

the abolition of perquisites—a system by which the plantations supply housing and medical care on a compulsory payroll-deduction basis. In September, when these demands were presented to the Employers' Council, bargaining agent for the planters, they were turned down. The sugar locals voted solidly to strike.

The union had made the most detailed preparations. Each local, each member had specific duties. For example, strike committees made hunting and fishing compulsory and gave picket-duty credit for this gathering of food. In this fashion they managed to subsist. Public relations included continuous press releases, radio time, speeches. The public understood the issues and small business was with the strikers. Nevertheless for six weeks the employers refused to bargain. It took the union, public pressure and the

insistence of the government mediators to get them to bargain.

The situation was so serious for the island economy that the Hawaiian Council of Churches appointed a fact-finding committee which asked to see the record of the negotiations. "The labor group was willing to grant this request," it reported, but "management representatives felt that such records were private property. . . . Labor up to the present time has seemed more willing . . . to modify its original position than management."

Again and again the conciliators demanded that the employers negotiate. "I must take your ignoring of these requests as an indication of a public-be-damned attitude," Stanley V. White finally wrote in an open letter to the Employers' Council. "I shall have to conclude that no matter how costly it might be, the goal upon which

you had fixed was the extermination of unionism in the islands."

Nevertheless every plantation in the territory was shut down; the strike was completely effective. In the final outcome the union gained a 71½-cent minimum cash wage and the elimination of perquisites.

These recent victories of labor in Hawaii hang in the balance of the Eightieth Congress. Fully aware of this, the CIO has made statehood for Hawaii a part of its 1947 program. Statehood would mean not only security from the dangers of military government but an opportunity for Hawaiian representatives and senators to fight in Congress against the reactionary offensive.

"Our future depends on the mainland," Jack Hall said. "But we are determined to keep the gains we've made."

WHY THEY BY-PASSED UN

An editorial by JOHN STUART

BEFORE this issue of *NEW MASSES* leaves the press there may be a reluctant gesture from Washington toward the United Nations. This is one obligation Mr. Truman overlooked almost entirely when he ignited the Greek "crisis," tinder for which was gathered by the War and State Departments. Now the rumble of protest in Congress, at Lake Success, across the country and across the oceans, is too loud to be ignored. Unless the White House is even more deaf to dissident voices than I suspect, Mr. Truman will have to square his defiance of UN with his words of last February: "The policy of the United States, as I told the General Assembly in New York on October 23, 1946, is to 'support the United Nations with all the means that we possess . . . not as a temporary expedient but as a permanent partnership.'"

It would be foolhardy to guess in what form the gesture—if it comes at all—will be made. But it is no guess to say that whatever the phrase and the vehicle, they will be a mockery. What should have been done in the first place has not been done and having stepped outside "the fundamental law for the peoples of the world" (this was Mr. Truman's definition of the United Nations Charter), the administration, with the consent of its bipartisan adherents, is sabotaging the grand design which was distinctly Roosevelt's. The agency for securing the peace will probably be informed in highly righteous tones that the United States has decided to act independently and thus deems itself as having met its responsibilities to the UN. Few will be misled by this contempt of the Security Council. For it is as though a criminal about to commit murder telephones the local police precinct in advance and thereby feels he is absolved from his crime.

The official defiance of UN is all the more brazen because before it is a report of the Food and Agricultural Organization with recommendations on how the Greek economy

can be rehabilitated. It calls for a UN mission to help Greek reconstruction at less than half the cost estimated by Mr. Truman by excluding funds for military purposes. In fact, the report points out that the poverty of Greece at present is due to a budget fifty-five percent of which is consumed by the army. The document has received the scantiest attention in the newspapers and Washington has almost shushed it into oblivion in order that nothing may collide with its *Amerika-ueber-Alles* program.

None of the arguments that UN has neither troops nor money can hold a drop of water. Greece cannot be delivered from its chaos with troops. The problem is to relieve Greece of foreign bayonets and give the Greek people a chance to determine their future for themselves. With a genuinely democratic government, with the quislings and the American and British agents removed, with UN aid to such a government, Greece could be on the road to recovery in a matter of months. The money for this assistance can be found. It can come, for example, from the United States and be administered by the United Nations. This would be a collective policy in the spirit of the UN Charter; a policy that would in part regain for America the respect of the peoples of Europe and Asia and lessen their fears that the American Navy may pay them unwelcome visits.

In truth, the more defiant and aggressive American policy becomes the less its makers are willing to abide by the United Nations. The more the Roosevelt method of dealing with other countries is abandoned the more burdensome does the General Assembly and the Security Council become, and the more the UN is pictured as a failure. For the success of the UN is predicated on the equality of all nations and on democratic cooperation among them. It is these principles which American imperialism is finding too onerous. They stand in the way of domination over other peoples.

