

The Big Three Moscow Parley

By JOHN STEWART

Just as the striking CIO workers are faced with struggles against the monopoly corporations to gain security and a decent livelihood, so they and all the little peoples of the world will be faced with struggles for freedom and security against the monopoly states of the United States, Russia and Britain, which have divided up the world among them. Just as the trusts and corporations combine within the advanced nations of the world, so the big nations combine and monopolize the world. The big corporations and monopolies may fight among each other to corner a market, but against labor they all present a solid front. Similarly among the big nations. Two power blocs fought among themselves until the Allies defeated the Axis nations. But against the aspirations of the peoples of the world for freedom, democracy, independence and security, they are as one. And since there are still three, or at least two and one-half big powers, these will quarrel among themselves until one big world state monopoly has vanquished its rivals in a new atomic war or until the working class and colonial peoples of the world have broken industrial and political monopoly for all times and established the new society of socialism.

The fate of the atomic bomb in the hands of the ministers illustrates the lack of unity among the powers as well as the impulsion to another war. A commission for atomic energy is to be created, to be sure; but for the atomic bomb, no. As Byrnes revealed in his December 30 radio address, "...nor were we asked by the Soviet Government about the new weapon." Why should they ask? They will have it some day. It does not matter to these imperialists if they pulverize the whole world. They'll go down fighting for their profits and plunder. This is the morality of imperialist power politics.

A plan for the peace parley is finally emerging these many months after the cessation of the war. The United States and England desired to include most of the smaller nations in drawing up the treaty. Does that signify a democratic disposition on the part of these two? It signifies, rather, their antagonism toward Russia and their desire to enlist the votes of the small nations against her. For Russian imperialism is of a different brand than that of the traditional

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JAMES F. BYRNES
IMPERIALIST PEACEMAKER

These simple ideas of socialism are necessary to understand the otherwise perplexing relations among the Big Three at the London and Moscow conferences of their foreign ministers.

First, the decisions are being made for the absent and impotent United Nations Organization by the three big powers. This is the closest that capitalist-imperialist nations can get to world peace and world cooperation!

What broke the London deadlock? Not agreement where disagreement no longer exists, but the necessity to compromise. The London meeting merely represented the preliminary bargaining, where each side flung down its strongest demands. That is what United States Secretary of State Byrnes meant when he said that the London conference formed the basis and was the necessary prelude to a Third World War. So that, while the present bargaining talks indicate the lines of cleavage among the Big Three, they cannot embark now upon a new war. They need time to consolidate and digest the spoils of victory wrested from the defeated Axis, and time to deceive again the masses of the world in order to get them to fight a new war to end all wars.

Chicago Cops Attempt to Break Strike

By R. MILLER

CHICAGO, Dec. 29—For the past six weeks the Chicago police department and Captain George Barnes of the "labor detail" squad have been acting as strike-breakers at two strike-bound gear shops.

Local 1114 of the United Electrical & Radio Workers Union has been on strike against the Illinois Gear Co. and the James Co. since November 19. These strikes are to enforce a WLB ruling ordering these companies to pay a three cents per hour increase retroactive to May, 1943, which the companies refuse to pay, now that a "fact-finding" board has delivered its judgment.

These same companies have been trying to start a back-to-work movement but, not having much success, have enlisted the help of the police department. In order to demoralize the strikers and eventually break their picket line, Barnes and his cops have been arresting and intimidating pickets.

On Wednesday, December 26, the Illinois Gear workers, reinforced by guest pickets from UAW-CIO Electro-Motive Local 719 (the GM local now on strike here), held an impressive picket line in front of the plant. The "labor detail" squad, realizing that the few misguided workers who are scabbing wouldn't be able to cross the line, arrested 31 pickets and charged them with "disorderly conduct." Carting away these 31 strikers to the police station was supposed to intimidate the others.

Immediately Chicago union leaders formed a delegation which called upon Mayor Kelly to protest these strike-breaking tactics. Mayor Kelly, of Memorial Day Massacre ill-fame, is not only mayor of Chicago but also boss of the Democratic Party organization in Illinois and one of the big cogs of the Democrats nation.

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LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 7, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

2,000,000 WORKERS FIGHT FOR SECURITY, LIVING WAGE

The Watchdog of Capitalism



Why GM Walked Out of Fact-Finding Hearings

By ROBERT STILER

The highly-paid negotiators of the GM industrial barons last Friday bolted from the presidential fact-finding board proceedings.

In a ten-page explanation of the billion-dollar corporation's position, Walter Gordon Merritt, GM's New York attorney, specifically states as a reason for GM's refusal to discuss prices and profits: "...this issue as expanded by the union reflects, not a mere issue of wages, as between the corporation and this union, but a broad attack on American industry and free enterprise."

On Sunday, December 30, the Detroit Free Press published a full-page advertisement by the GM corporation entitled "Here Is the Issue" and asking: "Is American business to be based on free competition, or is it to become socialized, with all activities controlled and regimented?"

Thus it is clear that the industrial lords of GM are stubbornly resisting the demands of their workers because they believe it is an attack upon the economic power of America's sixty ruling families.

WHAT THE UNION ASKS

The basis for this position is the union's demand for the corporation to open its books and its announced attempt to prevent the GM exploiters from passing the burden of any wage increases right back onto the shoulders of the workers in the form of increased prices.

The GM officials feel that these demands threaten its freedom to squeeze every ounce of production out of labor at the lowest possible cost. Their freedom to lie, to deceive and to conceal the facts about the colossal wealth which the workers are producing for these parasites is being threatened. The corporation wants the freedom to hoodwink its workers by placing a few pennies in one pocket, in the form of wage increases, and to immediately take it out of the other pocket, in the form of price increases. It is this gigantic pickpocket democracy that the GM officials want the freedom to practice.

These are the "freedoms" of the "free enterprise" system which GM bosses so vigorously seek to defend in the name of the entire industrial ruling class of America!

In an answer to the GM advertise-

ment, Walter Reuther of the UAW leadership, said:

"Free enterprise is killing itself when it refuses to recognize that the maintenance and increase of purchasing power to keep pace with technological progress is its life blood. Free enterprise, to survive, must learn that it has more and greater responsibilities than merely producing a cash return for its investors."

In effect, what Reuther is telling the capitalist exploiters is that if they do not throw a few crumbs to the workers, labor will do away with the entire system of free enterprise and set up a socialist system in which they will not be exploited and in which they will enjoy the full fruits of their labor.

Because Reuther is a milk-and-water socialist who really fears the

logic of his own position, his fight is weak and ineffective.

MEANING OF FIGHT

How do the GM workers see this struggle? It has become increasingly clear to the workers in American industry today that any attempt to increase their standard of living, or even any defense against the lowering of the present standard through simple wage increases alone, is entirely inadequate. It has been their experience, especially during the war years, that increases in wages are rapidly eaten up by the rising cost of living. The fruits of their labor inevitably wind up in the pockets of the financial barons of the U. S.

The realization is clear that any attempt to improve their conditions through wage increases must be accompanied by a struggle for the

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Indonesian Freedom Fight Goes On!

By JESSIE KAAREN

With an understanding of the situation that surpasses that of their own "moderate" leaders, the Indonesian Republican army is continuing the fight more furiously than ever to oust British and Dutch troops from Java. It is more and more obvious as events unfold that the Dutch are not prepared to offer even partial freedom and that whatever independence is finally achieved in Java will be the result of the struggle now taking place.

All illusions that a middle-of-the-road compromise can be worked out were shattered by the conference of British and Dutch politicians recently held in London. The Dutch spokesman, Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, stated after the meeting that the Indonesians could hope for autonomy in a generation or two. As for complete independence, they would have to wait even longer than that.

Between the desire of the Dutch business men to hang on to their investment of \$1,500,000,000 in Java and the desire of the British to make an example of the Javanese fighters that will discourage all future movements for colonial independence, even the self-abasing proposals of the Sjahrir cabinet don't stand a chance.

This betrayal by the Allies of the

promises made in the Atlantic Charter during the so-called war for democracy, is not more palatable to the Indonesian masses because it is being carried out by a coalition government in Holland containing Social-Democrats whose program during the days of their resistance movement included "abandonment of colonial policy and colonial ideas...recognition that in the Dutch kingdom there are at least two nations, the Dutch and Indonesians."

Nor is it helped by a British Labor Party government which also was opposed to imperialism before it took office. The Indonesian masses are also disillusioned about American "democracy." The fact that the United States government has asked the British command to remove all labels saying "Made in the U. S." from tanks

and armaments used in Java does not make this government any more popular with the Indonesians.

It is true that the governments of Great Britain and the United States are "embarrassed" by events in Java. They would be very pleased if a formula could be found that would satisfy the moderates in Indonesia. But the fact remains that the Dutch could not hold on to Java for a day if British troops moved out.

Labor has answered the refusal of big business to grant security and a living wage to the workers of this country by plans for strike action in some of the most basic industries in the land involving some two million organized workers. These plans come on the heels of the long struggle of the GM auto workers who have been battling this giant corporation for almost two months.

General Motors officials walked out of the fact-finding hearings in Washington last Friday. This act was only one of a series to indicate the attitude of the big bosses toward labor's demands. The resistance of General Motors to the demands of its workers is not the individual act of a single corporation. General Motors is carrying the flag for all of big business in its determined and united effort to defeat organized labor.

To emphasize this adamant position of big business, General Electric and Westinghouse officials rejected Labor Department pleas to continue negotiation talks in order to avert a nationwide strike in the industry involving over 200,000 workers.

In the case of GM, the corporation has refused to allow an examination of its books for they would reveal that this monopolistic octopus could not only grant the wage demands of the UAW but could do this without increasing prices. In the case of the other corporations, they are also refusing to grant wage increases.

