENTAGE RETURN RISES

One might say, trying to excuse the position of the capitalists: "Well, they have more bulk profits, but how about the percentage return on their

The percentage of return on investment is constantly rising. According to calculations of the National City

Bank, the investment return for manufacturing industries as a whole climbed from 8.8 per cent in 1945 to 16.4 per cent in 1947, or little short of double. The little fellow with a few bucks in the bank gets from 1.5 to 2 per cent interest, or if he owns a few government bonds not yet redeemed for living expenses, his "return on investment" is around 3.3 per cent.

Also, let us not forget that much of the expanded production plant of the country is a wartime development, in the final count not paid for by capitalist investment. The paytriotic free enterprisers would not increase their plant capacities until the government gave them "adequate reassurance" by permitting them to write off the entire cost within five years. In effect, the government was mulcted for wartime expansion, now owned free and clear by the capitalists. Since the war the industrialists have held back on capital investment, by no means meeting the needs of the postwar situation. The steel bottleneck is an illustration. But why take greater risks -which the capitalists are supposed to take, you know-when returns are so good anyway.

We'll shift the camera and get another slant at the profit set-up. Cor-(Continued on page 4)

## Government-Boss Pressure Forces UPW Strike Retreat

By TODD WILKINSON

CHICAGO, May 24-The nationwide strike of 100,000 members of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, which began March 16, was called off May 21 when workers at Swift, Armour and Cudahy voted to end their sevenweek strike. The strike will continue at the seven plants of Wilson & Co. because the latter company refused to accept the union's demand that men fired for "unlawful acts" during the strike be processed with the normal grievance machinery. Three of the "Big Four" packers accepted this clause. The strike was settled on the basis of the 9-cent hourly wage increase originally offered by the packers. This offer had been accepted months ago by the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. The CIO, however, had held out for a 29 cent increase. Refusal of the packers to meet the union's wage demands caused the

In the course of the strike viollence was used against the strikers by police and national guardsmen in several states. In Chicago and in Waterloo, Iowa, pickets were murdered. (Union officials at the Rath Packing plant in Waterloo announced the strike would continue there, where one picket was slain and another wounded by a strikebreaker, "no matter what happens national-

Governor Youngdahl of Minnesota, a protege of Stassen's, called out the national guard to aid in breaking picket lines in South St. Paul and Newport. In Iowa the national guard was also called out against the union.

### MILITANT FIGHT

The union rank-and-file put up a militant fight in many cities, displaying great heroism in the face of heavy police attacks. In Chicago alone, a force of approximately 2,000 police was assigned to strike duty by Mayor Kennelly. Not all locals voted to return to work. Armour strikers at National City, Ill., for instance, voted to continue their walk-

Throughout the strike the Chicago Tribune carried on a vicious campaign against the packinghouse workers, urging city and state officials throughout the midwest to use violence to repress the strikers. The Tribune at the end of the strike termed it a "lawless, revolutionary movement" and called for the indictment of and long penitentiary sentences for all strikers "guilty of atrocities," on grounds of "criminal conspiracy."

Failure of the CIO strike to gain its objective of a higher wage increase was due chiefly to the failure of the nation's packinghouse workers to achieve unity in action. Acceptance by the AFL of the industry's piddling 9 cent offer and rejection of that offer by the CIO pre-

See page 3 for editorials on Palestine Situation and GM Settlement.

vented unity of action among the workers. The AFL continued to work throughout the strike, and it was a relatively simple matter for the struck companies to divert livestock

### GOVERNMENT AIDS BOSSES

The day the strike was called off a Chicago federal judge ruled that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation owed millions of dollars in back meat subsidies to the major meat packers. Swift is to get \$221,000, Armour \$830,000, Cudahy \$39,000, etc. In labor matters as in financial matters the government of the business interests serves the packers well.

At one time during the strike the CIO could have had the packers over a barrel, by pulling out the strategic livestock handlers at the Chicago plants. This would have forced the plants to shut down. Unaccountably, the CIO union permitted these handlers to make a separate settlement with the companies and to continue

has consistently supported candidates of the boss political parties for office and has refused to join the fight for a labor party. The union supported Mayor Kennelly in the last Chicago elections, only to be rewarded with a high police detail when it attempted to picket.

House subcommittee, headed by the labor-hating Representative Hoffman of Michigan, came to Chicago to conduct a hearing on the strike. President Ralph Helstein of the striking union, testifying at the investigation, charged that Hoffman was "arbitrary and unfair," and that his committee had "no conceivable jurisdiction over the matter into which it purports to be inquiring." Hoffman is "the last person who could objectively approach a labor problem," said Hel-

and production to the AFL-organized

The United Packinghouse Workers

As the strike was called off a

UAW Struggle At Decisive Stage Buick Local Vote Handicaps Union Leadership in Negotiations By WALTER JASON DETROIT, May 24-The wage struggle of the UAW-CIO reached a decisive stage this week, when GM offered a six to 10 cents an hour wage

began negotiations again with the The threat of a strike at GM lost a little of its potency when five GM locals, including the big Buick Local 599 voted against strike action at special meetings Sunday. The only explanation for the action of the Buick Local leadership is that they were engaged in factional sniping at

increase, and Chrysler corporation

the Reuther leadership. Emil Mazey, acting president of the UAW-CIO, went to the Local 599 meeting Sunday and personally de- into print to point out that he would livered a strong plea for a strike not try to get into the GM situation, vote. This local, with 15,000 mem- "in view of what happened in Flint bers, is a key union in Flint. Cer- Sunday." tainly, the rank and file at the meeting had every right in the world to be concerned with the sacrifices entailed in another strike. However, the union leadership had the responsibility of supporting Mazey's plea

for strike action. It is ironical that some of the peo-

ple who have been talking mighty big talk about a general strike in the auto industry did not throw their support for a strike vote in Buick

CIO that foremen were going to take inventory, the UAW-CIO leadership immediately branded this as strike-

tion of the consequences. strike-breaking. In a leaflet to all

Chrysler and the UAW-CIO agreed to meet on Wednesday May 25 for a resumption of wage talks, after Governor Sigler called both parties into a secret session last Sunday

By his repeated threats "to maintain law and order" at any cost, Governor Sigler is trying to intimidate union leaders, for there is no violence. Only the company has tried rators who are growing richer every to provoke it, and if Chrysler sucday while the starving poor are open- ceeds in provoking trouble, Sigler, who is their man, has announced

An example of the kind of argu-

By WALTER JASON

In Caterpillar

Plant Election

Caterpillar Tractor Company in Pe-

oria, Illinois, voted bargaining rights

to the UAW-CIO in a sharply con-

tested election run off held on May 20. 7,702 voted for the CIO and 5,644

The CIO farm implement union (FE) which had had the bargaining

rights in the plant since 1941 was

eliminated on the first ballot along

with the AFL machinists union. FE

had instructed the workers to vote

"NO UNION" in order to hold its

The campaign was dramatized by

airplanes with loud speakers, floating

banner signs, the use of all radio

time available, and an unprecedented

amount of daily advertising in the

Peoria paper. Full page ads read:

"Vote solid for the UAW-AFL and

go back to work immediately. . . .

The UAW-AFL is Caterpillar Work-

ers Guarantee of Freedom! . . . \$8

million UAW-CIO assessment. This

depleted pockets of Caterpillar work-

ers will go directly into Reuther's

treasure chest for strikes . . . under

ecutive board." The CIO countered

are on Strike! They are winning the

wage increase Caterpillar workers

will get without striking. . . . How

do you tell A GOOD UNION when

you see one? Make the test your-

The UAW-CIO threw everything it

had into the campaign. International

representatives from all the surround-

ing regions, and every national staffer

worked like beavers going house to

house, turning out a different "plug-

ger" every day for plant gate distri-

bution. The AFL relied on its full

The UAW-CIO played up its dem-

ocratic union record, its record on

winning equal wages for women, Ne-

groes and other minorities. The

UAW-AFL tried red-baiting, and the

CIO countered with the anti-Com-

munist provision of its constitution.

Walter Reuther wrote a personal let-

ter to the Caterpillar Workers. Jack

(Continued on page 2)

UAW-CIO CAMPAIGN

self," etc. etc.

By KEN HILLYER

for the AFL.

bargaining rights.

DETROIT, May 25—The snake dances, the excitement and the grins on the large Chrysler picket lines today after the announcement of an eleven cent an hour wage boost in the GM settlement were a good indication that such an agreement would be overwhelmingly approved as satisfactory, under the circumstances.

This reaction is sound, considering the terrible difficulties that faced the United Automobile Workers-CIO in its wage struggle. Not only did CIO President Phil Murray settle for nothing in his wage negotiations with the steel industry, but at no time did he make a public endorsement and pledge of support of the UAW-CIO wage fight! The retreat in packinghouse, and else-

where, also tended to isolate the UAW-CIO. Above all, there UAW Wins Vote was no common goal, no unified strategy and genuine solidarity among the CIO unions to back the UAW-CIO.

In addition, the UAW-CIO negotiators went into last minute conferences with GM with the knowledge -and the company made the most of CHICAGO-The workers of the huge it-that key unions in the GM set-up voted against strike action. Besides the big Buick Local 599 in Flint, the key tool and die local 23 voted against

However, the whole militant tradition of the UAW-CIO was suffi-

UAW leaders are reported to have announced that: "This (the GM settlement) can be termed a victory only in the context of the economic and political situation."

ciently strong-and the picket lines at Chrysler were indisputable testimony to the fact that Wall Street was in for a real fight, if they refused any wage concessions, no matter what the over-all situation of the huge pot coming from the already American labor movement might be.

Although an eleven cent wage increase, with a modified escalator clause, hardly meets the problems of the domination of a strike happy ex- the inflationary cost of living, the wage settlement in the auto induswith: "Sure, 65,000 Chrysler Workers try is a real tribute to the kind of unionism the UAW-CIO stands for, and it does mark the first time that Wall Street's current anti-labor offensive was met, and that a major union in America did not retreat!

