

# LABOR ACTION

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## Knotty Problems Remain As Labor Marks Gains

By BEN HALL

The uncertainties of tomorrow's wartime economy are breaking through in the form of a rash of strikes and a series of insistent union demands in industry after industry. This one jarring note in the march toward harmonious national unity has momentarily upset the serene routine of trade-union life!

Most salient is the ease with which substantial concessions are wrested from companies which only a few short months ago stubbornly resisted, forcing unions into long strikes, exhausting to the workers and dissatisfying in their results. Ford Motor Company, last holdout of the big three auto manufacturers, yielded this week.

In an unprecedented move, it scrapped its contract with the UAW, which had until April, 1952, to run and excluded wage increases for at least another four months.

The new five-year agreement grants eight cents an hour to production workers and 13 cents to skilled craftsmen. It raises pensions to a maximum of \$125 a month, provides for a four-cent automatic annual wage increase, and includes a cost-of-living escalator clause patterned on the GM contract. These spectacular gains are said to re-establish the Ford workers as the highest paid in the auto industry.

Only yesterday, the demands of the unions seemed to hit against a concrete wall. By late '48, a nationwide packinghouse strike had petered out; later, the steel workers dropped wage demands and settled their strike for a modest pension and welfare plan. At Ford, the UAW abstained from a fight, accepting a similar settlement, only to be forced into the bitter Chrysler strike to win what had been granted by Ford. The miners fought a courageous holding operation against an unholy trinity: courts, companies and administration.

In this bleak atmosphere the UAW tolerated a sharp setback at Bell Aircraft in Buffalo, when it called off its protracted strike, and left several of its leading local militants at the mercy of an arbitration board. Some of them were permanently fired.

Then came the five-year GM contract, hailed as a new venture in enlightened labor-management relations, setting a pattern of smooth relations for all industry. But, ironically enough, its cost-of-living and automatic annual wage increase provisions have had a seriously unsettling effect in other plants. Announcements of a cost-of-living increase for GM workers sparked a flurry of spontaneous unauthorized strikes and slowdowns in the Chrysler chain, com-

elling the company to grant a ten-cent general increase. Wildcat strikes at Ford, officially frowned upon by the union leadership but covertly tolerated, forced it to fall in line. In the abruptly changed, favorable climate, a strike at Packard Motor Company was quickly settled on union terms and the rest of the auto industry hastened to follow with wage increases granted by Hudson, Budd and others.

Local strikes are now reported in the steel industry. Skilled workers of Local 101, United Rubber Workers, shut down the Detroit plant of the U. S. Rubber Co. in

(Turn to last page)

## Preventive War Boosters Peril American People

By BEN HALL

Fateful words are spoken: begin the war with Russia! and not by irresponsible, ludicrous crackpots but by coldly calculating political and military officials with power and influence on all levels of government. They don't stammer, but pronounce their views in clear and clamorous tones. The Truman administration squirms with embarrassment. For the peoples of the world, who hate and fear nothing more than the outbreak of a new world war, cannot fail to understand. And the delighted Stalinists stuff the ears of their slaves and dupes with renewed justifications of Russia's defense of "peace."

The administration searches carefully for subversives, spies, saboteurs, traitors and paid agents of Moscow. But a thousand espionage agents working sedulously for years could hardly perform a more valuable service for Stalinism than what a few atom-bombardiers high in the councils of the U. S. government can contribute in a moment of frankness.

One of the lesser figures, Maj. Gen. Orvil A. Anderson, who was removed as head of the Air War College after his blunt remarks, asked for a green light to begin the war: "Give me the order to do it and I can break up Russia's five A-bomb nests in a week."

Secretary of the Navy, Francis P. Matthews, who was not removed, called plainly for a preventive war. "To have peace we should be willing, and declare our intention, to pay any price, even the price of instituting a war to compel cooperation for peace." And he would not shrink from this view, though it cast us in a character new to a true democracy—an initiator of a war of aggression."

(Turn to last page)

## \$25,000 IS ENOUGH!

At the beginning of World War II President Roosevelt promised that no one would get rich out of the war. He proposed at that time that net incomes, or at least salaries, be limited to \$25,000 a year, with all income above that to be taxed away by the government. The proposal was never put into legislative form, and Roosevelt never pressed it.

Last week Senator Claude Pepper, who has been defeated for reelection in Florida, made a speech on the Senate floor in which he advocated the same proposal.

"If men and women can face the enemy and be shot to pieces," said Pepper, "if men can live in foxholes and women endure the hardships they confront in modern war, there is no American in the safety of home, thousands of miles behind the battlefields, who can't survive the ordeal of living on

\$25,000 a year net, after payment of taxes."

Senator Pepper has said a mouthful. This proposal, if put into law, would make "equality of sacrifice" something close enough to reality to cease being the mockery it has been in every war in American history. It is not a full program for putting the financial burden of the war on the shoulders of those who can bear it best, but it could be a good foundation for such a program. The principle involved is such that once accepted, it would lay the moral foundations for a full program of making the rich pay for a war which is at bottom being fought to preserve the system which assures them their riches.

The labor movement could do worse than to take up the senator's demand and make it part of its program for financing the war.

## Latin American Union Federation Sponsored By AFL Fails to Gain Support of Workers

By JUAN ROBLES

The International Confederation of Labor (C.I.T.), headed by Bernardo Ibanez of Chile, formed under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor as a trade union organization opposed to the Stalinist-dominated CTAL of Lombardo Toledano, has suffered serious reverses in its development. Until now the CIT has not won a majority of the unionized workers of Latin America. Its progress is slow or non-existent and is limited to the nominal support, on paper, of some national unions. What then is the cause of the CIT's failure?

The CIT depends on the AFL, and the AFL represents the most conservative tendency of American reformist unionism. When the CIT started its expansion in Latin America, certain groups of independent workers in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Cuba and Mexico welcomed this as a chance to liberate the Latin American workers from the yoke of Stalinist trade unionism. The congress of the CIT in Lima took place in a certain atmosphere of "workers' democracy and trade union independence." However, it seems that Bernardo Ibanez and Romuldi only

tolerated this atmosphere to attract the anti-Stalinist opposition of the left. The CIT was founded as an alliance between the Chilean Socialist Party of Ibanez, the Apra of Peru, and the independent trade union groups of Cuba, Costa Rica, etc.

### STERILITY OF THE CIT

This heterogeneous alliance remained sterile on the Pacific Coast, primarily through the defeat which the Apra suffered in Peru and the sterility of the party of Ibanez in Chile. In Bolivia trade union independence was betrayed

in favor of unconditional collaboration with the government of Urriolagoitia. On the Atlantic coast the failure of the CIT is due to the control which Peronism exercises over the Argentine trade unions and the isolation of the Brazilian trade unions from Spanish-American trade unionism. Finally, the collapse of Venezuelan trade unionism, defeated by the military dictatorship of Chalbaud Delgado, and the Stalinist pressure in the Caribbean and Mexico, have deterred if not destroyed the growth of the trade unions patron-

(Continued on page 5)



# Chicago Bd. of Education Bans Book in Schools Which Would Assail Children With Insidious Truth

By GORDON HASKELL

The children of Chicago are going to be protected against getting a wrong impression of the free press of America. This was made clear when Dr. Herold C. Hunt, superintendent of schools in that city, announced on September 2 that a textbook, "Our Changing Social Order," had been withdrawn from general classroom use because the Board of Education had decided that the book contained untruths about newspapers.

The book will be placed on the reserve shelves in the school libraries to be used only by students who are given assignments in other parts of the book.

### UNTRUE STATEMENTS?

What slanderous and untrue statements does this book make about the great and free American press? Here are a few quotations from the offending portions of the book which was written by Ruth Wood Gavian, A. A. Gray and the late Professor Ernest R. Groves:

"The typical newspaper is far from being impartial. The bias or special interests of its owners are reflected on every page. News unfriendly to their point of view may be omitted altogether or printed in very brief form, perhaps near the foot of an inside page.

"The desire to please advertisers may also interfere with impartial presentation of the news. A modern newspaper obtains the bulk of its income from advertising. . . . Local items hostile to the interests of big advertisers may not appear or may appear in garbled form.

It should be said, however, that some papers close their columns to advertisers attempting to dictate editorial policy."

[Just imagine permitting little children to have their minds poisoned by such misleading statements!]