The big corporations, feeling quite confident, say to labor:

we will give you nothing, despite the promises made to you during the war. If you believed the promises that when peace came you would be rewarded for your hard work and your strike pledge, that is just too bad. You don't understand that this is a capitalist society, a profit economy. When you want to interfere with our profits and prices and things which are none of your concern, then we say to you: No!

Therein lies the key to the whole situation. The coming struggles of labor are no ordinary bread-and-butter struggles. The workers of this country now know that their struggle for existence means a fight to cut into the profits of big business. It means to look in the books of the companies and to discover the many ways in which the corporations piled up profits, dividends, contingency funds and reserves in order to avoid paying labor a living wage. Thus labor is carrying on a social struggle in behalf of all the people.

And labor has rightfully answered the profiteers with the only kind of action which can bring the industrial and financial lords of this country to their knees.

ROSTER OF PENDING STRIKES

The GE and Westinghouse workers are taking a strike vote on January 5. Two hundred thousand meat-packing workers have set their strike for January 16.

The steel strike of 700,000 workers is scheduled for January 14.

Seventeen thousand Western Electric workers were called out on strike on January 3 in New York City and New Jersey.

Western Union workers in New York are taking a strike vote on January 8.

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Ford #400 Rejects Boss Security Plan

By LEE ROBERTS

DETROIT, Dec. 30—Members of Local 400, Ford Highland Park, condemned the proposals of the National Ford Negotiating Committee for so-called "company security" and "union responsibility" at a regular plant-wide membership meeting, Saturday, December 29. Approximately 600 workers voted in favor of a motion instructing their delegate to the Negotiating Committee, Carl Bolton, to demand withdrawal of these proposals which would fine union members for work stoppages. Every Ford local union in the country is to be notified of this action.

A forty-five-minute report on the negotiations was presented to the meeting by Bolton, who attempted to whitewash the treacherous character of the international's plan as a "tactic" to aid the GM strikers by using the Ford Motor Co. as a "wedge" against General Motors Corporation. His attempts were a complete failure, however, in face of the rank-and-file opposition to an agreement which would leave the labor movement helpless against company provocation.

Speaker after speaker took the floor to denounce the international for "selling the workers down the river," the "stabbing the union in the back." One worker demonstrated that far from aiding the GM strikers, the national Ford department was encouraging the company to take an even

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Veterans Protest Homecoming Delays

By JACK WILSON

Another major eruption in the demobilization scandal hit the front pages last week.

Five thousand GI's paraded in Manila in mass protest over delays in shipment home. The other similar demonstrations were also reported in the Philippines.

In America, 150,000 sweated out Christmas at Pacific Coast ports, transportation being snafued.

In China, Marines kicked openly about doing guard duty over British property.

In the Persian Gulf, protests over a "manpower pool," which meant keeping a few thousand GI's stuck in that hell-hole, reached America.

At Fort Wayne, Ind., 573 Navy vets held up a train for two hours until their cattle-car accommodations were improved.

These are the outstanding incidents that come to the surface. They express in a mild way what the 3,200,000 men still overseas are thinking.

Meanwhile General Wedemeyer in China brazenly announces that 4,000 more troops, plus the 50,000 Marines already stuck there, plus the air force men left there, are needed and are going to stay there a long time. And in Washington, the brass hats tell Congress that demobilization is too

fast, the Army is "disintegrating" and they need more troops permanently.

Here we have two forces moving in opposite directions. The GI's want to get the yoke of the Army off their collective necks and get home now, while the Brass Hats want to keep the Army large and abroad!

The reason is simple and clear. The Brass Hats are carrying out the imperialist policy of the Administration. They need pawns in the game of world power politics. And those pawns are the GIs.

They should tell it to the Marines. Especially to the combat veterans guarding Chinese railroads and British owned coal properties, run under concentration camp conditions and with a juicy profit.

VETS PAY FOR IT

Why aren't more ships used to bring men home? The shipping companies make more profit hauling other things.

Why do enlisted men and sailors travel so often on what we call "cattle-cars"? The railroad companies are too busy making money on civilians. Soldiers can be forced to travel on anything... up to a point.

Since 1942 the railroads have been

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WP Indonesian Picketing Makes Stars and Stripes

We have just learned that the Paris edition of the U. S. Army paper, Stars and Stripes, printed a picture of the demonstration held by the Workers Party in front of the British Consulate in New York City on behalf of Indonesian independence. Stars and Stripes referred to the picketing as a demonstration organized by the Workers Party.

riacist power in the world and though at this moment it still relies on dollar control rather than military control, this colossus has now reached a point where a successful Indonesian revolt seriously threatens its own imperialist interests. The United States is an important member of the Southeast Asia Command, under whose orders the civilian population of Surabaya was shelled by British warships and native villages were destroyed by bombing raids from the air and gasoline torches from the ground.

This Allied command would be a great deal less intransigent if in addition to being opposed by an Indonesian Republican army, it also came up against forceful working class opposition in its home countries. If the Labor Party members in England, the majority of whom bitterly resent the use of British troops in Java, were less polite and more outspoken and if American workers refused to manufacture arms for use against the Indonesians, Allied policy in Java would undoubtedly have to be changed. Furthermore, such support of the Indonesian struggle by American and British workers would be a tremendous source of inspiration for colonial peoples all over the world in their movement toward independence.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Background to the Coming Steel Strike

By JACK WILSON

The impending steel strike looms as the greatest labor struggle in the history of the American labor movement.

In size alone, it dwarfs even such a mighty struggle as the GM battle today. Over 700,000 steel workers are involved in the present crisis.

However, the vital role of the steel industry, more than just the number of workers concerned, is what gives such weight and magnitude to any nation-wide steel strike.

For steel is the backbone of American industry. A serious shut-down in steel immediately forces a closing of the auto industry and a big portion of the coal industry, in particular the "captive" mines. Other industries will likewise be hit drastically.

From labor's standpoint, the heart of the CIO is in this mass production industry. The United Steel Workers of America, CIO, is the backbone of the industrial union movement.

Steel is the citadel of American capitalism. It is run directly by the Morgans, Graces, Girdlers and other industrial barons.

Small wonder that every clash between steel workers and the industrial masters of America produced such violent repercussions in the country.

In the 1919 steel strike, all the might and power of the government as well as the armed guards and thugs of the steel industry were used to smash the heroic efforts of the steel workers to organize and bargain collectively.

Only in the period of militant strike struggles in 1936-37, when the CIO grew in giant strides by using revolutionary techniques like the sit-downs, did industrial unionism achieve a hold in the steel industry.

But even the success of the CIO did not prevent the steel barons from trying to smash the union movement there. In the disastrous "Little Steel" strike in 1937, the CIO took a serious beating. Only in 1941, during another strike wave which saw Ford toppled from its open shop throne, did Little Steel finally recognize unionism after a violent struggle at the Bethlehem steel plants.

In the face of the huge war profits of the steel industry, the case of the steel workers is crystal clear and just. The demand for a \$2 a day wage increase is a vital necessity to

maintain a minimum living standard.

But justice and results seldom go hand in hand in the steel towns. They have been run too much like feudal estates rather than cities in which democratic rights prevail. The violent character of steel strikes flows partly from this fact. Violence has always been the answer of the steel barons to workers' demands.

The coming struggle of the steel union can best be understood by a review of the "Little Steel" strike, for in the policies, program, and lessons gained there is a guide to the next battle. Here is a review of that strike we published in January 1938.

"The inherent weakness of the CIO (and of the AFL, of course), namely its pursuit of a class collaborationist policy whenever possible, revealed itself in the spring of 1937 at a great cost to the workers, in the so-called Little Steel strike.

"Refusal of the four independent steel companies, Inland, Republic, Crucible, and Bethlehem, to sign a contract with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) in April 1937 made a strike inevitable. It appeared to the workers as a sure-fire success. The CIO top leadership, Lewis, Murray and others, were in direct charge. The Stalinists with their usual pomposity, also predicted inevitable success. They had bootlicked their way into secondary leadership, and they had considerable following

because the rank and file considered them—ghastly illusion—as progressives.

"The steel companies didn't waste any time. Terrorism, tons of false propaganda, injunctions, and all the other means of oppression were immediately employed against the strikers who shut down all the key plants. The steel workers had expected a fight. Years of brutality by the bosses had taught them that only a life and death struggle would bring victory. But the militant workers were cursed with the capitulatory leadership of the CIO and the Stalinist fakery. Instead of mass picket lines, a militant counter-offensive against the steel barons' attacks, and a policy of class struggle, the workers were influenced to a program of faith in government agencies.

"It took the brutal shock of the Memorial Day massacre of 14 steel workers by Chicago police thugs to reveal the weakness in the CIO policies, and the danger of disastrous defeat unless the workers were given a program of action which had been tested and proven correct in the auto and other strikes. An aggressive campaign against the bloody murderers could have stirred into decisive action hundreds of thousands of workers in other industries. The rubber

workers' rank and file demanded a general strike, as advocated by revolutionary socialists. The auto plants were seething with the anger of union men. Mass action was on the order of the day.

"But the CIO leaders, seconded by the treacherous Stalinists, turned instead to Roosevelt. He rebuffed them, as was to be expected, with the classic comment, 'A plague on both your houses.' Governor Earle, of Pennsylvania, a political and personal associate of Murray, Lewis and other CIO leaders, double-crossed them and opened the large Cambria plant in Johnstown. Governor Murphy, the Roosevelt of Michigan, as Lewis called him, gave free reign to vigilantism in Monroe, Michigan, but threatened to call the National Guard if the workers defended themselves at a steel plant there. The CIO-backed governor of Ohio, Martin L. Davey, was called by Lewis to stop the terrorism in Youngstown and Canton. He did. He broke the strike by opening the plants with the bayonets of the Guard. Davey substituted 'legal' terrorism for the cruder form of vigilantism.

"How little prepared the strikers were for these events was illustrated, most unfortunately, by the fact that the arrival of the national guard troops was cheered by them, with the Stalinists and the CIO leaders arranging meetings to welcome the khaki-clothed strike-breakers. When they saw the consequences of the leaders' policies, the strikers returned to work, bitter, disillusioned, but not forgetting."

