Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

# LABOR ACTION

### **FEBRUARY 9, 1948**

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

# How Stalin "Saved" The Polish Jews ....

One of the most frequent defenses which American Stalinists offered for the Hitler-Stalin pact was that when Stalin marched into Poland he thereby saved thousands of Jews from falling into the hands of Hitler. The argument, for all its speciousness, succeeded in attracting, if not enthusiasm for the pact, then a certain tolerance among Americans, especially American Jews. That Stalin, by signing the pact, helped Hitler march into Poland in the first place either did not occur to them or seemed irrelevant to the actual problem of what to do once Hitler did attack Poland. That is the way semi-Stalinists thought and it was on this line of thinking that the CP and its Jewish section harped with especial vehemence.

Now, however, that many of the secret documents with regards to the Hitler-Stalin pact have been revealed a new light is thrown on this matter. We read in a memorandum by the State Secretary of the German Foreign Office, one Weizsaecker, issued on December 5, 1939, that:

"Colonel General Keitel telephoned me today on the following matter: Lately there have been repeated wrangles on the boundary between Russia and the Government General (of the Nazi occupation in Poland—Ed.) into which the army, too, was drawn. The expulsion of Jews into Russian territory, in particular, did not proceed as smoothly as had apparently been expected.

"In practice, the procedure was, for example, that at a quiet place in the woods, a thousand Jews were expelled across the Russian border; 15 kilometers away, they came back, with the Russian commander trying to force the German one to readmit the group. As it was a case involving foreign policy..." (the report continues by discussing inner Nazi relationships with regard to how to handle this problem.)

These are sentences that should be read very carefully, not once but twice and three times.

For they give the lie completely and irremediably to the Stalinist claim that the Russian invasion of Poland was motivated by a desire to help the Polish Jews. Here we discover that when the Nazis themselves tried to push Jews into the Russian zone, the Russians-rather than welcoming the Jews, rather than taking them into their area and saving them from Nazi death camps-proceeded to drive them right back to the Nazis!

Notice, further, that the document quoted above speaks of this not as an isolated event but mentions it as an example of a procedure, a pattern. In other words, the incident must have been repeated many times, otherwise why should the Nazi General Keitel have complained?

What will the American Stalinists say to this? What will their Jewish paper, the Freiheit, say? Will they still continue to speak of the Hitler-Stalin division of Poland as a means of "saving" the Polish Jews? Or will they try to brazen out the scandal by silence?--- I. H.

# **Gandhi Assassination Stirs Crises In India**

# By HENRY JUDD

The tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi, assassinated by the hand of a young Hindu fanatic, brought to a peak the crisis caused by the partition of the Indian sub-continent and the

that an era of Hindu-Moslem good will and accord can come about now. Gandhi's death opens the way for a political showdown in the ranks of his Congress party, now the ruling party of the Dominion of India. Gan-

# Labor Movement Prepares Action For Enforcement of Wage Demands



While Congress concerns itself almost exclusively with the issue of cutting taxes—particularly those affecting higher income brackets and corporations—and slashing the President's proposals on aid to Europe, there are mounting indications of an approaching wave of militant action on the part of the American labor movement within the next weeks and months.

All the real issues facing the country—inflation, rising prices, threatened shortage of foods and meats, the soon-to-be ending of rent controls, etc.—are being brusquely shunted aside by the reactionary Republican-dominated Congress now sitting in Washington. For over a month this Congress has sat and done absolutely nothing on such issues-above all, nothing to halt the constant tendency of prices to rise. Both parties in Congress have exclusively concerned themselves with the narrowest of political issues, each aiming to put the other on the spot for the '48 election campaign.

# **Green** Copies NAM, Urges **Longer Hours**

# By SUSAN GREEN

Every once in a while William Green, President of the AFL, comes up out of obscurity to express himself.. The other day he rated frontpage billing when testifying before ideas on inflation, not necessarily his the Senate Banking Committee in hearings on various bills presumably to check inflation. Mr. Green also has own. Certainly the one featured in the news stories is most reminiscent. The president of the AFL, an organiation of over seven million workers whom he is supposed to serve, came out with the proposition that the work-week be lengthened to fortyfive or forty-eight hours. Of what is this anti-labor scheme reminiscent? Why, it is the very thunder from the speeches of the industrialists at (Continued on page 2)

But organized labor cannot continue to accept these conditions without serious danger to itself. Beginning with the UAW-CIO's campaign for the winning of wage increases from General Motors (see article by Walter Jason, page 1 of this issue), there are sure signs that the labor leadership is preparing for action, necessary and long overdue action. John L. Lewis has just informed the bituminous coal owners that the United Mine Workers are "free to take any independent action necessary" to win their proposed pension plan of \$100 per month for all miners at the age of 60 who have toiled for 20 years in the mines. The coal bosts are in a turmoil, because they abow that strike action may well bowhat "Big John" has in mind, although they claim they do not know exactly what his letter means. It means his intention to get a workable pension scheme adopted-that is clear -and to take whatever steps are necessary to win.

"America is now experiencing a lull before the storm," warned the conservative bureaucrats of the AFL's executive council, in session at Miami. Collective bargaining contracts are expiring rapidly, and "the worst wave





continuing fratricidal war between rival Hindu and Moslem communities. The immediate effect of this black deed has been the release of powerful emotional feeling among the masses of India, expressed in great demonstrations of sorrow and mourning for the man who enjoyed a popularity and esteem unknown to the Western world. At the same time, popular action was taken against various organizations and newspapers connected with the Hindu Mahasabha, the reactionary movement of fanatic Hindus who desire war with the Molsem community and their subjugation to Hindu rule. This, too. reflects the symbolic significance of the slain Gandhi, so far as he represented the widespread desire for an end to communal warfare and strife. But it would be wrong to believe

dhi was the binding link between the openly reactionary, capitalist-industrialist wing of the party and its popular, middle-class democratic wing headed by Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. The right wing, anxious to quell India's rising labor movement and establish the authority of capital throughout the country, has already thrown out the hint that "left wing forces" were involved in Gandhi's assassination. This is an omen of sharp future struggles over power, relations between India and Pakistan, the labor and radical movement, etc., already in preparation. Gandhi's death opens a new phase in the history of Indiaphase in which nationalism ceases and internal class struggle takes over. It will be marked by major political regroupings impossible as yet to fore-

(Continued on page 3)

# **Reports from Russia Show Preparations for Purge**

# By R. SAUNDERS

In the past two weeks, the New York Times has carried a number of articles about internal affairs in Russia which, put together, add up to the obvious fact that all is not running well in the bureaucratic apparatus. Eugene S. Varga, Russia's number one economist, has been stripped of his post as director of the Institute of World Economics and World Politics in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Varga and twenty other Russian economists are in disgrace for allegedly refusing to reject the theoretical positions which Varga arrived at after a study of capitalist economy. Although the book has not been seen, it purportedly was concluded at the beginning of 1946. Number 4 of the 1947 volume of the "Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR" contains the report of the discussion of Varga's book held by twenty top Russian economists.

The theories put forward, according to this report are the following: (1) There are no economic reasons which must cause a conflict between Russian "socialism" and American capitalism, in the first post-war decade. (2) There is no likelihood of an economic crisis in western capitalism during the first ten post-war years. (3) The experience of war economics under capitalism shows that a democratic capitalist state can engage in

effective planning in the interests of the economy as a whole. The state can bring about the subordination of the profit motive to the national economic interest. (4) During the warthe economic condition of the more exploited workers in western democratic countries, improved. The state was able to assure tolerable living conditions at the expense of the profits of the monopolists. (5) Capitalist



countries didn't enrich themselves by the war, but spent their resources toward the point of pauperization to achieve victory. (6) Capitalist countries have mitigated or abolished many forms of colonial exploitation. (7) The economic development of Europe will be determined by the western capitalist countries far more than by Russian satellite countries in

(Continued on page 3)

# Defiant Local Leaders Attack Stalinists' Attempt to Foist Policies on Union

By STAN O. LAUREN

PITTSBURGH, PA., Jan. 29-The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union's top Stalinist leaders, protected from opposition for years by the totalitarian control over the union that the Communist Party has exercised, were faced with a defiant group of rank-and-filers when they came to face the District Six, Pittsburgh area locals. Two meetings were called, at which

Albert J. Fitzgerald, Julius Emspak, and James Mattes tried to jam the Wallace Third Party, anti-Marshall Plan talk, and double-talk on the Taft-Hartley Law problem into a neat package, to be accepted with a fight for higher wages in current contract negotiations.

The first meeting was for officers and stewards of Westinghouse Local 601, largest in the International, and Local 610, held at Turtle Creek High School.

Mattes began with a speech on wage negotiations and tapered off with remarks on the T-H Law. He said there is no escaping the law but later went on to say that signing the non-Comsler union delegate conference to munist affidavits was optional. These remarks provoked union stewards able the UAW-CIO to immediately who had just witnessed the loss of open wage discussions with Chrysler. their union at the Westinghouse plant in Meadville, Pa., where the workers were organized into the UE but lost out when the NLRB ruled them off the ballot. This left a choice of voting for the IBEW (AFL) or no union. The UE leadership told them to vote no union but the workers, afraid to be struggle. left without organization, voted

unanimously to take the IBEW. William Peeler, a member of the executive board and chairman of the Beaver committee of Local 601, demanded the right to question Mattes when he finished. The request was refused. Emspak then took the floor and talked against the Marshall Plan. Again a rank-and-filer tried to question him but Fitzgerald, who chaired the meeting, prevented him. Fitzgerald ended off with a talk on why they should not sign the non-Communist affidavits and demanded support for Henry Wallace.