### FAVOR EMPLOYERS

"Pressure from advertisers," the book continues, "is not the chief reason that newspapers so generally favor businessmen rather than consumers, employers rather than working men. Newspaper owners are themselves businessmen and employers. They have labor troubles of their own, and it is natural for them to sympathize with other employers involved in strikes. In all matters of public policy they tend to reflect the point of view of the social and economic class to which they belong."

[Should the book, perhaps, in the interest of truth, tell the children that most newspaper owners are horny-handed men of toil who see things from the point of view of the workers with whom they associate? Or at least that they are usually impartial when it comes to reporting labor news?]

"However," the book goes on, "the principal influence in shaping a newspaper's policy is not the bias of the advertisers or the owners of the paper. It is the need to please the widest possible public. . . ."

### STRENGTHENS PREJUDICES

"A newspaper which takes a strong stand on a controversial issue runs the risk of displeasing

many of its readers. To avoid giving offense, the average journal straddles the issues. It must also be very tender to local prejudices. As a rule the newspaper does not create these prejudices but merely strengthens them."

The above, and more along the same lines, was adjudged by the Board of Education to be the "untruths" about the newspapers in this book. And who are the members of the Board of Education? Unfortunately a list of the names and occupations of all of them is not available. But the president of the board is none other than William B. Traynor, who happens also to be vice-president and treasurer of Swift & Co., and who is thus fully qualified to speak on the relations of advertisers to the press.

The books will not be burned, and the authors will not go to jail for thus misleading the tender minds of our youth about the free American press. We live in a democracy where the untrammelled search for truth is the chief concern of both educators and newspapers. But the superintendent of schools in Chicago is going to get in touch with the publishers of the textbook to see if the offending portions can be deleted in subsequent editions.

It seems that he stands a fair chance of success in this public-minded effort. Dr. Hunt states that the publishers of a textbook under five earlier this year had been amenable to the changes he suggested to eliminate objectionable passages.

Truth marches on!

# Plague of Ordinances Settles on California

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 3—Southern California is currently being visited by a plague of ordinances compelling "Communists, Communist sympathizers and members of subversive organizations" to register with the police department. The penalty for failure to register is usually \$500 fine and six months in jail. A person thus designated would be guilty of a misdemeanor and each day he failed to register would be a separate misdemeanor.

This epidemic of registration laws is spreading rapidly from county to county and from city to city. It all began several weeks ago, when the board of supervisors of the County of Los Angeles passed a law proposed by Supervisor Leonard J. Roach requiring Communists, Communist sympathizers, others who believe in overthrowing the government by force and violence, members of a totalitarian party and those who follow the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to register with the police department.

Since then, Orange County's board of supervisors is considering an identical proposal; the cities of San Gabriel and Burbank have instructed the city attorneys to draft similar legislation; and now the City Council of the city of Los Angeles is debating a law similar in wording to the county ordinance.

On Tuesday, August 29, the City Council chamber was filled to capacity as the council heard Ed Davenport, sponsor of the law, and the notorious Jack Tenney, formerly head of the California Un-American Activities Committee, and others debate opponents of the proposed legislation.

It is worth noting that California has had a registration law on the books since 1941. The Korean war and, as Councilman Davenport argues, "the increased menace of sabotage, and public indignation and outrage at the tactics of Jacob

Malik in the UN," have evidently spurred our local lawmakers.

The menace of these laws to civil liberties is apparent. Not only will governmental agencies decide who is a "Communist" but who is a sympathizer as well. It needs little imagination to foresee the possibility of a real lynch campaign spreading throughout the state, whipped up by informers, super-patriots and crackpots. The loose wording of almost all of these ordinances can result in the publication of omnibus lists like those fathered by Jack Tenney, who included everybody who simply SEEMED suspicious to his well-oiled and active imagination.

Here in Southern California there is little if any organized opposition to these monstrous attacks on the "liberal" Los Angeles Daily News, in an editorial called "Degrees of Sabotage." Claypool argues that, like burns and murder, we should grade sabotage.

First degree: direct sabotage. Second degree: attempts to dishearten the patriotism of the armed forces. Third degree: "would include anything that tends to create defeatism in the public mind if it is deliberate and organized or due to criminal neglect."

Will Claypool tell us whether criticism of excess profits, high prices and discrimination can be regarded as sabotage, and what degree?

We are now witnessing the greatest assault on civil liberties since the internment of American citizens of Japanese descent after Pearl Harbor. These laws represent the most dangerous subversion of the Bill of Rights, a hacking to pieces of the fundamental freedoms of the American people.

# NOT BAD, NOT BAD AT ALL

Even before the impact of the government's stepped-up armament spending has had a chance to be felt, profits for America's corporations have reached staggering figures. It is clear that in many cases the cause of profit increases from the previous year has not been an increased volume of sales, but simply price rises made possible by the prospect of full-scale armament.

Here are a few figures compiled by Labor Press Associates: Latest reports show that the profits of Philco Corp. for the first six months of 1950 are 234 per cent over the same period in 1949. Goodyear profits were up 46 per cent; B. F. Goodrich 39 per cent; and Eastman Kodak reported profits up 21 per cent on an increase in sales of less than 1 per cent. Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. reported a drop in sales for the 12 months ended May 31, 1950, but the earnings for the three months ended May 31 were the highest in its history. The figures were \$4,053,683 against the comparable period a year ago of \$2,769,209.

Here are a few more figures. Take a good look at them. Then see to it that your union joins the cry for an excess profits tax NOW!

	1950	1949
American Telephone & Telegraph	\$134,408,481	\$107,909,414
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph	21,517,584	11,947,360
Anaconda Copper	18,241,285	18,005,738
Goodyear Tire & Rubber	11,914,465	8,133,358
Philco Corp.	6,672,000	1,998,000
Johnson & Johnson	5,566,973	4,465,405
Auto Lite	5,187,591	3,593,707
Pullman, Inc.	4,268,597	3,918,266
United Foundry	3,422,625	2,565,507
Publicker (alcohol)	1,268,797	870,496
Stewart Warner	1,884,833	796,564
Mohawk Carpet Mills	2,248,616	1,814,368
United Aircraft	6,432,136	3,595,421
Grumman Aircraft	3,921,914	1,457,734
Western Union	3,206,300	3,672,241
Consolidated Natural Gas	13,978,714	10,294,745
Eastman Kodak	26,162,282	21,646,085
Electric Bond & Share	2,013,253	458,379
B. F. Goodrich	12,427,793	8,909,653

For living Marxism—read THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

# U. S. Policy Fails; Quirino Government Corruption Adds Fuel to Stalinist Fire As—

# Economic Instability Haunts Philippines

By R. BURGESS

Within a short time, some 4,000 Filipino troops will be fighting in Korea alongside American forces. This will be utilized by the United States as evidence that it is fighting a democratic war and that it is truly representing the Asiatic peoples in their struggle for democracy and against Russian totalitarianism. That this device will be swallowed by the more susceptible is unfortunately true, but for those who with even a rudimentary knowledge of the situation in the Philippines, the issue, of democracy in the Korean war will be just as irrelevant then as it is now.

In its four years of political independence, the government of the Philippine Islands, supported by the United States, has revealed itself as corrupt, inefficient and reactionary. True, it can boast of regular elections—which in many provinces are "supervised" by government troops—but in other respects it bears no little resemblance to the American-supported regimes of Bao Dai, Singman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek.

### NO BASIC REFORMS

Despite election promises (always promised, never fulfilled), there have been no BASIC reforms of any kind aimed at solving or even reducing the grinding poverty, disease and semi-feudal serfdom that is the lot of the vast majority of Filipinos. According to Robert P. Stephens, writing in Pacific Affairs for June, 1950, certain reforms have finally been instituted in the way of stronger health laws. But in 1949, six Filipinos out of every hundred had tuberculosis.

The government educational program is being improved constantly, the government reports; but only a small minority of the youth attend secondary schools, and 51 per cent of the population is still illiterate.

Social security in the distant future, as far as the government is concerned; unions have little or no protection and are generally regarded as subversive, which plays no little role in strengthening the grip of the Stalinists on the very young Philippine labor movement.

As concerns the key problem in the economy, the landed estates and the peasantry, the government has conscientiously reflected the wishes and demands of the landlord class who, with customary shortsightedness (from their own point of view) will grant nothing at all to the dissatisfied peasants. The inevitable resentment has been channeled into the present Communist Party-dominated Hukbalahap movement, which apparently is increasing in strength despite repressive measures and an illegal status.

### GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION

According to Stephens, in 1948 agricultural workers received about 80 cents a day plus two meals as wages; unskilled industrial workers about 90 cents without meals, and skilled industrial wages averaged around \$1.67 — PER DAY!

While the government bureaucracy (its higher levels at any rate) and the wealthier industrialists live in sumptuous homes and hotels, two-thirds of the entire population still lives in

bamboo and "nipa" huts. This is a century under the enlightened rule of American democracy.

The government bureaucracy itself is rife with corruption and graft. The party in power, the Liberals, receive the blessings of the United States in the two previous elections, and since the time of taking office has been exposed in one scandal after another. The latest, as reported in the New York Times (August 25), involved not only President Quirino's brother but his secretary of justice as well. It seems that these two worthy gentlemen made some three-quarters of a million pesos between them from a deal involving the sale of church lands to the government. This information was released on the floor of the Philippine Senate by an opposition senator, and another juicy scandal came to light. The government's response to this corruption on the highest levels appears to be some scintillating remarks on the importance of defending democracy in the face of the growing Hukbalahap threats. Time-honored reply, worthy of Chiang, Rhee, Bao

and of Quirino.

Two days after the scandal broke, the Philippine government reported that the Huks had attacked a number of towns in Central Luzon, and that 167 persons were killed, including 20 Huks. These attacks were described as "terrorist raids," "a concerted attack against the government," etc. But this drive (whether or not it was actually initiated at this time by the Huks is conjecture) certainly proved helpful in removing the stories of corruption from the newspapers, at least temporarily. And it enabled President Quirino to call for "a moratorium on popular criticism of the government, which he said was undermining the morale of the armed forces and the confidence of the people." (N. Y. Times, August 31.)

### TOWNSPEOPLE PARTICIPATE

In this same statement the president of the Philippines made a further interesting admission. It appears that in certain instances the "townspeople took part in raids in their own localities." This is the "banditry" and "terror" that the

present regime is fighting. It is no wonder they are so unsuccessful.

At first the local constabularies were responsible for the maintenance of "law and order" (the status quo). When these proved ineffectual, the army was called in. On August 30, Quirino retired 23 army field officers for their failure to reverse the losing campaign against the Huks and proposed a new method of fighting the Communist-led peasant rebels. This proposal envisaged the creation of a vigilante army based on local communities with financial support from wealthy citizens and under the overall direction of the army.

Here once again is a graphic illustration of the bankruptcy of an American-supported Asiatic regime—of its basic inability to solve the country's pressing problems or to stave off the fatal attraction of its population for Russian totalitarianism. The lesson of the Philippines is clear—just as the lesson of China, of Indo-China or of Korea: western imperialism with its reactionary allies cannot effectively stave off or defeat Stalinism.

# Land Reform is Central Issue

By SAM FELIKS

The war in Korea, among other things, has brought about a revival of general interest in the Philippines. Last January when Secretary of State Dean Acheson drew the U. S. strategic line in the Pacific, the Philippines was placed at the southern anchor of this line. While Alaska is an American territory and Japan is an occupied nation, the Philippines have the nominal appearance of an independent nation.

On June 27, prior to the United Nations approval of military action in Korea, President Truman ordered U. S. armed forces into action. At the same time, President Truman authorized an increase in the territory of the Philippine Republic, as well as more military aid to Bao Dai in Indo-China, and the protection of the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Formosa by the U. S. fleet. It was only in the United Nations that U. S. Ambassador Warren Austin argued that there was no connection between these actions and Korea.

The central problem facing the security of the Philippines in the U. S. strategic plans is the economic instability of that country and the consequent social unrest. Therefore on June 29, President Truman sent an economic mission to study the Philippine economy. The mission was headed by former Undersecretary of the Treasury Daniel Bell, now president of the American Security and Trust Company, and Maj. Gen. Richard Marshall, former aide to General MacArthur.

### LANDLORDS IN SADDLE

In the Philippines as elsewhere in Asia, land reform is of first importance to the overwhelming majority of the people, for over 90 per cent of the Filipinos derive their income from the land. The typical land relation is between absentee landlord and tenant farmer. The tenant farmer farms between eight to ten acres and the yearly crop yield is about \$250 of which 30-50 per cent goes to the absentee landlord. The sub-sistence level of this income is seen when it is figured that \$1150 is needed to meet the normal needs of life. It is therefore necessary for the tenant farmers as well as the small landowners to seek other work in order barely to exist.

It is in the framework of this feudal land relation that the Hukbalahap find their most active support against the landlords and its corrupt, reactionary government in Manila. While there is no

doubt that the Stalinists are influential in the Huks, the movement finds its support in the plight of the poverty-stricken peasants. The attempts of the Manila government to deal with the Huks have resulted in a "regime of fear" in many places, but they are unable to suppress them. The reasons are not difficult to find. Tiltman Durkin in the June 21 N. Y. Times reports the "indiscriminate shooting of village dwellers who had relations with the Huks" by the national police or constabulary. "Because it accepts favors from big landowners and well-to-do politicians, the constabulary tended to identify itself with the vested interests," continued Durkin.

In face of the agrarian problem, the Quirino government in Manila has proved as inept and reactionary as it is corrupt and graft-ridden in its administration. In addition the government is faced by a growing inflationary situation and exhaustion of governmental funds to carry out day-to-day activities. One of the reasons for this situation is that one-quarter of the taxes go uncollected, that is, the rich simply do not pay their taxes. To this, the Quirino regime proposes a flat 20 per cent increase in taxes across the board. This would further decrease the standard of living of the great mass of the people and represents the most reactionary form of taxation.

The financial difficulties of the Philippines have been increased by depletion of the country's dollar reserves. This has resulted because of the influence of American businessmen who insisted that they be allowed to export to the Philippines and that they be allowed to take their profits out of the country. Wealthy Filipinos insisted on using scarce dollars on luxury goods imported from the U. S. while private capital has been hoarded when it was not charging usurious interest rates.

The problem facing the U. S. is what will happen to a new loan: Will it be used to stabilize the regime in face of the agrarian unrest or be used to line the pockets of the landlords and the corrupt politicians? Clearly the problem is to find a solution to the land problem, which would mean destroying the social power of the landlords. But it is these landlords who are the U. S.'s allies and supporters against Stalinism in Asia, the U. S.'s main enemy.

### DOLLAR CONTROL

To this inherent weakness of the Quirino regime is added the pressure from American businessmen stressing the imminent threat of collapse of the entire economy, they have been advocating that the Philippines return to the status of an American territory in order to prevent the country from falling into the hands of the "Communists." President Quirino, in reply to these thrusts at the not too stable national independence of his country, issued a statement on June 14 in which he attacked the "two or-

ganized enemies . . . the Communists and the imperialists." Referring to the American imperialists as "those constituting themselves as mentors in our political and economic life and attempting to urge our mother country to step in, intervene and take possession of our land with the excuse of preventing its falling into the hands of the Communists."

But it is unlikely that the U. S. would reincorporate the Philippines as a territory, for it would be a political blunder of the first magnitude surpassing the Korean adventure and the Formosa policy. The U. S. right now has the military use of the Philippines while retaining the facade of national independence. The controls over the Philippines can be exerted in other ways through the instrument of the dollar and the Bell mission will provide some of the details.

The Quirino government, faced with these problems, has proved itself to be hopelessly incompetent, and all it can do is turn to the U. S. government for support. The U. S. since 1945 has poured nearly \$2 billion into the Philippines, of which only \$260 million went to the Philippine government. The overwhelming bulk of these funds went into military expenditures for the U. S. forces stationed in the Philippines. These funds, when reaching the wealthy Filipinos, went to buy luxury goods in the U. S., widening the gap in living standards between the rich and even the city workers, not to speak of the peasants.

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The problem for U. S. capitalism in the Philippines is the same one that it found in China and Korea. After almost fifty years of direct territorial control, the U. S. was unable to solve the land question. It can no more be expected to do so today with war just on the horizon in the Far East. The Philippines needed to be stabilized as the anchor of the U. S. strategic military outpost in the Pacific and to that end the U. S. will subordinate the democratic aspirations of the great mass of the Asiatic peoples.



The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERESTED?

Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League—

4 Court Square Long Island City 1 New York

I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.