LESSONS FOR TODAY

Today, the lessons of the Little Steel strike remain in full force. Only the invincible might of the steel workers is worth depending on. Labor can and must stand on its own feet in this fight. The blundering policies of Phil Murray merit little confidence. The fact that he was forced to denounce the Truman administration makes it more difficult from him to return tomorrow with the same old song and dance which cost the steel workers so much in 1937.

The coming struggle between the steel workers and the monopoly capitalists ruling the steel industry can mark a great advance for the CIO and the entire labor movement if the lessons of 1937 have been learned and labor fights on a militant basis.

Letter from a Steelworker

Dear Editor:

The United Steel Workers of America, CIO, recently held a meeting in South Chicago to discuss the wage situation in Steel, to clarify actions taken by the negotiating committee, and to explain the program of the wage policy committee in the present fight to make living possible for steel workers.

David McDonald, international USW officer, reported on the unions' negotiating committee meetings with U. S. Steel management. The company asked continuance of the sessions until they received an answer from the OPA on price increases.

The reported union answer to this request was that prices of steel are the company's business and that steel wages are the union's business. On demand of an immediate answer, to prevent the Steel Company stalling on

the \$2.00 a day increase, the Steel Company refused the raise and the NLRB was called to hold the strike vote.

The union negotiating committee's statement on price increases being solely the business of the Steel Company seems preposterous in the face of the union report on Steel's huge profits, present and futures calculated. Unless wage increases come out of the Steel Corporation profits at present prices only, the wage increases would be nullified by even greater increases in prices of consumer goods. The Steel Workers' share in the things they produce would not be increased at all.

United Steel Workers' leadership may well take a lesson from the UAW protests against greater big industrial profiteering in the name of "union wage demands."

Carnegie-Illinois Unionist.

LEFT JABS By SHAW

VETERANS IN GM STRIKE LOSE GI BILL BENEFITS

The bosses use every device in the books to crush the militancy of the working class. The government (that is, the political agents of the bosses) does not even pretend impartiality in labor-management conflicts. The lesson is obvious. Labor must take political power. It must organize its own political party, a labor party, absolutely independent of the boss parties.

The Palestine police force, which is doing such an excellent democratic job of shooting down Jews for the heinous crime of trying to find a place of refuge, is recruiting Arab youth for its forces. The longer the British can foment disunity between the Arabs and Jews, the longer they can preserve their imperialist position in the Near East. The crying need is for Arab-Jewish unity on the basis of militant opposition to Britain, national independence, free and unrestricted immigration.

The editor of an Army newspaper was "busted" recently for criticizing the slowness of demobilization and the use of Liberty ships for Japanese prisoners, instead of for transporting men home. The charges were... distribution of "seditious and inflammatory matter."

Gad, man, where's your esprit de corps? How dare you do that?

When the OPA removed price controls on citrus fruits last week, the price of a crate of oranges, to take but one example, jumped from \$4.63 to \$7.50. The pre-war price on coconuts per thousand was \$15. The OPA ceiling price was \$61.50. Last week's market price—\$252. In the face of such typical price increases, the demand of workers for a 30% increase is extremely modest.

The "Red" Dean Johnson of Canterbury has the floor: "By 1975 the male population of the Soviet Union will exceed that of Great Britain and her colonies, France, Germany and the United States of America all put together. Backed by unlimited resources of all essential commodities... Russians could be terrible foes in any future war." This stooge for the Stalinists was at one time an advocate of Social Credit and a "95% supporter of Father Coughlin."

The recent elections in Austria, where the Stalinists almost won NO seats in the parliament, is a hopeful sign of the growth in intelligence of the electorate. Unfortunately, this expression of sentiment is as yet formless and without clear direction. Thus, the Conservative party was the chief beneficiary. Again and again, history shows us the need of a revolutionary party as the VANGUARD of the working-class, channelizing

their discontent in the proper direction.

Fifty-five corporations have been indicted for conspiracy to fix prices on artificial legs and arms. There's nothing too good for "our boys," eh, fellas?

Andrew Higgins, who is so firmly opposed to a closed shop that he is closing his New Orleans, shipyards rather than sign a contract with the union, is the same guy who was the head of the business man's committee for Wallace, Ho hum...

The New York Times for November 19 reports Elie Siegmeister, American composer and Stalinist fellow-traveler, as stating: "Soviet composers are among the richest men in the Soviet Union, far more wealthy for example than the director of an automobile factory or the president of a railroad."

Why didn't I listen to me mudder and stick to me violin lessons! I coulda been eatin' caviar today!

Los Angeles is going to tear down 21 apartments, a hotel, and 382 houses to make way for a new super-highway.

Ten-to-one the mayor's house isn't one of them. Capitalism continuously distinguishes itself by its utter callousness to any human suffer. This is only a mild example of capitalism in action. Wait till things really get tough!

The Big Three Decisions --

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capitalist variety. It requires to be effective, the nationalization, or the collectivization, of the properties of the conquered country, whereas the U. S. and Britain live more easily beside their smaller capitalist counterparts. And because Russia "liberated" the greatest number of small European states, the world finds the small nations solidly against her.

THE PEACE AGREEMENT

Therefore, a compromise was arrived at. Twenty-one of the 50 United Nations will ratify the peace agreements, which will nevertheless be prepared by the Big Powers. The strenuous Russian concern for the maintenance of the veto right of the Big Three was appeased. All this, of course, has nothing to do with a democratic peace. As Secretary Byrnes says:

"The test of a successful peace is not in the form of its making, but whether it both commends itself to the nations concerned by its justice and wisdom and also commands the support of those nations whose unity is essential to preserve the peace."

If the unity of the Big Three is at stake, the devil take "justice" and "wisdom" and the "nation's concerned!" See how this principle applies to Korea. The tug-of-war over Korea, "liberated" from Japan and now divided into Russian and U. S. zones, was "resolved" by agreement upon a four-power trusteeship and that oldest of imperialist promises—eventual independence. The strikes sweeping Korea proclaim what the Koreans think of the decision. Remember the promises of self-government in the Atlantic Charter?

In other parts of the Far East, agreements were arrived at by similar compromises. Japan is to have a four-power Allied Control Council on which Russia will be represented. U.S. Generalissimo MacArthur promptly squealed at such curtailment of his authoritarian powers. But aside from the question of changes in the control of Japan upon which the Allied Commission might speak the Supreme Commander is still supreme. The

United States has her veto power here, too.

The Romanian and Bulgarian governments, which, like Poland, are conspicuous examples of the liberating influence of the Russians, do not satisfy the concepts of capitalist democracy. Russia has agreed to add a flea-bitten representative or two of the private-enterprise type of democrat and make some gestures toward free press (with the Four Freedoms on the mastheads) and then recognition will be granted by the U. S. and Britain. These changes may even be as widespread as they were in Poland, where they added up to nothing.

"The three governments reaffirmed (!) adherence to the policy of non-interference (!) in the internal affairs of China," said Byrnes. Suffice it to add that the U. S. has agreed to withdraw her marines from North China and will proceed to non-interfere in the remainder. The Russians will withdraw from Manchuria and non-interfere to the extent the Sino-Rus-

sian peace treaty giving them concessions in Port Arthur and Dalren permits. The reactionary feudal regime of Chiang, the American puppet, is to prevail.

The matters of Turkey, Iran and Indonesia did not come up. They are too fresh, occurring during the Moscow conference, and undoubtedly require study. For a hasty discussion might have provoked something like this—

Bevin to Molotov: You have no business interfering in the Iranian affairs, nor in making your territorial demand on Turkey.

Molotov to Bevin: What about Indonesia, where you are shooting down those who want a republic?

Byrnes to both: You're obviously both guilty.

Bevin and Molotov to Byrnes: What about U. S. marines in China?

O, brave new world, bought with a trillion dollars of munitions and sixty million casualties!

Veterans' Homecoming--

(Continued from page 1)

making big profits on GI transportation. Look at the terrible meals always served—paid for with good taxpayers' dough.

The whole situation comes down to a clear-cut proposition. The men in the Army are being used as pawns in the power politics of America and as a means of profit-making at home.

Where are the veterans' organizations in this situation? Has the American Legion blasted this mess? Of course not. And the Veterans of Foreign Wars?

Only in those places where the veterans of this war are predominant has anything been said for the GI's and a fight made in their behalf.

OTHER HORSE-TRADING

All those vets should be in one organization, fighting for the men still stuck in the Army, and joined together against the set-up a vet meets in civilian life.

The organized labor movement is making a tragic mistake in not serving as the basis for a new vets' movement. There are over 500,000 union men already to serve as a basis.

It isn't too late. We need a veterans organization of the vets, by the vets and for the vets of this war. It should be based on the union movement, from which so many veterans came, and whose basic interests are ours. Outfits like the Amvets and Bolte's committee should be amalgamated into it, as well as posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars which are dominated by union men and new veterans.

Out of these already existing posts and outfits should come the Labor Legion, organized and backed by the CIO. Dispersion of strength and energy is a tragic waste. Individual protests and diffused campaigns don't bring enough results. The men in the Army and those of us back need one organization solidly united as part of the labor movement.

GM and the Fact Finding Board --

(Continued from page 1)

complicated by a struggle of the workers to restrict the unlimited piracy the robber barons have practiced through decades of exploitation. They must place a restraining hand upon the itchy fingers of the bosses.

This realization on the part of the American worker is something new in the labor movement. It is a lesson learned from years of heart-breaking struggle. It places the working class in a much more powerful position to defend itself against the attacks of the bosses because it sees more clearly now where the really vulnerable spots of the enemy are.

