

LABOR

and the

**MARSHALL
PLAN**

by

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CONGRESS and the whole United States are now discussing the Marshall Plan, under which it is proposed that this country shall within four years loan or give 17 billion dollars to various European countries. The consequences of this plan, both foreign and domestic, will constitute the central issues in the approaching Presidential elections. The Marshall Plan is being put forth as a program for the economic recovery of Europe and other sections of the war-torn world. On this basis the bulk of the top leaders of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods are calling upon the workers to join hands with the Truman Administration, the Republican Party, the National Association of Manufacturers, and with other conservative forces to support this so-called bipartisan European Recovery Plan (E.R.P.).

In reality the Marshall Plan is not a program of economic recovery. The essence of it is an attempt of the big corporations of this country, who rule both the Republican and Democratic Parties, to establish their control over Europe, as a part of their larger scheme to dominate the entire world. It is a war plan. Any degree of economic recovery that may take place because of its expenditures is entirely secondary to its basic war aims. Those labor leaders who are supporting the Marshall Plan are, therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, sacrificing the interests of the workers to the warmongers, and are allowing Wall

Street to use them in its program of imperialist expansion and aggression. They are labor imperialists.

The best way to realize that the Marshall Plan is not a plan for economic recovery is to examine what has been the general effect of the other huge sums that the United States has spent on European "recovery" since the end of the war. This makes a dismal story. Altogether, since V-E Day the United States has shipped, as loans, goods worth over 15 billion dollars into Europe, principally Western Europe. Yet the main countries there, Great Britain, France and Italy, still find themselves in deep crisis and we are constantly being told that they will collapse altogether and be taken over by the Communists if we do not quickly give them many more billions. Thus, so far as bringing about economic recovery is concerned, all the billions of American dollars quandered up to now on Western Europe might just as well have been poured down a rathole.

The same can also be said regarding the four billion dollars that have been loaned since the end of the war to the rotten Chiang Kai-shek government in China. This money has been wasted to shoot down the workers and peasants who are fighting against one of the most corrupt systems in the world. And in the future, it is proposed to expend more billions in this most discreditable enterprise, which violates all the democratic traditions of America.

That the "rehabilitation" policies the United States is following are not bringing about economic recovery in Europe (or anywhere else) is emphasized by the fact that while the much-helped countries of Western Europe are in deep crisis the countries of Eastern and Central Europe are making constant and rapid recovery to economic health. This contrast is all the more striking inasmuch as the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Yugoslavia, for example, suffered incomparably greater losses in lives and property during the war (proportionally 10 to 20 times as much) than did Great Britain, France, or Italy, and they have

received little American postwar aid; yet they are rapidly traveling the highway to recovery, while the countries of the West are sick and getting sicker.

The explanation for this contradictory situation is that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, the new democracies, including Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Albania, have adopted the necessary progressive economic and political measures required to bring about industrial recovery, while those in the West have not. Thus, the people in Eastern Europe have smashed the power of monopoly capital, nationalized the banks and key industries, broken up the big landed estates, set up democratic governments, and have generally proceeded forthrightly to put their economic systems in order. (The Soviet Union, of course, has long had Socialism, which has advanced economic and political measures even more thoroughly in effect.) But Britain, France, Italy, and other lands in the West, on the other hand, have not adopted those necessary recovery measures, even though the first-named country has a so-called Labor government. This lack of progress is due to the fact that in all the West European countries the monopolists remain in full control; they continue to dominate the governments; they have blocked and crippled the people's nationalization programs, and they have successfully sabotaged all effective financial and economic proposals.

If the reactionaries have thus been able to defeat needful economic and political reforms in Western Europe and thereby have prevented economic recovery, it has been primarily because they have had the assistance of the United States. American loans have been made to these governments on the condition that they would not adopt measures similar to those that have brought about economic recovery in Eastern and Central Europe. Actually, therefore, the 15 billions in loans by the United States in Western Europe have hindered, not helped, economic recovery. And the 17 billion dollars of the Marshall Plan,

as proposed by President Truman, would have a similar negative effect on the economic rehabilitation of Europe. Indeed, the announcement of the Marshall Plan has split Europe into two hostile camps and has generally worsened the economic and political situation in the world.