UAW-CIO negotiators expect a similar pattern in negotiations with Chrysler that began Wednesday. The crack in the "no wage increase" policy of Wall Street is wide open, and the UAW-CIO expects to improve wage clauses in most of its contracts.

### CONTRACT PROVISIONS

What does the GM agreement call for? It must be remembered, incidentally, that the entire GM contract was up for renegotiation, and that most of it has been extended

for another two year period. GM workers are obtaining an 8 cents cost of living boost, plus a flat 3 cents "basic wage increase," for a cash total of 11 cents an hour. One year from now the GM workers obtain another "basic wage increase" Livingston, a vice president, Pat of 3 cents an hour.

(Continued on page 4)

## Investigate the Greek Government To Find George Polk's Murderer

By MIKE STEVENS

The Overseas Writers, an organization of newspapermen with foreign experience, have named a committee to "seek to uncover the whole truth" concerning the death of George Polk, American representative in Greece of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Mr. Polk's body, trussed up and with a bullet wound in the back of the head, was found in the harbor of Salonika last Saturday.

We don't know who actually killed George Polk. We don't know the name of the scoundrel who pulled the trigger. But we do know who is responsible.

The Greek government through its monarcho-fascist press has for a long time now branded every newspaperman a "Communist" if he did not write just what they wanted him to

write. The Greek press has carried inflammatory articles against the newspapermen who dared to simply mention a few truths about the wealthy, or the courts, or the prisoners, or the Axis collaborators who are in the government. The Greek press has not only worked up a lynch spirit against foreign newspapermen, but with the aid of the Greek government and the U.S. State Department has tried to frighten, coerce and blackjack the correspondents who dared tell a few simple truths about the regime in Greece.

The Overseas Writers' committee will do well to note something very unusual about every single correspondent who has been labeled a "Communist" by the Greek government. Every one of these correspondents has reported from other coun-

tries where Stalinism is either in power or is a huge force threatening to take power. The committee will find that these correspondents are far more anti-Stalinist than the so-called man in the street in the United States.

Then why does the Greek government try to force them to leave Greece and why does it label them "Communist"? The answer is obvious. Greece is governed by a reactionary regime that is openly controlled by wealthy fascists and Axis collaboly murdered if they dare read a nonmonarchist paper or if they protest he'll help the companies by "mainagainst the horrible conditions. No newspapermen to report what they strike-breakers.

(Continued on page 4)

### The GM situation is most important

CHRYSLER SITUATION

Governor Sigler was quick to rush

for any pattern set in GM would probably be followed by Chrysler. The solid mass picket lines at Chrysler have shown that corporation that the workers are determined to win a real victory. The reaction of the UAW-CIO to a company plan to use foremen for inventory work in the shops also demonstrated how serious the union is in this fight.

When reports reached the UAWbreaking, and warned the corpora-

The foremen's union also took a strong stand against doing this kind of work. If Chrysler tries to go through with their plan, serious trouble may result, for the UAW-CIO is determined to smash any foremen, the UAW-CIO said as much.

night in Detroit.

taining law and order," which means, such regime can or will permit free in plain language, to protect any

(Continued on page 2)

## Unified Strategy Is Essential For An Over-All Labor Victory

By H. BENSON

DETROIT, May 22-225,000 workers may walk out of their plants when the UAW contract with the General Motors Company expires on Friday, May 28. After weeks of fruitless negotiations, no offer of any kind has been made to the union. General Motors which is making more profits than ever in its history, and which forced its workers into a three months long strike in 1945-46, is so far acting in line with a "pattern" being set by all sections of the capitalist class in all industries.

The task imposed upon the labor movement, it is becoming clear, is not simply to obtain a well-justified wage increase. In order to win our just demands, we must resist the "pattern" of united capitalist attack; and the "pattern" of government by injunction!

The Chrysler strike, now entering its third week, may be the opening

episode heading toward a big national crisis. Following a few relatively trivial

incidents, Chrysler applied for an injunction against mass picketing at the Dodge truck plant and the state

The accompanying article was written before the GM settlement. Though now outdated in some of its facts, the essential point of the article is still vital to the labor movement.—Ed.

police were mobilized at the gates of the Highland Park plant. These measures in themselves have little effect on the course of the strike in face of the solidarity of the strikers. But they assume great significance in terms of a possible long range and unified strategy by ALL the big auto companies, and not them alone. Police

(Continued on page 2)

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## No More Appeasement! - Railroad Workers Want to Fight! The West Coast

By GORDON HASKELL

SAN FRANCISCO-The employers of America have taken off the gloves. The brass knuckles are bare for all to see. The government has ripped off the mask of "impartiality" in labor disputes. The face revealed underneath is the grinning skull of capital, stamped with the dollar sign, and spewing forth injunctions, police assault on peaceful pickets, and the armed force of the national guard.

The victims were yesterday the miners, the meat packers, and today the railroad workers. The chips are down, the die has been cast. Either the unions are going to take the gloves off too, stand together and fight, or the issue cannot be in doubt.

Government "seizure" of the railroads and the anti-strike injunction is forcing railroad workers and the labor movement as a whole to make a vital decision. Baldly stated, it is this: Either the rail unions are going to fight the railroad-government conspiracy with every means at their disposal, or labor in America will be in danger of forfeiting the right to

### WORKERS INDIGNANT

A previous article which fraced the history of the present rail wage and rules movement (LABOR ACTION May 3, 1948) said: "The last railroad strike proved one thing. Despite their misleadership, once the chips are down rail workers can and will strike to a man, Last time Truman intimidated the leaders, he didn't scare the rank and file. He knows that, the men know it, the country knows it and the brotherhood chiefs know it. That is probably the thing which scares them most.'

That statement was not ballyhoo, it was sober truth. The rail workers' reaction to their chiefs yielding before the phony "seizure" and the phony injunction was, as far as can be established, almost unanimous. They were and are just plain mad. They see the choice before them clearly, and if they were permitted to do something about it. there is no doubt that they would choose to strike in the face of all the injunctions, intimidation and pressure they

know would be brought against them. The three rail union chiefs, Johnston, Robertson and Glover, know

### Decisive Stage —

(Continued from page 1)

ment used at Flint against a GM strike vote was that of Roger Townsend, recording secretary of Local 599. "If Buick guys could walk the picket line 113 days in 1946, the Chrysler workers can walk for two

Whether or not anybody at any amount of time to win a strike struggle, Chrysler workers can, and are ready, if necessary, to walk for more than two months to defend their union, and get a wage increase. That is not the problem. Chrysler workers alone, no matter how militant, can not defeat Wall Street single-handed. It would take even more than the whole UAW-CIO to defeat Wall Street. It would take the backing of the entire labor movement.

In spite of the additional difficulties created by the refusal of five GM locals to approve a strike, the UAW-CIO leadership is trying to get a decent wage settlement. This week is decisive for the outcome of the fight of the UAW-CIO against the auto industry.

this better than anyone else. Drew Pearson reports that they pleaded with Truman's man Friday, Steelman, for an injunction and told him plainly that without it they couldn't sell the idea of calling off the strike to the more "radical" members of their unions. These "radicals" are 99 per cent of their memberships, the men who actually run the trains and switch the cars, not those who sit in comfortable swivel-chairs and draw thousands of dollars in union salaries.

### EVERYBODY'S BATTLE

The rank-and-file railroad workers want to strike, regardless, not just because they badly need higher wages and better working conditions. They want to strike because they recognize the fact that if they don't they are giving up any hope of real improvements in the future, and, equally important, they are giving up their right to assert themselves as free men. They know that if they submit to the lawless, brute force of employer-government strikebreaking which seeks to cover itself with a figleaf of spurious legality, they are admitting before their employers and the world that from now on they can be treated as serfs who are incapable of defending their rights and their organizations, let alone of fighting for elementary economic justice.

Finally, they feel that in this fight rail workers are not battling for themselves alone, but for all Americans who have to work for a living. If the employers and their government stooges can get away with breaking this strike without a fight; they will use the same method against the auto workers, the electrical workers, the telephone workers, the maritime workers and all others. Someone. some union, has to make a stand sooner or later. It cannot be that the American union movement, fifteen million strong, will permit itself to be bound and destroyed without a struggle, without a whimper. With a deep sense of the risk they propose to take and the terrible hardships involved, rail workers are saying all over the country: somebody has got to make a stand. It might as well be us!

There is no use kidding anyone about what is most likely to happen. The rail union chiefs hold all the organizational strings in their hands. No matter what the memberships may think, they have no way of forcing the chiefs to lead them in battle, or of striking despite the leaders' capitulation. And at the present writing, there is little doubt that the leaders intend to capitulate. They have shown no stomach for the fight. Bold words have been followed by craven deeds. They have already abandoned many of the most essential demands originally served on the employers. All that is left is to gain some little concession, some tiny sop for the workers which will make it possible for them to sell a "settlement" to the ranks which will reduce the resignations from the unions to a minimum.

### CAUGHT IN VISE

The rail workers are caught in a vise. One jaw is the concerted force of the employers and their government. The other is a union structure which deprives them of any real say in the most vital decisions which which face their unions and hence each of them separately. Until they have broken the jaw which holds them organizationally helpless, they are not free to break the jaw of the employer-government conspiracy.

What is to be done? Many lodges have already passed resolutions urging their union chiefs to strike against the injunction. Better go to

jail, better have no treasury, than to junction and promising them full fisubmit to slow strangulation, to a creeping paralysis which will transform the unions from weapons of struggle for workers' rights into instruments for imposing slavery on

This crisis does not confront rail workers alone. It confronts all workers, all unions. Rail workers are willing to fight, but workers in all unions, CIO, AFL and independent, can help them to break the vise which holds

### NO SUBMISSION

In every union local or lodge in the country where LABOR ACTION is read, workers should pass resolutions urging the rail workers and their unions not to submit to serfdom by innancial and organizational support. Such resolutions should be sent to local rail lodges, to the rail labor chiefs, to the international officers of the AFL and CIO unions and to the government. All workers who understand what is at stake should use this opportunity to express their solidarity, and to serve notice on the union leaders, the employer class and the government that American workers are not slaves and that they will not permit themselves to be enslaved.