# ONLY LEADERS CAN SPEAK

When Fitzgerald finished, a rankand-file member then asked if he could speak. Fitzgerald who had previously said that discussion could take place after all three speakers the full right to determine all pro- GM which expires on April 28.

finished answered by shouting, "Send your leaders up here, not your stooges." This display of Stalinist disregard for the opinion of rank-andfile members revolted the audience and started turmoil. But so that the for a foreign power rather than the Stalinists would not shut off the rank-and-file completely, the opposition picked three spokesmen. They were William Peeler, one of the leaders of the rank-and-file: Charles Copeland, another rank-and-file leader and business agent of the local; and Sam Falvo, an assistant chief Plan "is a European union-buster steward of Local 610. Peeler alone and I do not believe that the inten-

DETROIT, Feb. 1-In an effort to

hasten negotiations with the auto

corporations on wage demands, the

UAW-CIO leadership advanced the

meeting time of the scheduled Chry-

February 14 and 15. This will en-

hospitalization and medical care.

By WALTER JASON

**UAW Prepares Showdown** With Big Three In Auto

> duction.. These sections have jeopardized the standing and work of the union stewards. However, many burning wage inequalities and classifications are subject to change, and the delegates are expected to devote considerable attention to these problems.

### REUTHER HEADS TALKS

was given the floor.

much this afternoon about freedom,

and test the reaction of the auto The importance of the move industry to the third round of wage against Chrysler is emphasized by demands since the war. The idea the fact that Reuther is going to of the UAW-CIO leadership is to head the union negotiators. Meansee if Chrysler may be a "soft spot." while, at General Motors the coramong the big three, before taking poration has shown that its arrogant on General Motors in the decisive and autocratic attitude towards the UAW-CIO hasn't change one bit. At the Chrysler conference, the The corporation tried to force its own insurance plan down the throats delegates will be presented two alternate propositions. Norman Mathews, of the GM workers without even attempting to bargain with the Chrysler department director, has union, as the supplemental agreebeen reported to be recommending the straight 25 cents wage increase, ment of 1947 calls for. As a result, the UAW-CIO was able to get the and 5 cents for medical care. Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, NLRB to force the corporation to stop this flagrant violation of colmight ask the Chrysler delegates to adopt a program similar to that<sup>°</sup> lective bargaining procedure by a temporary court order restraining of the recent General Motors con-GM. ference, which included 15 cents

straight increase, 10 cents per hour Another indication of GM's attifor a pension plan, and 5 cents for . tude is the recent demand of C. E. Wilson, GM president, for a 45 Unfortunately, the Chrysler delehour week in the auto industry. gates will be unable, under the con-Likewise, GM officials have declared tract in effect now, to take up the they are going to ask for other convital question of eliminating section cessions from the union! Union delegates from General Motors shops 6 of the contract, known as "comwill meet again on February 24 to pany security." Also Section 2, under which management reserves talk over the entire contract with

tion of the plan is to feed the European people."

Peeler began, "I have heard so In this connection he said he was but I have seen very little of it pracagainst Truman who was anti-labor, ticed." The Stalinists, he said, "fought but likewise he was against Wallace who differed only in that Wallace had rights of the individual or the dea pro-Russian foreign policy. Then he started on the Taft-Hartley Law and mands of social welfare." He said explained that the law and its nonthat the Stalinists supported Wallace Communist Affidavits were both visfor Russian foreign policy interests. But Peeler didn't give the anti-lacious anti-labor measures.

bor reactionaries comfort either, for But he said, "Whether or not the he said that he knew the Marshall leaders of the union signed," the law still existed and asked what could be done, short of signing the affidavits, to save the Beaver plant on February 19, when the NLRB will permit only the IBEW and "no union" on the ballot for the UE members to choose from

At this point Fitzgerald grabbed Peeler's arm and tried to pull him away from the mike. Mattes jumped up and started to talk and stated that 70 plants had been organized and reorganized since the Taft-Hartley Law. Peeler, still holding on to the mike despite Fitzgerald pulling at his arm asked in rejoinder "What about (Continued on page 2)

• The Russian invasion of Poland in

1939 was a purely imperialist venture,

executed in consultation with the

• The Stalinist propaganda line that

this invasion was to "safeguard" and

"liberate" the population of eastern

• Stalin and Hitler had come to pre-

In short, the documents accuse the

cannot deny the facts, the Kremlin

dence that

Hitler government:

Poland was a cynical lie;

division of the world.

Not a Peep from Moscow **On Hitler Pact Disclosures** 

It is now more than ten days since propaganda machine has "no com the State Department published the ment." The "consolation" is, of course, captured Nazi documents 'relating to that the American imperialists are the Stalin-Hitler alliance. So far, no bandits also, and the Stalinists are peep of refutation has come from making the most of that. Thus, the Moscow. The Stalin government has Moscow radio complains now of US chosen to ignore the whole business. bombing planes in North Africa, of This silence must be viewed in con-American warships in Italy, and so nection with the fact that these docforth. uments constituted devastating evi-

LABOR ACTION spends a great deal of its time exposing the war plans of American imperialism, and we have no reason to object when the Moscow radio does the same. We do wish to suggest, however, that it is not enough to expose one side in this conflict of rival bandits, and that no crime of Yankee imperialism can explain away the criminality of Stalinism.

If, as the Daily Worker put it in liminary agreement for an imperialist 1939, ". . . The Soviet Union makes no secret treaties . . . it does not say one thing and practice another," then Stalinist apparatus of being a clique why don't they explain the new docof imperialist bandits. And since it uments that prove the opposite? We're still waiting, Radio Moscow!

103-51-20of strikes in the country's history" is being predicted by these gentle-

men. They are, of course, most anxious not to experience a strike wave and blame everything on the Taft-Hartley Act. William Green has fearfully predicted strikes as Spring approaches and labor swings into action for its third-round of post-war wage increases.

The real issues before labor are not exhausted by the fight for repeal of the T-H Act, nor by the question of strikes. The point is that economic pressures are rapidly making unbearable and impossible the heavy strains on the American working class and the workers' families. Shortages, infiation, prices, rents-these are the issues. Congress has no answer, Tru-

## Page 2

# NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Green Copies NAM, Urges Longer Work Week

### (Continued from page 1)

the recent convention of NAM held in New York. NAM, whose members hate to part with one penny of their fabulous profits derived from high prices, have their own pet "cure for inflation." namely, more production by lengthening the work-week. Since the NAM convention, Mr. C E. Wilson of General Motors has been the loudest exponent of a longer work-week -of course, in the interest of curbing inflation. And now-William Green, president of the AFL, takes his cue from the manufacturers.

Mr. Green contributes his own wrinkle to the proposition. He wants the workers to be paid at existing overtime rates for the additional five or eight hours worked a week. The NAM speakers said nothing about overtime.

Does Mr. Green want Congress to pass a law abrogating the forty-hour week and legalizing a forty-five or forty-eight-hour week? No. nothing as crude as all that. He merely wants Congress to make it known that it favors or recommends that new industrial contracts be negotiated between capital and labor including a forty-five or forty-eight-hour week. Only that.

It took labor decades of painful, bloody struggle to establish the fortyhour week. Now this so-called leader of over seven million workers wants them to throw that hard-won gain overboard by signing on the dotted line. The mere fact of overtime pay does not wipe out the terrible precedent such contracts would establish. What a weapon in the hands of the bosses when labor itself agrees to a longer work week! What a short step from Green's idea to the forty-five or forty-eight-hour week at regular pay!

is not the only terrific faux pas in Green's nit-wit scheme. He offers this sparkling solution as a substitute for wage increases. He implies his willingness to forego wage in-



All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, I by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY, For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

AKRON: Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE: International Fellow-ship House, 21 West Preston St.,

2nd floor. Public forums every sec-ond Friday of each month. Socialist Youth League meets every Monday at 8:00 p.m. BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor.

Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion groups

Thursday evenings. Discussion groups CHICAGO: 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Tel.: CHEsapeake 5798. Office hours 2:40 5:40 daily. Tuesday and Wednesday eve-CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8:00 p.m., in Room 4, Slove-nian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave. Write to Bernard Douglas, Box 1190, Cleveland 3. Ohio.

creases if his scheme is accepted. In so doing he goes over-lock, stock and barrel-to the side of the capitalists. They say that labor is not entitled to hourly pay raises. "If they want to earn more, let them work longer hours," say the manufacturers -and Mr. Green is with them. But every statistic, fact and figure proves that because of the high cost of living and the 51-cent dollar, HOURLY wage rates must be boosted. At present rates workers give their labor power without getting in exchange adequate means to support themselves and their families. To extend this kind of robbery over forty-five equipment the per unit cost of the or forty-eight hours instead of forty,

By FRANK HARPER

PHILA .- On January 28 the Atomic

Energy Commission set up a \$1,000-

000 fellowship fund to finance the

training of doctors and biologists in

a new field of science. The new field

is the study of both the good and

bad effects of atomic radiation on the

human body and other living organ-

isms. Officials explained that the goal

is not simply to train doctors in the

treatment of atomic bomb victims

although "that baffling medical di-

lemma undoubtedly will be explored."

This action is not an isolated instance

but is charcteristic of the sweeping

changes which have been made in the

post-war period in the nature and ex--

tent of scientific research. Once the

"pure" scientist sat in his tower; to-

"push-button" war.

Pitkin Ave.).

# Scientists Astray in The Atomic Age:

is not to end UNDER-PAYMENT. To get the full flavor of Mr. Green's capitalist-guided thinking, it is necessary to savor the very words he used before the Senate Committee. Referring to his proposed labor-management agreements providing the longer work-week. Green said: "Such agreements would make possible a substantial increase in the rate of production of goods and services, without a proportionate increase in the unit cost. Addition of one hour per day with overtime pay would not be inflationary because by making an uninterrupted use of overhead and

Atom Research in "Cold War"

monthly pay envelope and scholar-

ship funds are being used to scrape

together the greatest brain-powered

war machine that history has ever

seen. The January issue of Product

Engineering reports that the State

Department has reevaluated its posi-

tion on the use of German scientists

because of pressure from private in-

dustry and the military. From 300 to

400 German scientists are now doing

war research in the United States

while requests have been made for

about 200 more awaiting certification

of the Army, Navy or Air Force that

these men are needed "in the interests

of national security." Those who were

once forced to work in laboratories

would more than absorb the overtime compensation." If it weren't so serious for a labor leader to talk and act like the capitalists, this would be very funny.

