WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD! JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

DECEMBER 27, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Indonesian Republic Fights for Life

U. S. Labor Can Help Them!

Will the Dutch be able to "get away with it"?

Their brutal, barefaced and brazen attack upon the Indonesian Republic has met with a reception that makes it highly doubtful. It is worth looking into the reasons therefor, and into what the labor and socialist movement can do to see to it that these second-rate imperialists are turned back.

The Dutch rapists are up against three forces. First of all, as they know, they have barged into and upset the plans of the higher-ups in the UN (Washington and London) for what the latter call an "anti-Communist front" in Asia-that is, the mobilization of the colonial peoples in that part of the world against the Russian rival under the egis of Western imperialism.

At this particular time Stalinism is sweeping China and its movement there is an attractive force for all the independence movements of Asia. In addition, a substantial Stalinist army, composed largely of demobilized Republican soldiers and the former Socialist Youth Corps, is in open revolt against the republic in the hills of Java. The Anglo-Americans, whose "Good Offices Committee" on the spot witnessed the Stalinist revolt, fear that the destruction of the republican leadership by the Dutch will simply hand over leadership of the independence movement to the Stalinists, whose armies could become the nucleus of a new resistance.

It is interesting to note the big play which the American press has given to this particular shameful episode as compared with the virtual soft-pedaling of the similar operations of the French in Madagascar and Indo-China. It is evident that the U.S. and Britain are indeed annoyed ("disturbed" say the press dispatches)-because their own plans are being interfered with. Annoyed, disturbed, inconvenienced-yes; not morally indignant-how can they be? Not appalled by the injustice-how can they be? As a Times dispatch put it delicately:

"In brief, the British sympathize with the Dutch in their exasperation, especially as the British themselves have been obliged to take similar action in Malaya, but they wish that the Dutch had not forced the issue at this embarrassing moment and had tried a little longer to settle the Indonesian problem in the same amicable way that Britain disposed of the Indian issue."

And so we may see the really unusual spectacle of the United States and Britain going to bat for "justice" to Indonesia, or at least making a stab in that direction, since it is only the pipsqueak colonialists of Holland who are involved, and these latter have to be shown that they mustn't allow their own unimportant lusts to interfere with the bigger game that is going on across the imperialist chessboard.

Surely a perfect setup for the UN to win (at long last) a "victory" for "peace and democracy" by throwing Dutch interests to the wolves, as long as these interests stand in the way of Washington and London anyway. If the UN fails to come through even in such a situation, it will undoubtedly be because the great democrats from the Western bloc find it inconvenient to get around the Dutch plea: "Why crack down on us when you two have done the same thing with impunity elsewhere?"

If anything will force the hand of the real bosses in the UN, it is the courageous fight put up by the Indonesian people themselves, despite the fact that the conservative wing of their own leadership does not have too much heart for a thoroughgoing struggle. And this second force is not only the people of Indonesia themselves, but the aroused hatred of all of Asia. Indian Premier Nehru truly warned the Dutch that "No one can prevent the tide of independence in the Asiatic countries."

Thirdly, precisely in such a situation as we have described, where the lines of inter-imperialist interest are criss-crossing, there is an excellent opportunity for the labor and socialist movement to throw its weight against the rape of Indonesia. The Indonesian representative in the United States, Dr. Soemitro, has already pointed to the fact that unionists in Australia had refused to load cargoes scheduled for the Netherlands, and has said that there are "plans now in the stage of formation" to enlist labor unions in the United States toward the same end.

There's where our own CIO and AFL come in, and there's a job for militants in the unions. Hit the Dutch imperialists with a labor embargo!

Dutch Attack on Indonesia Stirs World-Wide Protest!

The Fabulous Indies: Imperialists Seek to Regain Rich Colonial Prize

LABOR ACTION

The fabulous Indies is one of the richest colonial areas in the world and occupies a position of enoromus economic and strategic importance. Today, it is the greatest colonial prize in the world-or at least the object of the Dutch is to retain it intact as such.

The population of 70 millions has been transformed by the foreign rulers from a primitive, but self-sustaining agriculture and handicraft people into export raw-material producers, completely subordinate to the world market and without any political controls to moderate the ruinous effects of world capitalism on the islands' economy. Imperialism destroyed the old economy so completely that the Indies is now a food deficit area.

THE IMPERIALIST ECONOMY

The wealth of Indonesia is natural. Its share of world raw-material production has been estimated as follows: 90 per cent of all quinine, 80 per cent of all pepper, 75 per cent of all kapok, 37 per cent of all rubber, coconut products-28 per cent, tin-18 per

cent, tea-18 per cent. In addition the Indies export 7 to 8 million tons of oil annually and have valuable deposits of bauxite, manganese iron, gold and silver. It is a veritable treasure chest. In 1941 Japan aimed at the Indies

as the great storehouse for the sustenance for its war economy, in its initial war strategy.