Such resolutions, whether passed by rail lodges or by other union locals, are not futile. They may not succeed in stiffening the spines of the flabby, frightened old rail chiefs who are weighed down by multi-million union treasuries and long-established habits of crawling on their knees becompanies and their government. But such resolutions will lay the groundwork for the battles which lie ahead. They will serve notice that the workers of America know what the employers and their government are proposing to do to them, and that they are through with compromise, with appeasement, with retreat.

One battle doesn't make a war. One defeat doesn't mean that all is lost. Resolutions passed by union locals urging the rail workers to stand and fight and promising them full support may not stave off defeat in this wage and rules movement. They can be the first step toward uniting and preparing the whole labor movement for the next battle in the war capital has declared on the working people of

## Unified Labor Strategy —

(Continued from page 1)

measures and court injunctions are preparatory measures to soften up the workers for the possible intervention of the Federal government.

The Chrysler Corporation contemptuously offered and then withdrew a token and insulting 6 cent wage increase and has stubbornly refused to budge. Even this offer was accompanied by a letter to all employees in which the company stated that its real position was that NO WAGE INCREASE was justified, but that it offered the 6 cents as ransom money against a strike. Chrysler is not alone in this arrogant attitude.

Not long ago, the steel industry flatly refused even a 1 cent increase to the United Steel Workers Union. Westinghouse Electric followed suit with an identical move against the CIO electrical workers.

The Ford Motors Company which succeeded in breaking the Foremen's Association in its plants after last years' foremen's strike is proposing NOT A WAGE INCREASE BUT IS DEMANDING A WAGE CUT from the union. A strike against Ford to defend the living standards of the workers is inevitable if the company does not retreat.

After battling it out for more than two months on the picket line where they met a campaign of terror and intimidation reminiscent of the open shop days of 15 years ago, the CIO packinghouse workers were compelled by the sheer pressure of hungry families and empty larders to return to work on the basis of the employers proposed 9 cents per hour wage increase. In Kansas City, for example, the police broke up peaceful picket lines with clubs, invaded the local union hall, wrecked the equipment and property, and beat all

The 9 cent wage increase leaves the Packinghouse workers far behind the cost of living.

### UNIFIED POLICY

If the Big Three auto monopolists, Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors, follow an agreed-upon plan of attack against the UAW the course of events is clear. The union will be forced either to capitulate and suffer a demoralizing setback, or it will be compelled to carry on a combined strike against the Big Three. Knowing the UAW and its militant rank and file we are certain that they will not capitulate. We know that they will take on the auto monopolists.

But it is not enough to be prepared to stand up against the auto

manufacturers. The shut-down of the big auto plants, involving in itself more than half a million workers, would quickly affect supplier and parts plants directly affecting possibly a million workers. Related industries would soon feel the effects

. . . rubber tires, glass etc. All the hig monopolies are tied together. If the auto barons decide to effect what amounts, in fact, to a lock-out of the mass production workers, shops and industries which could really continue in operation might be closed under one pretext or another. Such a unified and coordinated policy is pussible to the capitalist class because it is in control of all the levers of modern industry and has the dictatorial right to decide what plant shall and what plant shall not op-

The crowning aim of such a policy

would be a demand for Federal intervention, a demand for an antistrike injunction under the infamous "national emergency" sections of the Taft law. The capitalist class has received encouragement to embark upon such a criminal road by two years of government by injunction. Twice in two years the miners have been beaten back to the mines by injunctions and fined astronomical sums by the courts. Twice in two years the railroad workers have been driven back to work by government decree. In each case, upon the advice of leaders who do not know how to defend the rights of the labor movement or who are not willing to do what is so necessary, the labor movement has capitulated. That is what leads the auto manufacturers to the conclusion that now may be the time for a show-down battle.

All this MAY NOT occur. The capitalist class, seeing the solidarity of the auto workers, may decide that the unions are too powerful, that it is best to be more cautious and to wait. But it is possible. It is very possible. And if the UAW-CIO, should be forced to bow to government by injunction, this fact added to the capitulation of the miners and the railroad unions would give a green light to the whole capitalist class to begin a new era of union wrecking.

### SOCIAL STRUGGLE

The labor movement cannot permit itself to be forced backward one section at a time. The joint strategy of the capitalist class which has as its aim the final wrecking of the union movement must be met by a joint strategy of the labor movement for defense of its rights. What begins as a fight for a simple wage increase, for the right to improve or even merely to maintain the existing living standards of the workers is being transformed by the capitalist class into a big social struggle. And it must be met as such.

Against the "pattern" of government by injunction! A joint strategy committee representing all the mass unions and responsible to the democratically elected representatives of the workers must coordinate the fight. Shall one shop or more than one strike at a time? Shall one industry or more than one strike at a time? How can the workers be organized and mobilized to defend each sector of their struggle? These and similar matters can be settled by a joint strategy committee if it understands the need to prepare for coordinated mass action against the injunction pattern.

The UAW already has a Policy Committee for the whole auto industry. Two things are needed: 1) that this policy committee understand what is about to take place or what can very well take place; 2) that there be a "policy committee" for the whole working class.

### Union Offers Reward For Would-Be Killer

H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, AFL in Washington, this week offered a reward of \$1,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the attempted assassination of leaders of eleven hundred farm workers on strike against the Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation ranch near Bakersfield. Kern County, California on the night of May 17.

James B. Price, president of the Farm Labor Union Local 218, was critically injured when a fusilade of shots was fired into the home of a union member during a meeting of the strike committee over which he was presiding.

"There are three parties who may be responsible for this crime," said Mitchell, "one, the management of the Di Giorgio Corporation, two, the Associated Farmers of California Inc., and three, the Communist agents of the CP controlled Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union CIO. It obviously was a planned job done by hired thugs and either of the above parties is quite capable of an attempt to assassinate leaders of our FE FUTURE UNSURE

# Labor Notes From

By WILLIAM BARTON

OAKLAND, Calif., May 21 - In a bolder replica of the attempted assassination of Walter Reuther, James Price, chairman of the strike committee of the AFL Farm Laborers' Union seven-months-old strike at the huge Di Giorgio ranch, was shot through the head and seriously wounded while attending a meeting at the home of one of the strikers. The gunmen, driving a car with unlit headlights, fired through a window into the room where the committee was in session, and quickly fled. Witnesses declare that there were several pistol and rifle shots. Price's life is still in danger at this writing, and there are no announced clues leading to the gunmen.

The pattern is obviously nationwide: attempted murder of union leaders; actual murder of striking pickets. Sweet talk has now been pushed aside. The class struggle is here at its rawest.

Members of the International Association of Machinists have settled their 43-day-old strike with thirtyfive shops in the Bay Area with a tentative agreement on a wage increase of 12 cents an hour. AFL Molders are still on strike at 30 shops, and the IAM has promised to recognize their picket lines.

Henry Wallace came to this area for the first time in a year. Last year's tour was definitely a triumphal march. This year, even his supporters aren't so sure.

His Los Angeles mass meeting was reported to be an enthusiastic success. That may be. But his meetings in the Bay Area definitely were not. Crowds appeared to be slimmer than last time, when he was not a candidate for president. The lack of usual fervor in his audiences was noticeable. Many a pro-Wallace person now more definitely admits that he cares little for the man and not much more for his program, but still intends to

vote for him in opposition to the two old parties.

One of the most significant parts of the tour was his address outside the campus of the University of California in Berkeley. There is a "Students for Wallace" organization there claiming five hundred members. Three thousand signatures were garnered requesting him to speak before the student body. The local press claims that he had an audience of 4,000, of whom not all were students at the college. His followers generally admit that he had a conspicuously larger reception last year at the same

But, what was more important was the reaction of the audience. Applause was scant and half-hearted. His supposedly telling comments seemed little appreciated. The meeting chairman asked for voting on several proposed resolutions. The "ayes" were amazingly few and quiet; there was no request for "no" votes, probably out of fear at the likely result. Many actually expressed a feeling of great embarrassment for the former Vice-President. Both his ideas and his bearing lacked vigor, and the audience was in the same mood. His stalwarts are explaining everything away by the excuse that "he was tired."

If a vote were taken now, Wallace would undoubtedly be the choice of many. No one can decisively predict what can happen in the coming months of campaigning. But, it is clear that the Wallace campaign has currently passed its high point here. Many are becoming aware that their acceptance of his candidacy is based only upon resentment and wild hopes. They are becoming convinced that his movement is based on the fusion of the two quicksands, confusion and the Stalinist apparatus. That many may not extricate themselves for fear of falling into the equally dangerous marshes of the Republican and Democratic parties is the fault of those who have forsaken the opportunity of presenting a real alternative, the labor leadership who have refused to initiate an independent Labor Party,

## **UAW Wins Vote—**

(Continued from page 1)

Greathouse, and Ray Berndt, International Board members, Vic and Roy Reuther, George Campbell, head of the Skilled Trades departmentall were present to impress the Peoria workers that the UAW-CIO was serious. (The last time the UAW-CIO had a chance, Phil Murray gave them the famous knife in the back).

The result: the UAW-CIO got more than 55 per cent of the votes cast. It picked up 5100 votes in eight days, whereas the AFL could only get an additional 937 votes. (See last issue of LABOR ACTION-Ed.)

Now the UAW-CIO has a job to do. The wages in the plant are very low. The plant average is \$1.20 compared to \$1.54 at Massey Harris Racine, and Ford Tractor, and \$1.52 at J. I. Case in Racine, and \$1.51 at the Harvester Melrose Park plant. The company has reaped benefits through the years because of the desultory unionism of FE which, during the war, waved the flag instead of picking up area increases, and, afterwards, settled for less than the prevailing pattern in order to prevent AFL unions from invading its juris-

The Stalinist tactic of voting NO UNION was completely exposed in this situation. The one excuse for

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not signing the T-H affidavits has been that they can get a majority vote for NO UNION and keep their bargaining rights, and by doing this they do not bow to the Taft-Hartley Law. However, what has happened is that bosses provoke a strike situation and then call in a competing union to unseat the leadership, or make them settle for much less than their goal. The situation has become so serious in FE's International Harvester division that they are going to poll their membership on the question of compliance.