In the first place, Mr. Green assumes that the capitalists really want increased production to curb inflation. Does he not know that industrialists are actually CURTAILING production, as for instance the outstanding example of steel which is basic to all other production? Again, the phrase "without a proportionate increase in unit cost" accepts, by implication, the crooked argument of the capitalists that wage increases goods produced in the extra hour would raise unit costs and thus, you

cluded the development of penicillin.

streptomycin and anti-malaria drugs-

chloroquine, pentaquine, and paludine.

Other accomplishments are listed in

the fields of electronics, applied ma-

The McGraw Hill article makes the

claim that research cannot be divisible

into war "improvements" and peace-

time benefits. If such is true the ques-

tion can be asked: Why doesn't the

Army give contracts for research on

improvement of articles and tech-

eries for military "improvements?"

thematics, and aircraft.

### see, make price increases inevitable. Green here agrees with the NAM that profits must not be touched, God forbid; whereas it has been proved, notably by the United Auto Workers,

that wages can be substantially increased, without price boosts, and if profits would not be at their present peak, they would still be twice prewar levels and even more. The gem, though, in the above quotation is Green's trying to sell the

duction curtailment. This was summanufacturers the idea of an extended work-week. As if they don't know ment, who not only booted the men that "an uninterrupted use of overhead and equipment" for a longer day shows up on the profit side of the ledger. However, workers also know that the uninterrupted use of their brains and brawn for a longer day, is not conducive to long life nor to health and happiness, nor even to freedom.

Mr. Green seems to have forgotten the facts of the workers' life. To point un still further Green's twisted mind. one more of his clever ideas to appease the capitalists must be cited. In his list of "remedies for inflation," which are in essence Mr. Truman's luke-warm program, Mr. Green includes the re-establishing of the excess profits tax on corporations-but let's not be too harsh on the poor capitalists. Let them have tax credits, if they make substantial reductions in the prices of their commodities. Of course, such a plan is open to all sorts of capitalist finagling.

What's important in all this is that the leader of over seven million organized workers has a head stuffed niques commonly used in civilian life full of capitalist-induced ideas, that and depend on the incidental discovhe thinks more about appeasing the economic masters than about strength-Mr. Schor knows that the country's ening the effectiveness of the workscientific faces are geared to the deis in their legitimate demands, that velopment of the war machine. That . he furthers schemes absolutely harmful to labor-and that these over seven million workers still accept this man as their leader!

# **UE Ranks Revolt - -**

# (Continued from page 1)

Meadville." All that Mattes could reply was "We had our chance there by having the people vote against the

Unable to cope with the rank-andfile, Fitzgerald adjourned the meeting abruptly.

The night meeting was called for a similar group of 300 stewards and officers of other locals in the Pittsburgh area. The three UE leaders were again the speakers.

Emspak was the first speaker. In . Garrett Speaks the course of the meeting Tom Nolan, president of Local 638, and John Duffy, vice-president of Local 610, demanded the right to ask questions of Emspak. Emspak didn't want to an-

Steve Rosner, international representative and Stalinist hack, grabbed Nolan by the throat as he tried to reenter and pushed him through a glass door. Then another Stalinist, Charles Newell, quickly called the cops and demanded Nolan's arrest. Result was that both Nolan and Rosner were-

arrested. But adjourning meetings and calling cops has only infuriated the ranks against the Stalinists. The opposition is too strong to let itself be quelled.

# **To Akron Group**

# Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke in Akron January 25,

### WHY THE LAYOFF?

**Notes on West Coast** 

Labor Movement...

The supposed reason for the cutback in car production in the local plants is the planned opening of a newer assembly plant in the Los Angeles area. Significantly, the UAW is not yet recognized in the new Van Nuys factory, and is currently engaged in a fight with the International Association of Machinists for bargaining rights. Besides, though Los Angeles is far from the open-shop town of yesteryear, the strength and influence of its labor movement cannot yet compare with the San Francisco Bay Area.

San Francisco, Oakland and their environs today form the fastest-growing industrial community in the country, so repeatedly says our local press. Shipyards are shutting down and some ten thousand are now unemployed. Longshoremen volunteer to cut their work week rather than drop members. GM adds its own special touch to the situation. This, in a period of optimistic prosperity talk, and shortages of new cars is everywhere prevalent!

The members of Local 76, UAW, are on the right track-they have remained solid. May that solidarity remain through coming contract negotiations and possible militant action to the time when they can, in conjunction with the rest of the working population, run the plants themselves to produce cars for the people and a living for their families instead of axle-grease for the berzerk merrygo-round called capitalism!

# Friends of Carlo Tresca **Remember Day of His Murder**

### By MIRIAM LEWIS

trial area.

By WILLIAM BARTON

Five hundred workers at General

Motors plants in the East Bay Area

were laid off last week, to add to a

steadily mounting unemployment list

for the region. The members of UAW-

CIO, Local 76, representing the work-

ers at the various factories in the lo-

cality producing Chevrolet cars and

trucks, having earlier gotten wind of

the coming dismissals, had proposed

a spreading of the work and a regular

four-day week as an answer to pro-

marily rejected by the GM manage-

out but began to talk of aforty-five

Since the layoffs, one Chevrolet

plant has already had two days over-

time work. The company's fervent

hope is to divide those favored by

temporarily increased pay checks

from their fired union brothers. This

has not materialized. Several refused

to work overtime and were suspended

The union has planned a vigorous

publicity campaign, explaining the

implications of all that occurred this

week to the labor movement and the

rest of the population. Union sound

trucks have appeared at factory gates

for the first time in many a moon,

and leaflets were distributed all over

Oakland. The leaflets have appropri-

ately indicated the irony of GM pres-

ident Wilson's repeated pleas for

more work at the same time his out-

fit discharges 500 men in one indus-

by the GM overseers.

hour week!

On January 11, 1948, five years to the minute after his murder, thirty devoted friends of Carlo Tresca met at the exact place where he fell to pay him tribute. Miss Anita Bandini, a member of the group associated with his journal, "Il Martello" (The Hämmer), and Samuel H. Friedman of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, spoke briefly on the meaning of his life, and the group then dropped red carnations at the

A public meeting to commemorate the fifth anniversary of his murder was also held on January 10 at the Rand School Auditorium. At this meeting, too, many friends of Tresca, including representatives from the ILGWU, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. and the Brotherhood of Sleening Car Porters spoke on the significance of his life and work, both to the labor movement and to society as a whole.

Norman Thomas, who is chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, and City Councilman Edward Rager (Rep.) reported to this gathering on efore a group of members an the political action and obstacles surrounding this case. Mr. Thomas made public the fact that Governor Dewey now has an appeal on his desk for a special prosecutor in the 'Tresca murder case. The plea itself, sent earlier in the week by Mr. Thomas in behalf of the committee, emphasized "the very great importance of this case" and the "dangerous precedent it establishes for assassination as a method of political action", if the Tresca killing goes unpunished. In the contents of the appeal, Mr. Thomas also wrote: "In asking for a special prosecutor, I do not charge the Dis-

trict Attorney's office in New York County with malfeasance in office, but it has certainly been singularly unsuccessful in its conduct of this inquiry. Its failure to call in the FBI in a case which obviously involves possible international ramifications, its use in the Tresca case of an assistant district attorney who has enjoyed. friendly relations with outspoken American supporters of Mussolini (often publicly attacked by the victim), and its inordinate delay in questioning some close friends of Tresca familiar with his political conflicts. suggest that a special prosecutor is keenly needed to clean up this deplorable situation."

At the meeting itself, he voiced anew his committee's belief that District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office was "either indifferent or incompetent" in handling the Tresca investigation.

Councilman Edward Rager, in his report, told the gathering that the Tresca resolution which he has been trying to get the City Council to adopt, has been referred to the Rules Committee and has not been acted

day his abstract genius is being harnessed for the preparations of the next tion lines with others of the vanquished. More than the attraction of the SCIENCE AND WAR What has been the increase in scientific research and what proportions concern war preparation? Harold Schor, Associate Editor of McGraw Hill's technical periodicals gave partial answers in a recent article entitled Peacetime Benefits of Military Research. Atomic Energy research alone totaled \$3 billion last year, or almost \$10,000,000 per day! Army and Navy research in 1947 totaled \$500,-000.000. Other Federal departments

spend \$125 million annually. Univer-CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 sities, private laboratories, and industp.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. ry, which rely well over 50 percent on war contracts, spent over \$600,000,-CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. 000 on scientific research and development. Before the war the federal government met only 1-6 of the research B'KLYN - BROWNSVILLE BRANCH: cost, now 70 percent of the costs are

Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near paid by the country's taxpayers.

In an effort to convince these taxpayers that they are getting their money's worth from the war research,

Mr. Schor listed a number of benefits incidently discovered, in connection

to maintain the national security of Germany will now have the choice is why he concludes his article with of performing the same role for the a plea that all research be placed in victor country, or of standing in rathe hands of the military. IBEW. NIGHT MEETING

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NEW

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P. O. Box 1246. SEATTLE: Write to P. O. Box 29, University Post Office, Seattle 5. YOUNGSTOWN: Write to J. P. Wal-

Notes of the Month

By Al Findley

By Henry Judd

By Luis Velasco

By Leon Trotsky

CORRESPONDENCE

with the war research. For example, atomic research benefits include radioisotopea which have aided in study of mineral contents and action of drugs in the human body and in the study of cancer and the treatment of anemia by tagging red blood cells with radio-iron. In the field of electric power the General Electric Co. is supervising the building of a \$20,-000,000 Knolls Laboratory to investigate peacetime application of atomic disintegration.

Other war research benefits in- into the meeting.

swer. The chair agreed to permit speakers after all three had finished. Emspak then launched an attack on Local 613. Nolan listened, and finally jumped up to say, "We didn't come here to be insulted." Fitzgerald, seeing that the opposition was going to insist on its rights, rapped with his gavel and declared the meeting adjourned. Both Nolan and Duffy left the hall, together with others, only to discover that once the opposition had left Fitzgerald had reconvened the meeting. Quickly the opposition people got together and tried to get back

friends of the Workers Party.

