

CIO BREAKS WITH TRUMAN!

Need for Labor Party Posed by GM Strike

President Truman Plays Role of Strikebreaker

By EMANUEL GARRETT

It takes exceptional gall to suggest that the auto workers return to work while a committee "finds facts."

It takes equal gall to propose that Congress legislate a "cooling off" period before strike action.

Yet both have been proposed. By whom? By the President, that is, by the head of the government.

That should give those of us who do not yet understand the role of the government as strike-breaker something to think about. Specifically: it demonstrates that the kind of government we now have is a government of the capitalists, a government that serves them, a government that acts in THEIR interest. Specifically: it demonstrates that the kind of government we need is a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT, a government that will serve us, act in OUR interest.

Let us look into these outrageous proposals made by President Truman before we go any further.

Here is the situation: 225,000 auto workers have struck General Motors' plants from coast to coast. The auto workers' union, the UAW, has presented a bookful of irrefutable FACTS—facts that demonstrate not only the necessity of a thirty per cent wage increase, but the auto workers' RIGHT to this increase. The union is so confident of its FACTS that it sought to force the company into public negotiations. GM hasn't even attempted to refute the union's FACTS. It has refused to negotiate. And so utterly conclusive are the union's FACTS that even the capitalist press, at least its more honest section, has had to admit grudgingly the validity of the union's case.

A LACK OF FACTS?
Is there then a lack of FACTS in the situation? Hardly. But let us say that there are facts still not available to the "public." Very well, the union provided for this in advance with the slogan that gives this strike exceptional significance: OPEN THE BOOKS! For if there are any facts not yet known, they can exist only in the books. Open the books, then. Let the workers see what they show on wages, prices and profits!

We have no objection to President Truman appointing one or a thousand fact-finding committees. We are always strong for the facts—not the kind that may be dreamed up by a GM press agent while the executives keep a tight lid on the books. Facts,



PRESIDENT TRUMAN

object strongly to the brazen request that the auto workers return to their jobs while a committee "explores" the situation. What other effect can it have than to break the strike? The auto workers know this and they are fighting it.

Strikes are won on the picket line; they are not won in committees (and certainly not in government committees weighted on the side of the em-

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Strikers Oppose Truman

DETROIT, Dec. 5—Backed by the entire labor movement, General Motors strikers prepared this week to reject formally the outrageous strike-breaking proposal of the Truman Administration that the men return to work empty-handed.

Hostility to President Truman's brazen maneuver developed swiftly when the news reached the rank and file strikers.

Over 500 representatives of the GM locals in this area heard Walter Reuther, GM director, blast Truman's proposal last night, and the sentiment of the unionists was solid against the government's plan.

The UAW leadership already had placed itself on record against the Truman proposals. R. J. Thomas, union president, and George Adde, secretary-treasurer, gave press interviews to declare their opposition.

When the delegates of the GM locals from throughout the country meet this Saturday to consider the "back to work" proposal they are expected to recommend to all locals that it be turned down.

At the present time, no indications



R. J. THOMAS

of what counter-proposals might be made by the UAW-CIO strike strategy committee are evident.

Among the top leaders of the UAW, there was still rancor and

some hard feelings over the "mystery" of who was responsible for writing the stupid letter to C. E. Wilson, GM president, and saying the strikers were willing to open some parts plants.

The letter, over R. J. Thomas' signature, created a first-class revolt among the rank and file, who saw the whole corporation proposal as an attempt to split the solidarity of the union. Thomas now has denied authorship of and responsibility for the letter, hinting that Walter Reuther was partly to blame for its appearance.

Word from Flint is that the feeling against the Truman strike-breaking is plenty strong and the workers are solid for sticking to their guns until victory is won.

Meanwhile the public fact-finding committee met here Wednesday and listened to a reading of the transcript of negotiations between the GM and the UAW. Then they sent invitations for General Motors and the UAW to send representatives to present their case before this committee. The union readily accepted. There was no word from the corporation.

Steelworkers Prepare to Strike

Last week an overwhelming majority of the 650,000 members of the United Steelworkers, CIO, voted to strike. Culminating a two-month-old struggle between the steel companies and the USW over union demands for a flat \$2-a-day wage increase, their strike vote is a forceful indication that, like the auto workers, steel workers are ready for a to-the-finish fight for a living wage.

When Phil Murray, steel workers' president, left the farcical management-labor conference in Washington last week, he said the strike might come before Christmas. Other predictions are for January 1st. Whenever it comes, a strike by the USW will shut down tight more than 2,000 steel plants in 27 states, and will have reverberations in the coal and machine-tool industries all over the country. Together with the auto workers strike, Western Union, the NMU, and strikes in some 600 smaller industries, it will mean a major tie-up of production in the U. S. It means a militant and angry labor movement is on the march for decent living conditions.

The USW demand for a \$2-a-day increase would mean nothing more than an average \$55-a-week wage for steel workers. This is approximately what

they made during a war-time 48-hour work week, and would enable the average family man to just about

Murray's Attack on Truman

"You are not now getting radios, washing machines, children's underclothing and other much needed goods. Why?"

"It cannot be because of strikes, because there are no strikes in these industries. It is simply because industry is not producing these goods—this year—or it is holding them from this year's market. Here is why: 'The Federal Administration very generously, as I have said, repealed the excess-profits taxes as of January 1, 1946. A company that sells goods this year is subject to a maximum tax of 85 1/2 per cent on each dollar of profit. But beginning next year, the maximum tax has been cut to 38 per cent.'

"On every dollar of profit this year industry can only keep 14 1/2 cents, but next year it can keep out 62 cents. 'You are waiting for your goods, and as a taxpayer you are financing industry hold-up.'—New York Times, December 5.

get along, with prices what they are these days. Providing the family isn't too large, of course. For despite U. S. Steel's pleasant advertisements stating the contrary, steel workers are NOT the best-clothed, best-fed, and best-housed people in the world. Neither do they have much of what U. S. Steel calls "the comforts of life."

In 1944 the seven largest steel companies in the U. S. made, on an average, more than 150 million dollars in profits, after taxes, and not counting millions they received in tax refunds from the government. Last week OFA denied them price rises for their products, holding that they were able to make enough profit at prevailing price-ceilings. Yet the "poor" steel companies can't afford to give steel workers the \$2-a-day that means food in their stomachs and warm clothes and being able to pay the rent.

Some of the bloodiest strikes in the history of the union movement have been in steel. Soon steel workers will be back on the picket lines, once more leading the working class in its struggle against capitalist exploitation. They will be fighting one of the most powerful of all capitalist corporations. All out support to their strike for a living wage!

Now Is the Time to Turn PAC Into a Labor Party!

By MARY BELL

Philip Murray's December 4 radio address, in which he announced the first political break in the ten-year alliance between the CIO and the Democratic Party Administration, has added a new significance to the already significant battle between labor and capital.

Speaking on the proposal of President Harry Truman to Congress calling for "fact-finding boards in major industries" accompanied by a thirty-day "cooling off" period, Murray stated the CIO's case against the Administration and declared flatly:

"The CIO is... opposed to the basic policies pursued by the Administration."

Other labor leaders have joined in the denunciation of Truman's strike-breaking proposal. John L. Lewis called Truman's program a "fooler bill to straight-jacket American industrial relations" and William Green joined in the unanimous protest.

Murray's stinging indictment of Truman came as a direct result of the unprecedented kind of strike the UAW is making against the auto corporations.

LABOR ACTION has detailed the new element in this strike: in the UAW's fight for security and a living wage the union has had to demand a say in the de-

Just as Reuther presented for the UAW an incontrovertible, damning case against the auto capitalists, Murray has stacked up the evidence against the servants of capital in Washington.

Murray cites the Office of War Mobilization conclusion that industry can raise wages and salaries 24 per cent and still earn more than twice as much take-home profits as it did before the war. Then he charges:

"It [the Federal Administration—Ed.] has completely ignored human rights. But American industry has been appeased with ever greater opportunities for increased profits at the expense of the American people.