I want to join the ISL.

Name Address State Tel. City Zone

Youth Student Corner

Discussion: on War Perspectives for Youth

By ROBERT MAGNUS

(Concluded from last week)

Peace sentiment at the present, and in the near future, is not likely to run high, but to allow any peace sentiment, of no matter what variety, to fall into the hands of Stalinism would be a crime.

The Stalinists are, however, not likely to capture the minds and hearts of American youth. They are rapidly losing strength and popular appeal, although they are still a political factor on the American scene.

Much more decisive and dangerous is the pressure of the multi-millioned voice of capitalist America. This pressure is, and will be, felt in innumerable ways.

Most important of all, the military will invade the colleges and the "defense industries" with its anti-labor and anti-democratic ideas.

The murderous propaganda and influence of American capitalist society must, of course, be fought relentlessly and ceaselessly.

More Attention to Working-Class Youth

On the campus this will automatically take the form of a consistent and prolonged defense of academic freedom. The right to think, to examine, to question and to oppose—it is precisely these rights, the basis of any scientific progress and part of the heritage of every young American, that the government and its school system will attempt to liquidate.

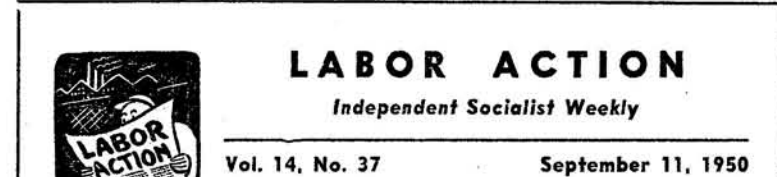
This defense can best be carried on by forming united-action groups of clubs and student organizations around a minimum program to defend academic freedom.

The defense and advancement of the interests of working youth is of absolute importance to the struggle for socialism.

In any case, the key to the right for socialism in wartime is: Continue the class struggle! While all the social-chauvinists from Norman Thomas down will be yelling for more controls, for sacrifices, etc., it is the duty of socialists, to vigorously defend, all the more, the rights of the American people and the independence and fighting spirit of the labor movement.

In this struggle for socialism and democracy all our fair-weather friends may be expected to fall away. War and revolution are the great testers of politics.

Among the youth everywhere and against all apologists for reaction and "lesser evils," it is the duty of socialists to proclaim the truth: The United States is involved in an imperialist war which can have no positive outcome for the people of the world.



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Reading from Left to Right

AMERICAN BLUNDERS IN FAR SOUTHERN ASIA, by Wilbur Burton.

The quarterly, which specializes in foreign-policy analysis, introduces Burton as "a journalist who has spent much of his life in South-east Asia."

Burton goes through the situation in Malaya, Burma, Indo-China and Siam (Thailand). "As a result of national analysis," he writes, "the most obvious objective of American foreign policy throughout Eastern Asia might be viewed as the abatement of Moscow."

"On the one hand, mere material and diplomatic assistance to French, British and Dutch imperialism, or to Chiang Kai-shek's remnants on Formosa, can do no more than maintain creaky and corrupt facades of nominally anti-Communist factions."

CIT Fails to Grow --

(Continued from page 1)

ized by the CIT and AFL.

Thus, the Latin-American working class sees itself caught between two fires: on one side the Stalinist trade unionism of Lombardo Toledano and the native totalitarianism in Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, and on the other the CIT which could not protect the movement of trade union independence which is directed against the native bourgeoisie as well as against totalitarianism and imperialist exploitation.

Why did the CIT fulfill neither the declarations nor principles it offered at the Lima congress? It did not live up to real trade union independence. It did not fight effectively in defense of the workers.

ANTI-RED CAMPAIGN It mobilized its organizations in the fight against Stalinism in the same way as the "anti-red" American organizations, namely in the bourgeois reactionary manner. It made declarations on paper against the creole dictatorships in South America, in accordance with recommendations of the AFL and the State Department of the United States.

A SAD BALANCE SHEET This is the sad balance sheet of the activity of the CIT in Latin America. It is not surprising that the workers consider the CIT as an expounder of Yankee imperialism and synonymous to yellow trade unionism.

When the Bolivian trade unions were dominated by the nationalists and Stalinists, the agents of the CIT did not desist from any police and strikebreaking action, helping the government to break the workers' resistance.

DEBATE—Friday, Sept. 22 Is Yugoslavia on the Road to Socialist Democracy? Yes! O. JOHN ROGGE No! HAL DRAPER Admission 75 cents (including tax)

THE PRO-TITOISM OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT—7 Tito's Monolithic State—Any Exceptions?

By HAL DRAPER

In the last two articles we presented two explicit defenses of the principle of the monolithic one-party state by the top leaders of the Tito regime, Djilas and Kardelj.

Djilas and Kardelj, we saw, uncompromisingly rejected any notion of legalizing any political opposition.

This is the only question of legal political opposition which he raises, the suppression of any other kind of political opposition being presumably O.K. with him.

In other words, he is saying in effect: "It's all right if you suppress anybody else, but how about US? Can't you make an exception?"

If this is unjust to Wright, there is plenty of opportunity for him and his friends to clear the matter up.

A Question Is Posed

Well, what about non-bourgeois opposition parties, such as that question already concedes to Stalinist monolithic principles?

This question was explicitly taken up by the official Yugoslav propaganda bureau in the U. S., in its Yugoslav Newsletter for April 22.

What and what is added is simply a cynical falsehood: "In short, it is not the law, or force, that prevents opposition parties from developing, but the profound conviction of the great majority of Yugoslavs."

As a consequence of this editorial, the April 22 issue ran a "Discussion Corner."

"Let me examine for a moment what possible course opposition in Yugoslavia might take. Of course you wouldn't return to capitalism. That argument was just a red herring dragged across to strengthen your own position."

The question is posed. The Yugoslavs reply, at some length.

Let me examine for a moment what possible course opposition in Yugoslavia might take. Of course you wouldn't return to capitalism.

The Critic Is "Educated"

The first part of the reply is uninteresting hogwash. Its first point is the assertion that the Yugoslav leaders are not "dictators."

Then it gets to the \$64 question, which has been posed clearly enough.

Would a (socialist) proponent of European union, world federalism or supra-nationalism in general have the right to political opposition?

This view, they argue, implies "an agricultural status for Yugoslavia in an economically integrated Europe," it is contrary to the people's desire for industrialization.

And with this "answer" on the RIGHTS of advocates of supra-national union, the critic's viewpoint has been thoroughly assimilated to that of the COMINFORM!

FOOTNOTES ON A CRITIC

In re: Gérard Bloch's recent article in the Fourth International Trotskyist press replying to our position on Titoism.

(3) Simple Forgery

Bloch's piece includes a passage devoted solely to my article "Comrade Tito and the Fourth International" in the September 1948 New Internationalist.

Any reader must naturally understand that this phrase, "the simplistic dialectic of Engels," is a quote from my article.

A person who signs another's name to something he has not written is a forger.

By dint of checking, I can add that the phrase which is thus mendaciously ascribed is indeed from an article in The New Internationalist—one entitled "The Relevance of Trotskyism" by Henry Judd.

H. D.

The reply does not even bother, then, to add the obvious: That rights can be enjoyed by such people as the letter mentions, when everybody knows that supporters of the Cominform are put away in jail with or without trial—in order to save them from being "laughed out of existence" by the people, no doubt—let alone give them the right to independent political organization?

Another "Break with Stalinism"

The Yugoslav reply then continues: "As for the other type of opposition mentioned, the possible existence of World Revolutionaries in the Trotsky tradition, well, every country has its eccentrics, and there are probably a few in Yugoslavia too."

Why have not the Fourth-International Trotskyists quoted this precious passage to prove that the Titoists have "broken with Stalinism"? Isn't it clear that the "Trotskyites" are not referred to here, in Moscow fashion, as "mad dogs," "fascists," baby-butchers and drinkers of human blood?

In France, the Yugoslav bureaus have been even more gracious. Why not use the Trotskyists to toot the horn for them virtually uncritically, reprint their propaganda, organize their "youth brigades" for them to work in Yugoslavia, write about their workers' democracy—especially when they have next to no one else to do it for them?

In return, the "Trotskyites" are promoted from the status of mad dogs to that of eccentrics. We do not minimize the amount of adaptability thus displayed by the Yugo-Stalinists; it takes no mean degree of ability to unbend to an ancient foe even after he has adopted your politics!