THE MARSHALL PLAN A WAR PLAN

The Marshall Plan is the master scheme of American imperialism for expansion and war. The men of Wall Street, who control the Truman Administration, both major political parties, and the biggest industrial system in the world, formulated this plan on the cold-blooded assumption that in order to put across their program of world domination a war with the Soviet Union is inevitable. The meaning of the Marshall Plan, therefore, is precisely to organize for this projected anti-Soviet war: to recruit allies among the countries of Western Europe.

A first phase of this general war plan, as embodied in the Marshall Plan, is to try to shore up tottering capitalism in Western Europe by financially strengthening the monopolists who are now in political and economic command. This has been the general purpose of the American financial loans made in the recent past and also of those that are being proposed for the future. Thus, according to the Marshall Plan as proposed by President Truman to Congress, Great Britain, during the four years of the Plan, would receive the gigantic sum of almost six billion dollars. Most of this economic aid would have the effect of a subsidy to the capitalists, as it would practically guarantee their profits and their wealth generally. For, obviously, if this money were not forthcoming from the United States, the people of Great Britain would proceed to raise the necessary rehabilitation funds by taking them away from the rich through higher taxes, capital levies, and other financial devices. But with the United States furnishing billions of dollars, the rich are spared the demands that

otherwise would be made upon their wealth by their peoples. Hence, if and when the American people make the proposed, huge Marshall Plan loans to Great Britain, France, and Italy and to other monopoly-controlled countries, they can have the pleasure (*sic*) of realizing that they are protecting the ill-gotten profits of the capitalists of these countries and are subsidizing reactionary allies of Wall Street for its war program.

Especially, the Marshall Plan aims at re-establishing full American imperialist control over Germany. Its aims in that country are to block all efforts at nationalization of the banks and industries, to give the American trusts direct ownership and control of large segments of German industry, to assure the Hitlerite industrialists formal economic and political command, to unite the American, British, and French sectors of Germany under American domination, and generally to make Germany into a reactionary puppet of Wall Street, armed against the U.S.S.R.

A second basic war aspect of the Marshall Plan is to weaken the national independence of the countries receiving the loans and thus to make them into obedient tools of Wall Street. This is the general purpose and effect of the harsh economic and political conditions which are either written into the terms of the loans or are, by back-door diplomacy, implied beforehand as stipulations for receiving the loans. These conditions would be even worse if it were not for the strong criticism now being made of them by the Communists and other democratic forces in Europe. For example, the recent four billion dollar loan to Great Britain contained very severe economic conditions for that country, which definitely infringed upon its world economic position. And the proposed Marshall Plan loans will embody even stiffer terms, either directly or indirectly. In consequence of this American pressure, Great Britain is becoming more and more dependent economically upon the United States. Actually, the question of the maintenance of the independence of that once

proud empire from the United States has now become a serious political issue in Great Britain.

So far as the governments of France and Italy are concerned, they have been reduced to little more than puppets of Wall Street. When American agents can demand, and have their demand granted, that the Communist Parties, the strongest political organizations in these two countries, be expelled from the Government Cabinets, obviously very little national independence is left to the respective governments. The fact is that various American State Department agents are now insolently bossing these governments about, not to mention the dictatorial attitude they assume toward the smaller countries of Western Europe. The general aim of all this domination, besides strengthening the economic grip of American trusts in Europe, is to reduce the various countries to puppet allies in the anti-Soviet war front now being prepared.