"The Administration has given lip service to a suggested need for federal legislation that would increase unemployment compensation benefits and acknowledge a federal obligation for full employment. The complete failure to obtain such legislation has proved that the activities have been limited to a mere gesture.

"But at the same time, in the face of the astounding profits of American industry, legislation has been swiftly enacted to eliminate excess-profits taxes so that these profits can become even more extortionate.

"In addition he Federal Administration tolerates, without adverse comment, a sitdown strike by industry—knowing that the American people are financing industry's arrogance and making it profitable."

(Continued on page 3)



PHILIP MURRAY

termination of profits and prices of private industry, thus invading the closely guarded domain of the companies.

The answer of the Truman Administration has been to intervene in the auto strike and the pending steel strike as a strike-breaker and to demand coercive legislation to "settle" all labor disputes.

Auto Strike Pickets Have That "Fight-to-the-Finish" Morale

By SID ROBERTS, LABOR ACTION Staff Writer

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.—Judging by the spirit and fight shown by the strikers at the Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants at Tarrytown, General Motors is in for a long-drawn-out, knock-down struggle if it persists in its refusal to grant the United Auto Workers' just demands in the current nation-wide strike.

The solid backing on the part of Local 664's membership for militant action in support of labor's fight to defeat GM's union-busting and "back-to-the-good-old-days" stand is shown by the vote of 1226 to 104 in favor of the strike.

While talking to the pickets the writer got the impression that the men and women are determined that they will not go back to the pre-war insecurity that existed under GM's "benevolent rule"



DETROIT—Workers of Local 15, UAW-CIO, Line Up Outside General Motors' Fisher Body Fleetwood Plant, Waiting to Be Allowed in, two at a time, to receive their last full paychecks. (Acme Photo)

which, in Local 664's case, meant the piece-rate system, a "merit" basis of wage increases, and a weekly pay check that worked out to an hourly rate of 95 cents to \$1.00 for 90 per cent of the workers. As one worker put it: "With a forty-hour week, that wouldn't put a man with a wife and a couple of kids on easy street." The men don't particularly go for the piece-work system and the "company man" favoring method of increases through "merit" either.

Talking to the men, one observed an awareness of the issues involved in this and the other strikes that have burst out since V-J Day, and a strong feeling of solidarity, not only with each other, but with the GM workers on strike throughout the country. When asked to comment on the move to start work up in some of the parts plants, Joe Manning, financial secretary of 664, said: "I know Flint, and they're not going back till the strike is won."

On the question of Congress' passing anti-labor legislation, one of the union brothers said: "Let 'em do it and we'll know how to vote next November." Another chimed in saying: "We could teach them a few things with a Labor Party." Seeing that the writer was a veteran, a striker said: "I hope you boys coming back don't let yourselves be used by the bosses against us." And listening to the story they had to tell, one came to the conclusion that it would indeed be a misguided veteran who fell for the tale that men like these had been "stabbing the boys in the back."

In support of the strike, the women of Local 664 have set up a soup kitchen in the union hall and are on the job all day preparing and serving three meals as well as hot coffee to the pickets. In addition, the soup kitchen is planning a huge Christmas party for the kids.

The strike is getting heartening support from the local labor movement and small shop keepers. AFL workers walked out with the men and, despite the threat of an AFL bureaucrat, the construction workers refused to cross the picket line. Food and money have been given to the soup kitchen by local shopkeepers. The Westchester CIO Council is holding a demonstration in Tarrytown and North Tarrytown at 3:00 p.m., Sunday, December 9, in support of the strikers.

Altogether, the writer came away with the feeling that the workers of Local 664 have an excellent understanding as to what

is at stake in their great fight and are united in their determination "to lick GM to a frazzle."

(Special to Labor Action)

DETROIT, Dec. 3—The daily press, like the Detroit News, is carrying on a subtle campaign to tear down the spirit and power of the GM strikers.

It writes: "Comparatively few pickets responded for duty and those that did, union officials conceded, showed a marked lack of enthusiasm for their task. Strike leaders blamed the weather."

A tour of the picket lines at Cadillac, Ternstedt, Fleetwood and Chevrolet plants reveals a different story. Of course the picket lines are small, in some cases "tokens," but that is only because the unionists see no present need for mass picketing. The strike is so solid, the plants shut so tight, that no workers would think of entering, even if there were not any pickets present.

The men who are reporting for picket duty are regular and conscientious in this job. Getting their cards punched by their picket captains is as important to them as punching their time cards in the plant. Marching back and forth in the cold, biting wind, the strikers are quiet, cheerful and determined. A Cadillac worker expressed their sentiments till he said: "It can rain, snow or blow. We'll be out here fighting till we win."

The picketers are on comparatively short shifts—two hours at Fleetwood, three hours at Cadillac, four hours at Ternstedt. Soup kitchens were established immediately and are operating smoothly and efficiently. Hot coffee is on hand at all times, with rolls and sandwiches whenever the men get hungry.

Some of the local unions refuse admittance to office workers, while others allow them to enter the plants. In the latter case, a picket captain checks carefully each person's identification. At the Ternstedt plant at Fort and Livernois, the picket captain said: "I wouldn't let anyone at all into the plant if I had my way, but the cops assigned here insist that we let them through, and of course we don't intend to start any unnecessary violence." The police here continuously annoy the picketers by insisting on a certain amount of space left between the line and the entrance to the building. Police at other plants seem more or less indifferent.

It is interesting to note that two practice mobilizations of city police were held during the last week, according to a report in the Detroit News. About 600 to 1000 policemen, equipped with riot guns and tear gas, can be mobilized within 25 minutes if necessary.

The strikers are very serious about their struggle for a thirty per cent wage increase, and are well aware that they are leading the fight for the entire labor movement in the United States. A fifty-year-old picketer at Fleetwood said:

"This is the showdown. We can't lose, because if we do, the entire labor movement will be set back five or ten years. We've got to win and we're going to, no matter how long it takes!"



LINDEN, N. J.—Ex-Servicemen, Wearing Uniforms and Decorations, Join Picket Line Outside GM Plant. See Page 2. (Acme Photo)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

What "Open the Books" Means

Dear Comrades: In the December 3 LABOR ACTION, Emanuel Garrett in his article, "The GM Strike and 'Free Enterprise,'" says "The union (UAW) has demanded the right to participate in the determination of prices and the distribution of profits."

let, "Wage, Labor and Capital" the following: "What, then, is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profits in their RECIPROCAL (our emphasis—EG) relations? They stand in inverse proportion to one another. The share of capital (profit) rises in the same proportion in which the share of labor (wages) sinks, and vice versa."

unions have, for example, asked to see the books. But never before has a major union in a major industry, the largest union in the world, made it the platform of its struggle for higher wages. The UAW's action has introduced a new and far-reaching element into union activity, more correctly it has introduced a new concept into union politics.

WHERE THE LETTER ERRS

Comrade Sid, however, asks this: suppose the books reveal lower profits, what then? In asking the question he overlooks, first, the value of the principal that the UAW is seeking to establish; second, the confidence of the auto workers to get what they want by action; third, the matter of agitation that is involved.

Will the union accept a wage cut if the books reveal the impossible? Of course not. We are quite sure that Reuther, and certainly the auto workers, would accept nothing of the kind. And why not? Because they have already demonstrated their advanced fighting position, by the very demand they have made, not to speak of their confidence in themselves as a powerfully organized body of workers.

We are not at all concerned with profits. Neither, we are sure, are the auto workers. They want a living wage regardless of profits. That is precisely where their slogan has effect. For they propose to distribute profits, to tell the boss that he cannot have as much as he wants. Be assured that the corporation executives understand the implications of the UAW position. They understand too that workers who challenge "free enterprise" by demanding "Open the Books," will not bear the cost of profit losses by wage cuts.

E. Garrett.

But there is something altogether new in the UAW position, so new that we feel justified in calling it a revolutionary development—in union concepts. The UAW demands the right to examine the books, and on the basis of what it there sees, it proposes to tell the boss what it considers a legitimate wage, hence a legitimate profit, and with that to tell the boss what price is justified. Hence the UAW demand is not the simple economic demand traditional in union struggle.