The FE which has about 40,000 members in the international lost a union which contributed 40 per cent of the international per capita. What attitude the UAW-CIO will take towards the rest of FE will be taken up by the International Executive Board at a meeting to be held soon in Detroit.

One of the highlights of this fight was the appearance of the company ad urging workers to vote for union representation and promising that any wage increase granted by the new bargaining representative would be retroactive to the day after the election, and the FE having an ad on the next page urging the workers to vote for "NO UNION." This could only happen in the era of the Taft-Hartley Law.

## Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

### **Corrects Omission** In Wallace Quote

Editor:

I believe it is the duty of LA-BOR ACTION to correct a flagrant distortion of the position of Henry Wallace on the settlement of strikes which appears in Hal Draper's article entitled "Henry Wallace's Record on Labor and Jim Crow Much Unlike His Promises" in the issue of

Comrade Draper quotes an article by Wallace in the New Republic of December 30, 1946 in part as follows: "If a strike takes place in . . . industries which are essential to the continued life of the nation, the industry should be taken over and operated by the government until a settlement can be reached. . . ." Commenting on this part of Wallace's proposals of 1946 Comrade Draper writes: "What's wrong with a little injunction to halt strikes for 80 days when it's all right for the government to 'take over' the industry under circumstances where the union is deprived of any power?"

The distortion of Wallace's position resides in the ommission of the rest of Wallace's proposal where the dots appear in the quotation. Here is the

bolized" by the dots in Draper's quo-

"During this period of operation there should be no profits to the owners, in order to avoid the situation we have seen in the past where the government has simply acted as a stooge for the employers, who have hidden behind the pressure created by public indignation against the strikers and let the government drive a harder bargain with the workers than is fair or just. When the government acts, let it act truly as the representative of all the people."

It seems to me too obvious to need emphasis that these sentences, omitted from the article, place Wallace's proposal in an altogether different light from the impression given the readers of LABOR ACTION. Should the government "seizure" of the railroads mean that all profits during government "operation" go into the national treasury pending settlement between the unions and the compamies, there is not doubt that the capitalists and their newspapers would be howling bloody murder against government seizure rather than sitting back and laughing at the work-

ers up their sleeves. Comrade Draper and the Editor of

rest of the paragraph which is "sym- LABOR ACTION may well be convinced that this part of Wallace's proposal is not sincere, or that if he were President he would not do what he advocates as a private citizen. However, this in no way justifies simply deleting this part of his proposal, it only necessitates analyzing it and exposing the impossibility of such action on the part of a capitalist government which is there to serve the bosses' interests.

On the face of it, this deletion of a vital and pertinent part of Wallace's proposal for handling strikes in an article mainly devoted to that question smacks of the worst practices of the capitalist and Stalinist press so roundly and justly condemned by LABOR ACTION. It cannot but cast doubt in the minds of our readers on the reliability of the paper as a source of information. Even more seriously, it puts in question the political integrity of the paper and the Workers Party whose views it ex-

Gordon HASKELL,

The passage from Wallace was quoted exactly as it appeared in the research bulletin published by the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) on the third-party movement. It is clear from . Comrade Haskell's letter that it was indeed a mistake to rely upon the ADA's notions of research; for I certainly agree that they were wrong in omitting the paragraph which Haskell quotes and regret being led into following suit.

Doubly regretful, indeed, because I should especially have wished to quote the omitted sentences in line with the general picture presented in my article. I think they put a finishing touch to the picture of Wallace's brand of "liberalism"-and not because (as Comrade Haskell seems to think?) it is necessary to impugn Wallace's sincerity, however that is to be gauged.

I said in my article that Wallace's proposal for government "seizure" of strikebound industries for the duration of the strike was as much a means of strikebreaking as the Taft-Hartley injunction process. (Truman proved it in the railroaders' case a week after I wrote that.) But Wallace is not Taft, as everybody knows. Wallace proposes a government strikebreaking process, sure 'nuff, but, as a liberal, he adds that there be no profits during this period of government strikebreaking.

If the railroad men had struck for a week or a month, the owners would

have made no profits during that week or month-and in addition faced the risk of losing the strike to the workers (pay raise, etc.). Wallace proposes a formula whereby the government likewise deprives the owners of their profits for that week or month (let's say so, anyway) BUT NONETHELESS INSURES THE BREAKING OF THE STRIKE. This is the difference between Wallace "liberalism" and Taft-Hartley devil-

As a matter of fact, in the railroaders' case, it took only the threat of government seizure to break the strike. The no-profits feature of Wallace's "liberal" formula comes into play only if the workers actually do go out on strike; the strikebreaking feature of the same "liberal" formula comes into play in order to head off such a strike in the first place.

Yes, I very much regret that the paragraph in question was not before me when I wrote the article. I've met no better example underlining the nature of Wallace's liberalism than this one of two formulas for strikebreaking. There was a time when liberals came out against strikebreaking on principle, you

Hal DRAPER.

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# Editorials

### Israel's War

Last week's editorial on this subject raised the question: Are the Israeli Jews to wage a war of nationalst expansionism, or a revolutionary war for the reunfication of Palestine from below against both the Jewish and Arab ruling classes?

Before this question can be answered, the first illusion that needs destroying is the illusion that the splinter state of Israel can "go it alone." To be sure, given Haganah military victories, Israel can succeed in maintaining its formal independence. But world imperialism-British, American AND Russian-will remain on the scene with their fingers in the pie as long as the Balkanization of the Middle East continues.

The present situation in Palestine, the fruit of partition and the end product of Zionist policy in the country, can only continue to inflame nationalist hostility on both sides. It is reported that when the Jews took Haifa, a large part if not all of the Arab population moved from the city. This is a better commentary on the state of feeling between the two peoples than all the Zionists' talk of how much they have done for the poor Arabs.

Even if the Arab legions' invasion is beaten back, the new state of Israel exists in an impossible economic and political situation. Its leaders will be forced to seek to fortify the stability of the new state in face of an encirclement of hatred —and they will look or aid and comfort only toward the imperialists. Such will be the inevitable drift for these "practical" politicians whose conception of statesmanship will consist of attempts to maneuver with the imperialist interests which hold Palestine in a net. And the price of such statesmanship can only be their willingness to act as an imperialist outpost in the Middle East for one or the other of the contending forces, hoping for protection and support in exchange.

The Israeli leaders may seek to hitch their state wagon to the rising star of American imperialism; elements like the Hashomer in the new state already look toward Russian power with hope: and it is not even excluded that, given a quarter of a chance, they will also be willing to return to their pre-war role as cat's-paws of British influence. If the last is least likely it is only because the British seem to be convinced that they can do better business with the Arabs.

Behind all this is the sorry fact that Israel CANNOT exist as a splinter state quivering in the flesh of the Arab Middle East without constant war-skirmishing or imperialist entanglements or both. This is guaranteed both for economic and political reasons, as it was for the splinter states of Eastern Europe that emerged from the First World War (Czechoslovakia, for

This is why the only road that can save the Jews from subservience to imperialism or destruction by the Arabs is a course directed toward the REUNIFICATION OF PALESTINE on a basis which will permit the two peoples to live together in fraternal harmony. Such an outcome is simply impossible on the basis of the present policy of the Israeli leadership. And it is equally impossible as long as the Arab masses are under the unchallenged domination of their semi-feudal dynasties, landlords, effendis and

The reunification of Palestine and of the two peoples in it can take place only through a struggle FROM BELOW. The conditions for such a struggle are present as they were before partition—the class struggle within Jewish society, and the grinding exploitation of the Arab peasants by their lords and masters.

We believe that the main (not exclusive, but the main) responsibility for taking the initiative in this direction lies with the Jewish workersprecisely because, as the Zionist leaders boast on any occasion, it is the Jews who are the more advanced socially and culturally, because it is they who claim to be socialists, etc.

While opposing any attempt by the Arab landlord regimes to overthrow the Jewish state and impose their own reactionary sway on the whole land, it is the duty of real socialists in Israel to fight for a policy, a program and a government of the working people which CAN bring about such reunification instead of deepening the nationalist gulf.

The key to such a program is in the first place the policy of the people of Israel toward the Arabs NOW WITHIN THEIR OWN BORDERS. Israel must demonstrate that they are fighting NOT AGAINST THE ARAB PEOPLE BUT AGAINST THE ARAB DY-NASTS AND LANDLORDS who are also the opprest sors of the Arab people themselves. It must demonstrate that it seeks the alliance of the Arab masses against their own exploiters—an alliance of classes.

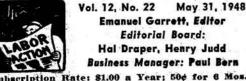
It can demonstrate this only by sharply reversing the whole Zionist policy toward the Arab people-accepting them as equals and collaborators in the building up, not of a JEWISH state, but of a BI-NATIONAL STATE. We use the term "bi-national" (which has been used with various senses) to designate merely the aim of a state which is the home of TWO peoples and comports itself as such, the forms to be worked out in common agreement.

Complete, equal rights to the Arabs within the state of Israel; equality, not Jim Crow, in the Jewish-controlled trade unions; the abandonment of the economic nationalism which has reigned in the Jewish community hitherto; the constitutional AND de facto guarantee of the Arabs' fully recognized status as a national people-here are the elementary beginnings of such a program in Israel which can demonstrate in action the basis for a reunited Palestine.

Only such a government in Israel could seek to stir up the Arab masses of the invading nations against their own oppressors, raising in the first place its sympathy with the demand for LAND TO THE ARAB FELLAHEEN and the other social inter-

### LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism

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### ests of the submerged mass of the Arab semi-feudal

Such a state, which appears in the Middle East not as the representative of Jewish nationalist chauvinism but of the social aspirations of all the people, Jewish and Arab, could fight for a reunified Palestine-and live.