A third major war purpose of the Marshall Plan is to create a politically reactionary Europe. Such a Europe is necessary if its peoples are to be catapulted into war at the behest of Wall Street. Under the Hitlerite slogan of saving the world from Communism, the agents of the State Department all over Europe are fighting against everything progressive and are making war against Socialism. They are backing the most reactionary elements in the British Labor Government, while at the same time they are plotting for Churchill's return to power. In France, while supporting the right Social-Democrats against the Left, they are building up the dangerous fascist, General de Gaulle. In Italy, they are the main sponsors and backers of every reactionary, fascist current in the national political life. They are also upholding Franco in Spain, and they are the mainstay of the near-fascist governments in Greece and Turkey. Everywhere State Department agents are violent enemies of the nationalization of industry, of planned economy, and of popular democratic government. Every monopolist, banker and industrialist, every land-

holder, fascist, right Social-Democrat, and reactionary clerical throughout Europe is welcomed by our State Department as its friend and ally. Consequent upon all this reaction and corruption, there is a menacing revival of the sinister danger of fascism throughout Europe.

One of the principal aims of this general plan of weakening democracy and cultivating reaction in Europe is to split the trade unions, to prevent Communist-Socialist co-operation, and to isolate and destroy the Communist Parties. In these labor-splitting drives American imperialism has the active support of the top leaders of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., as adherents of the Marshall Plan. During the recent general strikes in France and Italy (in which several million half-starved workers struck for wage increases), American labor leaders, under the pretext of supporting the Marshall Plan, urged these workers not to obey the strike calls of their unions. In France, they actually conspired with capitalist reactionaries in splitting the labor movement after the general strike. Moreover, they actively supported the reactionary French and Greek governments, which adopted anti-strike legislation during the strikes far worse than the Taft-Hartley law in this country. Such actions by these labor leaders were just plain strike-breaking, and it forever cast infamy upon the names of men like James B. Carey of the C.I.O. and Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. On the same disgraceful level of labor betrayal is the present attempt of the A. F. of L. to split the Latin American Confederation of Labor and to throw the peoples of Central and South America under the ruthless domination of Wall Street. And now these reactionary labor leaders, playing Wall Street's game and acting as State Department agents, are trying to split the W.F.T.U. over the Marshall Plan.

A fourth war preparation aim of the Marshall Plan is to revive militarism in anticipation of a general war against the U.S.S.R. In many countries—Great Britain,

France, Italy, Turkey, etc.—Marshall Plan funds will be used, as past American funds have been used, to reconstruct the armies of these countries under reactionary command. Great Britain, for example, since the end of the war has squandered billions of dollars needlessly on imperialistic adventures in various parts of the world, and a great deal of this money came from the pockets of the American people. With the intensification of the drive of the United States toward war we can be sure, therefore, that a large percentage of the proposed loans would go for military purposes. The aim is especially to build Germany up into a great arsenal to produce munitions to be used against the U.S.S.R.

The American reactionaries do not stop merely at recultivating militarism in Europe, nor at establishing American military bases all over the world, and carrying on threatening naval maneuvers in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. In various countries they are also plotting or actually carrying on armed revolts against the democratic peoples' governments. This is the case in Poland, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, and it is notoriously the case in Greece.

In the latter country we have the infamous Truman Doctrine in operation. The Marshall Plan is the Truman Doctrine implemented with huge funds and grandiose pretenses at economic recovery. In Western Europe, notably France and Italy, the Marshall Plan's tendency is to develop civil war situations, even as in Greece. It is nonsense to argue, as some "liberals" do, that the Marshall Plan is different from the Truman Doctrine: that it is a plan for peaceful reconstruction. Many of the militarists whom the Wall Street reactionaries are backing in various countries, especially such figures as General de Gaulle in France, are not only fomenting civil wars, but they are also inciting a general war against the U.S.S.R.

Fifthly, the Marshall Plan has the war aim of mobilizing

the states of Western Europe into a military alliance under United States leadership, directed against the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. This is the meaning of the many proposals now coming from such reactionaries as Hoover, Churchill, Baruch, Byrnes, Bevin, Attlee, etc., calling for the establishment of a West European, anti-Soviet bloc. It is to clear the way for such a war alliance that the Truman Government is following the settled policy of by-passing and paralyzing the United Nations, of disregarding the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, and of taking unilateral action as it sees fit on such vital issues as the civil war in Greece, the civil war in China, the liberation war in Indonesia, the general situations in Germany and Japan, and the whole matter of world hunger relief and economic rehabilitation.