WHAT IS NEW

Do not forget that the union's slogan is "Open the Books." Yes, the demand has been made before; so too, unions have previously sought to intervene in price regulation. The needle trades

In demanding the right to inspect the company's books, Reuther has said that he would scale the union's demand from 30% down to 0 if the company's profit figures warranted it. He doesn't say what method he would use to evaluate GM's profit position, but if we assume that, were the company's books (by some miraculous miracle) to show a profit position at the present time similar to the immediate pre-war years, Reuther would settle for the same wage scale as prevailed in 1939.

Rather I would say that the UAW is tying the wage scale to the level of profits (instead of demanding a decent living wage regardless of GM's profit position) and is not at all departing from the traditional trade union practice as formulated by Engels in "Condition of the Workers in England" (published in 1844).

Comrade Sid has raised a point that validly demands explanation. His is a legitimate question, but we think he errs in failing to understand the revolutionary change in union struggle embodied in the UAW proposal.

The relation between wages and profits has long been recognized in socialist economics. Thus, Karl Marx who was the great genius of socialist theory and whose works we recommend to our readers as essential reading matter, wrote in his little pamph-

Hyatt Works Strike Effective

HARRISON, N. J.—To the tune of "Tea for Two," pickets paraded at every gate of the Hyatt Roller Bearing Works. The strike was 100 per cent effective. The union had turned down a request by the company to allow office workers to enter. The company obviously took the union's word for it. Nobody is trying to get in. The police hang around with nothing to do.

A member of the UAW Local 515 Strike Committee showed this reporter around. The headquarters was filled with attractive posters: "Hitler burns the books, General Motors keeps them in hiding," "No apple selling this time," Karse of the Strike Committee, told me that no matter what the government said or did, the boys were going to stay out. "This is a last-ditch fight," he stressed. Your reporter asked him what he thought of R. J. Thomas' proposal

that the men return to work for General Motors plants that produce parts for other companies. (Thomas later denied ever making such a proposal.) Karse replied: "We're against a fraction of the men going back. We'll all be going back together after we've beaten General Motors."

Other workers obviously realized the need for breaking the arrogant economic power represented by General Motors. "We'll stay out six months if necessary," was Karse's parting shot as he led a new group of workers onto the picket line.

The strike kitchen was a cheerful place, well stacked with food. The union has received a steady stream of financial contributions. The local bakery contributed bread and pastry. (Next week LABOR ACTION will carry an exclusive interview with President Bill Casper and striking members of the Hyatt Local, No. 515. Watch for this feature!)

Philadelphia Readers: Max Shachtman National Secretary of the Workers Party Will Speak on DECEMBER 14th at 8:15 A. M. AT 1105 WALNUT STREET

Answering GM's Argument:

MORE OUTPUT, MORE WAGES?

By ERNEST LUND

The insulting counter-proposal of General Motors that workers should work forty-five hours a week at straight time in order to earn a living take-home wage has already been answered on two counts in previous articles of this series.

This article is devoted to the argument of GM's president, Charles Wilson, that more hours of work mean more production. More production, says Wilson, means more goods and a higher standard of living for everyone.

This, thinks Wilson, is a smashing argument—for dolts and idiots who cannot count beyond three.

HOW DOES IT OPERATE?

If our economic system worked as simply as the family farm, Wilson's proposal would make sense. Down on the farm, the whole family pitches in to do the work. When there is more work, everyone works more. When there is less work, everyone works less.

If everyone worked hard and if the crops were good, there will be checks in the mail and food to eat. The whole family will enjoy some of the fruits of their labor. The fact that the "work's all done" is something to regard with pleasure.

But how does it operate in the capitalist system under which we live? Because labor works harder and longer does not necessarily mean that it will share in the increased production. Quite the contrary. We already showed why longer hours result in lower wages.

Increased production will usually result in layoffs because the market becomes glutted. Instead of everyone relaxing and working less and eating more, the capitalist shuts down his plant and goes to Florida for a vacation while the worker goes to the relief station to ask for a hand-out. He has produced himself out of a job.

The essential difference between the family farm and GM is that the farm is owned by the same people who work it while those who own GM do not work in it,

and those who work in it do not own it.

WHAT IS CAPITALISM?

Capitalism, as Karl Marx pointed out long ago, separated the producer from his tools. The owner of the tools (plants, machinery, railroads, etc.) buys labor power (or hires workers, as we would say) to operate them. The more they produce, the higher his profit. When it is not profitable to produce, he lays off the workers.

Capitalism has made of labor power a commodity to be bought on the labor market. As with any other commodity, the cost of labor power (wages) is determined by the cost of production. The cost of production of labor power is in the main what it takes to maintain the worker at his accustomed standard of living. It is, therefore, the cost of living which determines wages under capitalism.

Increased production can lead to a surplus of goods on the market unless labor has sufficient buying power to buy back the product of industry. Under capitalism, labor is never paid enough to buy back all that is produced. If it were, the capitalist would not retain a margin of profit, since it is the difference between what is paid to labor and what the capitalist receives for his products that determines his profit.

Production levels were very high in 1929, the peak year of the so-called prosperity period. However, it did not result in "more for everybody." It resulted in one of the worst depressions in history.

LABOR AND SOCIALISM

Labor is in favor of increased production. A high productive level is necessary if we are to achieve a high standard of living. Even with the best fighting unions, the workers of a country like China could not achieve a much higher standard of living. However, a high productive level is not the result of long hours. Chinese coolies work twelve to fourteen hours a day and still their country is poverty-stricken. A high productive level is the result of modern mass production methods. This is the secret of American output.

This is the basis of the standard of living in this country. However, American workers have not been GIVEN a higher standard merely because the level of production has increased. It has not been GIVEN to them at all. They organized and FOUGHT for it. Part and parcel of that fight has been the fight for shorter hours.

General Motors can never sell its idea of longer hours and more production to any worker who is willing to use his head for something more than a place to keep his hat. Labor's first concern is higher wage rates and a shorter work week.

Once the workers have organized to take over political power in this country and introduce a socialist system of production, then more production will mean more for everybody. The more we produce, the more we would eat. The more backlog of products we would have, the less we would work until we had used them up. This will be so because socialism will wipe out the distinction between the owners of the machine and the users of the machine. The working class will become the owners AND operators. The separation between the worker and the means of production introduced by capitalism will be ended by socialism.

Until such a socialist system prevails, wage labor will remain a commodity to be bought on the market by capital. The wages of labor will continue to be determined by the cost of living. It must therefore be the aim of labor to fight for higher wage rates and a shorter work week and let the capitalists worry about production.

CORRECTION

In my article of November 19 headed "Long Hours Depress Wages," the following sentence appeared: "We pointed out that Karl Marx had long ago shown that under capitalism the wage level is regulated but not determined, in the main, by the cost of living." The emphasized words "regulated" and "not" were inserted by the editor without my knowledge. The original sentence was correct. Marx stated that the cost of living did determine wages, in the main. Wages are regulated by the competition of workers for jobs in the labor market, i.e., by the law of supply and demand. This is stated simply and precisely in "Wage Labor and Capital."

Linden Workers Out to Win

LINDEN, N. J.—"This is our strike and we're going to win it!" say the striking GM workers here. To a man they reject the plan that any strikers go back and turn out parts for the company. It would be a big mistake, they say, for some to go back while others stay out. They expect the meeting of the 200 delegates on Saturday to vote for continuation of the strike.

As for Truman's latest dictum, telling the strikers to go back to work—that doesn't go in Linden. The strikers will decide for themselves when they go back to work—and it isn't going to be until they win. The men on the picket line, out for

three and four hours at a time in the raw December weather, are ready to stay out—days, weeks, months—until they win. "We're fighting for the life of our union against the whole auto industry," they declared. "The issue is more than the thirty per cent increase. We will stay out until we get our collective bargaining rights back again," said one picket. He added that the Linden plant would have gone on strike even if a general GM strike had not been called. The company had been refusing to handle grievances and trying in every way to break the union.