For Services Rendered

But let the "eccentrics" ask something for their services. . . . We do not refer to any financial consideration, even for expenses.

That they have the right to form their own political party in Yugoslavia! If this suggestion is too shocking to either side—let them ask that they have the right to form their own group in that well-known democratic institution, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

And if this last also appears doubtful to the sturdy Titoist proponents of democracy, they can faithfully promise that said public meeting will not be a factless memorial for the Yugoslav Trotskyist partisans who were rounded up and machine-gunned by Tito during the war.

The Yugoslavs, backs to the wall and in a tight fix, are willing to use anyone—even the devil and his grandmother—as the Stalinists told us when Molotov and Ribbentrop clasped hands—and it is only unclear under which of those two headings they regard the Fourth International. But one thing they will not concede: any break in their monolithic state structure of totalitarianism.

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# MARSHALL PLAN MAKES TURN

By SAM FÉLIKS

The Marshall Plan, from the point of view of U. S. capitalism, is already beginning to pay dividends. While these dividends are not to be counted in terms of dollars directly flowing into the coffers of the American bourgeoisie, they are measured in terms of the rearmament of Western Europe, as hesitant and limited as they are at this moment.

At its inception, the Marshall Plan was heralded as a means of halting the advance of Stalinism and a way to avoid war. In Western Europe it has done neither, not to speak of the disasters in Asia. Whatever losses have been suffered by Stalinism in Europe have been the result of its own brutalities, rather than the appeal of American capitalism. In fact, it has been a source of constant amazement to Americans that the European workers look upon the Marshall Plan with something less than gratitude, an attitude superficially attributed to Stalinist influence.

It is with the shift in Marshall Plan emphasis from the reconstruction of industry and the increase in the levels of production to the increase in the military sector of the economy that the turning point is reached. Though the Korean war has seen the acceleration of this tendency with the formal announcement of the increases in the military budgets of Western Europe, the gradual shift has been going on since the inception of the North Atlantic Pact. Since the turn of the year the U. S. has been putting on the pressure for Western Europe to increase its war budget.

## Growing Economic Rivalry

However, before the quickened pace of the last couple of months, it appeared that the crisis in Western Europe would take the more traditional form of economic rivalry with the United States. The recession in the American economy in mid-1949 was a harbinger of such developments, as was the wave of currency devaluations. The competitive struggles, especially between the U. S. and Great Britain, became more intense as the post-war boom was drawing to an end.

The level of industrial production of Western Europe by January, 1950, was about 15 per cent over that of 1938, although agriculture had not even reached the pre-war figure. The problem was becoming less that of increasing production than of relaxing the restrictions on trade. Therefore at that time the Economic Cooperation Administration talked in terms of relaxing currency restrictions, lowering tariffs and the formation of a payment union to facilitate trade inside Western Europe. But the emphasis on increasing trade has declined almost in direct proportion to the increase in the emphasis on the militarization of Western Europe.

However, it would be well to look back at several of the significant developments in the Marshall Plan before the introduction of the war economy at its present tempo. What stands out is the conflict inside the American war camp, although overshadowed by the conflict with Stalinism.

## Dual American Policy

This rivalry inside of the American war camp is to a great extent a reflection of the differences inside the leadership of American capitalism. The Marshall Plan's primary consideration is a political one: the strengthening of allies in preparation for what they believe to be the inevitable military conflict with Stalinism. It also represented the attempt to build up and support the sagging structure of world capitalism, for no one could conceive of "capitalism in one country"—not even in the United States.

However, while there is this important political consideration, the Marshall Plan was largely sold to the American businessman by pointing out the benefits he would derive from it. And even if he did think in terms of the larger political issues, he was still a capitalist interested in profit, and there was profit to be had.

It was out of this duality of interests and motivations that there arose a duality in governmental policy toward the Marshall Plan. One was the political necessity of building up Western Europe as a strong ally (for to whom else can

U. S. capitalism turn?) and the other was to protect American business interests from encroachment by Western European competition.

Although the Marshall Plan did not come into existence merely as a means of financing the U. S. export surplus, it has served this purpose too. It is widely recognized that if the Marshall Plan had not come into being in 1948 the level of U. S. exports would have fallen greatly. The Marshall Plan expenditures in the second half of 1948 were at the annual rate of \$6.6 billions but the effect on production was not felt until early 1949 and thereby had a stabilizing effect on the economy during the time of the recession. However, this is not to underestimate the importance of the military budget.

"The ECA provided \$4.2 billions in 1949 toward the financing of these exports (\$15.8 billion). This amount was equivalent to 27 per cent of the dollars that all foreign countries used during the year to finance purchases of goods and services in the U. S. and pay interest and dividends on American loans and investments," says the ECA Seventh Report to Congress.

The report also points out that between 20 and 25 per cent of all the cotton, wheat and tobacco produced in the U. S. in the year ending June, 1949, was purchased by the Marshall Plan countries largely through ECA funds. The effect of the Marshall Plan on certain sectors of the economy is seen to be extremely important.

The legislation providing for the Marshall Plan also provided that there be special consideration to certain agricultural products and petroleum products. It is stipulated that when the secretary of agriculture declares a commodity to be surplus, the ECA, when it authorizes purchases of this commodity, must authorize only U. S. purchases.

## Protecting U. S. Business

It was the two special categories of agricultural and petroleum products that touched off the rivalry between the interests of Western Europe and the U. S. While on the one hand it has been the objective of the Marshall Plan to close the dollar gap and to strengthen Western Europe, there has been governmental action in a way that would prevent the achievement of this objective.

One of the objectives of the Marshall Plan has been to set up a payment union to ease trade restrictions. The European Marshall Plan Council drew up a payment union plan that had the approval of ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman. This plan, however, was vetoed by the National Advisory Council, a governmental body consisting of, among others, the secretaries of state, defense and treasury and the directors of the Export-Import Bank and the Federal Reserve System. The objection was raised by the Department of Agriculture that this plan tended to discriminate against U. S. agricultural exports.

This payment union plan, even if it did discriminate against U. S. exports (a practice widely engaged in by U. S. against foreign exports), would have eased the dollar shortage. But here the overriding interest was the protection of the agricultural export market, and the plan was dropped. A payment union has subsequently been adopted early in July, but because of the changed conditions due to the expanding war economies it will be relatively meaningless.

Another example of this same conflict occurred over oil. In the middle of 1949, Great Britain made an agreement with Argentina to supply all the Argentine oil needs to the exclusion of the American companies. This was a reflection of the dollar shortage where countries tried to buy

elsewhere in order to save dollars. Then in January, 1950, Britain announced that it was going to cut purchases of American oil and instead buy oil from British companies.

Immediately the senators from the oil states, led by Senator Tom Connally of Texas, the Democratic foreign policy leader in the Senate, began to demand that the Marshall Plan funds to Britain be cut off. Secretary of State Dean Acheson even stepped in and declared that this oil embargo was unacceptable to the U. S. This "embargo" only affected four million out of the 13 million tons of oil the U. S. companies sold to Britain.

The British government backed down to an extent under this pressure and made several compromises with the American oil companies. But here again an attempt was made to close the dollar gap and it ran against the interests of important pressure groups inside of the government. We see the conflict inside of U. S. policy.

## War Economy Strengthened

The developing rivalry between the U. S. and Western Europe has to a great extent been hanging in midair. The other important tendency in the Marshall Plan—and the dominant one: the militarization of Western Europe—has superceded it. And to the extent that it supercedes the economic rivalry, it "solves" or suppresses the difficulties or else they appear in other forms.

In recent months there has been the virtual merger of the North Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan. The ECA administrator sits on the top level committee of the North Atlantic Pact Council. And the U. S. and Canada are now members of the European Marshall Plan Council, bringing the U. S. in more direct control over what was formerly called an "autonomous" body. This development could not have been otherwise given the role that the U. S. plays. The Marshallization is proceeding under forced draft.

The problem that appeared to loom menacingly one year ago, what to do with surplus commodities, now becomes transformed into the problem of concern over shortages. While there is the tendency for the closing of the famous "dollar gap" because of increased U. S. stockpiling of raw materials, the problem of trade deficits continues in other forms. That is, with the increase in military expenditures, the high level of imports must be maintained while the ability to export decreases. This is especially important for Britain.