RESULTS OF THE MARSHALL PLAN IN THE U.S.

As we have just seen, American imperialism, with its Marshall Plan, has disastrous effects abroad by preventing necessary reforms in Western Europe, by enabling American trusts to grab European industries, by weakening the national independence of various countries for the benefit of Wall Street, by moving toward the establishment of a fascist Europe, by reviving militarism under reactionary leadership in many foreign countries, by the provocation of civil war in various countries, and by the building of a Western European war alliance directed against the U.S.S.R., all of which together amount to the active organization of a World War III.

The Marshall Plan, with the reactionary imperialist spirit behind it, also has most serious consequences upon economic and political conditions in the United States. Therefore, those trade union leaders, labor imperialists, who have lashed their union organizations to the chariot

of American imperialism and who have joined hands with the biggest and most ruthless employers in supporting the Marshall Plan, are betraying the workers and the whole American people into the hands of their worst enemy—Wall Street. Organized labor will pay dearly, indeed it is already doing so, for allowing its reactionary leaders to attempt to ram the Marshall Plan down the throats of unwilling European workers, for its leaders' cynical betrayals of the struggles of colonial and semi-colonial peoples in Asia against American, British, Dutch, and French imperialism, and for its crass abandonment of the workers and peoples of Latin America to the encroachments of Yankee imperialism.

The first and most immediate effect of American imperialism and the Marshall Plan within the United States is to increase greatly the cost of living for the people. The squandering of tens of billions of American dollars in Europe and elsewhere in the world for reactionary economic, political, and military purposes, with the blessing of organized labor, is like pouring a huge quantity of gasoline on the flames of inflation now raging in the United States. It sends prices soaring and makes living costs prohibitive, it is hurling this country into a great economic crisis, and it is a major factor in creating the worst drunken spree of profiteering that the United States has ever known in peacetime. American imperialism robs the workers and fattens the capitalists. Thus while the workers' living standards sank seriously in 1947, the capitalists reaped 28 billions in profits, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ billions more than the year before. To make matters worse, the trade unions are crippled in their capacity to defend the workers' interests by the fact that their conservative leaders are tied up in entangling alliances with the employers and reactionary politicians in support of the Marshall Plan and the general war program of American imperialism. The Plan is a menace, not only to the economic welfare of the

peoples of Europe, but also to that of the whole American people.

American imperialism, of which the Marshall Plan is a major manifestation, also has as one of its consequences a strong growth of political reaction in the United States, as well as in Europe. If the agents of Wall Street are to be successful in putting across their expansionist, war-breeding policies abroad, naturally they urgently need a reactionary political regime here in this country. Imperialism abroad and reaction at home—these are the two sides of the one reactionary coin. Consequently, there are now, paralleling Wall Street's reactionary drive in other countries, many signs of a sprouting fascism in the United States. Among these sinister developments are the outrageous lynching attacks against the Negro people, the shameless Red-baiting of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the disgraceful "loyalty oath" for government employees, the passage of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, the arbitrary arrest of Gene Dennis, Alex Bittelman, Claudia Jones and other Communist and progressive leaders, the emergence of the F.B.I. as an incipient Gestapo, the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party, etc., etc. All these dangerous developments are directly linked up with Wall Street's imperialistic foreign policies. They constitute a deadly menace to the trade unions, as well as to every other democratic institution in this country. The Marshall Plan has its implications of fascism for our nation as well as for other peoples. And the danger in all these threatening developments is made far worse by the fact that the labor imperialist leaders of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods are working hand-in-glove politically with the reactionaries who are responsible for these threatening growths of fascism.