Such is the program for a REVOLUTION-ARY WAR against the Arab feudal lords, not a war of nationalist expansion against the Arab people. Such a program cannot be expected from the present rightist government of Israel, dominated by the Jewish capitalist class and tailended by the bourgeois labor leaders of the Histadrut, which in the longer run can only stumble from disaster to stalemate to subservience under outside imperialism.

Such a program demands the fight for a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT in Israel as the vanguard of the future United Socialist States of the Middle East.

Without such a program all the heroic sacrifices of the Jewish people and all the military victories of the Haganah will not be able to make of Palestine anything but a death trap of the peoples and a happy hunting ground of revived

### G.M. Settlement

We go to press too soon after the announcement of the General Motors wage settlement to estimate fully its meaning. We will return to the subject next week, but our first impression is that the settlement, in the circumstances, represents a meaningful victory for the United Automobile Workers-CIO, and for other sections of the labor movement as well. It is not the big, clear-cut victory labor needs and desires, but it is a victory

The UAW won far less than it demanded and far less than the men in the shops needed. Instead of the 25 cent an hour increase sought by the union, GM settled for 11 cents, adding an escalator clause. Though less than half of the union's demand, the 11 cents, plus the escalator provision, must be viewed in the light of the overall picture. That picture reveals in its details a comprehensive boss offensive to tame the unions with the help of the Taft-Hartley Law, and beat down wage demands. The steel workers were compell (by the boss offensive and the spinelessness of their leaders) to accept nothing. The packinghouse workers returned to work on the companies' wage conditions. The railroad workers' leadership capitulated before the threat of injunction. Ford has asked for a wage cut! Chrysler has, up to now, refused to consider more than a 6 cent wage hike. And General Motors itself at first refused to discuss any wage settlement, then of-

fered a skimpy few cents. Thus, the GM settlement in effect checks the boss offensive, at least in auto. It is, further, a tribute to the militancy of the UAW which smashed through the solid boss front.

Again, as in the past, other unions will benefit from the UAW's militancy. In auto, it will be difficult for other companies not to fall into line. Outside of auto, it will be difficult for employers to continue their arrogant assault on labor. Everywhere labor will be heartened, encouraged to stand up and fight. The boss offensive is a long way from being licked, but it has been checked in auto, and delt a telling blow in other indus-

We haven't yet seen all the details on the es-

calator clause. Two things seem obvious now. One, it is an important victory in principle; it makes the bosses responsible for the rising cost

Two, and perhaps less important in the situaon, it is not yet the kind of escalator clause that ought to be written into every union contract. For one thing, an escalator clause, to be truly effective, must be based upon a minimum standard of wage decency. GM wages are hardly that, and the 11 cent increase is nowhere near what the GM workers need. We say this not to minimize in anyway the significant winning of an escalator clause in the GM contract, but by way of indicating what must be sought in the future. There is no reason to doubt the ability of the UAW to get whatever is needed in time. Also, it must be noted that the contract provides for a decrease in wages should the cost of living go down. This is bad, but we think the UAW workers will be able to handle this problem when it arises.

Why did GM settle, given the general Big Business agreement to show the unions who is master? Other explanations may appear in the next few days. At least two suggest themselves at the moment:

(1) GM knew it was not up against a creampuff outfit, that the UAW could not be browbeaten, that the traditions of this magnificent, democratic union would not likely produce an easy defeat. (2) GM may be looking forward to next year and trying in advance to head off what is clearly in the cards for then. The settlement provides for a two year contract. We do not know if it could have been avoided, but it is in our opinion the worst feature of the contract. A wide-scale strike situation is shaping up for next year. The steel workers' union backed down this year, claiming it had to live up to its contract. but would hit the industry hard in 1949. With a steel strike very possible next year, applying pressure on all of industry, GM may have reasoned that it had better yield this year in order to prevent bigger concessions next spring. Whether it works out that way remains to be seen.

Finally, it must be repeated that while the general boss offensive has been dented, it is not broken. With general union support, backed by the weight of all unions, cooperating under a joint strategy, the UAW could have won every one of its demands. Such a common strategy, reflecting the democratic participation of the ranks in all unions, is still a major necessity.

Further, it in no way alters what we have said about the urgency of a comprehensive labor program in which political action is a key plank. Elsewhere in this LABOR ACTION there is an article which refers to labor's current battle as a social struggle, transcending the smple, if essential, issue of wages. The bosses and their government must be met on the double field of economic and political action; met by an aggressive labor offensive that embraces union cooperation for economic gains and the creation of an independent labor party for political victory.

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# WORLD POLITICS

### Uncle Joseph and Cousin Henry:

Henry Wallace was speaking at a radio broadcast when the news of Stalin's response to his "open letter" came through. A bulletin on Stalin's statement was handed to him. According to the United Press report, "in a voice quavering with emotion, Mr. Wallace said he was 'overwhelmed.' '

"I am humble and grateful to be an instrument in this crisis, in having been able to bring about this offer for a settlement of our differences," he said huskily. We can appreciate Henry's emotion!

Humble This leader of the army of Giddeonites has received his long-awaited sign of recognition from on high for his good deeds, and he is stirred to the depths of his being. Swept away by the evangelical side of his campaign (ably stirred up by the group of cynical Stalinists who surround and direct his every movement), Henry has evolved steadily since the launching of his crusade in the direction of becoming a full-fledged neo-Stalinist. He means it, every last

word of it! It would be a huge joke, this sucker game, if so many serious matters were not involved. On one side we have a naive, slightly ridiculous figure (precisely pecause of his oh so obvious sincerity) feeding carefully toasted and browned questions into the mouth of the experienced, shrewd and receptive Holy Father himself-the fatherly Deity who can be both stern and kindly, and speak with forked tongues of lightning or as gently as a Biblical ewe. "You are truly for peace, are you not?" asks cousin Henry, "Why of course," is the kindly response. "Then let us have a general reduction of armaments, outlawing of all methods of mass destruction, resumption of unrestricted trade, free movements of citizens, students and newspaper men between and within the two countries (that is what Stalin gagged at, slightly, when in his reply he wrote that, "... nor can it be said that certain formulations and comment in the open letter do not need to be improved...")." To which benevolent Joseph promptly replied that, "... Mr. Wallace's program could serve as a good and fruitful basis for such an agreement. . . ."

### BEHIND THE "PEACE" WAR

The Kremlin has launched a gigantic, international "peace" campaign and all its stooges are singing the melody, in or out of tune. The campaign, as we indicated in last week's LABOR ACTION, is not entirely without a real desire to re-open negotiations with American imperialism and attempt to settle specific issues. When Stalin says he is for, "respect for the sovereignty of individual countries and noninterference in their domestic affairs," that is simply his Wallaceite way of saying to America, cannot you agree to stay away from the Russian-occupied and dominated land of Eastern Europe, the Baltic and the Balkans? Stalin is not only anxious to give cousin Henry a helping boost; far more important for him is to attempt to maneuver American imperialism into a momentary and satisfactory settlement of at least the outstanding issues. Stalin lists the principle issues in his letter:

Atomic weapons; peace treaties over Germany, Korea, Japan, etc., world development of international trade "excluding any sort of discrimination" (translation: long term loans to Russia), etc.

But while cousin Henry is only too keen to talk, ask more stooge questions and burble and gurgle with joy over the words of his Heavenly Father, the voice in Washington—where real power resides—is silent. From the center of imperialism there is only rebuff and reiteration of the "no negotiations" statement. Truman has no intention of seeking a settlement until, at the very least, the effectiveness of the Marshall Plan in operation has been such as to restore a stability and balance in Europe so great as to give America the upper hand in such negotiations, while simultaneously robbing the Stalinists of all powers of initiative. This is patent.

The situation of last year and early this year, where Stalinism could knock off such countries as Czechoslovakia at its ease, must be reversed before Truman and Marshall will settle down to horse-trading. That may take a year or so. It is this fact which so embarasses Truman and which enables cousin Henry to work to the hilt his demagogy of "Peace Crusader," encloaked in a white robe from on high.

### WHEN AND HOW TO USE UN

"Only through the UN will we talk," says Marshall. A sidelight on the role of the UN in international affairs is provided by this. Everybody knows that when \* and if there is ever to be a deal worked out, the UN will have as little to do with it as it has to do with bringing peace to Palestine. If they are ever to be, negotiations will take place precisely as Stalin now proposes, with hardened experts of both powers swapping back and forth over a table. When it was convenient-that is, when American imperialism was anxous to make settlements-it ignored the existence of the UN (over Germany, Palestine etc.). During that period, Stalinism demanded the settlement of all issues through the UN because, actually, it wanted nothing settled! Now the situation is reversed, and Stalin wants to talk facts and trukey, but the opponent wants to run to the UN!

And so the game will proceed, month after month and year after year, through winding and torturous ways. Many a cousin Wallace will be nudged into life, built up to ask his stooge questions and then tossed away by Stalin. Many a proposition and counter-proposition will be launched, examined and tested before the ultimate eventuality of war must be faced. But none of this means peace and this must be recognized by all of us. World Stalinism and American imperialism are irreconcilable in the end, and cousin Henry's emotional tittering only blinds the fact that what is needed is a complete break, with equal resoluteness, with both. The real function of the cousin Henry of this particular moment was well stated by Stalinist foreign expert, Joseph Starobin, in his "Around the Globe" column in the Daily Worker. He remarked that Stalin's note was also addressed to the Republican candidates, ". . . particularly in view of the likelihood of a Republican presidency next January." Uncle Joseph would gladly part with cousin Henry's last Gideon Society Bible if he thought he could get Taft in the White

Henry JUDD

centration camps in the Amazonic

jungles (Satiro). We beg you to pop-

ularize this information to the revo-

With revolutionary greetings,

FRANCE (IPS)-The results of the

trial of a number of militants of the

PCI (French Trotskyist party) for

publishing a poster entitled "DOWN

WITH THE WAR IN INDOCHINA"

Heavy penalties were imposed.