The UAW leadership is conscious of this new feeling on the part of its members. It knew that in order to win their support for the strike it was

necessary to demand more than mere wage increases. It was necessary to raise demands aimed at protecting these wage increases once they were granted. To win the support of the general public it was necessary for them to take steps to prevent GM from making the people pay for any wage increases granted the GM workers. Thus they were forced to raise the demands for price control and the opening of the books—demands which strike a blow at the very foundations of this system of exploitation.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

What role does the government play in this struggle? When the union announced its demands to open the books and to control prices President Truman countered with a proposal for

a fact-finding board which would examine the books of the corporation in secret. Truman thinks he can fool the working class by pretending the government will examine the books for them. What the workers want and what they need is to examine the books themselves. They can trust no one but rank and file examining committees. The government is trying to sap the strength of the union's potent demands.

In reality it is defending GM against the union. It is trying to protect GM from being forced to show its books to the workers by appointing a fact-finding board responsible to the government alone. Thus the government strategy is to make the workers think that their demand to open the books has been granted while actually defending the corpora-

tion against a really effective examination of the books by the workers themselves.

No one is fooled by GM's withdrawal from the hearings of the fact-finding board. GM knows the government is on its side whether it attends the hearings or not. This is just strategy on its part to make the union back down on its demands. But if the union does not back down GM will be only too glad to show its books to the government fact-finding board, rather than to the union.

The government is always on the side of the corporations, and it seeks to defend the corporations from the demands of the workers. That is why whenever the workers seek to improve their conditions they have to make a political as well as an economic fight.

Wage Struggle --

(Continued from page 1)

The national leaders of the CIO are meeting on January 29 to take up the whole labor situation and to plan action. With the prospect of 2,000,000 workers out on strike, these labor leaders who have helped create the present situation with their no-strike policy during the war, know that they face a fight for their lives against big business. Like it or not, they have to take up the fight or see the CIO lose great strength by abject surrender.

In addition to the unions already cited, the United Rubber Workers have taken strike votes. Negotiations

with Ford and Chrysler have been getting nowhere. The corporations have been carrying on negotiations with the aim of stalling and weakening the unions and causing them to surrender their demands. In a sense, the unions face a life-and-death struggle.

The fight made by the CIO unions is the fight of every union and every single worker in the land. Get behind these workers. Rally the whole labor movement, CIO, AFL, UMW, Railway Brotherhoods and all other independent unions behind those workers who are now acting as the spearhead of labor's fight for security and a living wage.

"Security" Plan --

(Continued from page 1)

more uncompromising stand. The GM corporation, he pointed out, seized upon the union's capitulation to Ford, immediately cancelled its contract with the UAW and demanded the same guarantees.

RANK AND FILE ANGRY

Another speaker pointed out that wildcat strikes were caused by the complete failure of the grievance procedure and the do-nothing policy of the international. The way to prevent wildcat strikes, she continued, was not by tying the union up into a nice little package and giving it to the company for a Christmas present, but by adopting militant union policies. Otherwise the grievance procedure will remain a farce.

One former president of the local examined the question of "security" from the point of view of the workers, a point of view foreign to the international leadership. He showed that the company had made billions of dollars of profit during the war, that as long as labor worked in the plant the company's profits were secured. "Where is the security for us?" he asked.

Another former president accused the international of attempting to foist upon the workers the blame for wildcat strikes, which in reality were caused by their own failures. He also

pointed out that in order to maintain the dues check-off, the international seemed willing to give up all other union rights.

The discussion became so heated and the sentiment of the membership so obviously in opposition to the leadership, it became necessary for William Oliver, international representative, popular former recording secretary of the local, to take the floor in an effort to stem the tide. We must look at this matter, said he, not as company security, but as union responsibility. But he could not answer the shouts which arose from the floor: "Responsibility to whom—the workers or the company?"

Of interest and significance is the complete flip-flop made by the Communist Party people in this local on the question of the right to strike, responsibility to the company and cooperation between labor and industry. During the war, when the alliance between Russia and the U. S. capitalist government was strong, the Stalinists were ready to give a permanent no-strike pledge and cast the sole dissenting vote against a Smith-Connelly strike vote. Today, when Russia's hunger for expansion is meeting with U. S. opposition, the Stalinists temporarily appear to be "militant" union members, opposing vociferously the negotiating committee's sell-out to the company. Their real concern, however, is not to fight in the interest of the working people but to ballyhoo for Stalin's latest foreign policy.

Chicago Strikebreaking --

(Continued from page 1)

tionally. He constantly poses as labor's friend, particularly around election time.

Yet here is Kelly's answer to the striking workers' protest delegation: "We are going to have order in this town. The picket line at Illinois Gear plant has been a mob and not a picket line. Unless it is conducted in an orderly manner, police will continue to make arrests." And Kelly was elected with the support of CIO-PAC!

When the case came to court, the judge and the union attorney had to give Captain Barnes, the defender of "law and order," a definition of what constitutes a "mob" legally. At this time the case is being continued over the union's objections.

This case is not an isolated one. For the past few years Capt. Barnes and his "labor detail" have been trying to prevent mass picketing in Chicago. His latest report to Police Commissioner Allman stated that he had been quite successful. Barnes started out as a sergeant and received a promotion after every major strike. His promotion to captain came after one of the Montgomery Ward strikes. Lately he has been trying to intervene in every dispute and he even attempted to act as mediator.

The Gear strikers compose only a few hundred workers. But with big strikes coming up in Chicago, such as the steel and packinghouse and farm equipment strikes, Chicago labor must take a firm stand on the question of mass picketing.

With the Workers Party

WORKERS PARTY AND LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS

LABOR ACTION, 3773 Gratiot St., Detroit, Mich.
LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 6, Chicago, Ill.
LABOR ACTION, 639 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
LABOR ACTION, 1105 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
LABOR ACTION, 127 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

NEW YORK CITY

WORKERS PARTY branches in New York city meet at the following places:
Brooklyn—276 Fulton Street—every Thursday evening at 8:00 P.M.
Harlem—2143 Seventh Avenue, Room 106—every Thursday evening at 8:00 P.M.
Manhattan—Labor Temple, 14th Street near Second Avenue—every Wednesday evening at 8:00 P.M.
every Thursday evening at 8:00 P.M.
City Office—114 West 14th Street—open all day until 7:00 P.M.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday—open until 10:00 P.M.

LOS ANGELES

A class in the fundamentals of Marxism—a course in scientific socialism—to be held every Friday evening at 8:00, beginning December 7 at 127 South Broadway, Room 310, L. A. 12.

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BROOKLYN
Currio Bookshop, 365 Sutter Ave., near Stone.
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DETROIT WORKERS PARTY
Labor Action Hall
3773 Gratiot
(Cor. Mt. Elliott)
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Political Positions of the Workers Party
Tuesday 7:00 P.M.
The Role of the Revolutionary Party
Wednesday 7:00 P.M.
For afternoon shift workers:
Role of the Revolutionary Party
Wednesday morning 11 A.M.
LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL now available at following newsstands:

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Family Newsstand in front of Family Theatre, Cadillac Square
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116th Street and 8th Avenue
2107 Seventh Avenue
125th Street and Lenox Avenue
125th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.
125th Street and 8th Avenue



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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**WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR
IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD**

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependancies to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.
2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.
3. Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR

4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.
5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.
7. Conscription of all war industries; nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.
8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.
10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

A Letter from Belgium

"DO NOT DEPRIVE YOURSELF"

Brussels, November 2, 1945

Dear G.,

Of course I remember you! It would be difficult not to. I was very glad to receive your letter, not because of the good things you inform me are being sent, but more especially because it is always heartening to receive proofs that one does not stand alone. For you cannot imagine what effect it has upon a person to look around and be able to remember only that all his fine comrades, his comrades in arms, are dead.

Of the former organization, by the side of whose members I fought in 1936 and before, nothing more remains, nothing. Lesoil died in a concentration camp; T. was shot by the Germans; Braun died in Spain; S. died in a concentration camp; Boulanger (who accompanied me when I visited you in Avignon) died in a concentration camp; Bridoux died in a concentration camp; Adolph of the International Secretariat was assassinated in France; De Leeuw died in Germany; the Dutch comrades were shot, as were so many other good comrades whom I shall not name. Really, sometimes I wonder by what miracle I came through alive!

Ninety-four per cent of those who entered the camp of Mauthausen never came out alive. They entered by hundreds of thousands. By hundreds of thousands they died. Only a superhuman energy could prevent a demoralization which reached the point of preferring the most atrocious sort of suicide to the life in the camp. When I came back I weighed 88 pounds. I have weighed as low as 80 pounds!

The sum total of the horrors that the human mind can imagine were gathered together in the Nazi concentration camps. And it was worse than can possibly be imagined. All the propaganda films, created on the basis of photographic documentation, give only a pale idea of the truth! For the Nazis were able to erase the traces of the major portion of their crimes. I am certain that no political régime has ever repressed its enemies with so much ferocity. Truly, it defies all description. Dante himself would have been horrified!

And I passed two years in that hell after having spent over seven

months later did I wish I could return on my hands and knees to that prison. For there, at least, human criteria still existed. We were beaten, maltreated, shot or given prison sentences, but we were not reduced to the level of stinking beasts, forced to search for something to eat in garbage, or even... to eat human flesh. For it is true that some persons, the weakest, those who had lost all human conceptions, let themselves go to the point of killing their own comrades in order to satisfy their hunger and quench their thirst.

The camp of Auschwitz in Poland was evacuated before the Russian drive. This camp, along with those which surrounded it, had a population of 100,000 human beings. About 4,000 arrived at Mauthausen and 2,000 at Buchenwald. The remainder died on the way, massacred by the SS. It was the same at the camp of Lachsenhausen (Oranienburg). Perhaps you remember the fairy tale of Hop-o-My-Thumb who, fearing that he might become lost in the forest with his seven little brothers, dropped white pebbles along the route so that he might find his way back. Well, that is the way it was in Germany in the course of these evacuations. A person could travel from Auschwitz in Poland without knowing the route. You had only to follow the roads lined with bodies. I counted 168 of them during the first thirteen miles. And that was only the first few miles!