Speaking on "Why America Needs a Labor Party," Comrade Garrett reviewed the political history of Henry Wallace, supposedly a man for labor. He pointed out that the Wallace movement was strictly a movement, initiated by the Stalinists, and in no way responsible to labor. In order to have a genuine labor party we must have someone from the ranks of labor and responsible to the labor movement. While a Labor Party, he pointed out, isn't a solution in and of itself, it is a necessary step.

upon.

Renewal of a \$5.000 reward offer for information "leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for Tresca's death was announced at the meeting by Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union and members of the Tresca Reward Committee. This offer. which was originally posted with the Police Department late in 1944 and expired last January, was being reinstated as a stand offer, he said, "backed by the pledges of more than 100 friends of Tresca who want to see justice done in this case."



As one who has opposed the CP policy in the unions for many years, I was shocked to read your article on the New Jersey CIO convention. It says the "central issue" was the convention's advice that members of the CP and fascists be defeated for local union office. Actually, the cause of the split was the insistence of the right wing that the CP be denied representation on the State Board, although it is well known they represent one-fourth to one-third of the state members. If this denial of democratic representation had not been put over, there would have and could have been no split. Under the circumstances I think you have made a terrible mistake. It should be called to your readers' attention that the same people who initiated this move were involved in the fascist-like attack on the CP meeting in Trenton several weeks ago. As one who sympathizes with many of your views, I ask you to print a retraction or correction of that unfortunate article in

I don't care if you print the rest of this letter or not, but I am sure you should know that the impression you give about the SWP-UE delegates

I would also like to add one thing more, about the reasons I appreciate your paper. I have differences with you and the SWP over the policy followed in the UAW convention. However, I appreciate the series of articles by Max Shachtman because they corrected many of the errors and wrong impressions about the UAW which you printed before and right after the UAW convention, giving an entirely new and more correct picture of what had happened. And I would like to ask just one question for the sake of clarification. At the end of the series he says, "The real militants are ... working for the clear-cut fighting program of an independent group." Does that mean you favor the formation of a third group. in the UAW?

A Friend, Newark, N. J.

# A Reply Dear Friend:

You feel that if the "denial of democratic representation (for the CP on the New Jersey State Board of the

ly satisfied to use the resolution advising locals to defeat Communist Party candidates for office as an instrument for organizing the fight against the Stalinists in the locals under CP control. With this resolution the encouraged rank and file, bolstered by the prestige of the State CIO, I am sure, would sooner than later democratically remove the Stalinist leadership in such unions as UE, UO & PWA, etc. Utilizing this method alone the State Board could have been eventually cleansed of Stalinism without any violation of democracy

But the leadership of the N. J. State CIO is conservative and patriotic. As adherents of the American "free enterprise" system they, as their part of the preparations for World War III, acted to destroy the influence of the Kremlin agents. Two weapons were at their disposal, red-baiting and bureaucratic measures, and they used both. These were the bad aspects of their actions. But the section of the resolution that advised defeat of the. CP candidates for office undoubtedly represented the will of the best mili-CIO) had not been put over there tants at the convention who were would and COULD have been no seeking for a democratic solution to is wrong, or at least incomplete, as I split." I almost agree. It would at the problem of Stalinism. It is this

section of the resolution that created the crisis at the convention.

Whatever the Stalinists are not, they are alert politicians. A resolution advising their defeat must never be discussed in their controlled locals. The price of prevention could not be too high. Even to split the State CIO did not make them hesitate. If the right wing had not deliberately provided the McLeish affair, I am quite, sure that the Stalinists would have worked hard to discover another. Because they are no longer a progressive, liberating force they are absolutely unable to beat back a red-baiting drive. The bureaucratic isolation of the membership of their controlled locals is their only method. In this sense the convention advice

that members of the CP be defeated. for local office was for them the "central issue" and responsibility for the split must be placed primarily upon the Stalinists, for whom it became a necessity, S. V.

# Lucky Guy

Dear Sir: My copy of Penguin's "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism," by R. H.

Tawney is printed in large letters and on clear white paper. Sincerely,

A. G.

Seattle, Wash

## **Sixty Million?** Dear Editor:

I should like to dispute the statements that have appeared in LABOR ACTION and other radical and labor presses to the effect that there are 60,000,000 jobs-"full employment." I think you and the others have absorbed capitalistic propaganda, or else my experiences with the labor market are fairly unusual.

I have been job hunting recently and in my rounds for both factory and office work I find there are at least thirty to 100 applicants for each position-even for those advertised as temporary. This is not my experience alone but judging from the comments of the men with whom I conversed, theirs too.

One fellow pointed out that in his journeys from plant to plant, office to office, that thirty guys came up for each position at the same time and never the same ones!

The statistic 60,000,000 jobs often comes up as a topic of conversation and is laughed at-"Where are they?"

, Fraternally yours, J. A.

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# THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

your December 29 issue.

February 9, 1948

# Editorials **Trade Meeting**

The delegates of the United States to the International Trade Organization which has been meeting in conference in Havana stalemated the entire proceedings by the stiff demands they have made upon the other twenty two countries represented there. The conference was to draw up a trade charter that would be in full force in each of the representative countries.

Some of the proposed codes to be included in the charter have already been published, but one of the codes, known as Article 12, which has been proposed by the United States has not been published. The United States delegation considers Article 12 an important pivot point and would gladly water down many of its other demands if it could get this Article accepted. And no wonder. This Article is on "international investments" and if accepted by the delegates it will then be possible for American capitalism to dictate to the twenty two countries exactly what laws can and should be made governing "foreign investments.'

Article 12 says that the countries signing the trade charter will give the "widest opportunities" for new outside capital and the "greatest security" for existing investments. Although this clause covers all the signatory countries, nevertheless, it means giving "opportunities" and "security" to the only section of capitalism that has any real big amounts of capital for foreign investment-the American capitalist class. If by any chance there is any native capital, then according to this same Article 12, the "outside cap-Ital" (United States) should get equal opportunity. This sounds fair enough, on paper. If American capitalism is not ketp out by restrictive legislature then it can compete with weak native capital through the time-honored methods of paying a higher price, bribery of political officials, drying up sources of supply, glutting up the market, etc. American capitalism, if permitted a free hand, will make native capital think twice before investing or competing.

American capitalism has more than 8 billion (not counting holdings of foreign securities) of direct investments abroad. During 1946 these direct investments yielded more than 521 millions for the capitalist class of this country. The Department of Commerce expects more than 600 millions profit from direct investments abroad in 1947 for the American capitalists. These are official, taxable figures and it's quite possible that a million or two may be hidden by some unscrupulous ndividual in big business.

# We Remember

Last week marked the anniversary of the deaths of three great names in the history of socialism — Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Lenin, master of revolutionary strategy and thought: Liebknecht, famed anti-war agitator and spokesman of the German working class; and Rosa Luxemburg, the greatest of all revolutionary women who led the Polish and German workers for many years, until the assassin's hand killed her and Liebknecht.

Another irony of our times lies in the fact that precisely at the moment when Stalinist Russia, headed by the self-appointed successor of Lenin, celebrated the anniversary of Lenin's death, the State Department of America disclosed the damning indictment of Stalin contained in the documents now familiar to all! Lenin, who spent much time and energy denouncing and disproving the vile lie that he was an "agent of the Kaiser" because of his famous trip in a sealed car through Germany, must lie defenseless in the city of his usurper who has been proved to have been in complete and total alliance with not "an agent of the Kaiser," but the Kaiser himself; namely Hitler!

Lenin guided Russia and its politics in the international field by means of the following conception: revolutionary strategy not only permits but demands the taking advantage of conflicts, disputes and contradictions that exist between the imperialist powers. He steered the Russian Workers' State safely for many years by making use of these self-destroying and self-defeating contradictions. But this concept had a strict rule that guided Lenin-it may never be used to the disadvantage of the world working class and in the interests of narrow Russian nationalism. Stalin worked hand in glove with Hitler to precipitate war, to carve up and destroy Poland, to expand by force and violence into foreign territories .. Lenin placed such tactics where they rightly belonged-imperialism-and denounced the entire method of secret diplomacy and secret treaties, unknown to the people. Lenin helped free Poland and end reactionary empires in Europe, not to destroy Poland and rebuild the past. This is but one of the profound differences between these three great socialists who died in January, many years past, and the tyrant who still lives on.

LABOR ACTION



# Gandhi: Man and Politician

Gandhiji, as he was known to the masses of India, was a great man. There can be no question about this. If we are prepared to speak of him as one of the great individuals of the 20th Century, we do not mean this in terms of his historic importance, but rather in terms of his personality, his character and example. Gandhi cannot measure up to men like Marx, or Lenin, or Trotsky, but he is far above a Wilson, or Roosevelt, or Churchill. Trotsky described Gandhi as a "false prophet," which is correct, if we understand him to mean that Gandhi was a prophet who was wrong, but nevertheless a prophet. The ironic violence of his death. may be the ultimate decision on the Utopian character of his doctrine of "non-violence," but it also contains another reminder of the reactionary violence, ever increasing, prevalent in our times.

The eulogies to Gandhi from the leaders of today are false and hypocritical. They are eulogies to the old, conservative Gandhi, not the young Gandhi who marched to the sea and made salt in defiance of British imperialism. The spectacle of Churchill shedding tears over the Mahatma, the man whom he once insulted as a "naked faquir," and cast in jail, crowns the long career of an outstanding cynic. Gandhi, in his own way, spoke for the oppressed masses of a nation striving for freedom. The more consistent and miltant his voice was during those days, the more strident and vicious were the voices of the imperialists directed against him, with Churchill in the lead. Nor do we recall the eloquent Roosevelt speaking for India's cause at any time. Morally, biritually, in terms of honesty and personal traits Gandhi was as far above these men as ne was below the great socialist leaders whose thoughts and actions he opposed, and feared.