The bipartisan course in UN was marked by hypocrisy,

corraling of blocs of votes, attempts to subvert the procedures outlined by the Charter into anti-Soviet skirmishes. These have not been abandoned, but they have not proved too successful. Now the new tactic is to by-pass the UN whenever other tactics will not work. As long as the UN can serve as a forum for crusading against the new democracies, against colonial liberation, American imperialism will find it a satisfactory device. It found it a satisfactory device to attack the Russians on Iran; it finds it unsatisfactory for its own purposes in Greece. Had the Russians proposed action in Greece that would have by-passed the UN, we may be sure that Warren Austin, the American delegate, would have bellowed to the heavens in complaint with the echoes bouncing off Sir Alexander Cadogan.

WHEN the bipartisan camarilla begins to break agreements with UN, no one can be surprised that the Secretary of State begins to break them in Moscow. Each act is part of the larger drama of revoking and revising commitments undertaken by the American government because these commitments cannot fit into the policy of ringing a war ally with puppet states under the pretense that this ally is expanding. Not too strange then is Marshall's rejection of the basic reparations understanding signed by President Roosevelt at Yalta. If the reparations contract can be rescinded, the way is opened to revising the agreement on Poland's western borders, on demilitarization, denazification.

General Marshall is not crude in making his demands. He is pictured in the newspapers as an alert debater. But he has not as yet been pictured as a man who will do everything he can at Moscow to prove that war does not pay and that the makers of war must pay for their crimes. This is what reparations means at rock bottom. It does not represent vengeance. If the Soviets were vengeful they could raise their reparation figures to equal what they lost in material and human destruction. Marshall's resistance to what is equitable, his eagerness to revoke the solemn Yalta contract, merely confirms the knowledge that it is present

American policy to build western Germany against the Russians at the same time that France, the Balkans and the Mediterranean area are sucked into the orbit of American imperialism.

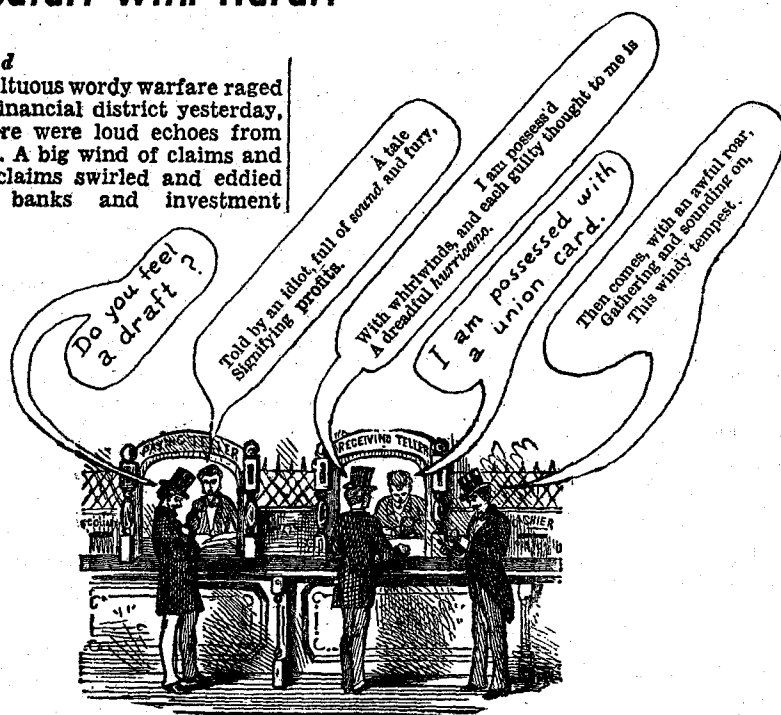
Instead of Germany paying its victims, it will be we who will be paying the Germans. Such is the brutal perversity of the American plan. Millions in American taxpayers' money are being pumped into the western zones while the American monopolists move in and take over—particularly since the British and American bi-zonal agreement was concluded in violation of Potsdam. And it is these monopolists who are opposed to reparations, for it inevitably weakens their hold just as denazification weakens the hold of the German cartellists. The sudden compassion for the Germans which infiltrates the American press, in Luce's *Life*, for example, is not a compassion for those who are suffering. If it were compassion it would also be expressed for the foodless Yugoslavs. It is a sentimental screen behind which the gilded American rulers hope for a German economic revival, not along the lines laid down at Potsdam but along lines which leave the monopolists in control while ex-Nazis pull the administrative switches.

Such is the outcome of abandoning agreements, of using Potsdam against Yalta, and Greek fascism against Greek democracy. But the more the country is pushed away from collective international enterprise the more do people recognize the dangers before them. The deep rumble down below over the Truman Doctrine was not anticipated by its makers. They thought they would have fairly easy sailing. Instead there is a storm moving in on them with promise of hurricane proportions. The promise lies in adding millions of protest letters to the hundreds of thousands already hammering Washington. It lies also in expanding such lobbying of Congress as has been conducted by PCA members from twelve states; in campaigns planned by the United Committee Against Intervention in Greece and Turkey; in more and more meetings. Not a minute must tick away without telling action.