One picket carried a sign reading, "Hitler burned books—GM hides

books." He told your LABOR ACTION reporter: "We're showing the public that we've got their interests at heart. A lot of people who used to be against us see that the right is on our side. We've stolen the company's thunder."

A veteran on the line added that the vets have organized a special veterans' committee to "get the public on our side." He was laid off two days after V-J Day and he knows that his march around the plant is going to get him and his family a lot more than he got after the six awful months he spent in the foxholes.

With the Workers Party

NEWARK A new branch of the Workers Party has just been established in this city. Starting with a modest quota of 25 LABOR ACTIONS a week, it is now, a month later, selling 200 copies a week and has promised to increase it to 500 within the next ten weeks. 300 copies of the Coolidge pamphlet on Jim Crowism were sold. Two large meetings have been arranged in the near future. One for David Coolidge, in December, and one for Max Shachtman, in January.

CLASSES: 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: on Michigan and Shelby at Cass and Michigan Family Newsstand in front of Family Theatre, Cadillac Square Carl's Bookstore—Woodward near Clairmont

LOS ANGELES A class in the fundamentals of Marxism—a course in scientific socialism—to be held every Friday evening at 8:30, beginning December 7 at 127 South Broadway, Room 310, L. A. 12.

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, 137 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.

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.

WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL: The second semester of the Workers Party School will be held at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue, near 9th Street, in Manhattan, on Tuesday and Friday evenings, beginning at 7:30 P.M. There will be a total of seven classes in this semester. All LABOR ACTION subscribers will receive copies of the new School Catalogue as soon as it is off the press. If you are not on the mailing list of the Workers Party, Local New York, write for your copy of the Catalogue now.

The NEW INTERNATIONAL is sold at the following newsstands and bookstores in New York City: Manhattan: Albert's—462 Sixth Avenue (near 11th St.) 14th Street and Sixth Avenue 14th Street and Fourth Avenue 14th Street and University Place "Biderman's Book Store—Second Ave. (bet. 11th and 12th Streets) 42nd Street and Sixth Avenue Rutkin's—42nd St., near Public Library Harlem: 116th Street and Lenox Avenue 2107 Seventh Avenue 125th Street and Lenox Avenue 125th St. and St. Nicholas Ave. 125th Street and 8th Avenue

DETROIT WORKERS PARTY Labor Action Hall 3773 Gratiot (Cor. Mt. Elliott)

NEW YORK CITY WORKERS PARTY branches in New York City meet at the following places:

BUSINESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY PAUL BERN

We have received reports on the enthusiastic reception LABOR ACTION has received on the picket lines and at union halls. The New York and New Jersey members of the Workers Party were welcomed in Tarrytown, N. Y., Harrison, N. J., Linden, N. J., and several other towns where General Motors plants are located. Not only were LABOR ACTION'S distributed but a marked interest was shown in the latest pamphlet of the Workers Party SECURITY AND A LIVING WAGE—Why Workers Strike. Our representatives were invited to return to help on the picket lines and bring more copies of the paper.

But the best way to be sure of regularly receiving LABOR ACTION every week at your home is by subscribing. For the duration of the General Motors Strike, we have a very special subscription offer.

FOUR SIX MONTH SUBS—ONE DOLLAR. Send in your dollars. Surely you know four militant workers who should be reading LABOR ACTION.

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A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Truman As Strikebreaker--

(Continued on page 1)

ployers). We repeat: strikes are won exactly where the auto workers are now—on the picket line! Go back to work while a committee looks for facts, while arbitrators leisurely confer? That is equivalent to breaking the morale of the strikers, to breaking the strike. And that is precisely what Truman has in mind.

You doubt it? Link it with his second, long-range proposal for handling the growing strike wave: to enforce by congressional enactment a cooling off period. John L. Lewis has called this an effort to straight-jacket labor, and he is right.

The strike is the only real weapon labor has at its disposal in redressing grievances, in winning its demands. Workers in any industry decide that it is necessary to use their strike weapon. Their determination is high. Their plans are made. They must choose the moment best suited to THEIR struggle.

What would happen, though, under the Truman proposal? Workers decide to strike. The strategic moment to strike might be the next day or the day following. Under the Truman proposal they "cool off" for approximately thirty days, dissipating their energies in Congress-decided procedures. Meanwhile, the employer, gaining time by this anti-strike legislation, makes his plans to fight the strike.

WHAT ABOUT WORKERS' GOVERNMENT?

No, we don't think this proposition will kill the strike action of the American working class. Labor just isn't in a mood to take that kind of stuff as gospel. We think it will respond to "cooling off" by getting indignantly hot.

It's because of this mood that Truman dares not go further in his strike-breaking. He can't get away with it any more than the government or the capitalist class it represents could get away with an explicit union-smashing drive today. American labor is too powerful, too well organized—and it is confident!

But Truman has gone far enough. If conditions allow, he'll go further. For, and we cannot repeat this often enough, the government HE speaks for is not our government.

What would our government, a workers' government, do in this situation? Yes, it would publish the facts. It would tell GM: you say you cannot pay those who actually do the work a decent living wage, guarantee them security; we will therefore end your private ownership, the thing you call "free enterprise"; we will nationalize your plants and put them under the workers' control.

In our opinion, the auto workers have already raised the issue of "free enterprise" and thus pointed to other vital aspects of a fundamental labor program.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party take the view that the auto workers have contributed a new and revolutionary factor to American unionism. By demanding that the books be opened, that labor have a hand in determining wages, prices and profits, they have, in effect, challenged the system of "free enterprise" and clearly established that labor, and labor alone, truly stands for the interests of the entire people.

We shan't go into this aspect here. Last week we devoted a long article to the subject and it is treated elsewhere in this issue, but we will return to it in future issues of LABOR ACTION. For the auto workers' strike is inexhaustible in its lessons and deductions. So far we've discussed primarily the economic implications, the advances in economic principle made by the auto workers. But these principles lead to the further issue of politics—of politics and POLITICAL ACTION.

LABOR AND SOCIETY

In every situation we see how intimately related politics and economics are. Thus we have a capitalist, a boss, economy. The plants, the machines, the buildings are not owned by the men who produce them; they are owned by men who contribute nothing to actual production yet syphon

Murray and the Labor Party--

(Continued on page 1)

After continuing his attack on the government, Murray points out that the "sole answer of the Federal Administration is to seek legislation against labor." For all its show of impartiality, the legislation proposed by Truman can only result in the "weakening of labor unions—the cartwheeling of the right of free men to refrain from working when they choose to do so" and amounts to the "appeasement of American industry."

Let us recall that this same Truman Administration is a CIO-PAC-backed Administration. That until the war ended and the post-war struggle of capital and labor began, Murray and all his associates were engaged in a vigorous support of that Administration. Now, Murray makes a ninety-degree turn.

Let us also recall how the auto workers proceeded when they had made their case against the corporations and the latter answered "No." The General Motors workers took the road of independent, class action. In their organized strength as labor unions, they went on the picket line.

Murray has drawn up his case against the capitalist administration. Truman already has delivered his anti-union, pro-industry answer in his legislative proposal on which he consulted industry representatives, but not a single representative of the organized labor movement which, unfortunately, helped put the Democratic Party in power.

POLITICAL ACTION NEEDED

What does Murray propose? He has proposed nothing so far. But the conclusion is obvious. Just

off the profits of that production, by a tiny few who luxuriate in the resources of swollen bank accounts while working men have to take to the picket line to force a wage increase that will provide for the necessities of life.

The government we now have is the government of these monopolists, these industrialists, these capitalists. Its laws, its whole operation, are designed to bolster, to protect, to effectuate in political terms this capitalist system. Its personnel is derived from the parties that represent the interests of this class—principally the Republican and Democratic Parties.