What was Gandhi's great role in Indian life and world history? It cannot be found in his social, political or religious thought which was primitive and thoroughly reactionary. His belief and practice of orthodox Hinduism, together with his own special development of the doctrine of "ahimsa" (non-violent passive resistance) have small interest in and of themselves, and concern us only insofar as they express important political characteristics of the nationalist movement founded and led by Gandhi. Gandhi's social conceptions, based upon a false idealization of Hindu antiquity in which the spinning wheel, caste life and Asiatic backwardness reigned, were utterly reactionary. But his social thought, again, had little importance in relation to his practice. The man who opposed, in thought, all forms of industrialization and modernization of India, was, in reality, the closest friend, spokesman and champion of India's rising industrial class (mill owners, bankers, merchants and manufacturers) and waged a shrewd fight in their behalf against the oppressing British master. The historic measure of Gandhi, thus, lies not in his doctrinaire attributes, nor his thought and theory. It would be too easy, and false, to estimate him on these grounds. It must be sought elsewhere..

It is in his role as organizer, founder, leader, spokesman and tactician of the Indian nationalist movement against imperialism that we find the answer. Gandhi, ultimately, will be remembered as the man who lifted India's broken masses to the heights of national consciousness and gave its people a sense of the importance of the fight for national freedom. He gave meaning to the fight against British imperialism, he launched the great campaigns of the 1920's and 1930's (non-cooperation, etc.) and forced the world's attention upon the crimes committed by imperialism against hundreds of millions. Gandhi was the highest possible achievement of nationalism, pure nationalism, possible in our century. His type will never return. The young Gandhi was a truly heroic national figure.

But this objective evaluation must be completed by underscoring his limitations very definite in nature. His tactics and doctrine were important as symptomatic of these shortcomings, being determined by the weakness of the national bourgeoisie for whom he spoke. Gandhi organized the masses, it is true, but simultaneously he manipulated them. He threw them into battle with Britain, unarmed and untrained, and never hesitated to sound a retreat if matters seemed to be getting out of hand. He never aimed higher than compromise victories.

Was Gandhi's life and career a success? Did he achieve his objectives, even in a limited way? The answer can only be no, in all respects. The unquestioned esteem in which he is held by people everywhere-not alone the Indian people-is a tribute to his personality, and also indicates the widespread sharing of his desires for peace, fraternity and brotherhood. But unfortunately, more is involved in a questioning of his career. Is India free and independent? Only in the strictly limited sense that direct foreign rule has been replaced by indirect foreign rule which now shares a partnership with the rulers of India itself. Has national unity been achieved? The threatening catastrophe of war between India and Pakistan answers this. Have the multitude of social, economic and political problems of the sub-continent been solved? Clearly, Gandhi's career ended amid tragic circumstances, not success. Gandhi, who knew this, was prepared to die. He died a martyr to failure, not a hero of success. His lifetime saw the start, rise and extinction of the narrow nationalism he represented. It was tested and failed.

### STRUGGLE FOR GANDHI'S IMAGE

But this does not mean we should dismiss his role or his career. India's future, in fact, would not permit this. The entire conservative clique who surrounded Gandhi at his end will seek to seize his image and dangle it before the country as an emblem of social peace, conservatism, discipline and submission. Ignoring the militant nationalism of the youthful Gandhi, the Indian bourgeoisie will attempt to venerate the old Gandhi of extreme conservatism. Will it succeed in this? The fact that not a single major problem of India has yet been solved-beginning with that of complete national freedom and ranging through the series of social and economic problems-indicates the impossibility of this. Gandhi launched nationalism, but others-the socialists and revolutionists of India and Pakistan-must carry through where he could not because he never accepted the essential relation between the winning of national freedom and the winning of socialist freedom. We respect and recognize the loss of Gandhi, the nationalist leader who started 400 million people on the long and difficult road whose ascent only others, wider and more profound in perception, can now complete.



Page 3

### EISENHOWER-LIBERAL MILITARIST

The last has not been heard of General Eisenhower.

Unless an irresistible draft-Eisenhower boom takes place-and evidences for its possibility are not lacking-Eisenhower's declination to run for the presidency postpones the beginning of significant political activity on his part until the next national elections. But barring completely unforeseeable circumstances, his candidacy is possible at that time.

How is his exceptional popularity to be accounted for? And it is exceptional. Poll after poll has indicated that he could win the election with relative ease. He was, among other things, "the only Republican favored over Truman by union members, low-income groups and veterans."

Part of his popularity is unquestionably due to his role in the war. Far enough up in the military hierarchy to have had little contact with troops, he escaped the odium which, for instance, became attached to the name of Patton. And, unlike the ego-maniac Montgomery, he was judicious in his public pronouncements. Further, he is obviously an intelligent person. He was picked for his job during the war not primarily for his strategical or tactical abilities - those problems were resolved in lower and higher echelons-but for his ability to mediate among top allied political and military personnel. These qualifications are more or less known to the general population, where they assume a New Deal caste.

# THE UNSTAINED

Eisenhower is commonly viewed as being uncorrupted by party intrigue. And certainly this has been a political year requiring strong stomachs. The previous doubts as to which party he belonged to, and the current Platonic character of his relation to the Republicans, has an undoubted attractiveness. There is a feeling that "he'll get in there and straighten both of them out." He appears as a non-partisan candidate.

And certainly one of the factors in his popularity to date is that he has not officially committed himself on any number of important issues .. He has had little chance to offend anybody.

It is difficult to know how much is personal in his declining, and how much has been planned -and there is more than a little evidence of very careful planning. His statement, however, is revealing. The following is the relevant portion:

"It is my conviction that the necessary and wise subordination of the military to civil power will be best sustained and our people will have greater confidence that it is so sustained when lifelong professional soldiers, in the absence of some obvious and overriding reasons, abstain from seeking high political office."

The year 1952 can well provide the "obvious and overriding reasons" which Eisenhower specifies. That is the year which experts, who may or may not know what they are talking about, have set as the one by which Russia will have developed the atomic bomb. In any event it is a year destined to be one of extreme international tension. From the capitalist point of view, Eisenhower is the ideal figure to rally the people of this country into the war with Russia.

### INTERIM INTENTIONS

Were he to serve now (and for the capitalists there would be positive benefits to be derived therefrom) it is possible that by 1952 he would have dissipated a great deal of his attractive force. In the absence of a pressing national crisis there is a great deal of politics currently being played in Congress. The backwoods types Eisenhower would have to contend with could well compromise him.

Eisenhower can use the ensuing four years



### (Continued from page 1)

The New York Times comments that two months prior to Varga's prediction, in 1947, that there was an economic crisis under way in the U. S., he had refused to retract his belief that no. crisis was in sight. The Times states either that Varga never wrote the second prediction, or that if he did the obvious statistical errors were deliberate.

Varga's analysis indicates two things. First is that there was a conscious and deliberate attempt made by the Russian bureaucracy to foster the idea in the capitalist world that Stalinist collectivism and capitalism could live side by side; for the purpose of getting extensive credits from the U.S. and creating a political atmosphere which would not lead American imperialism into a feverish production of war materails and the formation of a western bloc against Russia. Varga, of aving hewed to the line advocated by the entire bureaucracy during and immediately following the war, has become the "fall guy" for their policy, as has Browder in the U.S. Since the harsh realities of life, namely the dire necessity for Russia to expand into eastern Europe and to demand fantastic reparations from Germany and Austria to bolster up her weakened economy, intervened, making Russian plans a mirage, pushing the U.S. into the Marshall Plan, and continued war production, Russian imperialism must prepare its population and its duped supporters throughout the world, ideologically. By a vulgarization of Marxist economics, the Russian bureaucracy is now predicting immediate crisis in capitalist countries, and once again correctly preaching about the innate tendency of American capitalism to struggle for hegemony and economic domination over the world. This is necessary for them to justify Russian expansion and the use of practically the entire productive machine of Russia for war goods, at the expense of necessary consumers commodities. Its very difficult to comment on the economic prognosis of Varga because the accounts are third hand and therefore their accuracy is questionable. It is highly dubious that Varga is actually guilty of having refused to recant. His entire personal history in the service of Stalinism has been one of adhering to the current line with the most elaborate apologetics. Briefly, if we discount Varga's use of the word socialism and substitute for it bureaucratic collectivism, most of his propositions are not incorrect. If the wording in the Times is accurate; all Varga is saying is perfectly obvious, namely that there will probably not be an immediate, long-term crisis in the U.S. and that as a result of the tremendous increase in productivity in the U.S., the standard of living of the working class was improved, that a certain amount of planning by the state in a capitalist country can be carried out for short periods in the interests of the national economy as a whole.

icy in the interests of preserving peace for a longer period. Varga and the twenty other economists with him, may be the theoretical representatives of this group.

# UKRAINE REVOLT?

The Hearst Journal-American also reported last week that a high Soviet official confirmed reports of an anti-Soviet rebellion in the Ukraine. The Russians have accused Ukrainian-German nationalists of fomenting the rebellion and claim that the United States and Britain are linked to the uprising. They of course denied that there was any significance attached to the rebellion, stating that a small number of nationalists were involved. The most interesting thing about this report is the fact it is the first admission by the Stalinists of any dissidence in Russia since the Moscow Trials.

Another interesting item was reported in



### THE AMERICAN, by Howard Fast. public has been successfully utilized terference by Federal authorities in by Hollywood in films such

There is a possbiility that a section of the Russian bureaucracy may be opposed to the pace of Russian expansionism and prefer a slower pol-

S.X



week's Times concerning an article written in Pravda attacking Dimitrov's advocacy of a Balkan Federation. Since Tito presented an idea similar to Dimitrov's it can be assumed that, Tito, too, is in disfavor.

Several possible conclusions can be drawn from all these events. It is certainly not excluded that a new purge is in the offing. If there is a developing economic or political crisis in Russia scapegoats must be found. If there are any developing differences in the bureaucracy, be they over policy or prestige, they must be suppressed. In addition, this is a continuation of the systematic destruction of all of the old guard Bolsheviks. By now, anyone who became a Bolshevik immediately after the revolution can be considered "old guard." And, with the expansion of Russia into eastern Europe, the Stalinist parties of all the satellite countries are being physically destroyed and new ones replacing them. The old leaderships have been replaced in Poland, for example. It is conceivable that Stalin looks uneasilv upon the slight independence exercised by the Stalinist leaders in their native countries and regards them as a possible threat to his exclusive political control of Russia and eastern Europe.