We walked for twelve days without receiving anything to eat or drink. Dirty snow was all we had to quench our thirst. For food we received on leaving one loaf of bread and a can of meat for every two persons. Those who showed the slightest faltering (we did 1/4 miles an hour) were pitilessly shot and left in the ditch with their heads split open. The temperature was around zero.

Finally we were put on a freight train (I was part of the last convoy) to prevent our falling into the hands of the Russians. Men were packed for six days in open cars, 150 to a car. Four SS men, relieved every two hours, stood in each corner of the car, impatient and indifferent, even sometimes joking among themselves over the massacre of the prisoners, crazed

though they were by hunger and thirst. Every morning they made the rounds, yelling, "Die Leichen heraus!" (Throw out the bodies!) They came to pick them up as one would any trash.

This is the first time that I have written on this subject. I was asked to write an article for an English paper published in Brussels. I refused, for it was impossible for me to do it. It was also in part because we in Europe are already so accustomed to these horrors that I did not feel the necessity of doing it. But I believe that if you have asked me to write, it is especially in order to have information from someone who has lived in these cursed camps.

I am sick (my nervous system and my heart are badly affected) and I can bear discussions only with difficulty. I put too much of myself into them. And I always leave them exhausted for at least a week. The doctor thinks this will last for a year or two yet. I believe that I will recuperate more quickly! But for the time being I am not well.

Excuse the disjointedness of this letter. I will do better next time.

Best regards,

P.S.—Thank you for the packages you have sent me. In any case, do not deprive yourself. Your wife, your son, and yourself do not, indeed, permit you to commit extravagances on this score!

The letter reproduced above was received by a member of the Workers Party, which, together with its friends and sympathizers, has been giving relief packages to co-thinkers abroad. The letter is from a revolutionary socialist of Belgium who has gone through the six-year war on the Continent, spending a considerable part of it in a Nazi concentration camp. One can see how the meager relief sent from the United States may mean the difference between life or death for such valiant working class heroes who have suffered more intensely than all others because of their socialist views and activities in behalf of their oppressed class brothers.

No one who reads this letter can be indifferent. Everyone will want to aid these European comrades by sending food and clothing and contributing financially.

OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

PART III

THE BRUTALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER

What is the reason for the boorish and brutal behavior of so many American soldiers in Europe? Joe Weston, writing in Life magazine, accuses "... American educators and American parents and American propagandists—the movies included—of selling an America which does not exist, not only to the world but, what is worse, to Americans as well. When, if ever, the time comes that we Americans can see ourselves as we are rather than as we ought to be, then stories like this will never again have to be written."

In other words, American soldiers behave deplorably in Europe because Americans today really are a debased people. Fortunately for humankind, this is a lie. If it were not, how explain that Americans when in the United States do not behave in a similarly primitive fashion?

The blunt truth is that the blame must be squarely laid upon capitalism, which in its nurturing of the individual member of society, its nationalism, its military system and its wars debauches the human personality to the low level we are witness to in our time.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF MORALS

United States capitalism, like all capitalism, is unplanned. As a consequence, even in what capitalist economists call "normal" times, millions of persons are unemployed and further millions exist on a terribly depressed economic level. And almost everybody, except the inaccessible, shadowy titans who really control the country, lives under the constant, wearing threat of unemployment.

Money becomes the be-all and end-all of existence, for money means security. The acquisition of it, in normal and perverse forms, is the theme of a major portion of the movies, books, pulp magazines and radio serials produced in this country.

It should not be a cause for wonder, then, that almost every soldier, supported by official propaganda as to the guilt of the Germans, and made uneasy by the recognition that he would have very little money when he was discharged from the Army, looted watches, jewelry, money, bolts of cloth or almost any portable object of value.

THE VIRUS OF NATIONALISM

In order to preserve and extend its profits, United States capitalism must export. In doing so it inevitably comes into conflict with other capitalist countries such as England, Germany or France. Many times this conflict rests on the plane of economic struggle. Often it breaks out into war.

In either case the economic or actual warfare is accompanied by official and less conspicuously organized propaganda whose aim, in one degree or another, is to discredit virtually every aspect of the life of the opponent country and to exalt one's own. The intensity of the propaganda varies, of course, with political necessity. England, a capitalist ally, for example, currently enjoys the wry blessing of American friendship. Nevertheless, along with other countries, England is subjected to the corrosive action of American propaganda, chiefly transmitted through the press and the radio. In the end, the dislike of foreign countries attains the ingrained strength of an eleventh commandment, as unquestioned and as unquestionable as the other ten.

It is this seed which grows so violently when the American soldier comes in contact with the "Limies," the "Krauts" and the "Frogs." Additionally handicapped by the reactionary barrier of language, contemptuous of the low standard of living of foreign countries in comparison with the United States, convinced that he is risking his life because of quarrels between foreigners in which he has little visible interest and angered by the oftentimes unfavorable rate of exchange, the American soldier is led into excesses over which foreigners are justifiably indignant.

DEBASEMENT OF WOMEN UNDER CAPITALISM

Foreign women must endure not only the nationalist contempt of American men but must bear the burden of the inferior status which capitalism ordinarily assigns them.

Nature has given women the task of bearing and bringing up children. Since capitalism cannot raise the average income to the point where all children can be raised in scientifically organized nurseries and schools, they are customarily brought up at home by the mother. For the same reason, much of the drudgery of housework, such as washing and ironing clothes, preparing meals and washing dishes, which under socialism will be done outside the home, is now done by the housewife.

As a result, the average housewife under capitalism becomes the household drudge. She works long hours, becomes prematurely old and, because she lives a life so limited by the walls of the home, inevitably becomes one of the more backward, conservative members of the population. She is, too often, merely the bed companion, the household servant, and the mother of her husband's children. Seldom does she become a real intellectual and social companion.

As a result, she is commonly considered an inferior being. The double standards of conduct which exist for men and women, of which most men do not have even an awareness, are clear enough proof of this fact.

It is this reactionary concept of women which is the root feeling which, further distorted by the army atmosphere and the brutality of warfare, produces the disgusting, regressive attitude of so many American soldiers toward European women.

NEXT WEEK:

THE PLIGHT OF THE JEWS

LATEST NEWS ON THE STRIKE FRONT

MASS ACTION

Column by David Coolidge

Editorials

"Thieves Kitchen" in Moscow

The crumbling foundation upon which the unity of the Big Three rests has been propped up once more in the Moscow meeting of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Russia. In London, these same ministers engaged in endless quarrels trying to negotiate advantageous agreements for their respective imperialisms.

The London conference did not record any startling new facts about the nature of imperialism and the relations between the Big Three. It merely brought more into the open the fact that there was no real basis for accord between powers struggling for world domination and a redivision of the world among them. It merely emphasized that the war just ended had nothing whatever to do with democracy, freedom, peace, civilization and security, but that it had everything to do with defeating imperialist rivals and securing the profits, territory and imperialist appetites of the Allied powers.

Germany, Japan and Italy were defeated. As a result of these defeats, the latter two lost their colonial possessions. But these colonies did not receive their freedom thereby. Instead Allied rulers came in to take the place of the old imperialists.

Eastern Europe was overrun by Russia. It proceeded to destroy the independence of the Baltic countries and turn Poland and Romania into puppet nations. It achieved the domination of Bulgaria and Jugoslavia.

Great Britain hurled its forces into Greece to prevent the Greek masses from establishing their own form of government against the Royalists and reactionaries whom Britain put into office.

What the War Did

Immediately after the war Germany was divided into four zones of occupation and the armies of the United States, Russia, Great Britain and France rule the divided country. Italy has a formal independence, but the decisive rulers are the Allied representatives.

In the midst of these "peace" discussions, British forces were and are battling the republicans of Indonesia who are fighting for the independence of their nation.

The fate of China is being decided not by the Chinese people but by the big powers, primarily the United States and Russia.

Japan, a defeated power, is occupied by the United States, while her colonial possessions have been wrested from her.

What A Peace

The London conference of the Big Three foreign ministers broke down because of sharp differences between the Allied victors. The United States and Great Britain made it plain to Stalin that they would retain the atom bomb until they received assurances about Stalin's aims and territorial desires. Russia countered with the statement it too would have the atom bomb and much more, and what about U. S. and British aims and territorial desires? When the British complained about Russian com-

licity in the Iranian revolt, the Russians countered with queries about Indonesia. When the United States asked the Russians to withdraw her troops from Iran, Molotov wanted to know when the United States would withdraw her troops from China.

To the demand of the Western powers that the Russian-dominated European nations shall have more democracy and permit the re-establishment of Anglo-French interests in those areas, Russia answered that it was really none of their business and besides, Russia would not permit a new anti-Russian combination to be carved out of these small states.

Policy for Germany remains unsolved even though there was general assent to the Potsdam agreement.

The Moscow meeting was called to smooth over these differences and to see if some kind of agreement could not be reached for a more equitable division of the spoils and to determine whether or not it was possible to draw up peace treaties with the defeated countries seven months after the war in Europe ended.

What was agreed to in Moscow?

1. The atom bomb secret will be shared by the big powers through the United Nations Organization. But President Truman hastened to add that the secret would not be divulged until guarantees were received!

2. The Big Three was ready to draw up peace treaties with the defeated countries, but these treaties will be largely in the hands of the Big Three and divided according to the way in which they fought.

3. Agreement on how the powers shall begin to solve the Far Eastern problems. Russia is to get a seat on the four-power board of occupation in Japan, and the United States and Russia shall divide between them the trusteeship of Korea.

But nothing was said or done about Iran and Turkey.

The Moscow conference was to set a basis for a meeting in London to consider the peace treaties. The United Nations Organization will not sit in London in the forthcoming weeks. Only some of the UNO nations will be represented and their actions shall be subject to the agreement of the Big Five!