And just as it makes sense for General Motors to resist labor's encroachments on its system of "free enterprise," so it makes sense for its government to act against labor. Yes, this government pretends to act for the entire people. But that is as false as when GM says it pretends to uphold the interests of what it calls the "public."

Labor is truly the champion of the great mass of society. You need proof? Who speaks for the best interests of society in the auto strike—the auto workers, who want a voice in determining prices so that prices may be held down, or GM, which stands on its capitalist right to keep its books secret and charge any price it can get away with? Under Roosevelt the trusts developed the cute theory that they are really the guardians of the "public" interest, operating their colossal "free-monopolized enterprises" in the people's behalf. But the auto workers have showed that lie to be as colossal as the trusts.

The capitalists have THEIR politics. We have to have ours. Concretely, that means we have first to create a political party of our own. Not a caricature of a political party such as we have too often seen, a party that presumably is labor's but is actually tied with capitalist parties and capitalist politicians. The auto workers, who have already done much to heighten labor's position, ought, for example, to put pressure on the CIO's Political Action Committee to sever its degrading and disreputable relations with capitalist political machines and politicians.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Our struggles on the economic field cannot be given genuine and lasting meaning unless we combine them with independent labor political action. That is why the Workers Party, a party of revolutionary socialism, the party of LABOR ACTION speak for, declares that a mass political party of labor is our prime need today. Such a party would include the unions, would represent the great body of American labor, would champion the interests of workers, farmers, professionals—of everybody except the exploiters and profiteers. Such a party, did we put it in power, would not put pressure on the auto workers as does Truman; it would put the squeeze on the bosses.

We cannot delay. Class conflicts are becoming sharper, reaching new levels of activity. The auto workers have posed the issues: open the books, invade the privacy of capitalist industry, intervene in determining prices and profits. That LEADS to imposing workers' control on industry; that leads to nationalization of industry under workers' control. It must also lead to the creation of a Labor Party which will fight our battle on the political front as unions fight our battle on the economic front.

And all of this leads finally to a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT that would make our program real. A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT would not seek to straight-jacket labor the way Truman does and keep it dangling in the pit of capitalist insecurity. A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT would not run errands for capitalism. A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT would wrest industry from the hands of the self-confessed bankrupts who admit that it violates their interests to operate industry so that it would provide security and a living wage. A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT would nationalize industry under workers' control and usher in the age of freedom and plenty for all.

as labor has had to take independent, class action in the economic sphere, it must take independent, class action in the political sphere. Just as the UAW, in order to attain a living wage, had to demand a voice in the determination of profits and prices and responsibility for the public weal, so organized labor must demand the legislative helm of the country for its own and the public welfare.

It is not a question of "good" or "bad" capitalist politicians, as Murray implies in his address. He says that Truman is making a departure from the policies of President Roosevelt. Not so, Mr. Murray. There have been no more restrictive legislation and policies aimed against organized labor than during the war administration of the late President Roosevelt. Have you forgotten the Smith-Connally Act, which Roosevelt felt was not strong enough, Mr. Murray? You can't help but remember the recently relinquished no-strike pledge, requested by—Roosevelt.

It is not a question of "good" or "bad" politicians. It is a question of class politics.

Where are you going now, Philip Murray? We hope it is not backward to the old game of supporting a "friendly" capitalist politician as against an "unfriendly" one. We hope it is forward to a definitive, all-time break with capitalist politics and capitalist politicians, forward to a new and genuinely independent political organization of labor, which will usher in a workers' government. A workers' government representing the backbone of our country, those who toil in the mines and factories, is the only government which can organize our economy democratically and plan for the stated objectives of the CIO—jobs, security, full employment and peace.

There is only one way to go forward—that is by the formation of an independent Labor Party. Break the PAC from the capitalist parties! Turn the PAC into a genuine Labor Party!



The Truth About Pearl Harbor

By WALTER WEISS
Was there a "plot" by President Roosevelt to force the Japanese into war against the United States?

This question has been raised by some Republicans during the Congressional Pearl Harbor investigation now going on. American fascists will also, of course, play up the charges against Roosevelt for their own purposes, and they will receive ample assistance from the Hearst and Patterson press.

On the other hand, the more "responsible" newspapers, including top Republican mouthpieces like the New York Herald Tribune, are very much alarmed lest the American people get the unpatriotic idea "that Secretary Hull forced a peace-loving Japan into war, or that President Roosevelt deliberately exposed the men and ships of the Pacific fleet as helpless 'bait' to draw Japan to her destruction."

IS THERE ANYTHING NEW?

What have the various Pearl Harbor investigations actually shown, up to the present time?

In the first place, it was clearly no surprise at all to American leaders that the Japanese made an attack before declaring war. Even if they had not known the contents of Japanese code messages, they knew what to expect from a study of the situation. The place of attack, Pearl Harbor, may have been a partial surprise, but all the propaganda about "sneak attack" and "Jap treachery" was fraudulent and designed to work the American people up to a fighting pitch.

In the second place, it is perfectly clear that Roosevelt looked on war with Japan as certain at the very time when, during the election campaign of 1940, he was saying:

"And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before and I shall say it again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars . . ." (Speech at Boston on October 30, 1940.)

Even the editor of the liberal Nation magazine, one of Roosevelt's strongest supporters had to complain, immediately after the campaign, that the President had not been "wholly honest" in his promises of peace.

THE "DIPLOMATS" AT WORK

Testifying before the Pearl Harbor committee last week, Admiral Richardson, former commander of the Pacific fleet, stated that Roosevelt spoke to him along these lines at a White House lunch on October 8, 1940: that the United States might not enter the war over Thailand or the Dutch East Indies or even the Philippines, "but that they (the Japanese) could not always avoid making mistakes and that as the war continued and the area of operations expanded, sooner or later they would make a mistake and we would enter the war." (The quoted words are Richardson's report of what the President said.—Ed.)

Admiral Leahy, who attended the same luncheon, states that he cannot recall Roosevelt's making this statement, but (he adds) "it would not be in discord with the President's ideas at all as far as I understood them."

Were Japan's imperialist leaders taken in by Roosevelt's "again and again" act? Hardly. But American fathers and mothers, the American people, yes.

In mid-summer of 1941, at the Atlantic Charter meeting with Churchill,

dominate the Orient without fighting the other, but both had long known this to be impossible. So they prepared for war and they maneuvered—the Japanese imperialists for all they could get without fighting and for surprise when the inevitable showdown arrived, the American imperialists for time to prepare and for a Japanese "mistake," which would make the war seem wholly "defensive" to the American people.

WHAT WE SAID!

Before the war, at its outbreak, and throughout the hostilities, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION described the war as imperialist ON BOTH SIDES. We said that it was, therefore, an unjust war on both sides, fought to determine who should exploit the enslaved peoples of the Orient. Events are fully confirming this judgment. The United States and her allies are now engaged throughout the Far East in drowning in bloodshed the struggle of peoples who, disregarding American, British, and Dutch "interests," seek to rule themselves. The "democratic liberators" are not even ashamed to use Japanese troops to insure their "interests."

The Republican Congressmen and the fascist Fuehrers, who are so busy exposing Roosevelt are, of course, not in the least interested in democracy and freedom. Some of them are merely looking for obvious political advantage, for votes in coming elections. Others, knowing that the American people will become disgusted with the results of the war, see a golden opportunity to spread fascist ideas. Wasn't war leader Roosevelt the idol of the liberals and the labor government?

These Republican and fascist Roosevelt-haters are themselves the most extreme imperialists. They demand bases everywhere for the United States, shout endlessly about the "yellow peril," and rave that America's allies are gyping "us" in the division of the spoils of war. While denouncing the leader of World War II, they take the lead in preparing the atmosphere for World War III.

Their reasons for exposing Roosevelt have nothing at all in common with the ideas of the revolutionary socialists, who speak through LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party. We alone genuinely fight against all imperialisms, for the liberty of all nationalities, for a workers' society that will make peace, freedom, and plenty possible throughout the world.

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NEXT WEEK:

OFF LIMITS

A Column for Veterans

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM?