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The American, like Fast's previous historical writings is not so much an bistorical study as it is the author's interpretation of how he considershistory should have been written: the. sub-title indicates his approach to the work. It is called "A Middle Western Legend." Funk & Wagnalls describes the work: "A narrative based chiefly on tradition: hence, doubtful narrative; fable; myth." Considered in this light then, The American is Fast's contribution toward perpetuating a legend. Since his sub-title betrays his effort, it would be unfair to impute to him an untoward purpose in inculcating in his work a feeling or meaning for historical truth.

This is the saga of John Peter Altgeld, Governor of Illinois. The story resolves chiefly about the Haymarket Massacre, Altgeld's role in defending, and freeing the accused, and the intrigue within the Democratic Party machine, which finally culminates in its deposing him as governor. The plot is necessarily limited and predetermined. In juxtaposing, with Altgeld, persons such as Clarence Darrow. Brand Witlock. Eugene . Debs. Bryan and other contemporaries. Fast builds a deceptive picture. Since these are real people, the reader is led to believe he is abosrbing bona fide history. This means of beguiling the

# Plagiarist!

Howard Fast, who turns out a novel every six months, seemingly only by cranking his left hand, has now admitted how some of it is done-by copying, or if you want the nasty legal term, plagiarizing. Mr. Fast, an assistant editor of the now defunct New Masses, has just paid \$7,500 to Harry Barnard, author of "Eagle Forgotten," a biography of John Peter Altgeld, to settle a legal suit. In addition, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Mr. Fast's publisher, will seek to redress some of the damage by republishing Mr. Barnard's book.

The suit arose in 1945 at the time of the publication of Fast's novel, The American, a bastardized and fictionalized life of Altgeld. A number of reviewers branded the book as a steal from Barnard's work and, as Barnard himself charged, Fast also lifted pertinent phraseology, all without credit.

sion to Moscow and Wilson.

method of writing books of this nature is apparent enough in reading the book. Legends become legends because of their usefulness. But the reason for perpetuating a legend has its root causes. Fairy tales are perpetrated upon children to appeal to their imagination but when they become old enough they learn that the legends taught them were a means of opening up to them an interest in life and the world. The danger in perpetrating a legend in the world of grown-ups is that they sometimes never attain the maturity of intelligence to stand the shock of having their dreams shattered; or are never disillusioned of them. It is not by more legends that the people are to attain political maturity, but rather a sifting of what is of historical im-

portance so they may understand why these legends were prepared and forced upon them. Excerpts from the books dialogue will enable the reader to ascertain Fast's reasons. "... John Peter Altgeld stood for five full minutes in front of a cheering half-hysterical convention. When he said, 'The time has come for us, the democrats, the Democratic Party, to stand once more for democracy and no longer for plutocracy,' a roar went up such as never was heard

before." . . . "When he declared for free silver, they screamed approval. 'Free money and free people!' They stood to a man shouting .... " Here precedent is set for present-day Populism. Free silver, a catch phrase played upon by political montebanks in demagogic appeals, misled the people into believing they had leadership whose only interests were theirs,

Further: In a conversation (actual or concocted?), Altgeld instructs Brand Whitlock on the author's responsibility to society: "So when you write, Brand, turn your stories into something more real than life itself. You only know what's outside a man in life, but sometimes a writer can show the inside and the outside at the same time." What similar demands are being made by the Stalinist Party of their writers? Life itself, is not enough. They must put into life, something which isn't there. "The conceit of history is theirs," borrowing a phrase from James T. Farrell. Further. Formulating a platform, Altgeld dictates; "... we denounce in-

at heart.

local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States . . . la-The reason for Fast's use of this bor creates the wealth of the country . . . we demand the passage of such laws as-may be necessary to protect it in all its rights . . . we demand a Federal income tax, to be graduated. . . ." A precedent has here been set for Henry Wallace. This is similar to what Wallace advocates in his approach to the working man. The Stalinist party hawks these and similar phrases and backs politicians who make these same appeals.

· Further: Writing after his defeat he excoriates his enemies who brought about his downfall. "It (the Democratic Party) was confronted by all the boodle that could be scraped together on two continents, it was confronted by all the banks, all the trusts, all the syndicates, all the corporations, all the great papers." Then reflecting, "That at least was the sober truth; and whatever his own future was, or the party's, let it be set down that this single time at least, the Democrats had fought bravely against great odds." Again the pattern is set. The roll call of its enemies is the roll call of the enemies (sic) of F.D.R. The insinuation is that the Democratic Party, then as now, depended not upon banks, trusts, syndicates, corporations nor papers; that it depended solely upon progressive forces, liberals, and wholly altruistic minded citizens, who although believing in the capitalist system, likewise had delusions that the system contained within itself a cure for its own excesses.

Limitless other instances of inference could be cited and quoted. Space does not permit their inclusion. It will take well qualified historians to unravel the threads of distortion and obfuscation Fast here weaves. Sifting the wheat from the chaff will consume time needed for less sordid inquiries into historical truth, Norman Johnstone.

# **Received From**

**Progressive Book Club** HOW IT HAPPENS, by Pearl Buck and Erna von Putsau-A pretty dull and valueless description of the decay of a middle class family, the kind that gave substance to Hitler's Reich, as seen through the eyes of a young woman.

to cultivate the civilian pose and to learn a little about that abnormal world of civilians. His tour of duty at Columbia will serve to remove the military stigma which his letter of declination shows he is uncomfortably aware of. And then ... and then, when the hour strikes, the scholar will reluctantly-but like a good soldier!-heed the nation's call!

Another possible reason deterring Eisenhower and his backers may be a desire not to precipitate international tensions. England would begin to sweat, for instance, at the pace of events, and Russia could use the Eisenhower election to good

propaganda advantage. In the meantime Eisenhower's dry run has given his backers a chance to assess his political weight. It is obvious that a certain stratum of the capitalist class has found their man.

With Eisenhower as President, Marshall as Secretary of State and Bradley as Army Chief of Staff, governmental power would be centralized in the hands of three old Army cronies. The militarization of our government, which has been taking place with great deliberation in the last two years, would then be more complete.

and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

# Page #1

February 9, 1948

# **Labor Action Readers Discuss Palestine Policy**

# **Urges** Palestine Partition

Dear Editor:

We should be for the partition of Palestine for these reasons:

(1) The two basic concepts of internationalism are these: (a) the the right of each nation to form a state of its own. Only a hypocrite the Jews wish to form a state of their own.

To counterpose to this the solution advocated by LABOR ACTION, the convocation of a Constituent Assembly based on majority rule, could only ensure unending violence and bloodshed. For such a solution would permit the Arabs to form their own state (this right they already have through partition), but would also leave the question as to whether a Jewish state should be set up or not, not to a decision of the Jews themselves, but to a decision made by the Arabs. Where nations other than the Jews are involved, this is known as imperialism and national oppression. (In Europe one of the chief instruments of national oppression was precisely this concept of majority rule-in the Kaiser's Reich, in the Hungarian Empire, in the Polish state, etc.)

(2) There has been a great deal of hysteria caused by the violence in Palestine. It must be pointed out that: (a) Only exceptionally fortunate nations have won their independence without violence.

(b) The publicity given the 1,000 persons killed in Palestine stands in sharp contrast to the silence maintained by all papers while six million Jews were being slaughtered (until the end of the war, when the issue was used as propaganda against Germany). The organizer of this silence was the British Foreign Office (abetted by the State Department, the anti-Semites and the Jewish assimilationists), which sought to prevent the Jews' escape from Hitler's Europe, so as not to be forced to deal with their pressure to enter Palestine after the war. The present disproportionate publicity given to the violence has the same forces behind it, with the same objective: to prevent the Jews' escape to Palestine.

(c) The possible tens of thousands of dead in Palestine must be weighed against the certainty of destruction of the million remaining Jews in Europe if partition fails. To be against partition is to be for the annihilation of the remaining Jews.

(3) The content of the two nationalisms are different. The Jews occupy the status of inferiors in the Middle East. In Yemen they must get off the sidewalks when meeting Arabs and are locked up in ghettos at night. In other countries they are segregated and terrorized - more Jews have been killed in Arab countries since 1940 than in the recent fighting in Palestine (but without publicity).

came leaders of the Jews. (b) Here are some examples of Jabotinsky's program for the Arabs: "In every cabinet where the Prime Minister is a Jew, the Vice-Premiership shall be right of self-determination, including offered to an Arab, and vice-versa. ... No state law, no coin, no banknote shall be valid unless executed or a fool will any longer deny that in both Hebrew and Arabic .... Complete cultural autonomy.... Allotments of land shall be distributed .... to Jewish and Arab applicants indis-

> criminately," etc. Recently the Arab leadership has announced its intention to suppress or exterminate all Jewish communities in Palestine. There's something of a difference between the two "fascisms," no?

(4) The British are trying desperately to block partition. They helped in the extermination of the Jews during the war by blockading their escape; they permitted the Mufti to escape; they have given official status to the Mufti's National Guard while

hindering the Haganah; they are blinking at English laws to permit ex-servicemen to volunteer against the Jews; they have sold \$25,000,000 worth of arms to the Arabs. The U.S., also with an eye on oil, refuses to

sell arms to the Jews. For the Jewish nation this is a last desperate struggle to survive. For the Arabs it is a fight to prevent the Jews from obtaining equality with themselves (the question of an Arab minority in the Jewish state is not involved, for the Arabs are fighting against any Jewish state in principle, with or without an Arab minority). The Arabs are stronger in numbers, in equipment and above all in wealth and imperialist backing. But because of the nature of the aims of the two nations, the Jews can still win.

But they must have arms! It is our duty to start a ceaseless agitation in every organization and with every individual, both Jewish and non-Jewish, about this question. Break the arms blockade against the Jews!

Leon Shields.

# **Criticizes Paper's Editorial**

Dear Editor:

Allow me to join in the lament on your "editorial tragedy" entitled "Palestine Tragedy."