It is easy to foretell what will happen by what has already happened. The UNO is not a peace body at all. The nations that compose it do not have the status of equality. The UNO is in reality a forum of all the nations in which they are permitted to gather and ratify the decisions of the Big Five, or more accurately, the Big Three. Peace, freedom and security have nothing whatever to do with the UNO and its leading powers.

Imperialism dominates the thinking and practice of the big powers and the UNO. They resolve all questions on the basis of their respective strengths. And they resolve them against the best interests of the peoples of the world. Moscow was only another stop-gap meeting. Fundamentally, nothing has been changed for the people of the world.

U. S. Imperialism in Philippines

By P. PRENTISS

American imperialism strives to maintain its stranglehold in the Philippines. Some of the guerrilla forces on Luzon, the Hukbalahap, who drove the Japanese imperialist armies from their islands, are not so eager to return to their old masters. And they are stating their demands with guns in hand.

According to a report by Darrell Berrigan, Far Eastern editor of the New York Post, the Hukbalahap has refused to disarm until its leaders have some assurance that they will not be liquidated and until some of their program is adopted by the Philippine government. One of the first demands of the peasant fighters who make up the Hukbalahap is for agrarian reform—a demand strongly resisted by the Filipino feudal landlords, business men and the U. S. interests who benefit by the maintenance of the old, rotting structure.

When the American forces first returned to the Philippines they proceeded to wipe out the liberation movement and the guerrilla army by wholesale arrests of the guerrilla leaders. Fearful that the new sense of strength derived from victory over the Japanese armies might give a new impetus toward self-government

to the Filipinos, the U. S. authorities began to bolster the reactionary Nationalist Party as a break against any genuine people's movement.

The Nationalist Party is where most of the Japanese collaborators came from. Such collaborators as Senate President Manuel Roxas were resurrected by the U. S. and many of them resumed their old places in the government while the real fighters for liberation were jailed. The masses of the Filipinos feel a deep-rooted bitterness toward the collaborators—the capitalists and landlords who are putting up a far better fight against the Filipino peasants and working class today than they did against their Japanese class brothers yesterday. They are the target at which the guns of the Hukbalahap are now pointed.

When the Hukbalahap was first formed in March, 1945, later to become one of the most effective units that fought against the Japanese, it was organized around a program of land reform. The U. S. military leaders, in an attempt to dilute the character of the guerrilla organization, built their own guerrilla units on a mercenary basis only, promising to pay all who joined. Later in the war these separate guerrilla forces, led by U. S. Lt. Col. Ramsay, were pitted

against the Hukbalahap. At one time, while Americans policed the city of Malolos, Bulacan Province, the reactionary guerrilla forces ambushed and massacred 109 Hukbalahap men. This was the medicine dished out by the U. S. to the courageous anti-imperialist guerrilla fighters.

Louis Taruc, the Hukbalahap commander-in-chief, who was in jail for seven months after the American forces arrived in the Philippines, stated in his interview with Berrigan:

"Most of the reactionaries are working hard to arrest us again. The landlords are afraid to permit the peasants to carry arms because the peasants want a fair share of the crops and are willing to shoot to get it."

The fact that there are still reported to be "hundreds of thousands of guns in unauthorized hands" reveals that there is a genuine people's movement afoot in the Philippines. Even after they have driven out the Japanese, their war for liberation continues. Whether or not these long exploited Filipino people will succeed in their struggle against their oppressors depends a good deal on the support they receive from the colonial peoples and the labor movements in the rest of the world.

December New International

"This is no ordinary strike," declares the editorial in the December issue of The New International, which analyzes the UAW strike against GM. The editorial develops the theme that the strike marks a big step in the upward march of American labor and explains the political significance of this economic struggle.

The information and interest to be found in this editorial are characteristic of the entire issue. There are also articles on full employment, the black market, PAC and Congress and other topics. All are presented with a thoroughgoing analysis that supplies the reader with the absolutely indispensable educational ammunition in the fight for socialism.

The New International is a "must" for your information and understanding of the world today. We call it the companion publication to LABOR ACTION. It gives you a broad, well-rounded insight into events a weekly newspaper cannot provide. It is impossible to meet the tests ahead without an understanding of the un-

derlying causes of the events which follow one another with machine gun-like rapidity.

Following the practice of opening its pages to varying shades of opinion in the working class movement,

Note to Subscribers:

Please give LABOR ACTION two weeks' notice if you change your address, or renew your subscription.

Also, if you are a new subscriber or are sending in new subscriptions, please give us two weeks.

The Business Manager.

The New International for December continues the discussion on civil liberties and the fight against fascism with an article by Harold Draper, author of "The Truth About Gerald Smith," who answers James Barrett.

The article by Max Shachtman titled "Pre-War Perspectives and Post-War Realities" pulls no punches in tearing into the position of the Socialist Workers Party on Russia and the possibility of a revolutionary upsurge in Europe. It is in answer to their recent attack on the analysis of the Workers Party of the tasks facing the Fourth International.

"Behind the Pearl Harbor Exposé," by Emanuel Garrett, takes the reader behind the scenes of the Congressional investigating committee. It is the story that the capitalist press doesn't dare tell.

The New International for December is as interesting and informative an issue as you would want to read.

Koreans Fight Big Three Trusteeship

By Carl Davis

The same old imperialist policy! The same old imperialist explanations! That is the nature of the decision on Korea made by the Big Three in Moscow. The foreign ministers of the United States, Russia and Great Britain have agreed upon a trusteeship over the country to last for a period of not more than five years! The trusteeship shall remain in the hands of a joint Russian-American commission.

Why a trusteeship for Korea? Was it a member of Axis coalition? Did it oppose the Allies in the war? No, Korea was an independent nation with a long history of national independence. Korea lost her independence to a more powerful Japan, which overran the country and ruled it in the same way as its national provinces. The Koreans were promised independence by the Allies when the war began. The Allies assisted the powerful independence movement which existed inside and outside the country. A provisional independence committee with headquarters in the United States and China has functioned for many years trying to solicit support from the big powers to win freedom from Japanese imperialism.

The Koreans took seriously the declarations of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. They believed with certainty that an Allied victory in the war and a defeat of Japan would mean the automatic freedom and independence of their country. On the morrow of the Japanese defeat a provisional government was erected and everywhere organs of government sprang up. They were of various political coloration. But all of them were symbolized by their adherence to a general program of independence, democratic rights for the population and the election of a permanent republican government.

"MAKING THEM READY"

The desires of the Koreans, however, clashed immediately with the plans of the United States and Russia. The two Pacific powers divided the country into two zones. The real rulers became the military directors of the American and Russian forces. In the American zone, for example, the representatives of defeated Japanese imperialism continued to patrol and rule the country as before. Only this time they were taking orders from the American, General Hodge.

The Koreans did not understand why the "liberators" refused to permit the liberation of the country. As in all cases of this kind, they were promised their independence as soon as their "house was put in order." And now they find, months after the defeat of Japan, that foreign troops still occupy the country and that foreign powers are the real rulers of the country.

The decision of the latest Moscow conference that Korea shall be governed under a trusteeship for the next five years, a decision taken without the slightest regard for the opinions and desires of the Koreans, has resulted in a wave of anger, disappointment and active resistance inside the country. The leading city of Seoul has been plastered with posters and proclamations denouncing the Moscow decision. The Korean press called this decision a "lethal blow to the independence hopes of Korea."

Posters have been put up calling for a general strike against the United States Military Government, the shutting down of schools and for nation-wide demonstrations. Secretary of State Byrnes' announcement that the trusteeship may not have to be applied and the statement that the military commissions of the two powers would seek to end the division of the country into two zones has had little or no effect, on the mounting resentment of the people.

WHO IS KOREA'S FRIEND?

Dr. Kim Koo, chairman of the provisional government, addressed a message to Russia, China, Great Britain and the United States, declaring that Korea "opposes the decision" because it "opposes the desires of the peoples of Korea and is against the assurances given repeatedly by your nations in the course of the war."

Those who are puzzled by this decision must look outside of Korea for its explanation. The decision has nothing whatever to do with the readiness of the Korean peoples for independence. The decision grows out of the imperialist rivalry in the Far East between the United States and Russia as to who shall be the dominant power in Asia. It is related to the present struggle between them in China; it is related to Russian demands for a place in the occupation forces and policies for Japan.

When the newspaper Chosen Immin, a spokesman for the "left," writes: "We hope that this trusteeship has not been initiated by our good friend the United States; to think that it was initiated by Russia is out of the question," it merely reveals that it understands nothing about imperialist policies in general nor of Russia in particular.

American imperialist interests in the Far East and, therefore, its policies, differ in no important way from any other imperialism. The difficulty about understanding Russian policy arises from a total misconception that Russia is a socialist nation and therefore cannot possibly pursue an imperialist policy. Yet the truth is that Russia is not socialist and that it does pursue an imperialist policy of its own.

FOR KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

The Russia of twenty-five years ago, that is, workers' Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, was the champion of the oppressed and colonial countries. That Russia fought valiantly on behalf of all the oppressed and granted independence to all the possessions of the imperialist Czarist ruling classes. But the Russia of Stalin is carving out a new empire at the expense of the peoples of Eastern Europe and the colonial peoples of Asia. Once that is understood, it is easy to understand Russian policy in China and Korea.

American labor, whose real interests are identified with all peoples fighting for freedom and independence, should rally to the support of the Korean people. U. S. troops have no place in the country. They should be withdrawn and the boys brought back home. It goes without saying that Russian troops should also be withdrawn. We are not merely opposed to U. S. imperialism. We are opposed to all imperialism.

Support the Korean people in their struggle for freedom and independence!

Gen. Marshall, Ambassador Extraordinary, and The Nature of the Chinese "Civil War"

By ALBERT GATES

The arrival of General George C. Marshall in China as the new ambassador from the United States is an event of symptomatic importance. He has been given the task of resolving the current "civil war" between Chungking and Yenan. This fact alone emphasizes the interventionist role of Washington in Chinese affairs and the complete dependency upon the United States of the Chiang Kai-shek régime.