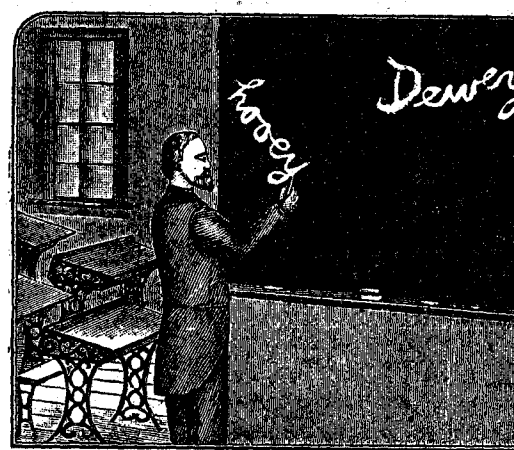
On Safari With Harari

Big Wind

Tumultuous wordy warfare raged in the financial district yesterday, and there were loud echoes from Chicago. A big wind of claims and counterclaims swirled and eddied among banks and investment houses.



"The city needs more aid," other remarked, "for better buildings and equipment and for big salaries in order to attract more and better candidates to the teaching profession."



"OUT INTO THE SUN— LARKIN IS CALLING YOU"

*Here was a giant of Ireland—a great-hearted son
of the working class. And America knew him, too.*

By **ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN**

LIKE a bitter wind, grief swept across Ireland on January 30. The sad news spread: "*Jim Larkin is dead.*" For over forty years the people have known this tall, gaunt, slightly stooped man, with the rough-hewn face, the unruly hair, the burning blue eyes. His words of passionate hatred poured out against everything that oppressed the Irish poor, the heavily-laden toilers of Dublin's slums, Belfast's sweatshops, the seaports, fields and bogs of Ireland. He lifted their heads and hearts. His terrible anger filled them with fire, his tender love for them gave them awareness of their own strength and worth. With him they swore that "*Ireland shall be free, from the center to the sea!*" They struggled to throw off the double yoke of British imperialism and Irish capitalism. The job is not finished—yet.

Larkin gathered the workers into the Irish Transport and General

Workers' Union. Together with James Connolly he built a Citizens' Army. Never did the Irish workers have such a voice. They will not see his like again. Past the very places where his mighty voice had thundered, they bore him to his lonely snow-covered grave. Workers from dock, factory, train and field; Communist Party and labor union delegations, from North and South and from England and Scotland, were there united in a common grief. The advance guard were the veterans of the Irish Citizens' Army, who fought in the Easter Week Uprising of 1916. "Neither King nor Kaiser—but Ireland" was their slogan. James Connolly was executed that fateful spring thirty-one years ago. Larkin would have died beside him except that he was on a mission across the Atlantic, held against his will by a wartime An-

glo-American agreement, while his comrades fought and died.

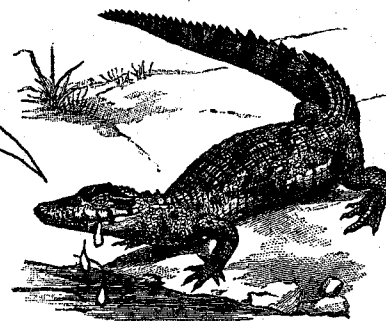
James Larkin was born in Newry, in County Down, Ireland, in 1879. He had an elementary school education there and in Liverpool, where he was taken as a young child. "Liverpool Irish" they called him later in a vain attempt to prejudice the native-born Irish against him. The revolutionary tradition was his natural heritage. A relative of his was hung in 1867, one of the Manchester martyrs. He had been betrayed by a turncoat, Carey, whose name became synonymous with treason to the Irish people, among whom none is more execrated than "an informer." A Budenz would be the object of supreme contempt in Ireland.

Larkin had to go to work at an early age. It was his proud boast that he had "been a member of a union from the age of thirteen." His varied lot was hard—as a dairy worker, sailor, dockworker, painter, butcher and at one time a professional football player. In 1901 he was in the US Navy. His life work as a labor organizer began at twenty-five years of age, in 1904, for the National Union of Dock Laborers of England and Scotland. In 1907 his work shifted to Belfast, in North Ireland, where on July 12 he addressed a great meeting of Orange and Catholic workers, urging them to unite against their common enemy—the Belfast capitalists. This



IN THIS unhappy land, where Asia's thundering surf is now washing away the last remnants of European civilization, men address their fellow men as "comrade"—in the Slovene language the word is *tovarish*—and the five-pointed red star is in evidence everywhere.

IT'S
SO
SAD



Harari.