By the Editors

REVIEW OF WALLACE'S "SIXTY MILLION JOBS"

By Susan Green

THE ISSUE IN CHINA

By Albert Gates

AMERICAN LEGION

What Does It Offer The Enlisted Man?

By JACK WILSON
Bill Mauldin gave one overwhelming impression of the American Legion convention in his report appearing in the current issue of Life magazine.

An enlisted man would have felt about as much at home there as he would in an officers' club. "During the big banquet the last evening of the convention, the speakers table looked like a page out of Who's Who. Among those present were Generals Doolittle, Vandegrift and Bradley, the president of the American Bankers' Association and some governors. World War II's only spokesmen were its brass hats."

Mauldin knows, of course, that the American Legion was organized originally by the Brass Hats precisely so the War Department could keep a grip on the veterans, and speak in their name. This has not changed today.

THE LEGION AND DEMOBILIZATION

Take something as vital to the soldier of this last war as demobilization. A pretty fair test of any veteran's organization is the question: "Where did it stand on getting the boys home and out quickly?" Naturally, the American Legion did not back the enlisted men in their demand to speed up demobilization, and also to cut out the horrible favoritism which has appeared. It is a stooge of the War Department on those matters.

Take another problem. In "Mail Call" in Yank magazine, we used to read always that most of the soldiers wanted an organization "of the veterans, by the veterans and for the veterans." The American Legion failed to meet this test too.

"Only two World War II vets were elected to a high national post (vice-commander) and if one of them wasn't also a veteran of World War I he was old enough to be one," Mauldin reported. Where are the enlisted men? Has an enlisted man ever held the post of national commander? Not many of them have. Why not?

The American Legion is a powerful business and political institution, with a treasury of at least \$15,000,000. (It claims a wealth in property of \$200,000,000.) Its backbone has been local, state and national politicians who have wormed their way into lucrative government jobs as "veterans" and by the club of the "veterans vote."

In order to keep this bureaucratic privilege, the political clique that dominates the Legion needs more power, that is, more "veterans' votes." That is why it puts on such a tremendous campaign for recruiting veterans of this war.

But perpetuation of the American Legion is more than a matter of keeping the gravy jobs for certain individuals. It is, above all, a way of controlling the political power of an important segment of the American people, the veterans. Every GI knows this fact.

NO POSTS FOR THE ENLISTED MAN

The Legion leadership tries to conceal this fact by a pompous claim: "You can take the Legion over and run it." So said retired Commander Edward N. Scheiblering, bit shot lawyer. But how were the 650,000 vets of this war, which the Legion claims, treated? They didn't get a peek into the powerful committees and posts at this convention. They have only token representation, as Mauldin pointed out—like one of those officer-enlisted man joint committees in the Army: one colonel, two majors, a few junior officers and a couple of enlisted men (who, if they had any savvy, kept their mouths shut).

Take another angle. The biggest immediate headache of most veterans is a place to live. It is just TS on that in most cities. What did the American Legion do about that acute problem?

Decent jobs at good pay? The president of the American Bankers Association wasn't worried about that at the convention. Nor was ex-Governor John Stille of Illinois, newly-elected national commander.

These questions are all connected with who runs the Legion. Mauldin said a mouthful on that, too. "Too many of them seem to feel that our numbers will add a lot of weight to their outfit and a great deal of prestige, and they will be glad to have us take over eventually—but first they seem to want to ride herd a little bit, to make sure we don't get any funny ideas." The funny ideas of such things as good housing, decent jobs and high pay.

The American Legion, of course, took its place alongside the War Department on the unification of the armed forces, on compulsory military training, on keeping the atomic bomb a secret and in just about everything else the brass hats wanted.

The GIs took enough from the brass hats during the war so that they would be fools to join a brass hat organization to support their ideas, and perpetuate their power and their clique in politics. It is a tragedy that the labor movement hasn't organized or assisted in the organization of a real vet outfit. Meanwhile the Legion welcomes labor veterans as a nice "left cover." To be sure, it means the Legion has to be a little more subtle in its anti-union propaganda, but there is a price to everything.

We don't have to make a point of the fact that Mauldin didn't join the Legion, after studying the convention.

Troops Stranded While Ships Load Munitions Against Java

One reason our troops are not being shipped home as fast as promised is that between 400 and 600 American vessels are being used to deliver arms and munitions to the anti-democratic forces in Java. Some 350 GI's aboard the A. B. Hammond en route home to the states were "bumped off" in New Guinea and munitions loaded on instead. Thirty-nine of the forty-one crew members, supported by crews of three other ships in the Batavia (Java) harbor have sent a petition to a number of Congressmen. What angers these seamen still more is that Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator, recently sent a message to all U. S. merchant ships asking crews to stick to their jobs during the great task of getting Yanks home.

Admiral Land, who revealed HIS understanding of democracy by proposing some years ago that all union organizers be shot, knows what's happening to American shipping in the Dutch East Indies. And he knows that he isn't running guns to the Dutch and British on his own. The Truman Administration is responsible for this sabotaging of the homeland transportation of American troops and sabotaging the Javanese people's fight for independence.

ATOMIC ENERGY: for Barbarism or Socialism?

A SERIES BY THE EDITORS OF LABOR ACTION

PART III

The atomic bomb has frightened the entire world, the little people and statesmen; every nation, whatever its strength; military men whose business is war, and the very scientists who created the Frankenstein weapon. What greater testimony to the awful power of the atomic bomb than that it blasted the scientists from the seclusion of their laboratories into the political arena in a manner without precedent in history? No one knows better than the men who produced the bomb what its powers are. Men of science, accustomed to the precise, exact formulae of mathematics, chemistry and physics, are not inclined to exaggerate or romanticize. But their realization of what lies in store for the world if it engages in an atomic war impels them to the halls of Congress, the public platform, the radio and the newspaper columns to admonish the world about the crisis which faces it.

What is the message of the scientists?

Dr. Arthur H. Compton wrote in the *New York Post* October 25:

"World government is now inevitable. The choice we have is whether this government will be one agreed on by the peoples of the world, or whether the great nations will elect to fight the catastrophic third war that will settle who is master." (Or, that could make nobody master of nothing!) This theme of "world government" runs through all the statements of all the scientific bodies.

THE SCIENTISTS SPEAK OUT

The Oak Ridge project scientists dismiss the unrealistic alternative of the "abandonment of our cities and a reconstruction of our industries in small units widely dispersed, or, perhaps placed deeply underground," and then propose their serious solution:

"We believe that there is only one way open to us. Every attempt must be made immediately to arrange for the control of this weapon by a world authority. This means an effective international control of the production of the vital materials and of their use in all countries. Only the world authority may manufacture atomic weapons and, by the fact that they alone are in possession of these weapons, enforce international law and peace. To be able to use this weapon the world authority must have a military establishment of its own, responsible to it and not to the individual nations. . . . These steps . . . involve the loss of a large degree of sovereignty on the part of all nations, including our own."

The Chicago group of atomic scientists echoes the opinion of the other scientific groups:

"Since the world government is unlikely to be achieved within the short time available before the atomic armament race will lead to an acute danger of

armed conflict, the establishment of international controls must be considered as a problem of immediate urgency."

Some legislators and most of the liberal journalists reflect the sentiments of the scientists. Senator Glen H. Taylor (Democrat from Idaho) urged President Truman to request the United Nations Organization to form a "world republic," or, he predicted in the solemn tones of a preacher, we would experience "a ghastly orgy of death and destruction as a result of the atomic bomb." (New York Times, October 24.)

Or listen to the PM liberal, Alexander H. Uhl: "As a weapon, the atom bomb must be controlled by a world state with sovereignty to do the job."

And ponder the conservative Life editorial of October 29, which states the dilemma of society:

"A world in which atomic weapons will be owned by sovereign nations and security against aggression will rest on fear of retaliation, will be a world of fear, suspicion and almost inevitable catastrophe."