Not only are American imperialism and the Marshall Plan stimulating inflation and creating a dangerous spirit of reaction in this country, but they are also leading to

the wholesale militarization of our people. Wall Street, planning for a war against the U.S.S.R., must necessarily build up a great and aggressive war machine in the United States, and this is precisely what it is doing. All this militarism and jingoism in this country is the inevitable consequence of the Marshall Plan. The United States now has by far the strongest Airforce and Navy in the world, and its Army is the best equipped. American air and naval bases are scattered all over the world. American industries are being systematically mobilized for war. The imperialists are clamoring for the introduction of universal military training. They go right on piling up atombombs and other super-deadly war weapons. Half of President Truman's 40 billion dollar budget for 1948 is for war preparations, and the warmongers are clamoring for more and more funds. The Federal Government, as never before in peacetime, is in the hands of military men and the representatives of Big Business. All this adds up to the development of a war economy in this country. These preparations for war, coupled with an ever more aggressive diplomacy by the United States, go on in constantly increasing tempo. The perspective before us, if this mad militarism and atombomb diplomacy are not halted, is for a devastating atomic war that will wipe out tens of millions of our population and lead our country to ruin. The workers are drastically opposed to war and they ardently desire peace, but their struggle against the constantly more insolent warmongers is undercut and betrayed through the support, by their leaders, of the Marshall Plan, of which the present war-like diplomatic policies and direct war preparations are definite phases.

COLLABORATION, NOT WAR THREATS

The Marshall Plan cannot succeed in bringing economic health to the nations of Western Europe, or anywhere else in the world. Nor do its Wall Street sponsors

want it to do so. About the last thing they desire is that there should be a lot of economically strong and politically independent countries in Western Europe, able to compete successfully against them in the world market. Their aim with the Marshall Plan is not economic recovery but to get control of ever-ravished Europe and to organize it for war against the Soviet Union. To this end their every effort is being turned.

As we have seen, the Marshall Plan is making the situation worse in Europe and all over the world. Europe will not get on its feet again economically until after it defeats the Marshall Plan imperialists and adopts such constructive measures as the peoples have applied in Central and Eastern Europe. This requires that the democratic masses in Western Europe must break the power of the monopolists, the big bankers, and industrialists, and take over the control of their nations' economies through establishing truly democratic governments by nationalizing the banks and key industries, and by making a start at national economic planning. They must also establish democratic trade relations with the U.S.S.R., the new European democracies, and the great, formerly colonial countries of Asia—to all of which the Marshall Plan is opposed. In short, Western Europe, like Eastern and Central Europe, must begin to turn its steps toward Socialism. In Europe the days of so-called "free enterprise" are numbered. This is the lesson of present-day history, and all the powers of Wall Street cannot negate this lesson nor breathe the breath of life back again into dying capitalism.

One of the biggest lies of the present war drive of American imperialism is that the Communists are trying to sabotage European economic recovery. In reality, however, the Communists are the very best fighters to rebuild their countries' economy. Graphic proof of this is to be seen in the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, where the Communist Parties are decisively strong and where

the peoples are making rapid strides towards recovery. Moreover, Western Europe can begin to recover only when it adopts the policies championed by the Communists.

The American people should and must help the famished peoples of Europe and of other parts of the world to rebuild their shattered economies. These peoples, in the general war against Hitlerism, suffered far greater losses in human life and property than we Americans did. Indeed, the United States actually grew fat and rich on the war. It is therefore duty-bound to help liberally those peoples who bore the brunt of the strife. The way to do this is not through the war-breeding Marshall Plan, but along the lines suggested by Henry A. Wallace.

In brief, the Wallace Plan of economic recovery calls for liberal rehabilitation grants and loans by the United States, especially to those peoples who suffered most heavily in the war. These reconstruction funds would be allocated to the various peoples without political conditions attached, and they would be administered directly by the United Nations. Such a program would insure a practical handling of the recovery problem and would put an end to the grabbing for world control which is the essence of the Marshall Plan. It would also put the United Nations on its feet and make it into a real force for peace. The Wallace Plan, too, would receive the hearty support of the democratic peoples everywhere. It would bring about a friendly spirit between the United States and the U.S.S.R., and it would liquidate the present widespread fear of and preparations for war. War is not inevitable. They lie who say that the American and Soviet peoples cannot live in peace together. But to accomplish this peaceful collaboration the monopoly capitalists in the United States, who are the originators of the Marshall Plan and the source of American imperialism, must be soundly defeated by the American people.