While the people have been reduced to impoverished peasants and laborers constantly on the rim of starvation, the islands have become the meeting ground for all the worlds' imperialisms. For while the Dutch dominate the economy (in fact, the place of Netherland's capitalism is a out their precarious peon lives in virdirect consequence of its enormous extractions in the colonies), they do not monopolize it.

Even before the war U. S. controlled 40 per cent of the oil industry, with the British holding most of the balance. Today U. S. interests are probably dominant in oil and considerable in rubber and tin. The Dutch dominate the sugar plantations, the British control the rubber, while the French, the Belgians, Italians and Chinese chew at the residue. In 1937 foreign investments were estimate at about \$1.4 billions. In recent decades the Dutch have served the role of policemen for expanding interests of other imperialisms in the islands, particularly American and British.

Corporate colossi like Royal Dutch Shell, Socony-Vacuum, General Motors, Goodyear Rubber, Unilever, and the Dutch State itself (which monopolizes large industries and resources) -extract from Sumatra, Java, Timor and a hundred other islands between 250 and 400 million dollars annually in tra

in his excellent book "The Revolt of Asia," as follows:

"The Indonesians resented their deprivation from the elementary rights offered to the Europeans; their duties were laid clearly before them [by traditional law of the ADAT-J. B.], they possessed none of the advantages defined by Roman-Dutch law. Feudalism remained, harsher than in any other country in the Far East Up to 1941 great feudal estates existed in Java where the landowners demanded from the peasants the full 52 days' labor to which they were entitled by law; in Java alone nearly a quarter of a million people lived

See story on political development of the Nationalist movement in Indonesia by Jack Brad—page 3.

tual slavery. . . . Feudalism in Sumatra survived till the Spring of 1946, when the sultans were deprived of their power by an armed rising of the peasants led by students. Forced labor persisted to the very end of Dutch rule."

As everywhere else, imperialism in the Indies, formed an alliance with native feudalism which heightened the anguish of poverty created by foreign rule. The peasant lived in base ignorance, on two bowls of rice daily, his life span half that of his Dutch master, his body stunted in growth, his intellect tied to traditional obedi-

By WILLIAM BARTON Operating with planned pre-

cision, Dutch military, naval and air forces last Monday invaded the positions held by the Indonesian Republic in Java and Sumatra according to the truce agreement of last January. The all-out campaign has already captured the Indonesian capital of Jogjakarta and has overrun much of the populous and rich sector of both

islands. World-wide attention has been focused on this struggle. While the governments of the U.S. and Britain let it be known that they are "disturbed" [See editorial on this page-Ed.] Prime Minister Nehru of India voiced the reactions of all the people of Asia in blasting the Netherlands government attack. Action has already started in Australian labor circles to refuse to handle cargo for the Dutch, and it is expected that this movement may spread to other circles.

The official Netherlands explanation is that the war is merely a series of "police measures," the same characterization the Japanese war lords gave to their eight-year war in China. With that excuse, the Dutch government is attempting to parry any UN intervention; the embarrased UN Good Offices Committee, operating in Jogjakarta under the truce agreement, has termed the Dutch action a "violation" of the previous agreement. The Indonesian Republican govern-

ment had toned down its drive for independence by agreeing to a Dutch proposal to become part of a United States of Indonesia within the Dutch empire, with a completely equal. status for the Indonesians. Other participating groups were to be some of the other islands in the Indies ruled by Dutch-sponsored leaders. The current aggression has been so flagrant and brazen that the cohinets of



By AL and ED FINDLEY

Menachem Beigin's recent visit to the U.S., heralded by full page ads, attracted attention and aroused considerable controversy. There were an open letter signed by Rabbi Lazaron, a Protestant minister and a Catholic

We have received several challenges to justify the accusations we recently made against the Irgun movement, now called the Freedom Party (Heiruth) in Palestine. The article which appears below, the most extensive account of the Irgun movement yet published so far as we know, presents that justification. To questioners we have said, and repeat it here, that we are prepared to withdraw any part, or the

democratic atmosphere of Palestine, assumes a different form but that can nevertheless drive to fascism given the proper historical turn of events.

The Irgun's early history is shroud-

ed in some mystery. One thing is

elear, however. The Irgun was found-

ed in the thirties by dissident group-

ings within the Revisionist movement.

Who are the Revisionists and what

The Revisionists were (and are) an

ultra-nationalist organization within

the Zionist movement, originally led

by Vladimir Jabotinsky. This move-

ment developed an anti-labor orienta-

tion and practice. It was also anti-

Arab. In addition to its chauvinist

and reactionary character, the Revi-

sionists had groupings that openly

proclaimed fascist ideas. Of these, the

best known are the "Revolutionary

Zionists," the "Brith Baryonim" and

the group around Wolfgang Von Wei-

The Revolutionary Zionist program

called for "a national dictatorship,

creation of a Jewish state through

blood and fire." Their programmatic

statement went on to say "Mussolini

is the man who saved humanity from

communism. We are the pioneers in

the struggle against Socialism, Marx-

ism and Communism. . . . For ten

years we have been seeking a Jewish

Mussolini." (Alazaroff trial evidence,

Abba Achimeyer was one of the

most anti-labor and pro-fascist think-

ers of the Revisionist movement. He

was the theoretician of the Brith

ABBA ACHIMEYER's political

.