Craipean, Demaziere, Parisot and

Proudhon were fined 10,000 francs

each. Berger, Odette Escoffier. Lhom-

meau, Marchesin and Guillaud were

fined 6.000 francs each. This was the

judgment of the magistrates of the

Fourth Republic for "Provoking and

attempting to demoralize the nation

and the army." Some of the com-

were badly hit and a fund has been

opened to pay the fines, to which the

Vietnamese comrades in France have

Only the comrades of the PCI-

France conducted a real struggle

against the Indochinese war. "Le

Populaire," organ of the Socialist

Party, whose leaders are in the gov-

ernment, called for an amnesty for

the Trotsyists and spoke of their

"sincerity." "L'Humanité," organ of

the Communist Party (Stalinist), po-

litely requests the Government to

cease the war or to negotiate with

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Ho Chi Minh.

rades, especially those with families,

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were announced on April 23.

T. R.

lutionary press.

### THE 70 GROUP AIR FORCE SQUABBLE

It's the silly season.

This is the season when the newspapers announce that eclipses have military value (Solar System Finally Justifies Self!) This is the time of year when Truman goes to church and the scripture text for the service is, "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." This is the month when the Rev. Robert J. White, president of the Chaplains' Association of the Army and Navy of the United States, flutes, Our hearts are with all victims of persecution at all times," but that he does not propose to do anything about segregation in the armed forces. This is the time of year when Churchill, speaking in Amsterdam, brassly trumpets, "I invoke the interests of the broad proletarian masses.' This is the season when a woman in New York sues her husband for divorce because he forced her to read Marx.

And this is the season when Congress increases the air force budget and all the leading military figures except those in the air force raise an aggrieved howl.

What lies behind this unwonted opposition of leading political and military personnel to an increase in the air force?

Part of the opposition, of course, derives from inter-departmental pride, jealousy-and the consequently sharpened appetite for public funds. Given the air-power hypnosis, it was not difficult for Stuart Symington, secretary for the department of the air, to break the discipline established, alas, but a few weeks ago by the new department of defense, make his bid for a seventygroup air force, and get it overwhelmingly approved by a Congress positively goggle-eyed and red in the face with patriotism.

A good part of the opposition was furnished by persons having a more inclusive view of the armaments program. Secretary of defense Forrestal indicated that the establishment of an air force of 21,000 planes would give a false sense of security. Modern wars, he indicated, and especially a war with Russia, cannot be won primarily by an air force. A proper balance of land and naval forces must be maintained.

Hanson W. Baldwin, the military analyst, has pointed out that infantry commitments for a war with Russia would be astonishingly large. And hardly a beginning has been made in resolving this problem at home and abroad. Nor has the problem really been tackled of equipping these men with new weapons, without which Russia could strongly oppose the United States. Such weapons include heavier and better tanks, effective anti-tank guns, new communications equipment, and large caliber recoilless weapons. In a recent speech Eisenhower posed another and related problem-an international division of labor to produce such materiel.

From this there flows another consideration a social struggle, transcending the simple, if es-Russia into hasty actions which could not be coped with militarily now. Followng the successes of the Italian elections, the United States can afford to relax the tempo. It can also look forward to a lessening of tensions abroad as the ERP takes hold.

Coupled with this was the alarm expressed by European nations in the U.S. orbit who felt that the belligerent policy of the U.S. would lead to premature clashes with Russian forces and policies which could not be successfully met at the present time. Hence Marshall's plea for God's sake not to rock the boat by proposing changes in the UN-changes chiefly involving the exclusion of Russia. And hence the proposal to Russia for conversations.

One of the basic causes for opposition, however, rests upon a recognition of the economic dislocations which such a program would induce in this country, especially if army and navy forces were brought into balance and if economic and military commitments to Europe and Asia were

In his statement Forrestal warned that a smaller program was indicated "... in the interest of avoiding, so far as possible, allocations, rationing, price controls and a host of other restric-. . the demands upon an already practically fully employed and tight economy may produce explosive inflationary consequences. . . . The military demands must be within the limits of our capacity to produce, or, alternatively, we must accept those controls that are found necessary to channel man power and materials necessary to insure the desired production."

What this means is that the most responsible (capitalist) leaders of the country fear the social consequences of the program. For implicit in it is the curtailing of civilian production, allocation of raw materials to war industries, rationing, wage freezing and other curbs upon labor -and an inevitable acceleration of the drive to war. Since the tasks are so huge, the restrictions in all spheres involving the working class will be much more extensive and intensive than in World War II. It is the fear of the reactions of the workers which lies behind this argumentation against the seventy-group air force.

In sum, congress-and congress in the silly season of an election year-is proving something less than an ideal executive for the capitalist class. This is the burden of Hanson W. Baldwin's well-reasoned complaint in the New York Times. But there is no law which says that comedians

-all unconscious, of course-shall not sit in congress. They too can contribute to the evolution of history. And the contribution of the current set is to bring closer that fateful D-day whose appearance even the somewhat shrewder politicos view with fear and trembling.

### International Socialist Notes LETTER FROM PERU There can be no doubt about the concentration camps are awaiting us. anti-communism of the feudal-bour- We know that the government is LIMA, April 26 (IPS)-The Govern-

ment is tightening up against our organization and is preparing to take measures against us. The position of insecurity started with the imprisonment by the Peruvian police, of Nelson Capelline, the militant miner's leader of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Bolivia who resides in Lima. Nelson Capelline was expelled from Bolivia (his native country) as a result of the failure of the general strike at the end of 1947. After residing a few months freely in Lima, the Peruvian police arrested him, possibly in complicity with the government of Bolivia, under the accusation of being "an international agitator." We know that the Peruvian police tried to make him reveal information about the POR organization in Peru and, in particular, about the identity of its leaders. Naturally, comrade Capelline, who didn't participate in Peru and couldn't participate because of illness, refused to fulfill this role of an informer.

Nevertheless, it appears that the police were able to find, through other sources, the desired information. Its first step against the POR was the imprisonment of Leoncio Bueno, editor of "Revolucion," Saturday, April 24. Comrade Bueno was arrested in his own factory, where he works as a textile worker. He is being held incommunicado in the police headquarters and we don't know take as its excuse some article from "Revolucion." Up to this date, we don't know exactly what are the accusations against him. As is to be expected, the press, from Stalinist to the reactionary, including the Apra, didn't say a single word about this police measure.

The arrest of comrade Bueno must be considered as the first step in the anti-communist campaign of the Peruvian government. It' doesn't surprise us at all that the Trotskyists should be the first to be affected by this campaign of the Peruvian bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism. We know that the Yankee embassy has us numbered. It is worthwhile to restate that the Apra, a petty-bourgeois party, which was reduced to the status of an opposition by the reactionary maneuvers, is the first to demand of the government "strong measures against communism." As an agent of Yankee imperialism, the Apra attacks Stalinism furiously, but in the same ferocious way, any other tendency opposed to Yankee imperialism, and with much more force, the revolutionary movement.

geois Peruvian government. Never- preparing to send the "communists," theless, the barely hidden support real ones and phony ones, to conthat Stalinism is giving to the government and to the reaction has, until the present, given a certain original form to the anti-communist campaign of the government. So, in the municipals designated by the government (anti-democratic municipal representation called "committees of notables") there is quite a number of Stalinist and fellow-travellers members. In view of this, the Apra is engaged in anti-communist competition with the government and reaction, going so far as to accuse the government and reaction of being "agents of Russia," which is the height of nonsense. To counteract this campaign, the

the Bogota conference together with the US and Chile a motion against "communism and any other form of totalitarianism." Strange as it may appear, the government is preparing to accuse the Apra of . . . "communism." Already the reactionary press and the government propaganda are accusing the Apra of being a variant of "communism." On the other hand, it is quite evident that the Stalinists. netwithstanding their betravals and their miserable role as agents of the government and reaction, will become victims of the campaign. . . The Stalinists who are trying to find his fate. Surely the government will a basis of unity with these sectors are designating as a "mistake" or "prejudice," the campaign of anticommunism, since according to them there is no "communist" danger, but there is an imperialist danger. In accordance with their "tactic" the Stalinists refuse to recognize any other enemy than Yankee imperialism. That's how they capitulate before the native bourgeoisie and, through it bow before the very same impe-

Peruvian government presented to

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# A Militarized America Pinpoints the Entire Globe With U.S. Network of Army-Navy Bases

Almost three years after the war the militarists remain the dominant force in the government. Beyond the state - utilizing its prestige, power and resources - they have extended their influence to schools, research institutions, industry and cultural life. This militarization of American life is part of the increasing intervention of the heavy hand of the government everywhere and in all things. Our militarists are laying the groundwork now for the total Third World

While that part of the national income which is taken by the state has increased markedly since the depression, the part of the budget going to military purposes has become larger than all other government appropriations combined. The 1947 budget contained \$121/2 billion for the army and navy alone, or 32 per cent. The total for all military purposes was about \$21 billion, or 54 per cent of the budget. This amounts to about 12 per cent of the entire national income exclusively for military purposes.

The cold war was planned to get hotter in 1948 and accordingly military appropriations were increased to 66.3 per cent of the budget. However, even this total still does not include supplementary allocations and hidden and indirect appropriations. More and more of the economy is swallowed up by imperialism. This cost is largely borne by the withholding taxes paid by American workers.

(Continued from page 1)

poration revenue has been so great

during and since the war that the un-

distributed surplus remaining in the

treasuries of businesses has mounted

from \$46,000,000,000 in 1939 to exactly

double in 1947, or \$92,000,000,000. This

means that the financial situation of

business is even better than excellent.

The actual benefit to corporations

from being in such a position is that

they do not have to make loans and

pay interest. Business Week of Feb-

ruary 7, 1948, pointed out that 84 per

cent of new plant and equipment of

manufacturing companies is being fi-

nanced internally, only 16 per cent

coming from loans. The CIO's Eco-

nomic Outlook concludes from the

above: "This, in effect, means that the

The modified escalator clause in

adjustments for the cost of living

factor, based on the official Bureau

of Labor Statistics figures, provided

there is a change, either way, of 1.14

points in the index reflecting living

costs. In no case, however, can there

be a reduction in the immediate cost

of living increase below five cents

In other words, if there is a real

price reduction, the UAW-CIO limits

any wage reduction it would take

in the next year to 5 cents an hour.