The Wallace general program meets the major immedi-

ate needs of the American people. However, it will have to be supplemented, as the struggle sharpens, with still more advanced measures, similar to those being adopted by the peoples of Europe; especially the nationalization of the banks and major industries under democratic controls. The workers will have to begin to realize, too, that in order to solve finally the tremendous problems confronting them—low living standards, mass unemployment, fascism, and war—they will eventually have to defeat the monopolists decisively, abolish the capitalist system, and begin the building of Socialism.

The Wallace Plan of economic recovery is the kind of program that the leaders of labor should be fighting for, instead of their peddling away the workers' interests by running after Wall Street's Marshall Plan. A program of friendly international collaboration, such as that outlined in the Wallace Plan, would aid our own country economically and also would help restore the devastated countries of the world. Those A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhood top leaders who are ballyhooing the Marshall Plan and chattering N.A.M. slogans about "free enterprise," have abdicated the working-class leadership which, as the heads of the basic economic organizations of the workers, they should be exercising. Just at the moment when organized labor, in order to realize the democratic goals for which so many millions died during the war against Hitlerism, needs most to be keenly on the alert against those sinister forces trying to restore fascism, the labor imperialists are playing the game of Wall Street. They are following the insane policy of trying to identify the workers' interests with those of the great capitalists here and abroad. They will not succeed!

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE THIRD-PARTY

It is only to be expected that the democratic peoples of the world should be and are developing a powerful and

growing resistance to the imperialists—American, British, French and Dutch—and against their Truman Doctrines, Marshall Plans, and their many other similar devices for imperialist conquest and exploitation. The great colonial system of Asia is rapidly falling to pieces; India and Burma have seriously weakened the controls over them by Great Britain; Indonesia is in revolt against its Dutch oppressors; Indo-China is aflame against the French; and the vast People's China is forging ahead in the establishment of a new democracy in the face of a hostile combination of Chinese reaction and American imperialism. In Europe, too, the peoples of various countries are increasingly resisting the American and other imperialists. The U.S.S.R. and the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe are refusing to be intimidated by the Marshall Plan and by the atombomb threats behind it. In France, Italy and other continental countries, the labor movements are waging a stern struggle against the attempts of Wall Street American capitalists to subjugate their respective countries. Altogether the world picture is one that brings no joy to the big monopolists of Wall Street, and it bodes ill to their schemes of world domination. The central meaning of the world situation is that the democratic peoples who fought so resolutely against the German-Japanese fascist imperialist would-be world conquerors are not going to allow Wall Street to fasten its yoke upon their neck. They are irresistibly building free democratic societies, and are moving toward Socialism.

It is not surprising either that great democratic masses in the United States should also be taking part in this world-wide democratic resistance of the peoples against the new imperialist attempts to enslave them. This is the real significance of the broad mass movement in this country led by Henry Wallace, which is heading toward the formation of a mass third party with its own Presidential candidate in the coming national elections. This

third-party movement, in its foreign policies, fights against the economic crises, fascism, national subjugation, and war inherent in the Marshall Plan; and, in its domestic policies, it combats the high cost of living, the fascist-like political reaction, and the widespread militarization which are the effects of the Marshall Plan and of American imperialism generally in this country.

The Wallace movement is a grass-roots development. It comes from the foundations of the American people. That is why it is so feared by the great capitalist interests of this country. The latter had succeeded in mobilizing both of the major parties, most of the top labor leaders, and their innumerable agents in the press, the radio, the church, the schools, etc., behind the imperialistic Marshall Plan. But now comes the broad third-party movement, right up from the rank and file of the people, to threaten their well-laid plans of warlike aggression. That is why they are subjecting Wallace and the new movement to a wild campaign of Red-baiting and bitter denunciation.