For the working class this means an increase in the cost of living. The issue of "guns or butter" becomes more clearly posed than it did before the last world war. Now there is relatively full employment but living standards in Europe are still below the level of 1938. Therefore any increase in military expenditures means a further decrease in living standards and an increase in inflationary pressures.

## No End in Sight

To the extent that the military expenditures also come out of investment in industry, it means a lowering in productivity and the efficiency of labor. In short, there are reintroduced many of the conditions which led to the impasse in which Western Europe finds itself today. Under the present governments Western Europe is being thrown into greater dependence on the U. S.

The original terminal date of the Marshall Plan, 1952, is already meaningless. The U. S., in order to keep its reluctant allies in the arena, will have to increase both military and economic aid for an indefinite period no matter what the new plan is called. The U. S. is pressing for the rearmament of Western Europe, and of course Germany is to be included. And the U. S. will have to pay a substantial part of the bill. It was on this basis that many of the Western European nations announced plans for limited increases in military expenditures.

The extent to which the Marshall Plan represents almost a direct military expenditure is seen in a unanimously passed Senate amendment to the third year appropriation bill of \$2.4 billion. It authorized the president to halt Marshall Plan funds to any participating nation that "has failed or refused to support the United Nations in the Korean war by supplying armed personnel, materiel of war or services." What could be plainer than that?

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Brief Comments on the Labor Action Discussion on Socialist Policy and Korea

### Disputes Hall On Sentence

To the Editor:

Ben Hall, in LABOR ACTION of August 28, refers to a sentence in my letter, published in the previous issue, which "easily lends itself to falsification." The sentence in question is the following: "The historical background of Trotskyism, together with the ISL's willingness, only a few years ago, to 'loyally' defend the Soviet Union along with Cannon and Co., make it imperative that there be no ambiguity in the present position of the organization, with respect to Russia."

Comrade Hall covers the whole history of Trotskyism to show how misleading my remark is. Nevertheless, much of that history of anti-Stalinism combined anti-Stalinism with a stubborn defense of the Soviet Union as a "workers' state." That is what I mean by the "historical background of Trotskyism"; and there could be no confusion on that point for any informed reader.

If Comrade Hall had confined his remarks to a survey of the anti-Stalinist record of the Workers Party and the ISL, he would have had more reason for accusing me of "political amnesia." The WP and the ISL never, in a programmatic sense, "defended" the Soviet Union. But here Comrade Hall suffers an odd lapse of memory. The WP, in 1945-46, was attempting to achieve unity with the Socialist Workers Party; and the overwhelming majority of the members of the WP (with a few exceptions, such as myself), were perfectly willing to "defend" the Soviet Union to the extent that the formal discipline of the SWP made necessary. The differences over Russia, said the leaders of the WP, were by no means the main obstacle to unity. This seemed to me an extraordinarily revealing admission, as I said at the time.

Socialists wherever possible should demand implementation of Truman's Point Four program for development of backward areas, so that a base can be built for construction of democratic and socialist institutions in Asia. Just as in Europe the U. S. supports the British Labor Party in order to fight

Stalinism effectively. American socialists must advance the idea of the U. S. supporting economically all the progressive, democratic forces in Asia both from the point of view of fighting Stalinism and advancing the basis for socialism.

If the USA were backing a genuinely democratic or socialist government in South Korea, then and then only would the U. S. represent the lesser of two evils. But until that situation obtains (and hell might freeze over), not even the remotest possibility exists for giving support to either system of tyranny.

Whatever the outcome of the Washington-Moscow combat, the ISL must stand uncompromisingly for a third camp of peace and socialist democracy. In this hour of trial socialists must remain true to their honorable heritage despite the intense pressure of chauvinism.

Michael FLYNN  
Oakland, Calif.

As Flynn points out, the United States has been consistent in supporting reactionary groups in Asia. However, we disagree that this is a matter of political choice in the sense that it is possible for this government to support socialist and truly democratic forces in any significant manner.

As a matter of fact, the United States has not supported the British Labor Party in Europe. It has prevented Britain and its empire from collapsing economically, that is all. The aid which has been extended to anti-Stalinist political and labor movements in Europe and elsewhere has been largely nullified by the overwhelmingly greater aid the American government has given its true allies, the ruling classes of the countries involved.

Independent socialists frequently urge the government to change its policies in a democratic direction. But they do not suffer from the illusion that a fundamental

conflict—diplomatic in the first phase and military today—is being carried on through the agency of two governments each dependent and completely subservient to one of the power blocs.

This is, however, not to deny that there is no element of civil war involved in the war. But it must be understood that this aspect of the struggle is almost totally submerged by the cold war developed into a shooting war.

What should be made clear, therefore, is that Korea which was a pawn at the table of international diplomacy in 1945 is today a pawn in the arena of actual battle.

The two governments being abject tools of the two power blocs exhibit in the most concentrated form the worst features of the two major powers.

The Rhee regime in South Korea has hardly any popular support representing as it does a microscopic minority of capitalists, landlords and blackmarketeers at the top. Without popular backing it is sustained in power by the U. S.

In the words of Mr. Johnson, till recently New York Times correspondent in Korea, it is "totally dependent on the United States economic military and political support for continued existence." Therefore the lack of democracy in this part of Korea is not surprising since only a ruthless police regime can hold the people under the Rhee regime.

As for the North Korean Government, it is as totalitarian and bureaucratic as is possible on the material basis of Korean backwardness in transport and communications. Even Andrew Roth, a liberal Stalinoid, is constrained to declare, "Unlike China, where the Communists have won power overwhelmingly by their own efforts, the North Korean Communists leaned heavily on the Soviet occupying authorities. They show evidence of being an imposed regime particularly in their fawning propaganda."

Like all other countries under the Russian tutelage, North Korea exists without even the fig leaf of democracy. The nakedness of its police rule is only masked by the ferocity of its repression.

The victory of either government will not usher in the changes so much desired by the Korean people—national independence and unification and nationalization of economy under popular democratic control.

The victory of South Korea will mean the extension

change in these policies is to be expected until such time as the labor movement ceases to support this government and forms an independent political movement of its own which will have the possibility of adopting policies of support to the socialist and democratic forces abroad.—Editor.

### Cannot Agree On Korea Stand

To the Editor:

I find LABOR ACTION probably the best weekly published by the radical groups in this country.

In over more than two years that I have received your paper I find my first serious difference. I just cannot make any logic of LABOR ACTION's position on Korea in spite of two long articles.

Just what would you do if you were in Korea? NOT resist outright Soviet aggression? Talk about the third force or fight the invaders?

Granted, everything you say about the South Korea of Rhee. But where would your position leave us? Stalin in control of all Korea.

We have made plenty of mistakes since 1945. No question of the U. S. being imperialist. But I believe one time the U. S. was right in standing up against Stalinist aggression.

H. B.

### Sturdy Stand For Socialism

To the Editor:

Once again I want to compliment you on your sturdy stand for good socialism. I have read the letter of your critics on the Korean war, and on "War and the Lesser Evil." It seems to me that in her "Reply to Pro-War Critics," Mary Bell wins the argument hands down. While her two op-

posing critics are no doubt sincere socialists in their own way, they do not present their case in a very convincing way.

All well-read socialists will admit that in Stalinism we have a horrible caricature of socialism; but it seems to me that American capitalism is greatly responsible for the fact that we have the Stalinist Frankenstein monster in the world today. If it had not been for the persecution, terror and intimidation visited on the American and European socialist movement following the First World War, Bolshevism would not have degenerated into the horrible caricature that Stalinism is today.

So it appears to me that the stand that the ISL takes that they are both equally guilty of bringing the world to the brink of disaster is the correct socialist attitude to take.

While we often feel strongly on these subjects, yet it is pleasant to notice that in these polemics in LABOR ACTION there is generally an absence of that vindictiveness that so often emanates from other periodicals that claim to be socialist.

John HOWARD

Readers wishing to write letters or discussion articles on the question of socialist policy in the war will please limit their contributions in the future to a thousand words. This is the usual space limitation in LABOR ACTION for discussion articles.

Although some of the articles which have appeared in this controversy up till now have been considerably longer, we feel that the discussion should now be brought within the usual space limitations.—Editor.