If prices continue to rise, wage ad-

justments upwards will follow each

quarter, according to how the price

increases affect the cost of living, as

The UAW-CIO agreed to withdraw

its petitions for elections to the

NLRB for a union shop in GM plants.

It retained its voluntary dues check-

off system, and a "union security

clause" which we have not yet been

Although ambiguous language cov-

ers the status of the pension plan and

an hour, for the first year.

NO UNION SHOP

able to obtain and study.

An excellent pamphlet ("The Militarization of America," published by the National Council Against Conscription) relates in detail how the State Department has come under control of the generals and its policies shaped in accordance with and subordinated to military direction. This is a sharp reversal of the traditional relationship in the United States. It is part of the process which Leon Trotsky called "the Europeanization of America," and which accelerates as imperialism becomes the decisive direction of the state.

The merger of the army and navy has made the Secretary of Defense the dominant figure in the cabinet. Harold Ickes' column and the New York Post report that Forrestal is "the most powerful man in the administration." Forrestal, the Secretary of Defense, is also the key liaiman with Wall Street. As former associate of the investment banking house of Dillon, Read, he was involved in Middle Eastern oil deals. It is he who is credited with influencing Truman to reverse U. S. policy on the partition of Palestine and with stiffening the Arab feudal leadership's resistance to partition. Forrestal is also reputedly responsible for the most scandalous steal in years -the transfer of navy-held tidewater oil lands in California to private oil

Military attachés to American embassies are no longer showpieces.

consumer, by paying exorbitant

prices, is largely financing the tre-

mendous post-war expansions in cor-

With this backlog of surplus, the

corporations still refuse to grant

workers a decent living wage. Com-

pare the financial situation of corpo-

rations with that of their workers.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics bud-

get for the worker allows a pitiful

\$85 a year for payment of premium

on life insurance, and that is all this

niggardly budget permits by way of

saving—some family surplus that!

Again such wartime savings as work-

ers had are rapidly being depleted.

porate plants and equipment."

Today American foreign policy seeks from Vladivostok military clauses in most treaties it signs, no matter what the ostensible purpose. Thus the "good neighbor policy" has transformed the Inter-American Union into an interlocking and permanent military organization coordinated with the U.S. general. staff. In February 1946 the U.S. had seventeen military missions in the twenty-one countries of Latin America. The recent Bogota conference had as its central theme coordination of military establishments for the announced purpose of "defense against communism," that is, preparation for war against Russia.

### BASES EVERYWHERE

The U.S. has a pact with Canada aligning the two countries militarily. In China, military forces continue to be the chief U. S. representatives. Military occupation determines policy in Japan and Germany. A string of American bases has established the supremacy of the American navy in both oceans. In the Pacific direct military rule governs scores of islands, including Okinawa with a quarter million population. Guam is a fortress. Whole archipelagos have been transformed into proving grounds for the atomic bomb. The act which "freed" the Philippines provided for U. S. bases. In Japan, the U.S. is rebuilding and enlarging old airfields. Last week the New York Times reported completion of Miwasa airfield, capable of handling the largest bombers, only a few hours

tions redemptions run far above sales.

The very poor financial situation of

the working people is also shown by

a Federal Reserve Bank survey of

withdrawals from savings banks by

low income groups. Such withdraw-

als, the survey reveals, are made to

maintain purchases of basic necessi-

ties-not for that house, car, trip or

Working people are also being

driven into debt, paying interest rates

far in excess of 10 per cent, mortgag-

ing their future, running the chance

of losing the merchandise they buy

other "luxury" that savings are sup-

posed to go for.

In the Atlantic the army has retained the bases which were acquired in the wartime exchange for destroyers, so that British colonies in the Caribbean are U. S. control points. Jamaica, Bermuda, Trinidad, Guiana, Antigua, Newfoundland and other islands are American bases. Iceland, Greenland, Baffin Island and Labrador, which the U. S. "protected" during the war, remain sites for U.S.

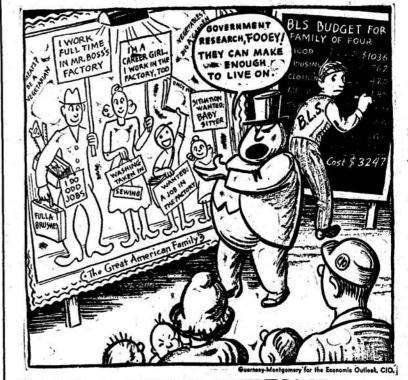
Admiral Nimitz summarized America's naval position on January 5, 1948, in his final retirement report, as follows: the U.S. now possesses a control of the sea "more absolute than was possessed by the British . . . naval forces are able, without resorting to diplomatic channels to establish offshore anywhere in the world airfields completely equipped. . . ."

The militarists who dominate U.S. foreign policy today have made clear how that policy is to be enforced, in their minds. The army booklet "This

"Peace treaties are only as strong as the men who back them up. . . . Army garrisons are to be found on almost every continent, in equatorial and arctic zones, on islands and in foreign cities. . . . That is the way we are going to ensure the peace."

The Truman Doctrine established American military missions in Greece and Turkey. The navy now has an enormous permanent Mediterranean fleet. The next step is to utilize the Marshall Plan to extend military alliances to all of Western Europe. The army is in control of large sections of ERP-and it doesn't hold the softheaded view that the Marshall Plan is primarily a charitable program to rebuild Europe's economy and peo-

The increasing political power of the military is not only a consequence of the imperialist division of the world but is also an impulsion toward the sharpening of this divi-



Industry's answer to the new Department of Labor BLS budget which shows that in 1948 a minimum standard of living for a family of four requires a yearly wage of more than \$3,500, is "Let 'em eat cake," or-let the father do odd jobs besides his regular job, let the mother take in washing, let the two children work and supplement the family income.

## PROS AND CONS: A Discussion

### Confidence and Lack Of It in Marshall Plan

The discussion on the Marshall Plan in the May 17 issue of LABOR ACTION is of great interest not primarily because it airs the issues in dispute between the editorial board and Goldman but because it indicates that despite differences in emphasis both take fundamentally the same position. Where one puts an ambiguous "No" the other places a qualified

The common basis for the two points of view can be summarized as follows: the workingclass of Europe cannot defeat Stalinism unless European economy is stabilized. Only the U.S. can provide, immediately and effectively, the aid essential to recovery. Since a workingclass government does not now rule the United States and since action must come immediately, we favor aid for this purpose by the existing capitalist government. But the government is imperialist and attaches imperialist strings to its aid: we therefore fight for aid from the imperialist government free of imperialist strings.

Such a position does not flow from the fundamental political slogan of the "Workers Party": Neither Washington nor Moscow: It can only reassure and stimulate political trends toward critical support of American imperialism and its world strategy. Economic recovery of Europe, free of imperialist dictation, can be supported and financed in only one way: by a workingclass government in the United States. The capitalist class can and will carry out only an imperialist policy on a world scale. By proposing to persuade or compel the present government to pursue a nonimperialist policy on this question, both Goldman and the editorial board foster the illusion already prevalent enough with our meager assistance that it is possible to purge world capitalist strategy of its imperialist character if only the workers fight hard enough. Such a conclusion does not refute but strengthens those who go further and believe it possible to purge war conducted by the capitalist class of its imperialist character.

### MEANING OF "NO" VOTE

The editorial board states that a socialist congressman would vote against the Marshall Plan on grounds of "principle" as a means of expressing a lack of confidence in the im- Dear Comrades: perialist ruling class. Our enthusiasm for this laudable sentiment is fact that this principle is in contradiction with the general line of the editorial board on aid to Europe.

The "No" vote on the Marshall Plan can be compared with the traditional stand of Marxists in voting "No" on the budget of capitalist states. The "No" vote, on principle, is cast not because of oppositions to the "connotations" political or otherwise, nor because of opposition to any single aspect or group of aspects of a given "bad" budget but as an expression of lack of confidence in the ability or willingness of the ruling class to run the state or society in the interests of the workingclass.

A "No" vote against the Marshall Plan "on principle," following this traditional policy, would have to express not an opposition to any special "connotations" of the plan but italists are adamant against shelling a lack of confidence in the ability of the present ruling class because of its very nature as an imperialist bourgeoisie to rebuild Europe in the interests of the masses, a lack of confidence in its ability to devise anything but an imperialist plan. From this lack of confidence flows, in prin-

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The current New International carries special articles on the Czech events. Order your copy now from NI, 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1.

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

ciple, the necessity to install a workingclass government to aid the nonimperialist reconstruction of Europe.

But the editorial board while expressing its lack of confidence by a "No" vote announces its policy of "exacting" aid from the imperialist state to rehabilitate Europe without imperialist strings. The real principle thus established is that we have no confidence in the bourgeoisie when it acts in an imperialist manner but that we are confident that it can be compelled to act otherwise. This is the same principle established in a somewhat different manner by

Tactical questions dealt with in the statement of the board are not decisive to this point. Whether we present our views in a bill, as amendments, how we present our ideas in a union . . . all this is important. But before deciding on the validity of a given tactic we have to decide what is supposed to accomplish. Does aim to teach that a non-imperialist plan can be exacted from an imperialist government or does it demonstrate the need to get rid of such a government in order to get such

This matter is of vital importance today because the United States obscures its real plans with professions of humanitarianism and philanthropy. The chief task of American socialists in regard to the Marshall Plan is to expose these pretensions.

War, says Judd (LABOR ACTION May 10) will be the planned continuation of Marshall Plan politics. Let him explain then, how our policy on war will be the "planned continuation" of our policy on the Marshall Plan. If we can exact a non-imperialist reconstruction of Europe from an imperialist government, why is it not possible to exact a war which is essentially non-imperialist?