The masses in this country are opposed to war. This is the reason they are warmly welcoming Wallace's condemnation of American imperialism's pro-war policies. The people like, too, Wallace's militant fight against inflation, his strong defense of the workers' living standards, his tireless struggle to preserve American civil liberties, and his dogged campaign to prevent the United States from being transformed into a military-dominated autocracy. Large sections of the masses, particularly in the trade unions, correctly see in Wallace the continuer of the progressive policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The strength of Wallace's following cannot yet be accurately measured, but it certainly runs into the millions. The percentage of these broad masses that can be brought out to the polls to vote in the November elections will depend largely upon the organizing skill and the day-to-day struggle against

reaction that will be developed by the new movement between now and election day.

The labor imperialists of top official circles of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods are militantly fighting against Wallace and are trying to paint President Truman in the guise of a progressive. Their favorite argument is that even though the workers may not like all of Truman's record, nevertheless he is a "lesser evil," as contrasted with any of the prospective Republican candidates. But this argumentation is worthless. Truman is simply a reactionary, and he offers no protection whatever to the people against the big capitalist exploiters and warmongers. He is as much an agent of Wall Street as Hoover, Dulles, Dewey, Stassen, Taft, and other Republican candidates.

The workers have not forgotten that it was Truman who ruthlessly smashed the national strikes of the coal miners and railroaders and who threatened to use the Navy as a strike-breaking force against the maritime workers should they dare go out on strike. It was Truman, too, who allowed the Taft-Hartley slave labor bill to become law by refusing to mobilize the Democrats in Congress against it, who formulated the notorious loyalty oath for government employees, who is doing nothing (beyond making vague promises) to halt the persecution of Negroes and the development of anti-Semitism, who condones the shamelessly reactionary activities of the House Un-American Committee, who is loading dozens of high government posts with generals and Big Business leaders, who, only 46 days after Roosevelt died, invited the discredited Hoover into the White House and thus helped to again make a powerful political figure of him, and who goes along arm-in-arm with Wall Street in its war-like Marshall Plan and other imperialistic foreign policies. The attempt to present Truman to the people as progressive is absurd.

Another argument being made against the Wallace

candidacy by the labor imperialists, pseudo-liberals, and other supporters of Truman and the Marshall Plan is that a third-party candidate in the field will bring about the election of a reactionary Republican President. But people who talk like this should straighten out their arguments with those backers of Truman who are claiming that now that the President is freed of the "handicap" of being supported by the Communists and other progressive forces he will attract such strong support of the "respectable" people of the country that he will win the election in a walk.

Actually, the voting strength of Wallace will, by no means be drawn exclusively, or even mainly, from the ranks of regular Democratic voters. First, Wallace has the official support of many progressive international unions of the C.I.O., comprising about one-fourth of that organization, who, in any event, would not vote for Truman. Second, he will draw heavily from the farmers, who traditionally vote Republican, and third, he will find his main source of strength from those several millions of workers, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., lower trade union officials, Negroes and middle-class elements, who, disgusted with President Truman's abandonment of Roosevelt's policies, stayed away from the polls in 1946 and who, were there the choice only between a Truman and a Republican in 1948, would likewise abstain from voting this year.

Conservative labor leaders and so-called liberals, mouth-ing the phrases of outright reactionaries, are declaring that the third-party movement is a "Red plot." Frank Kingdon, a radio commentator, says, for example, that it was the Communist Party that called upon Wallace to run for President. But Mr. Kingdon and others like him ignore the tremendous mass meetings that Wallace has been holding all over the country, which indicate his broad mass following among the people. The demand for Wallace rises right from the ranks of the American people, who are alarmed by the warlike course of the Government.

Of course, the Communist Party, which supports all progressive developments, has long been champion of the third party. A recent newspaper poll estimated Wallace's prospective vote in New York State at 1,000,000. To designate such a wide mass movement as a "Red plot" is a travesty on common sense. Scores of millions of workers in other countries also are looking with hope to the Wallace candidacy as a great means for preserving peace.