ALTERNATIVES BEFORE US

A world government or inevitable final catastrophe! That is the sum of the sober opinions on the fate that lies ahead for mankind. We socialists say the alternatives are world socialism or inevitable, final catastrophe. We believe that the sentiments for world government will come to naught and that world barbarism will prevail unless a socialist reorganization of society takes place. In an age of the highest technology—now the Atomic Age—half the world has already been barbarized—first by fascism and totalitarianism, and now by subjugation to the victorious imperialist powers. The imperialist world has learned how to harness the energy of the atom, but not how to eliminate war. It knows how to destroy mankind, but not how to live in peace. Therefore, there can be no world government without a socialist reorganization of society, and no socialist reorganization without a world goal.

The truth of our contention is borne out in the behavior of the world's rulers toward the atomic bomb. Let us take first the United States, sole possessor (for the time being) of the production "know-how" of the atomic bomb. After every scientist has told Congress and the President of the country whose proud product the atomic bomb is, that there are no undiscoverable secrets in its manufacture and that world government and world peace are made mandatory by the bomb, what do these political representatives of capitalism do? They propose that the United States shall keep the secret—that is, no secret! When President Truman stated that the United States considered the bomb a "sacred trust" and asked other nations to place faith in our promise to "outlaw" the bomb, he was announcing to the world that the atomic armaments race is on!

Vyacheslav Molotov, Russia's Foreign Minister, understood what Truman meant. Speaking for the country whose secret police have already moved in on Czech uranium deposits, he replied: "Russia will have the atomic bomb and more, too."

Prime Minister of England, Clement Attlee, was quick to rush into the breach. He proposed giving the formula to Russia "if she defines her territorial interests." This from the leader of the Labor Government, whose troops are presently engaged in shooting down Indo-Chinese in French Indo-China and Indonesians in Java in the name of—"territorial interests."

One can come to no other conclusion than that the atomic bomb formula is being used as a bludgeon in the peace negotiations. And if nothing else proved the fact that the war was not fought between "peace-loving democracies" and "totalitarian aggressors" it is precisely the peace negotiations, where the former Allies, the Big Three, are fighting nakedly for the spoils of war—the markets of Europe, Africa and the Far East—over the bodies of the sixty million dead and half-living, the casualties of the war. This is the finale of the Second World War, which they told us was fought to free the world of the sources of war and aggression, which was to culminate in "one world," and "the century of the common man" and which was to bring freedom and security to all the peoples of the globe.

THERE IS NO REAL PEACE

We socialists said that this was an imperialist war, fought between rival nations for a new redivision of the world, a new redivision of the sources of wealth and profits. We are witnessing that new redivision of the spoils today. We also predicted that unless the working class set up its own government and eliminated the system of profits and plunder, the capitalist world would go to war a third time. We are witnessing those preparations. We could not predict the horrendousness of the weapons that would be devised for the new war. But even that does not stop the pell-mell rush of world imperialism toward the third and perhaps final—slaughter.

But suppose, you say, the United Nations Organization formed at San Francisco decided to outlaw or share the atomic bomb after the big powers had composed their differences? Is it not possible that all disagreements might be settled peaceably? This, of course, was what the predecessor of the UNO, the League of Nations, was supposed to do. If the UNO were what it purports to be, the United States would have rushed the bomb secret to this body immediately, so that the bomb could be outlawed peacefully, as all world disputes are supposed to be settled under the United Nations charter of the "peace-loving" victors. But the U. S. disdained its own child.

That the United States was trying to use atomic dis-

coveries for industrial monopoly was charged by Raymond Blackburn, Laborite in the House of Commons, who said, according to a UP dispatch October 16, that American interests rejected suggestions of British scientists in 1943 that Anglo-American progress on the atom bomb be made known to Russia. He complained that even at present British scientists are not informed on what has happened at U. S. factories in Washington where plutonium, a new element used in fission, is being produced.

RULERS THINK IN TERMS OF WAR

The formal outlawing of the atom bomb by the big powers could have no more significance than previous international agreements to outlaw mustard gas or the attempts at limitation of fleets. These agreements were broken. Prime Minister Attlee has said that the only reason mustard gas was not used was that each nation was prepared to use it. In addition, it is doubtful if mustard gas would have been as effective as many newer weapons. But any nation was prepared to use it at any time. Given capitalism, the fate of atomic armaments can be no different.

If the ruling classes of the victor countries expected a world without war to issue from the second war fought to end all wars, they would not be embarking upon peacetime military training of their young men. Peacetime training already exists in England and Russia. President Truman, certain segments of Congress and the military above all are now urging the adoption of peacetime military training legislation in the United States. It surely looks as though the UNO is outlawing war! (But let us pluck the flower of hope from the thistles of despair. Perhaps the UNO will arrive at a gentlemen's agreement among themselves to outlaw the bomb so that our youth will murder each other only with the old-fashioned V-2's—currently being demonstrated to U. S. military authorities by their defeated German counterparts—and super-bombers and improved Sherman tanks.)

While the big powers may arrive at some other agreement, a look at the May-Johnson bill, a product of our own august Senate, is instructive as to the type of "international thinking" characteristic of capitalist legislators.

The bill provides for (a) the control of atomic energy "secrets"; (b) control of the scientists and (c) a general totalitarianization of human thought and progress. Violations of the secrecy demanded in the bill would bring thirty years in jail and a \$300,000 fine as penalties. The Senate, with an alert eye to the fitness of things, provided the proper committee on atomic power to handle its legislation, a committee which, although headed by a liberal, is composed of reactionaries, isolationists and poll-taxers.

Labor Must Support Fight of Colonial Peoples for Freedom

By MARY HOWARD

We have just ended a war that was presumably fought to establish the principles of democracy in the world, to free oppressed peoples from military rule and economic exploitation by foreign powers—Nazi Germany and Japan.

Now that the smoke has cleared from the bombed cities of Europe and Japan, the pretensions of the democratic statesmen have equally been lifted. Omitting from this discussion the oppression of European nationalities by the victors, let us examine the evidence of the Far East. Here we see exactly how free the U. S. and Britain and Russia intended to make the world.

Indo-China

In Annam, the British, bolstering up French rule, have murdered hundreds of members of the Viet Minh, or nationalist party. These workers' national crime is their fanatical insistence on "Independence or Death!" For this they are mowed down with bullets, machine-guns, planes and tanks labeled "Made in USA"—beg pardon, the U. S. has instructed that the label be removed—operated by "democratic" British and French forces.

According to the London Daily Telegraph special correspondent, the Annamite forces fighting for their independence are well-organized and are working to carefully laid plans. They apparently have a kind of steering committee composed of about a dozen professional men; these are lawyers, journalists and doctors, for the most part men with European educations. Two or three are reportedly Stalinists who were educated in Moscow. One at least is reported to be a Trotskyist.

Co-ordinated by this group, the Annamites have attacked and succeeded in occupying strategic buildings, such as power houses, market-places, docks and an ammonia factory which is essential to the cold storage of meat in the area. Buildings that have not been successfully occupied have been fired to prevent their use by the British. They have captured some British military supplies, and have succeeded in firing about 20,000 gallons of high octane aviation gas, practically the entire stock available to the British for running the planes that were bombing the nationalists. The Chicago Tribune has reported

that the Trotskyists, who "are more violent than the other Communist groups," are taking a leading part in the struggle, and are publishing an underground paper, *Cam Tu*, which means *Volunteers for Death*. *Cam Tu* is also mentioned by the Christian Science Monitor as printing important directives to the resistance forces and stressing above all the importance of "winning the sympathy of the people." Whether or not *Cam Tu* is a Trotskyist (revolutionary socialist) paper we do not know. What we know is that before the war there was an extremely active and popularly supported Trotskyist movement in Annam. If this group is still existent, they are undoubtedly participating in the forefront of the struggle for independence from French and British imperialism.