Marshall replaced General Patrick J. Hurley, who resigned following charges that members of his staff in China, assisted by Under-Secretary of State Acheson in Washington, were secretly undermining his policy of support to Chiang in favor of support to the Stalinist forces in Yenan.

Obviously United States imperialism has not abdicated its powers in China. Marshall's role would then be inexplicable. China remains now just as much dependent upon U. S. economic and military strength as she was throughout her long war against Japan. The United States has kept Chiang in power because he represents the most important bulwark of American aims in the most populous country in the Orient.

It is no secret that American friendliness toward China arises from the far-sighted imperialist understanding of a section of the capitalist class which sees in China a tremendous potential market for goods of all kinds. What has hindered a thorough exploitation of this tremendous nation with the largest working class in the colonial world has been decades of internal warfare between "bandit" generals (mercenaries who fight for a price), the civil war between the government forces and the workers' and peasants' movements, the Stalinist Communist armies and, finally, the Sino-Japanese war.

U. S.-RUSSIAN RIVALRY

The Chiang régime represents for the United States the strongest force for order in the country, provided it is possible to organize the peace. That Chiang came to power as head of the counter-revolution in 1927; that he retained his power through a reign of terror during all these years; that a reactionary band of industrialists, financiers, landlords and politicians rule the country for their own benefit, and that there is no real freedom, peace or democracy for the tens of millions of workers and peasants—all of this is of no great importance to Washington.

What is of importance is that a sharp conflict has been going on for

years between the Chiang régime and the formidable forces of Yenan, the Stalinist Communist armies, which have the backing of Russia in the fight against the Kuomintang government.

U. S. imperialism will never permit China to become another Poland, that is, a vassal state of Russia. But she still understands that it is necessary to come to some understanding with Stalin in order to win the peace in China and thus permit exploitation of the country.

Thus not China but two foreign powers and, in the first place, the United States, will decide that nation's fate. This is what General Hurley did not understand. He considered every concession made to Yenan—that is, the Kremlin—a surrender of American interests and the sovereignty of Chiang. General Marshall now has the job of reconciling the great conflict in China in order to achieve what General Hurley did not achieve—peace through a "bandits' agreement." The Chinese people will, of course, have nothing to say in the matter, for they are ruled by an authoritarian military régime which has destroyed all the democratic rights of the people.

CONTENDING FORCES

U. S. - Russian rivalry explains many things about what has happened in China. The Sino-Russian treaty, in which Stalin recognized the sovereignty of Chiang in exchange for concessions in Manchuria (an action which seemed to be directed against the Stalinist forces of Yenan); the Russian withdrawal of troops from Manchuria centers before Chiang's could arrive but in time to permit Yenan forces to occupy these cities; Russia's subsequent assistance to Nationalist Army troops to occupy other cities and the Russian announcement of its withdrawal of all troops from China and Yenan, represent the ebb and flow of the struggle which depends in the last analysis on relations between the United States and Russia within the Big Three.

Since the Moscow meeting of the foreign representatives of the Big Three has reached a new agreement, it is quite possible that the Chinese situation will be quickly settled. This brings us to the heart of the Chinese question from the point of view of the international as well as Chinese working class interests. It is too early to write about the agreement that will be reached, but already the proposals of the Chinese government and the counter-proposals of Yenan, which provide for the cessation of fighting and the basis

for a wider selection of those parties and movements to make up the new government, seem to be certain. General Marshall occupies the unique role of an ambassador from a foreign nation which is acting as the mediator in a conflict between the government and Stalin's Chinese battalions. This fact illustrates that China is not, either that part under Chiang or that under Yenan, a free and independent nation, but that freedom and independence have yet to be won.

The question is asked: Does not Yenan represent the forces of the social revolution in China? Does it not represent the movement of the new society and should not all revolutionary socialists support Yenan in this "civil war"?

A SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

The struggle between Chungking and Yenan is not a "civil war" in the sense of the Russian Revolution, or the Spanish Civil War of 1936. Yenan does not represent the independent movement of the Chinese workers and peasants fighting against an internal reactionary régime. Yenan is a Stalinist government, patterned after its Russian model and, like all Stalinist movements, represents first and foremost Russian interests in China. Like all Stalinist movements, it draws its strength from the masses, rests upon the workers and peasants and, depending upon the given situation, issues revolutionary, reformist or reactionary demands. Thus the Stalinist movements exploit the feelings and desires of the people for the purpose of betraying them in the end.

If Chiang is a reactionary enemy of the Chinese people, then an implacable struggle against him must be waged. But, it may be asked, do not the Chinese Stalinist-Communists carry on just that struggle? The answer to this question is: only when it appears that Russian relations with the United States and Chiang appear to be deteriorating, do the Chinese Stalinists employ their blackmail "civil war" to force a settlement in favor of Stalinist imperialist aims. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain the following statement of General Chou En-lai, aide to General Mao, head of the Yenan government:

"Mr. Chiang is not only the leader of China today. It is our hope that he will be the leader of China during the period of peace and national reconstruction."

It is important to understand this about China: none of the important revolutionary demands of 1925-27 have been won under the reactionary Chiang régime. The workers do

not have the right to organization, press and assembly. The trade union movement has been driven underground. The working class undergoes severe exploitation at the hands of brutal native and foreign bosses.

The peasants of China have still to achieve the agrarian revolution. They have still before them the job of destroying landlordism and breaking up the remnants of feudalism in land. To do this means to struggle against Chiang and his régime, whether he stands alone or whether he rules in alliance with the Chinese Stalinists from Yenan and the Democratic League (which acts as a bridge between Chiang and the Stalinists).

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Yenan does not and cannot represent the revolution in China. It is, like all other Stalinist governmental formations in Eastern Europe, the spearhead of counter-revolution. Some point to the collectivization of land in Yenan, plus other reforms, as examples of the revolutionary nature of the Yenan government. But its collectivization, like that of Russia, is thoroughly bureaucratic and, from the point of view of the mass of peasants who are ruled in the same bureaucratic manner as the Kremlin rules the Russian peasants, the Yenan régime is reactionary. The question is not whether Yenan collectivizes the land, but what kind of collectivization it carries through. And it is abundantly clear from the accumulated experiences with Stalinism on a world scale, that its collectivization, while progressive as against the old feudal land relations in China, nevertheless represents totalitarianism and in the final analysis redounds against the best interests of the people.

To grant critical support to Yenan on the ground that it represents the "social revolution" in China is to deceive the Chinese people and the workers of the world. For to give support to Yenan means to give support to Stalinism in its struggle for power. No revolutionary socialist can do this without imperiling his principles in the same way that Stalinism imperils the progress of humanity.

What is needed in China is an independent revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants devoted to a liberation of the country from foreign imperialism and to the struggle for a workers' China, a China of the masses which will carry out the revolutionary progressive program of 1925.

That means not merely getting rid of Chiang, but of imperialism and, in the first place, U. S. imperialism.

The "Good Neighbor Policy" Revised

By WALTER WEISS

Everybody who can read or hear is aware, to some extent at least, that Russia, Britain and the United States have been interfering in the internal affairs of Iran, Indonesia and China. The much talked about principle of self-determination (that every people should freely choose its own government) is being respected by the great powers as little as it has been in the past.

It has remained for the United States government, however, openly to advocate abandonment of the principle of non-interference by giving its complete support to a proposal (supposedly originating with the government of Uruguay) for revising radically the famous "Good Neighbor" policy toward Latin America.

In the tumult of other events this extremely important development has received very little attention in the American press. In Iran, Indonesia and China, as our readers will have noticed, the powers have, for the most part, disclaimed interference or intent to interfere. The Russians state that their army has nothing to do with uprisings in Iran, the United States and the British state that they are in Indonesia and China only until the Japanese or printrons of the Japanese have been evacuated. To be sure, the diplomats don't always succeed in sticking to one story. For example, while Americans have been pumped full of the propaganda that our marines are removing

the Japanese in order to help Chiang Kai-shek, Secretary Byrnes on November 21 came up with the novel explanation that we had made a solemn promise to the Japanese not to leave their men stranded all over this Pacific area. (New York Times, November 22.)

PRINCIPLE OF POWER In contrast to all this beating around the bush, the so-called "Uruguayan suggestion" comes right out and calls for intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American nations. Here, in simple language, is what Secretary Byrnes, in endorsing fully Uruguay's proposal, said:

That Allied sacrifices entitle us to demand rights and democracy everywhere as a basis for peace; that in the Americas the "established principle of non-intervention" should not shield any government which deprives its own citizens of rights and which fails to fulfill its international promises; that the other governments are justified in consulting and taking collective action against the black sheep.

This sounds very fine and noble, but (to judge by reports so far published in this country) the reception it has received in Latin America has been chilly. Edward Tomlinson, an "expert" on South American affairs, commented angrily in a recent radio broadcast that many Latin Americans seem to fear that the United States would impose governments of its choice on them. Why, spluttered Tomlinson, the United States is powerful enough to do that, if she wished, without all the machinery of joint consultation.

As Tomlinson well knows, the situation is not so simple as all that. The old "big stick" policy of Theodore Roosevelt would arouse serious resistance both in Latin America and in the United States itself. Even before Franklin Roosevelt coined the "Good Neighbor" phrase, Coolidge and Hoover were moving toward a "velvet glove" policy of controlling the other Americas. Financial support to favored régimes (usually dictatorships) and economic pressure were replacing the marines.

power, as we have it in abundance, it cannot shun the obligation to exercise commensurate leadership. Leadership, exercised positively by us on behalf of human rights, is an obligation we must accept."

IMPERIALIST DOUBLE-TALK It is worth observing that Stalin's government subscribes, though not so openly, to Mr. Braden's fine words. "The governments of Iran and Turkey," say Stalin's spokesmen, "are notoriously undemocratic. They treat minorities very cruelly. They don't respect human rights."