# Ceylon Trotskyist States Views on Korea

The following discussion of the Korean war appeared in July 8 issue of the weekly organ of the Socialist Party of India, Janata, by V. Karlasingham. Comrade Karlasingham is one of the leaders of the Ceylonese Trotskyist group, Lanka Sama Samaj. The article was published before the Fourth International Trotskyist movement came out in open support of the Stalinists in Korea. Whether this article still represents Comrade Karlasingham's view we naturally do not know, but the article speaks for itself.—Ed.

By V. KARLASINGHAM

The cold war in East Asia has erupted into a shooting war in Korea. The North Korean Government has invaded territory held by the South Korean government leading to open armed intervention by the United States. Suddenly, in fact almost overnight, two groups of partisans claiming to stand for Korean independence and Korean unification have sprung up.

But this hypocritical concern of Moscow and Washington for the future of Korea will deceive none. If today both talk in terms of Korean independence or unification it is only to utilize the question of Korea as a pawn in their game of power politics. So long as there was agreement between the Big Powers—the U. S. and USSR—neither power nor their hirelings was in the least bothered about any of the high principles they today invoke in their application to Korea.

In fact, it was by agreement among themselves at Yalta that Korea was cruelly divided at the 38th parallel. It was by agreement among themselves that Korea was carved out between these two power blocs and troops stationed in the areas of this country apportioned to the U. S. and the USSR. In short it was by agreement among themselves that the first act of aggression against Korea was perpetrated as far back as 1945.

When all this was done, there was of course no talk of taking the wishes of the people who were so vitally concerned—the Korean peoples. The self-styled democrats of the West and self-proclaimed Socialists of the East [The Stalinists—Ed.] were united in their conception that Korea was to be only a pawn.

When, however, big power relations deteriorated, Korea became a point of conflict between them and the

conflict—diplomatic in the first phase and military today—is being carried on through the agency of two governments each dependent and completely subservient to one of the power blocs.

This is, however, not to deny that there is no element of civil war involved in the war. But it must be understood that this aspect of the struggle is almost totally submerged by the cold war developed into a shooting war.

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The victory of either government will not usher in the changes so much desired by the Korean people—national independence and unification and nationalization of economy under popular democratic control.

The victory of South Korea will mean the extension

of U. S. influence to the North and the conversion of the whole of Korea into a U. S. landing ground on the East Asian mainland. While the victory of North Korea will mean the elimination of the landlords and capitalists, it will at the same time reduce Korea to a bureaucratic pattern of Soviet Russia—i.e., without popular control of nationalized industries and socialist democracy. At the same time the immediate result of the victory of Stalinism in Korea would be the liquidation of the independent socialist movement and the disorienting of the socialist vanguard.

The war is, therefore, not going to bring the liberation of Korea—although it may lead to the country's unification. Korea even though unified by the victory of either government will be still further removed from independence.

We can, therefore, give no support to either camp since the war will not achieve the declared aims of either side. Further, so long as the two governments are what they are, viz., puppets of the two big powers, the Korean socialists can give no support to their respective puppet governments.

We, in India, can well appreciate this position. In 1942 even though we took our stand against Japanese imperialism, we did not lend support to the British slave masters whose puppet was the then Government of India.

The fact that the UN has given its benedictions to one government does not alter one whit the position stated above, since the UN is only a facade behind which U. S. imperialism, one of the participants in the war, operates. The UN cannot act independently of the Big Powers and specifically of the United States. Its decisions invariably conform to the foreign policy needs of the Big Powers. Not abstract principles of democracy but considerations of Big Power politics alone determine the decisions of the UN.

If we are to support the decisions of the UN, then it is tantamount to an abandonment of the position we have hitherto taken on neutrality as between the two power blocs—a position that distinguishes us from all other currents in the left movement. Our Third Force position—"Neither Western Capitalism nor Stalinist Totalitarianism"—demands that we lend no support to either camp in Korea. Instead our solidarity is with the Koreans in their struggle against both war camps and for national independence and democratic socialism.

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# "Preventive War" - -

(Continued from page 1)

thews and all their apologists, defenders, and co-thinkers are dangerous men. They are captivated by America's preponderant industrial might and military potential. Give them enough bazookas, atom bombs, flying fortresses, tanks, and men and they delude themselves that they can run the world. No need to take the sentiments of billions of people into account; their self-deceiving arrogance concludes that they can defeat Russia, world-Stalinism, and all its allies with the iron fist as their sole resource.

**But the workingpeople of the world will not be waived aside. No power can enter a war today without taking into its calculations the desires, the actions, the strength of the world's population, not the ruling governments but the ruled subjects. This is the prime fact which delays the outbreak of war. Neither Russia or the United States today has or can have confidence in its ability to rally the world masses. In its very failure to unite behind either camp, by its very division between the two, the Third camp of world labor and colonial peoples postpones war. For the United States to embark on war now, means to fight virtually single-handed on at least two whole continents. Such a war, even if victorious would prove only a Pyrrhic victory to the United States, its young men dead by the hundreds of thousands and millions in their isolated battle; its resources taxed and wasted; its future bleak. Into such a pool of blood, these military-minded men would plunge us. That is why they are so dangerous.**

The fight against Stalinism is, first and foremost, a political and social struggle and cannot be safely entrusted to the military masterminds trained in the spirit of colonial administration. They think of crushing, dominating, silencing, and intimidating the far-off corners of the globe when the task is that of convincing its peoples, of winning them over to the battles against Stalinism. In China, all the golden coins and steel bullets of America couldn't save the corrupt Chiang regime, whose soldiers deserted, whose supporters dwindled while Stalinism triumphed. MacArthur doesn't claim that his Formosa-grasping policy will wean the Chinese masses away from Stalinism. He sees them hopelessly and irrevocably committed to it and urgently seeks to fence them in with bayonets.

## PEOPLE WANT FREEDOM

Korea is another China, with this difference: here the yawning gaps in American imperialist social policy are filled in not only with money and munitions but with the dead bodies of American soldiers. Despite the expenditure of billions of Marshall Plan funds, the Italian workers, the French workers remain Stalinist in their sympathies. Why? Why? Surely anyone with anything but a helmet for a head must try to answer before blotting out the very question in blood. These people want, no more and no less, what the American people want. They want freedom. They want the right to till their own land, to work in factories where their dignity as human beings is respected. They want national independence. None of these aspirations will be fulfilled by Stalinism. On the contrary, it will bring them only oppression and exploitation and dictatorship.

But, alas, they see no other alternative. They do not want to be ruled by the United States. They do not want to be victims in its wars. MacArthur and his co-thinkers express in the crassest terms their contempt for the individuality, for the aspirations of all these people whom they look upon as so many tools of international war diplomacy. The very men who so dominantly

cut us off from the world's people would throw us into a world-war.

In Great Britain, AFL representative Alex Rose is heard in bored silence and boomed in contempt at the conference of the British Trade Union Congress. They are not hospitable to salesmen for American foreign policy. And these are presumably our allies. The United States can boast of obsequious servants among European officials but not of enthusiastic supporters among its peoples. Where are all our friends when we seek air bases in Spain? Why in Spain? Because it is the only nation in Western Europe which can shrug off the reaction of its own subjects. The totalitarian Franco can grant us bases because he has wiped out democracy. But how feeble an ally he will prove to be! The first wind of popular action will blow him off the throne.

## ICY INDIFFERENCE

The Truman administration is at least partially aware of the icy indifference or outright hostility of the masses everywhere to the fate of American arms. That is why it hesitates to plunge into war and hopes to confine the war in Korea to a "police action" (What began as a "police action" has become a small war). Acheson and Truman see the problem but cannot solve it. A capitalist United States cannot attract a Europe or an Asia which are done with capitalism and which will not tolerate the domination of capitalist imperialism. Truman rejects the big preventive war but sucks us into the little war in Korea without consulting the American people, or waiting for an act of Congress. He seeks good-will in Asia but plays with the fire of Formosa, defending the last island outpost of Chiang Kai-shek. He would postpone the awful decision of war but prepares for its inevitable outbreak. Seeking, waiting, hoping, using every stratagem possible to capitalist America to win popular support for the United States . . . and all in vain.