Labor leaders are alleging also that for a worker to vote for Wallace means to throw his vote away. This is nonsense. The Wallace third-party movement is of profound importance politically—which is why the reactionaries are so alarmed by it. First, the third-party candidacy will provoke a real national discussion of the Marshall Plan war policies now being followed by the Truman Administration. Up to this time all the American people have had in that respect has been a big dose of imperialist propaganda, dished out freely by both parties and by all the other opinion-shaping agencies of capitalism. But now American foreign policy, especially the Marshall Plan, will be brought out into the open and given a thorough discussion. It is of major importance in the fight for peace that the people should understand clearly the dangers to which the Marshall Plan is leading them.

Second, the third-party movement will give the people a real opportunity to conduct a day-to-day fight against the inflationists, profiteers, Red-baiters, and warmongers; against all those exploiters who are ruining the American people's living standards, undercutting our national democracy, and driving us toward war. As things have previously stood, with the conservative leaders of labor tied to the coat-tails of Wall Street and its reactionary foreign policy, the fight against the reactionaries has been feeble and ineffective. The warmongers have been virtually without organized opposition. But the third-party movement, by awakening the people politically and aligning them

against Wall Street, brings the masses into daily struggles and thus definitely slows up or defeats the drive in this country toward economic crisis, fascism, and war.

Third, the third-party movement will greatly enhance the opportunity to elect a progressive Congress. The Wallace candidacy will stir into political action large masses of voters who otherwise would stay away from the polls. This increased turnout of voters will everywhere improve the chances of progressive candidates for election to the Congress. This is a factor of vital significance.

Fourth, the third party movement will bring about the beginning of the far-overdue independent political action of organized labor and its political allies. Too long the workers have tagged along in the wake of the two capitalist parties. This has disastrously compromised their economic and political interests. The moment of history has now struck when the workers of this country, cutting the umbilical cord that has bound them to the body of capitalism, will be born politically as a class.

The present situation in the labor movement, with the great bulk of the top union leadership supporting the Marshall Plan and other warlike policies of the N.A.M. and the Government, emphasizes the long-felt need to improve the quality of American trade union leadership. It is both absurd and dangerous for the workers to have at their head men, who, parrot-like, repeat the "free enterprise" slogans of the National Association of Manufacturers. With world capitalism decaying and collapsing, and with the workers facing a myriad of complex questions and struggles, an understanding of Marxism is necessary in order to give effective leadership to the working class. Reactionary union leaders are more than ever demonstrating their incompetence at the present time by their support of the imperialistic Marshall Plan and of President Truman in the national elections. As yet only a small percentage of the unions have in their leadership men and

women with a Socialist perspective. There can be no other result from the misleadership of the present reactionary officialdom than eventual disaster.

The complexity of the struggles facing the workers and the people and the severity of the fight against the monopolists thereby makes imperative the building of the Communist Party in this country. One of the most pronounced features of the world situation is the rapid growth of the Communist Parties in many countries in size and mass influence. They are the forces which, in the main, are leading the great democratic forces in the struggle against warmongering imperialism and fascism all over the world. Here in the United States, where the workers have the most powerful of all enemies to fight, namely the powerful capitalist class, the need for a strong Communist Party is no less urgent than it is in other countries.

The coming Presidential elections are the most important that have been held in our country since the eve of the outbreak of the Civil War. Furious attacks are now being made by reactionaries upon the people's living standards and democratic rights, and a ruthless attempt is being made by the agents of Wall Street, with their Marshall Plan, to plunge our country into what would be the most terrible of all wars. The American masses are full of anxiety over the situation, and the peoples all over the world are watching with fear and worry to see whether the United States, in the coming elections, will turn toward peace or will continue along its present mad course toward war. The two capitalist parties, backed as they are by Wall Street, are responsible for the extremely dangerous situation that is now confronting our nation and the world. The best answer to Wall Street would be the defeat of the Marshall Plan during the coming months and the development of the third party on a gigantic scale in the elections. This is what the big monopolists fear most of all in this fateful year. Now is the time for the workers and the people to act.

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