Most Americans are wise to this kind of talk—when it comes from Russian sources. The Russians are after oil, bases, warm water ports. There is, therefore, applause when Byrnes sends a note suggesting that the Russians clear out of Iran. Most Americans don't want to see Stalin set up any more puppet governments.

How does Stalin, for his part, greet America's "leadership on behalf of human rights?" "We criticize the United States for turning the Pan-American agreements into an instrument for the interests of its own foreign policy; for sowing enmity among Latin American countries, arming one country against another. Guatemala is being armed against Nicaragua, Peru against Ecuador and Brazil against Argentina."

"...The form of the conduct of inter-American consultations and convocation of the Pan-American conferences is a genuine puppet game in which the South American rulers and diplomats play the roles of mechanically subservient dolls."

American workers have nothing to gain by supporting either American imperialism or, as the Stalinist "Communist" Party would have us do, Russian imperialism. To support the one is to benefit the du Ponts, Fords and Rockefeller. To support the other is to strengthen the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Neither of these imperialist forces stands for democracy in its own country or anywhere else. It is our duty to oppose their schemes, however attractively dressed up, with every means at our disposal. That the United States government is not only acting in violation of self-determination (as was to be expected) but is now actually bold enough to revise the very words of the Good Neighbor policy, the Atlantic Charter, and the United Nations Charter, shows how little the American working class has made itself heard on this subject.

To my mind, the conclusion is inescapable that if a nation has great

in spite of many other pressing problems, needed only five days of study before giving its wholehearted blessing to the "Uruguayan suggestion" has led suspicious people both in this country and in points south to believe that the whole idea came to Uruguay as a piece of diplomatic lend-lease from the United States.

Since American imperialism does not now consider Latin America its only sphere of influence, it is not surprising to find Byrnes' ideas of November 28 on the Uruguayan proposal appearing again (although not quite so clearly) in Truman's statement of December 15 on China.

"The United States government," said Truman, "has long subscribed to the principle that the management of internal affairs is the responsibility of the peoples of the sovereign nations. Events of this century, however, would indicate that a breach of the peace anywhere in the world threatens the peace of the entire world. It is thus in the most vital interest of the United States and all the United Nations that the people of China overlook no opportunity to adjust their internal differences promptly."

And later in the same statement he said: "The United States has already been compelled to pay a great price to restore the peace... The maintenance of peace in the Pacific may be jeopardized... unless Japanese influence... is wholly removed and unless China takes her place as a unified, democratic and peaceful nation. This is the purpose of the maintenance for the time being of United States... forces in China."

To be sure, Truman pays his respects repeatedly to the principle of self-determination, but he interprets the principle in a peculiar way. Observe:

"The United States government considers that the detailed steps necessary to the achievement of political unity in China must be worked out by the Chinese themselves... The United States government feels, however, that China has a clear responsibility to the other United Nations to eliminate armed conflict within its territory."

In other words, the United States will tell them what to do and their right to self-determination will consist in working out the practical steps of the American plan.

Or, as Spruille Braden, recently American ambassador in Argentina and now assistant Secretary of State, explained his support for the Uruguayan plan:

"To my mind, the conclusion is inescapable that if a nation has great

Peron's New Bid For Labor Support

By Susan Green

There is unfolding in Argentina a political drama which no worker can afford to miss. In that lush country which breeds cattle and dictators, the military dictatorship which has been in power since the 1943 coup d'état, now seeks to gain popular support in elections scheduled to be held in February, 1946. To get popular support means above all to get the support of the working masses. So we see in Argentina one of the most vicious dictatorships on earth, headed by the clever and power-crazy Peron trying to pass itself off as "the friend of the workers."

It is no exaggeration to call the Peron régime one of the most vicious on earth. Many of its acts were exact replicas of the Nazis. It ruled by terror and brute force. Concentration camps and prisons were populated by democrats, labor leaders, socialists and "reds." It suppressed all political parties, freedom of speech and the press. It created a ruthless police equipped—against the people—like a modern army. "Colonels" were appointed absolute rulers in the provinces. The dictatorship put its greedy hands on the budget to increase its military might and its power as the ruling caste.

By the fall of 1945 it had succeeded in turning practically the whole population against it. Workers, students, the middle class, also the commercial and industrial rich and even the most conservative of all Argentine classes, the great landowners, were in large majority against the Peron government for one reason or another. The ruthless terror of Peron's police could not suppress the strikes of workers and students and the anti-Peron demonstrations that spontaneously sprang from the aroused people. Peron's support amounted at most to ten per cent of the entire population. His demonstrations were staged mainly by paid hoodlums, brought into Buenos Aires from outlying places.

By October, 1945, the pressure from the population was so great that even the military minds in the dictatorship conceived the possibility of being overthrown. There were powerful elements within the military clique who thought it best to sacrifice Peron on the altar of mass discontent, in an effort to regain some prestige with the population. Therefore, Peron moved to a battleship.

But the democratic forces were not prepared to take advantage of this break in the military armor. They had neither coordinated program, nor leadership, nor plan for seizure of power—instead they weakly requested the Supreme Court to take over the government until elections could be held. Neither did the anti-Peron dissenters in the military prove strong enough to take over the government. The Peron game continued in power and Peron returned to the capital to resume his place as the master mind behind the colonels.

PERON TURNS "FRIEND OF LABOR"

He came with new ideas. Dictatorship was no longer in vogue. Not only did the Argentine people proclaim that, but had not the forces of "democracy" won in the war? Peron is going to be in style. He will run for president, get himself elected, and, with that formality out of the way, his military clique can rule with "the sanction of the people." Besides, as "the choice of the people," he may get loans from the great democracy of North America and possibly even modern military equipment from the same place.

Taking a leaf out of Hitlerism, which tried to get worker support for the Nazi Party by calling it "National Socialist," Peron organized the Argentine Labor Party. He put additional bait on the hook by choosing as the symbol of his party a worker's shirt hung from the pole of the flag of Argentina—the reporters said "a sweaty worker's shirt."

But apparently the fish didn't bite too eagerly. On December 14, Peron staged his first public appearance in two months. He addressed a mass meeting in Buenos Aires as head of the new party. The reporters described the meeting as a masterpiece of staging similar to those of Hitler in his heyday. This was no spontaneous crowd. It was brought in from "far and wide." The same gang from Avellaneda, outside of Buenos Aires, came to the capital in Peron's trucks. Peron's lieutenants had planned for a general cessation of work in Buenos Aires. But the independent labor unions foiled that plan. A very small percentage of workers took the opportunity to stay away from work, only in the afternoon.

Whereupon Peron put more appetizing bait on the hook. The government, widely known to be Peron's clique, issued a decree on December 20 ordering a general increase in wages for almost all employees. For those in minimum income brackets the increase could amount to twenty-five per cent. And a nice juicy Christmas bonus equal to a month's pay was to be given to every employee before December 31.

Who can deny that this was a devilishly clever electioneering move on behalf of Peron, presidential candidate of the fake Argentine Labor Party? Immediately the employers raised a howl. They called conferences to decide on action. Many agreed to disregard the decree and not to pay the wage increases nor the bonus. Others decided to pay the amounts into the courts for safekeeping until the constitutionality of the decree is decided. Of course, legal action is being taken to prove the decree unconstitutional. By their opposition to the wage increases and bonus the employers are doing Peron a good turn. Don't you see him as the champion of the workers against the bosses? On the other hand, in cases where the employers should happen to pay the increases ordered by the decree, Peron will get credit for that.

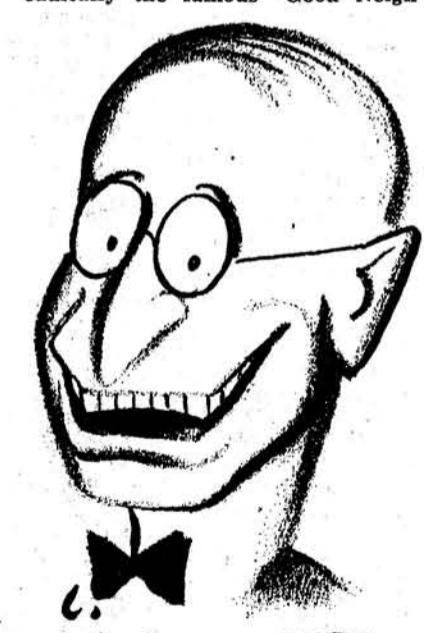
What will become of the decree after election? It has a loophole about increases and decreases in wages according to fluctuations in the cost of living and the prosperity of each industry. Besides, decrees from above can always be countermanded the same way or be declared unconstitutional.

ANTI-PERON FORCES RALLY

But Peron no longer has it all his own way. At long last a Democratic Union of anti-Peron forces has been formed to defeat him and his military clique in the election. The Socialist Party, the Progressive Democrats and the Communist Party have joined with the Radical Party to support the ticket of the last-named party, the largest in Argentina, against Peron. Reporters believe that this united front against Peron will have tough going, in spite of the tremendous popular support it has in Buenos Aires. There are also the provinces, on which the military dictatorship has a stranglehold. There are the pressure and intimidation the government exerts through its Department of Labor and Welfare. Its control over press and radio is an important factor, and above all the superior brute force embodied in the armed police and the army itself.

However, even should the anti-Peron united front win the February elections so that the processes of democratic government can be re-established, the struggle of the industrial workers, farm laborers and peasants will only begin. For the freedom of the toiling masses will come only when they wrest their rich land from the grasp of the great landowners, the foreign investors, the exploiting industrial, commercial and banking interests.

In the meantime, all workers can learn a lesson from the trickery of Dictator Peron, turned "labor's friend" in the same way that the fisherman baiting his hook is the friend of the fish he wants to catch.



HARRY TRUMAN: YANKEE IMPERIALIST

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