The slogan of "Cease Fire" is an excellent one and one that fits the situation. It is, however, overshadowed by the mass of the editorial that is contradictory, contains errors in theory and above all is full of abstractions and does not give us a guiding line for action to meet the PRESENT situation.

How achieve a "Cease Fire"? The editorial states (by the Jews making) "elaborate and scrupulous assurances to the Arab people and to make the greatest number of reasonable concessions," I don't ask for a blueprint but pray, comrade editors, please give us a hint as to what kind of "assurances" and "concessions." Should not a demand for "cease fire" appeal to the Arab workers as well?

After allowing any ordinary reader to study the editorial, I am sure that nine out of ten wouldn't answer the question "Does or does not LABOR. ACTION and the Workers' Party accept partition." By accepting partition. I mean not hailing it but accepting it in the same sense that LABOR ACTION accepted the partition of India.

Let's look at India. A religious group-the Moslems-demanded the right to separate from the nation or nationalities that exist in India. Nobody, not even Ali Jinnah, claimed the Moslems were a nation. Yet the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION. while deploring the situation, came out CLEARLY for their right to separation, and with no long sermons on majority rule.

in this case, the Arab labor movement. The editorial should have mentioned that fact.

In case of open warfare to prevent a minority nationality from separating, from seceding, the position of a revolutionary is obvious, unless the defensive struggle of this nation is subordinated to a larger imperianst war. At present open warfare can be avoided by the proper political steps. Emphasis should be put on the 'Cease Fire" and the political attempt of isolating the elements both amongst the Jews and the Arabs who feed the flames of war and irredent-

ism. This means above all the Mufti. In my opinion, the most effective way, POLITICALLY, to minimize bloodshed is by immediate independence for both the Arab and Jewish states. As long as the possibility exists of destroying the two states, so long will there be a premium on violence. Immediate independence will not eliminate bloodshed but in the long run will keep it to a minimum. The probable pattern that the violence will take is continued guerrilla fighting until independence, a flare-up of large-scale fighting, tapering off to zero as the two states establish themselves finally.

In addition we must call for the reunion of the country into a voluntary federation of the two sovereign states. The braided geographical borders, the close interconnection of the economy of the two countries makes federation a practical slogan, appealing to the need of both the Jews and Arabs. Only federation can guarantee the maintenance of the present living standards of the Arabs and Jews or provide for the economic

basis for large-scale immigration.

Justified Arab labor opposition to

partition should be directed away

from "irredentism" to re-unification

With national feelings at their

height, federation of two sovereign

states is the only form that re-uni-

fication can take. Even where na-

by voluntary federation.

# A Defense of Labor Action's Policy

Continuing our discussion forum on the problem of Palestine, we are publishing two additional communications from our readers which present a viewpoint sharply different from that held by LABOR ACTION. We are also presenting a reply to the communications received, defending our original editorial stand. In view of the fact that the five letters published have been exclusively AGAINST the LABOR ACTION editorial, we can see no possible objection to the fact that Henry Judd's article, in the name of the editorial staff, is somewhat longer than the limits set in the discussion.

Contributions from our readers, not exceeding 1,000 words in length, are still welcome and will be published in the order in which they are received.-Editor.

The editorial statement "Palestine Tragedy", originally published in LABOR ACTION, has stirred up a good deal of discussion and controversy. This exceedingly complex question (except to those with preconceived answers and thus possessing that comfortable sureness common to all doctrinaires) was not "solved" by our editorial, nor was it intended as such. The fact that our statement announced the beginning of a discussion in LABOR ACTION suffices to indicate it tentative character. Yet the publication of no less than five letters from readers, all of whom disagree substantially with the editorial, convinces us that we were on the right road, our critics are in serious error. We shall not reply to each individually-all, from the calm presentation of the problem in Sylvia Weiss' letter to the unforunate demagogic outburst of Leon Shields, advance the same position of support to partition and offer basically the same arguments. Our remarks are intended to cover all letters, and are not to signify an end to the discussion in LABOR ACTION, but rather an interim defense. Leon Shields is, in any case, con-

sistent and clear. Whereas the other contributors advance the position that the Jews are engaged in a struggle for national existence, that this right is theirs, that the right of self-determination and separation is theirs etc. (all of which statements we acknowledge, accept and grant!). Shields is the only one who draws the political conclusion from his analysis that socialists must sunport this struggle, arms in hand, and he urges a campaign for arms to the Jewish fighters in Palestine. Comrade Findley, however, thinks our slogan of "Cease Fire" is an excellent one! More arms and cease fire, somehow, do not jibe. Thus we see even among the "pro-partitionists" a bit of confusion. This does not necessarily reflect on our critics, but merely indicates the difficulty and compplexity of the problem. Beginning about the time of Trotsky's recognition, in 1939, of the progressive character of Jewish nationalist aspirations as . distinct from Zionism, the Workers Party, and LABOR ACTION, alone among revolutionary socialist and Marxist organizations have steadily evolved a new, flexible, non-doctrinaire approach to this question. Having rejected as outmoded the former orthodox position (Lenin and Kautsky) according to which assimiliation would settle the "Jewish Question", in light of its basic analysis of the revival of nationalism when related to the socialist struggle, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, as against the entire Trotskyist movement, championed the right of the remnants of the Jewish people, survivors of Hitler, to free immigration to Palestine. Then the Workers Party developed a concrete political program for Palestine itself, around

the slogan of a common Arab-Jewish struggle against imperialism, and for a solution of the inner Palestine problem by means of a sovereign Constituent Assembly. The essence of this position was recognition of a fundamentally common progressive link between Arab and Jewish nationalist aspirations, but only under certain circumstances we shall specify below.

### NOT NATIONAL STRUGGLE

Now a further step is proposed to us by our critics-namely, we of the Jewish people in Palestine should champion the current struggle against the Arabs, on the grounds that it is a progressive national struggle (in the Leninist sense, according to several of our critics) and therefore must be supported. We consider this proposal to be entirely wrong and must reject it, regardless of our appreciation of the spirit in which it is made. Why? Because it is false that, in the circumstances under which the fratricidal semi-war in Palestine is being fought, the issue is that of a national minority attempting to win its independence from an oppressing majority. Such an analysis of events in Palestine, a distortion of reality and an oversimplification of the problem, is precisely what must be proven by our critics, not merely asserted! It can only be done by abstracting Palestine from the world, the imperialist world concretely, and attempting to make us believe that the issue in Palestine is 500,000 Jewish people seeking to win freedom from one million Arabian exploiters-a case of Poland, let us say, fighting for separation during the days of the Czarist Empire. In this superficial picture, of course, the Mutfi is equivalent to the Czar, and some individuals like Shields have permitted themselves to be so far thrown off balance as to imply a "defense" of the dead Revisionist Jabotinsky who, you see, was so broadminded towards the Arabs and Jews. Arabs that he was willing to have, coins printed in Arabic and Hebrew, no less! (The military forces in Ger-many are so "fair" towards the Germans that they allow all money

to be executed only in German). Simultaneously with his recognition of the progressive nature of revived Jewish nationalism, Trotsky warned of the trap Palestine could prove to be, under Zionist leadership. In our opinion, this trap was set and has now been touched off. This constitutes, in part, the Palestine tragedy. Why? Because nationalism, like any other social force, is neither progressive nor reactionary in and of itself. Nationalism is a force in our world which can under given conditions, be directed toward revolutionary and democratic goals and thus become part and parcel of the socialist struggle. But if nationalism is made use of by and becomes subordinated to imperialism, or if nationalism seeks to gain its object at the expense of and over the body of another people, then it is being exploited for reactionary purposes. What is the case in Palestine today? Abstractly considered, the struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism, as well as the struggle of the Jewish masses against imperialism is progressive and must be supported. But there must he a struggle against imperialism, and not against one another! The attempt of the Zionist movement and its supporters to assert its will and achieve it ends against and at the expense of the Arabs in Palestine is every bit as reactionary as the attempt on the part of the Arab League, and its supporters to prevent the Jews from winning their national aspirations. Palestine, gripped within the embrace of world imperialism, is the scene today of a fratricidal struggle which is equally reactionary and wrong on

Jan. 26

imperialism, which snatches up and utilizes, for its own ends, both Arab and Jewish nationalism. Can the Jews attain national statehood by fighting the Arabs? No. they can only succeed in becoming the slavish tools and dupes of imperialism, American imperialism in this instance. Can the Arabs win their freedom by destroying the Jews? No, for they must then accept a role as agents to British and, eventually. Russian imperialism.

What conditions are necessary for a progressive nationalist struggle? It must be directed against imperialism and its agents. It must be carried on independently, in a political scene of any third imperialist force. Its aims must be achievable without the trampling under foot of the rights and aspirations of any other people. In our opinion, not a single one of these conditions holds in Zionist-led struggle in Palestine. It surely does not hold for the Arab side. The Jews have the right to separation, partition, say our critics. Even when the exercise of that right, under the conditions, means fratricidal war with another oppressed people, the calling in of foreign arms and support to win the war, the conquest-at least in part-of the opposing people, and the continued subjection of the country to imperialism -that is, UN control instead of British mandate? Such is not the exercise of a democratic right, but submission to a false policy and the springing of a trap. Do our critics believe that the UN partition, which they propose we accept, can be effected, put into practice, in any other way? The events since November 29, with the steady capitulation of the Jewish leadership to UN and American imperialism, give the answer. An independent struggle is possible in Palestine, yes, but never one of Arab against Jew so long as imperialism still dominates the scene. This holds true alike for both

## EXAMPLE OF INDIA

Findley demands that we look at India. We willingly accept his request because it illustrates our point. The differences that is, not the similarities which Findley believes prove his case. In India, says Findley with complete truth. LABOR ACTION accepted the partition of that country into the Dominions of India and Pakistan. Not only did we accept it, but long before (again, alone in the Trotskyist movement) we championed the right of the Moslem people to self-determination, that is, separation. But the division of India, took place under entirely different circumstances than the division of Palestine. (1) India's partition took place simultaneously with the necessary withdrawal of British imperialism; in fact, the two were intimately bound up-withdrawal of imperialism to the position of indirect rule made possible partition-that is, (2) an agreement, an understanding between the two rival political leaderships of the Hindu and Moslem communities. Is this the case in Palestine? Is imperialism withdrawing from the scene, as in India? Pray, do not tell us the British mandate is ending-yes, to be replaced by the UN "mandate", controlled by America. Has there been an agreement reached between the two communities, or is the partition purely something proposed by the external, foreign agency (UN) and accepted by only one of the communities concerned? If the proposed division of Palestine was similar to that which occured in India last year, we would have accepted it. It is the differences that preclude such a course. Suppose Britain had proposed an Indian division unacceptable to the Hindus, but accepted by the Moslem League. And that then the Moslems, armed and supplied by the British imperialism, had gone to war to effect this partition? This, which fortunately did not occur, would be closer to the picture at present represented by

Palestine.