Ben HALL

### On Utilizing Aid Despite U. S. Motives

In your editorial statement "Socialist Policy on the Marshall Plan," pubrestrained from boiling over by the lished in LABOR ACTION of May 17, you assert that I do not "understand the nature of the Marshall Plan." After pondering your lengthy explanation I find that my understanding of the plan practically coincides with yours, that is, that it is essentially a plan to strengthen American capitalism in Europe. In order to justify your opposition to the plan you use more words and call American capitalism more bad names but this changes nothing.

The question then is: should a socialist oppose a concrete plan for aid to Europe because he does not approve of the motives of those whe propose the plan? You say-yes, even if our vote means the defeat of the bill proposing aid. It is quite true that you insist over and over again that you are for aid to the European people but under the circumstances your repeated assertion is pathetic and meaningless. For the European people cannot get any aid except through the bill which was recently passed by Congress.

Undoubtedly the section of the European masses which is not under the influence of Stalinism understands the motives of American imperialism in offering aid, just as you and I do. But they are not foolish enough to reject that aid because the representatives of American capitalism have purposes of their own in giving the aid. The European people, in all probability, do not feel that they are enslaving themselves to American capitalism by accepting aid.

It is necessary to remember the distinction between the motives of the proponents of the Marshall Plan and the particular bill which offers aid to the Europeans. Opposition to the European Recovery Bill would be justified only if the aid offered would do actual harm to the European masses.

You obviously do not feel too secure in opposing the Marshall Plan because of the motives of its proponents. You proceed to add that there are "conditions and strings" attached to the bill which make it mandatory for a socialist to oppose it. And here you unconsciously strike a humorous note.

One of the "conditions and strings" is that the aid offered is not sufficient. We readily grant that. But is that a reason for voting against a bill which offers great quantities of grain, coal, oil and machinery? It is only a reason for proposing to amend the bill but not for opposing it.

Another condition is the "dumping of worthless goods." But why should one oppose a bill which grants valuable material simply because worthless goods are also offered? The European people might refuse to use the worthless goods and use only the valuable material. You point out with justified indignation that horse meat is offered to the Europeans. Although I have a suspicion that some hungry Parisian people might not share your indignation you can count on me to vote for an amendment to supply beef instead of horse meat.

And you appear to be very excited about the attempt to "tie the foreign currencies to the American dollar." Let me assure you that socialism can come into existence in spite of the fact that the European currencies might be tied to the American dollar.

The other conditions you mention are also unsatisfactory from the point of view of a socialist, but the important thing is that neither singly nor together do they prevent the Europeans from getting some relief or create a barrier to the establishment of a socialist order.

If the European masses not under Stalinist influence had a collective voice they would probably say: "We are indeed grateful to you, leaders of the Workers Party, for being in favor of aid to the Europeans. But you are opposed to the only bill which promises us some relief. If you could you would vote against the bill and prevent us from getting relief. Under the circumstances can you blame us that we are happy that you are insignificant in numbers and in influence? Naturally we would be happy if you were to get a majority overnight so that we would receive real help from you. But until you get such a majority we hope you will remain as insignificant as you are now. For we need and we want the aid of the Marshall Plan—yes even the horse meat which we do not like but which in a pinch can satisfy our hunger."

> Comradely, Albert GOLDMAN

## Polk Murder —

(Continued from page 1)

Here are a few, a very few, of the situations we remember of newspapermen who have been coerced. pushed off their jobs, or are still having trouble with the Greek government because they wrote some of the truth about conditions in Greece.

Mary Barber of Time Magazine and her husband Steven Barber of the London News Chronicle (a Liberal Party organ) have been branded as "reds" and have often been held by the Greek government to prevent them from going to areas where the government just didn't want them to go. Fred Sparks of the Chicago Daily News has been taking a really pushing around by gangsters of the Greek government. His paper sent protest after protest to the regime.

Constantine Poulos, Overseas News Agency correspondent, who has been a thorn in the side of the reactionary Greek regimes for some time now, has been singled out by the Greek press for vicious attacks. His hotel rooms were searched and robbed, his life was threatened and the United States eventually canceled his credentials. It was only after heavy pressure from the Overseas Writers and by the prominent owners of his agency that the State Department returned his credentials and said that an "error" had been made.

The New York Times has had perhaps the worst coverage in Greece of any U.S. newspaper. From the time Hitler's army left Greece, the Times had A. C. Sedgwick in Greece. He is married to the daughter of a leading Greek banker. Sedgwick's stories were nothing more than the official government handouts. Last fall Raymond Daniel, the Times European editor, went to Greece and found the situation 100 per cent opposite what Sedgwick was reporting. Sedgwick was pushed out and Dana Adams Schmidt replaced him in Greece. Schmidt began sending through the first bits of truth (with the exception of some articles by Daniel when he was there) that have appeared in the Times on Greece in fifteen years. But that was short-lived. Pressure was put on the Times and it transferred Schmidt out of the country, replacing him with the darling of Greek corruption, the man who is known as the "royalist from the Times"—the same old A. C. Sedgwick. Island.'

If the above episode does not prove that the Greek government and the State Department will put on the pressure until a correspondent is withdrawn, the present case of Homer Bigart of the N. Y. Herald Tribune should be convincing. Bigart was sent to Greece after a couple of other reporters had been forced out of there because they were spilling a few facts. Bigart has been writing as he sees it and is really trying to do an honest news-reporting job. The Greek government went into a lather. It pulled every trick in the bag to get rid of him. It even arrested his interpreter as a "Communist" and tried to make a big case against Bigart. Letters were sent to his paper by the various ministries and by the Greek representative at the United Nations. All these failing, Dwight Griswold, the chief of the Truman Doctrine mission in Greece, broke into print with long statements and letters against Bigart. Bigart is now out of Greece but his paper says it is only temporary.

Polk's murder is an official government warning to men like Bigart, Poulos, Daniel, Schmidt and all the others. The Greek government knows that there would be a terrific reaction in the United States if they refused entry to foreign correspondents. So Polk has been murdered to convince every writer: if you are a Sedgwick you are welcome, if you are not -remember Polk. When everything else failed, murder was the only an-

Before the committee starts to investigate it should get a copy of Harper's Magazine for last October. George Polk had an article in it. It's a long article, so we will quote only a small section: "The wealthy are concentrating on protection of their money, and their methods happen to be those most detrimental to the country's recovery. . . . Thirty-five families dominate the country financially, exerting control or influence through interlocking directorates. While many Greek collaborators kept their Axis-donated fortunes and some fascist-minded officers held high military commands in the Greek army, anyone daring to criticize government policies was likely to be labeled 'Communist' and given a one-way ticket to a barren Aegean

### The BOOK SERVICE Now Has These Hard To Get Items: By Leon Trotsky THE BOLSHEVIKI AND WORLD PEACE ... WHAT HITLER WANTS LESSONS OF OCTOBER (cloth) .... THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION .... By G. M. Stekloff HISTORY OF THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL By Francis Heisler THE FIRST TWO MOSCOW TRIALS ..... LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York

By June 1947 over half of the total on credit when they cannot make payments. Consumer credit has in-Series E savings bonds sold in the creased from \$6,600,000,000 in 1945 to lower denominations, were already \$13,300,000,000 in 1947, more than double. Contrast the workers' lack of money with the huge surpluses of G.M. Settlement corporations which make borrowing unnecessary for them. COMPARE THE TWO the UAW-CIO, it is very probable that these have been either dropped There has been no mention of a

the new GM contract operates in or postponed for a long time. this fashion. There will be quarterly "company security" clause in the new contract, but neither has there been any mention of adjustment of other clauses such as the limited time committeemen have for bargaining. A report on all these questions will be made at the conference of GM delegates this Friday to ratify the new

Of course, discussion in the UAW-CIO over the new GM contract, and any Chrysler settlement will take on, at least partly, a factional character, as the anti-Reuther forces will try to find a way to capitalize on these events. It is very unlikely that any such "capital" exists. Contrary to the determined by the government statisexpectations. of the anti-Reuther forces, the UAW-CIO leadership did

obtain a satisfactory agreement. Drawing the important political lessons from the present wage struggle will not be helped by the factional contributions of the Stalinists and their allies. Quite the contrary. They will only serve to obscure the basic issues involved. Next week we

shall report more fully on this as-

pect of the situation.

Here, furthermore, are some Department of Commerce figures that

in Arithmetic —

profits. After deducting from the national salary and wage bill of \$82,-100,000,000 for 1945 the neat sum of \$22,100,000,000 paid to corporation officials, the department found that ·corporations profited \$1 on every \$7 they paid out in wages. However, in 1947 so rapidly had profits climbed that \$1 was made on every \$4 of wages paid.

Still using Department of Commerce figures, comparing the way profits are rising with the income of other social categories, we find that corporate profits increased 89.9 per cent in 1947 above 1945, while farm income went up 35.6 per cent in that time, and wages and salaries only 27.9 per cent. But when from the total wages and salaries paid is deducted the compensation of corporation officials, workers' wages are seen to have risen only 13.3 per cent in 1947 above 1945. A 89.9 per cent increase in profits—a 13.3 per cent increase in

> Perhaps these figures seem dry and uninteresting. Indeed they are not. Making this statement concrete, let us suppose that corporate profits for 1947 were reduced to \$10,000,000,000 and that the other \$7,000,000,000 had been distributed in increased wages. That \$10,000,000,000 of profits would still be double the \$5,000,000,000 profits of 1939. Now what would those additional \$7,000,000,000 in wages have meant? One way to realize the difference to working people is this. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in its meagre budget for workers, allows \$500 a year for the maintenance of a child, but the great majority of workers' wages are far from even that low level for child maintenance. Those \$7,000,000,000 more distributed in wages could mean \$500 a year for 14,000,000 children. However, the capout even a small fraction of this

As a parting shot at the profit picture, we'll take in the pictogram of profits in the latest issue of U. S. News & World Report. It shows the 1947 profits after taxes not at \$17,000 .-000,000-the basis of the above calculations-but at \$18,500,000,000. And profits for this year, 1948, estimated on first quarter returns, will reach the high of \$21,000,000,000.

With the above picture of profits from several angles, one can gauge the rottenness of the capitalist position in the present struggle of workers for a decent living wage.