Indonesia

For weeks now in Java, Indonesian nationalists fighting for their freedom from Dutch masters, have been massacred by U.S.-made tanks, guns and ammunition used by the British. Latest reports are that RAF Mosquito bombers, using machine guns and cannon, strafed Indonesian troop concentrations and attacked transport columns, road blocks and warehouses of the people who are so valiantly fighting for their freedom. A Netherlands News Agency dispatch said that RAF planes had bombed an Indonesian strong point in the heart of Semarang, while the British heavy cruiser *Sussex*, standing out to sea, pounded with its eight-inch guns the unprotected villages of Demok and Ungaran just west of the port. Every

conceivable kind of heavy armaments has been used against the poorly-armed Indonesians, who are fighting with whatever they can get their hands on, including tanks, rifles and machine-guns seized from the Japanese.

The struggle is an uneven one of organized British military might, armed with the best war instruments the U. S. can make, against a people armed mainly with their fanatical zeal for freedom from oppression and exploitation. They have been massacred by the thousands—even the British admit that Indonesian casualties are "unbelievably high."

Shot down in their native cities of Surabaya, Semarang, Batavia, Bandung, Ambarawa, because they dared to want freedom; living without de-

cent sanitary conditions and without light because British attacks have put their water and lighting systems out of order, these people continue to fight and to appeal to the oppressed and the exploited of all the world, including the free people of the United States for aid. They ask "all the peoples of the earth who believe in justice to give all moral and material support to the people of Indonesia in their fight for independence, so that the British may be restrained from converting Indonesia into another Manchuria for the benefit of the Dutch."

India

In India there are militant repercussions of the Indonesian fight for independence. Pandit Nehru, leader

of the All-India Congress party, asserted last week that if India was not now prepared for a revolution to free itself, it was a dead nation. Anti-British rioting raged in Calcutta, Bombay, and Delhi, touched off by the British trial of Indian officers who sided with Japan in the war when she promised India independence if Japan won.

More than 20,000 Bombay mill and factory workers declared a one-day strike to express their solidarity with the Indonesian nationalists. In Calcutta thousands of municipal workers went on strike, and teachers and workers walked off their jobs while students rioted, shouting "Down with British imperialism!"

At this moment, under the threat of British police and the presence of American troops things seem to have

quieted down, while elections to the Central Legislature have begun. But momentary quiet only means that the Indian masses are forcibly repressed by the British. Their struggle for independence goes on.

Freedom for All Colonies

All over the world eyes are focused on the Far East. Should the Annamites and the Indonesians succeed in their struggle against British military strength, the colonial world would be adrift. Defeat means continuation of the rule of British, Dutch, French—and, yes, United States capitalists—over millions of oppressed peoples, by dint of bombers, Spitfires, machine-guns, mortars and shells. Defeat means the imperialists will continue to grow fat on the riches of the world, while the peoples who produce those riches are denied food, decent living conditions, education and freedom; while they are given a single right—the right to be exploited, starved and murdered.

British seamen have refused to load and man ships carrying troops and ammunition to British government forces in Indonesia. Australian workers have put so much pressure on their government that Australian Air Forces have not been sent to help RAF forces. Indonesian seamen have left their ship, refusing to carry Dutch material aid to the oppressing forces. New York trade unions have declared their support of the Nationalists. The WORKERS PARTY of the U. S. has picketed the British Consular offices, demanding that British troops be withdrawn and the Indonesians given their freedom.

It is time that all American working men and women thus expressed their solidarity with the fight of colonial peoples for freedom from oppression. For it is the working class which is the only genuine champion of democracy. It is time to join with the workers of the Philippines, the West Indies and the Pacific Islands to demand the end of AMERICAN imperialism there. It is time to demand that the U. S. government stop its silent approval of British,

Dutch, and French warfare against peoples fighting for their freedom! It is time to protest the use of American-made arms to hold down the colonial people of the world!

British Unleash Terror Against Palestine Jews

A régime of military brutality has been instituted by Great Britain in Palestine with soldiers firing at unarmed settlers and crowds of children in the streets. In Tel Aviv, small boys were answered with a hail of bullets killing several, among them a boy of nine. A cordon of 15,000 British soldiers accompanied by 2,000 military vehicles together with tear gas, tanks, mortar and machine guns and covered by airplanes, invaded a series of small Jewish settlements near Tel Aviv, and fired into a human wall of bodies which tried to prevent the troops from entering the settlements.

This is the atmosphere in which a joint American-British "committee of inquiry" will begin investigations that are supposed to lead to a solution of the problem of homeless Jews and the problem of Jewish-Arab antagonisms in Palestine.

By JESSE KAAREN

The British lion labored and brought forth a mouse. That is the politest way of describing the joint Anglo-American committee of "inquiry" on the question of Jewish immigration that the two powers have just agreed to form. Only one feature of this deal on Palestine is worthy of comment, namely, that it exposes more

openly than before the senior partnership which the United States holds in what was formerly a British imperialist enterprise. The sun which never used to set on the British empire has now moved over to the United States.

To read the statement of the American Zionist groups on this latest development, one would think that their leaders didn't read the newspapers. They correctly denounce the proposition as a stall but at the same time they absolve President Truman from responsibility for it and they implore the President not to fall for the "British trap," when it is so obvious that in these latest negotiations, Great Britain has asked for and received from the United States the green light signal for all its actions in Palestine.

The Zionists in America now orient their major diplomacy on the hope that President Truman will insist on the 100,000 immigration certificates which he asked for last summer. They try to ignore the fact that President Truman very quickly came around to the British view that this immigration was not desirable and that he now endorses the whole policy of Great Britain.

These tactics by the Zionists do not solve a single problem for the hundreds of thousands of Jews rotting

in camps in Europe or for the 600,000 Jews in Palestine.

BEVIN SAILS ON THIN ICE

In statements to the press, Mr. Bevin stripped off a few layers of democratic tissue and revealed how the imperialist mind works.

"A lot of these races form enclaves of their own and that is one of the things the world must get over. Assimilation is a vexing problem. All nations are frightened of racial developments within their own states and the Jews therefore present a very difficult problem indeed. . . . I am very anxious that Jews shall not in Europe overemphasize their racial position. . . . I want the suppression of racial warfare and therefore if the Jews, with all their sufferings, want to get too much at the head of the queue you have the danger of another anti-Semitic reaction through it all."

Despite the fact that some Labor Party members expect the new committee on Jewish immigration to bring some good recommendations, it is obvious already that these will be useless. Suppose after intense "inquiry," the committee discovers that there is no country in the world that will admit Jews and suppose they discover, too, that the Jews cannot remain where they are. Will the

United States open its doors? Will Great Britain? Both those countries have already answered with an emphatic "No." The United States refuses to permit 900 refugees at Fort Ontario, N. Y., who have been living in a camp for over two years to become legal residents of the country.

Great Britain has just issued the following rules governing the types of immigration to be permitted to enter the country: the father or grandfather of a person in the United Kingdom if widowed and in need of special care owing to age or infirmity; the husband of a woman who is in Britain if he is incapacitated, infirm or too old to support his wife abroad; females under twenty-one if they have relatives willing to take them into their households; the mother or grandmother of a person in Britain if she is widowed and in need of filial care, etc., etc.

Ridiculous as these are, they are far more liberal than the immigration laws of the United States. Australia has turned down a request for Jewish immigration. South American countries want capitalists only. Canada admits a very limited few.

Most people have forgotten that there was an intergovernmental refusal conference in Bermuda at the beginning of the war which couldn't

find a place for the Jews to escape to. There was a refugee board all through the war which was also a failure.

NO RELIANCE ON IMPERIALISM!

The Zionists in Palestine, threaten to bring in immigrants illegally, but it is hard to see how that can be carried out in practice. The news from Palestine does not give us a clue as to what form the struggle for open immigration will take there, whether it will be civil war directed against the British or Arab-Jewish rioting. This next period is bound to be a desperate one, both for the Jews in Europe and those in Palestine.

Under the severe pressure of these circumstances, the leftward militant Zionists in Palestine may push in a more revolutionary direction and make a clean break with Zionist reliance on British or American favors. By directing their fire against British and American imperialism, they may help crystallize an Arab socialist movement—that is, provided they avoid falling into the Russian imperialist camp, with which they are now flirting.