Pct.

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both sides because it can only benefit ships and all organizations now doing their best to enflame the situation; its positive goal is to arouse popular support among both Jewish and Arab workers who have all to lose by continuation of the war to the extent that they shall force their leadership to half. What other slogan could be used by a revolutionary vanguard among the Jewish and Arab workers today? None of our critics proposes any, except Shields who shouts for "war." (No nation has won independence without violence, he informs us, forgetting that this violence must be directed against a real enemy

# AFTER CEASE FIRE

and oppressor.)

But we do not stop with this slogan. Once firing has ceased, the basic problem still remains, although it will be well on its way to solution because it will signify a popular will to arrive at a solution. Is it not obvious that it is intervening imperialism (the remaining British and the anxious American interventionists) who are stimulating the firing? What next? The answer suggested in the editorial no doubt needs elaboration, which we propose to offer. Comrade Findley does not demand blueprints, but at least "hints" of what is meant by "assurances and concessions" on both sides. Here are some that spring readily to mind.

(1) A solemn declaration by both Arab and Jewish political leaderships that henceforth the problem of Palestine is no longer in the hands of imperialism (UN, etc.), but is the exclusive concern of the two peoples involved. A declaration of Palestine's independence from the world of imperialist intervention.

(2) The complete renunciation by the Zionist movement of its aim to make a Jewish state out of the whole of Palestine, and its recognition of all the democratic rights and freedoms that belong to the Arabs as well as the Jews. This means the open abandonment of the long-held Zionist political goal.

(3) Simultaneous with the removal of imperialism's hand, an attempt to solve by mutual agreement the problem of the inner relations between the two peoples inhabiting the country. Does this signify partition? Important and basic as this issue is, it is not the question, as our critics believe. We oppose partition; we oppose unconditionally a UN partition which can only be enforced in the reactionary manner we have described. But we recognize that partition may be, even probably can be, a step towards a solution. The editorial definitely stated this. "... the status quo of partition can be conceived of as a possible transition to a solution . . .". This will depend upon the conditions and circum-

arranged, carried out, agreed upon

etc. LABOR ACTION is absolutely not

The reason for this growth of anti-Semitism is the same as in Germany, Poland, etc.-i.e., growth of nationalism. (The idea that it stems from "Zionist 'imperialism" may be dismissed as the chatter of emptyheads, unless these people wish to argue that there is something racially inherent in the Arabs that makes them different from all other nations.)

At the head of Arab nationalism stands the Mufti. During the war, when the Bulgarian government wished to ship 4,000 Jewish children to safety, he personally intervenedand had them killed. He repeated this exploit at Bratislava and in general spearheaded the drive to exterminate the Jews. To the shame of the movement, some comrades justify this activity as being based on patriotic motives-as though Hitler had different motives!

But, indignant souls emphasize, there are Jewish fascists too! This generally refers to Jabotinsky. To this there are two replies: (a) Jabotinsky and his followers never be-

RIGHT OF SEPARATION Palestine, on the other hand, it is universally conceded, IS inhabited by TWO NATIONS. No matter what should have been or is the better course of action, socialists who believe in the right of self-determination must allow the smaller nationality the right to separate itself from the larger (majority) nationality and constitute its own unit.

that the first responsibility of up-

holding this right fell on the revolu-

tionists of the majority nationality;

tional feelings are normal, as in post-Lenin never tired of repeating that revolutionary Russia, a federation the essence, the very heart of the was established by the Bolsheviks, right of self-determination is the until destroyed by the Stalin dictaright of a nationality not to be counted as part of a larger unit but to septorship. To speak of re-unification in arate, secede and form its own unit general and of a single Constituent within which majority rule will op-Assembly is philosophy and not polierate. The editorial counterposing majority rule to partition was an ertics. ror in principle. Whatever can be

Slogans of the day are: Immediate said against partition, majority rule. Independence - Abolish British and has no place in the discussion. UN Transitional Rule-Re-Unite Pal-Where a smaller nationality wants to separate itself, Lenin point out estine by Voluntary Federation.

> Yours truly, Al Findley.

against a partition solution of Palestine as a "lesser evil" to continued and expanded warfare between Arab and Jew which, to us, is the "areatest possible of all evils." But this partition cannot be a UN imposed partition, backed by combined Jewishimperialist bayonets! Is this not clear? It will be said: But clearly neither the Arab League nor the Zionist

leadership will accept such a program. Granted. We are as aware as the next that such a program for reconciliation and common struggle against common enemies must be imposed upon both leaderships, by their own peoples under socialist leadership. But is not the first step toward the implementing of such a program the arming of a few socialist Arabs and a few socialist Jews with a correct ideological, political and social understanding of what is needed? This has been and will remain the modest aim of LABOR ACTION, predicated upon its rejection of both blind Zionist chauvinism and the equally blind denunciation of progressive nationalism by the orthodox Trotskyist parties. "Down with partition," say the Cannonites (SWP); but dare not take the next step of supporting the Arabs who are engaged in fighting partition. "Support partition," say our critics, most of whom fear to face the need for its enforce-The slogan "Cease Fird" is clear ment (with Shields' exception). We reject both ideas. "Cease fire, join together through mutual concessions seek, by all possible means, to arrive and assurances, cast out imperialism, at a satisfactory and peaceful solu- and settle your own problems, by tion. As an agitational slogan, this is your own partition, if needs be." HENRY JUDD.

WP Fund Drive Is Now In Its Final Month!

### YETTA BARSH, Fund Campaign Director

This week Philadelphia and San Pedro joined the 100 percenters in our Fund Drive. Hence in the ninth week of the Drive, 12 of the 28 participating units have fulfilled or have oversubscribed their quotas. The end of this week saw a \$712.00 rise in the national goal to a total of \$10,308.75 or 69 percent of the \$15,000 goal.

Most significant in the trend is the determination by most of our branches to continue their efforts in behalf of the Drive, lespite fulfillment of their local quotas. This pace was formally

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the 100 per cent mark early. Send us your contribution immediately. WORKERS PARTY **4 Court Square** Long Island City 1, N.Y. Enclosed find a \$..... contribution to the \$15,000 fund drive. Name..... Date..... Address ..... City..... State...

set by the Buffalo branch which realized its \$600.00 goal in the first two weeks of the drive and which nevertheless continued to press efforts for a maximum achievement. To date. Buffalo has oversubscribed its quota by \$145.00. Its organizer, while in N. Y. for a conference, promised that there would be no slackening in the efforts of the branch. The Manhattan Unit of the Socialist Youth League, Connecticut, Hibbing, Baltimore and Streator have followed the Buffalo example. San Pedro, which only two weeks ago was in the zero category, entered the race last week with a \$20.00 contribution and added \$100.00 this week, thus oversubscribing its quota. The branch promises additional funds.

Comrade Karetny, Fund Drive Director of Philadelphia. which from the very beginning of the drive has done a splendid job, now writes, in the spirit of the other branches which have refused to pause at the 100 percent mark "I am sending \$25.00 herewith which brings us to 100 percent of our Fund quota. We are not stopping at this and will continue to raise more money for the Fund. Here's to a successful fulfillment of the Drive.'

Seven units, or one-fourth of all the participating units have already oversubscribed their quotas. We are looking to the next week for several additions to the 100 percent category and several more oversubscriptions. For the former, it seems to us that Akron, Cleveland, Detroit and San Francisco are next in line. Remember that there are only four weeks left to the Drive .

There are only four weeks left! Let's drive hard and fast now. The by-word of every branch now should be "Oversubscribe."

е	Branch .	Quota	Jan. 20
d	Manhattan SYL	\$30.00	\$52.00
0	Buffalo	600.00	745.00
	Connecticut	50.00	60.00
	Hibbing	5.00	6.00
0	San Pedro	100.00	120.00
t	Baltimore	100.00	119.00
-	Streator	20.00	21.00
n	Boston	60.00	60.00
,	Indiana	50.00	50.00
l	New York Misc.	20.00	20.00
e	Oregon		50.00
•	Philadelphia	400.00	400.00
	Akron	400.00	315.00
í.	Cleveland	500.00	385.00
3	Detroit	800.00	582.00
)	San Francisco	1,000.00	706.35
	New York City	4,000.00	2,619.38
2	Reading	75.00	49.00
	Newark	400.00	257.29
	Chicago	1,500.00	938.63
ċ.	Los Angeles	500.00	300.50
	National Office	3,500.00	2,061.00
2	Seattle	400.00	200.00
	Youngstown	200.00	100.00
	St. Louis	35.00	16.00
	West Virginia	150.00	60.00
	Miscellaneous	40.00	15.00
	Pittsburgh	25.00	00.00
	من حمد بر باله همانه. [1	5,000.00	\$10,308.75

	and the second as the ball of Alexandra and
New Yor	k Workers Party Public Meeting
	Vallace and the Third Party"
Speakers:	EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor of Labor Action HAL DRAPER, Editor of The New International
Date:	THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1948

8:30 P. M. Time:

Finally, Findley demands that we

concretize the meaning of the origi-

nal editorial, and clarify some of its

statements. Let me briefly elaborate.

enough. It means that both sides are

to end the fratricidal strife and to

directed equally against both leader-

Place: VICTORIA HALL, Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street

Admission: 25 CENTS

主: 新聞