**The American people stand on the very edge of a jagged-bottomed chasm. It is time to pause and consider. Perhaps it is possible to build a social bridge and pass safely over. Such a bridge, for example, would be a political program to win over the Stalinist-influenced masses. But the advocates of preventive war would give us no time to think it over. They would crowd us to the edge and over. They would fill up the gulf with human flesh; topple down millions of American soldiers; wheel over the wealth created by years of labor in order to cross over on a bridge of bayonets and bodies to the conquest of the world. Can they succeed? It is doubtful. But even if they could, what a horrifying cost. The administration stumbles along and teeter-totters on the brink, holding the hand of labor leaders, liberals, and men-of-good-will. What next?**

Small-fry Anderson was removed from his obscure post. But MacArthur and Matthews remain, a disturbing sign of the power and influence of the preventive warmongers and atom bombardiers. "Both sides were so explosive," said the Herald Tribune of these two men, "that the very mention of them by high personages tended to undercut the moral foundations of American foreign policy." Can we say any less than this organ of conservatism? A "preventive" war would strip the actions of the United States of every last tattered vestige of righteous sanction. It would pit the American people not only against Russia but against the whole world.

**Some wars are necessary though destructive and exhausting. Some are justified though brutal and bloody. But this destructive, exhausting, brutal, bloody**

**war is neither necessary nor justified. The PAC-CIO speaks rather petulantly of the "blunders" of those who call for war. But too much hinges on the outcome to use such mild language. What is proposed is not a tactical blunder. It is a morally criminal reprehensible adventure.**

## Cry the Beloved Country, Indeed!

Sidney Poitier and Canada Lee are going to South Africa to prepare for their roles in "Cry the Beloved Country," which will be produced by Sir Alexander Korda.

Both these prominent Negro actors will have to land in South Africa as bonded servants of Zoltan Korda, the director. They will have to live, eat and be entertained on Korda's private estate. This degrading procedure is forced on the actors by the recent racial segregation laws passed by the South African government of Malan.

Poitier rose to prominence as an actor in "No Way Out" in which he played a Negro doctor. Before that he spent many years washing dishes in restaurants and being kicked from one job to another chiefly due to his refusal to accept insults thrown at him because of his race.

# And Now, The Blues . . .

By LARRY O'CONNOR

It seems we won't even be allowed to sing the blues any more without first getting a certificate from the FBI, or at least from some self-appointed committee of red hunters.

At least Americans will have to be mighty careful to feel blue over authorized miseries only. And we might as well stop worrying about the atom bomb right now. It isn't patriotic. In fact it is downright communistic to let yourself get sad over the thought that whole cities can and perhaps will be crushed and all their inhabitants killed by an atom bomb. Or at least, if you can't control yourself like a good patriot should, and you start getting a little gloomy over the atomic prospects, keep it to yourself. Don't say anything about it, don't look down in the mouth, and for Pete's sake, don't sing about it if you want to stay one hundred per cent American.

Don't think you are being kidded about this. Just last week recordings of a talking blues number, Old Man Atom, were withdrawn from public distribution by RCA-Victor and Columbia Records.

**This wasn't done because the records were a flop. The fact is, RCA-Victor and Columbia won't say what the sales figures on the records were. The records were withdrawn because the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York, the same outfit that ran Jean Muir off television, started a campaign against the records on the grounds that they follow the Communist party "peace line."**

Were the records written and recorded by some Stalinist-front organization? No. It seems the song was written by a Los Angeles newspaperman shortly after the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He went around and talked to scientists and government officials about the bomb. He didn't like what he heard about it. He got to feeling blue. So he wrote this song. And it was performed by the Sons of the Pioneers for Victor (well known for their work in horse operas) and by Sam Hinton, singer and guitarist, for Columbia.

As the records have been withdrawn, we can't get our hands on one. So we can't tell you just how subversive they are. But one thing we know for sure. From now on, you won't catch us singing the blues about the atom bomb. Not us! From now on it's the Atom Bomb Jump. Jump with joy, we mean.

# Labor Marks Gains - -

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a dispute over what would ordinarily appear to be a minor difference. These men are among the most conservative in the Detroit CIO and in the URW. In the bitter wartime wildcat strike which closed production for 17 days until the navy seized the plant, they were among the very few who voluntarily remained at work.

International Harvester is shut down by strikes called both by the UAW and the UE in plants under their respective control. In the electrical industry, Sperry Gyroscope has already granted the IUE-CIO a new contract with significant improvements, including a cost-of-living clause. Spreading stoppages called by IUE locals closed off production in several large General Electric plants. The national IUE leadership hesitated at first over what to do with the mounting number of strikes and strikers, then announced a general strike at all GE shops to begin on Tuesday, September 5, and finally revoked its strike call after an appeal from the federation administration which labeled it "a most serious threat" to national defense.

So far, the United Steel Workers is touched by this movement only on the fringes and the United Mine Workers not at all. But the logic of rising wages in other industries and mounting prices everywhere will compel Philip Murray and John L. Lewis to make a stand.

## BASIC RIGHTS

The sudden turn from diffidence toward the employers to aggressiveness and militancy, the swift emergence of elements favorable to union advances show the futility of efforts to freeze union conditions on the basis of durable long-term factors. Only a few months ago, the five-year contract with GM was announced as the foundation stone for an era of stable relations. A trend set in toward long-term contracts.

But there is no stability, only uncertainty and doubt. If the GM agreement has agitated workers in other factories, it seems to allow the GM workers to meet new problems without shocks, without strikes, in peaceable automatic workings of contractual procedures. But the knotty difficulties that loom for tomorrow cannot and will not be avoided merely by modeling all settlements on the

GM contract.

Everyone tries to peer beyond Korea and get ready for what must follow. The United States fights a small preliminary war but it is not yet geared for the real war. Tomorrow may bring the conversion of mass industry to war production. In fact, the process is already under way, but it has only begun. The employers are haunted by labor shortages. Workers are beginning to move from lower to higher paying jobs as opportunities reopen. Replacements are hard to find.

Tomorrow may bring a sudden slash in consumer goods production, with lush high-priced markets for any and all commodities available for sale. An all-out push for a last spurt of consumer goods production can amass valuable stocks. Production that is lost today may be lost forever. To hold on to their workers, to keep production going full blast, the companies are ready to make speedy concessions without too much debate.

The workers see prices already rising. A job freeze and wage fixing may be fastened at any moment. They know that the employers want production. They sense that the labor market is tightening up. NOW OR NEVER! Let us win what we can today, or tomorrow it will be too late! Such are the first temporary effects of the Korean war. This is the storm before the calm, the period of relatively free democratic action before the rigid clamps of government interference are fastened on the labor movement.

The GE workers and the railroad workers are already tangled in the net of pre-war politics.

In seizing the railroads, President Truman acted out a vivid preview of things to come. For seventeen months the trainmen and conductors sought a 40-hour week with no reduction in pay. A government emergency board ruled against them on July 11 and at long last they announced a strike, to begin on August 28. In making this empty gesture, they carefully informed the president that if he took over the rails, the strike would be called off. Truman declared an emergency, and the government seized the roads.

That day, Gustav Metzger, president of the New York Central Railroad, hung away his business

suit and donned his colonel's uniform.

He was under orders from his commander-in-chief, Truman, to make, "in due course, payment of dividends on stock and of principal, interest, sinking funds and all other distributions upon bonds," etc. But the workers' contracts were frozen for the duration of the seizure.

Truman executes this mock seizure under his self-discovered rights during an "emergency." Our labor leaders are as little perturbed as if they had merely learned that Truman has just denounced communism. It is not surprising. For they have allowed the hated Taft-Hartley law to sink in importance. No ringing denunciations of its notorious injunction provisions against similar so-called "emergency" strikes. Such trifles had best be forgotten for the duration of this emergency. Their minds are thinking along new channels.

## NO STABILITY

The onset of a war economy will mean a drive against labor standards. American labor is prepared and willing to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary to meet our nation's security requirements," says Walter Reuther. "We shall insist, however, that labor's basic rights and standards be protected, and that industry make sacrifices comparable to those of labor." This is the formula for repeating the farcical "equality of sacrifice" program of the last war.

Some questions immediately arise. Reuther will insist that labor's BASIC rights and standards be protected. But what IS and what IS NOT basic? Is it necessary to oppose all wage and job freezes to protect BASIC rights? Shall we insist that the cost of living clauses be enforced or shall we surrender them upon government demand as we surrendered premium pay for Saturdays and Sundays in the last war? Shall we demand that the rich pay the costs of the war or shall we allow wages to be drained away by heavier withholdings?

Such are the problems that are just around the corner. Whether the worker's standard of living rises or falls, whether his rights as a man are fortified or undermined will be decided by how the unions reply.