ORIGIN OF IRGUN THE REVISIONISTS

is their ideology?

sal.

Aug. 1933)

Barvonim.

priest, and a statement issued to the welcoming committee signed by Prof. Einstein, Sidney Hook and other personalities (including Seymour Melman of the Council for Jewish-Arab Cooperation), both of which attacked Beigin. In addition, there was the picket line of the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League. Who is Beigin? What is his Freedom Party (Irgun) and why all the furor?

The answer to the last question is that the Freedom Party, headed by Beigin, is making a bid for power in Israel. Their success or failure in Israel depends to a considerable extent on the amount of moral and financial support they can muster in the U.S.A. in general and among the Jews in particular. The Irgun commander, Beigin, has to some extent become a legendary figure, whose anti-British struggle has attracted many Americans-liberals and exradicals. They admire this struggle, but are not familiar with the political history of the Irgun leaders and unknowingly aid a party that is a threat to the democratic character of Israel and a barrier to Arab-Jewish cooperation and to peace in the Near East.

The Freedom Party poses as a new political formation, which sprang into existence full-blown through the transformation of the Irgun into a political party. The fact is that it itself acknowledges a political tradition and an organized body of thought. Any attempt to deal with the Freedom Party on the basis of its platitudinous program would be sheer nonsense. Only one thing can be gathered from its program-the Freedom Party considers itself an irredentist movement above classes.

To really understand the Freedom Party and the Irgun a study of its leaders and their political origin and past politics is necessary. Not the Irgun, the Freedom Party, nor any of its leaders have ever repudiated their political ideology. We must look at the political tradition of the claim to be and whose books they whole, of our indictment if it can be disproved.

As the article sets forth, we recognize a difficulty. Until recently when it officially became a political party, that is to say, during its years of underground existence, the Irgun published few written documents except for broadsides. The nature of Irgun must therefore be traced to its originators, to the elements which compose it, to the people who constitute its leadership.

Some Irgun sympathizers have claimed that the Heiruth cannot be held responsible for the views that individuals who are now in its leadership, once held; that, for example, one could not accuse an anti-Stalinist organization of Stalinism because former Stalinists have joined it. The difference is that in the case of, let us say, a Stalinist joining a social-democratic party in the U.S., it is done as a clear break with Stalinism, and everybody knows it. But where is this true of the Irgun party, or its leaders whom we discuss below? Where are the programmatic disclaimers of Jabotinskyism? Where are the written repudiations?

Admittedly, much of our evidence is "old," going back to the 30s or before. We have, however, seen no evidence to discount the validity of this evidence today. We have heard the argument that much of the evidence against Irgun comes from anti-Irgun sources, like the labor Zionists. That is more or less in the nature of things. However, the accusations made by these sources link logically with the views of those who can be proved to be the ideological creators of Irgun, as set forth below.

So too, Irgunist sympathizers have pointed to the heroic behavior of young Irgun fighters in the fight against Britain. Yes, this heroism, this militancy is to be commended, and we have done so in LABOR AC-TION. These young men and women may themselves have been motivated by the noblest purposes. Unfortunately, it is irrelevant to the matter, as irrelevant as the heroism of a Chinese peasant fighter would be in discussing the political objectives of Chinese Stalinism.

We are prepared to return to this question as occasion demands, either to add to the evidence here presented, or to withdraw whatever in our charges can be proved false. We would like to hear in writing from an official spokesman for Irgun or the Freedom Party.-Editor.

continue to circulate as official dog- dition. in the past few years, since ma.

In addition, we must take into account the character of its supporters and the movements with which they are fusing. (Beigin is reported to have promulgated a slogan, "No Link-No Bridge" to the Revisionists when he assumed command of Irgun in 1943. We cannot, however, view this as anything more than a political convenience.)

The job of nailing down the Irgun and Freedom Party is a little difficult. For one thing, they were an underground organization and there is little material except for broadorganization, see whose disciples they sides, radio statements and only occasional written proclamations. In ad-

the Irgunists began to pretend to be

an "all class and all party" national movement, they have deliberately withheld their ideas. However, an impartial examination of the evidence can come to only one conclusion. The Freedom Party, with

ground of its leadership, its social composition, its chauvinism, its hostility to the trade union movement today - coupled with the fact that it has never seriously repudiated the anti-labor ideology of its theoretical founders-suggests a defi-

Luxembourg.' nite fascist threat. A threat that at present, after the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini and in the present

CONDITION OF PEOPLE The condition of the people, by con-

trast, is described by Robert Payne, stability.

Socialist Youth League Addresses An Appeal to Militants in YPSL

An appeal to the militants in the ple's Socialist League are faced with Young People's Socialist League from a dilemma. For the concrete applicathe National Bureau of the Socialist tion of their convictions as young militants is restricted through their Youth League. participation in a movement which is

Dear Comrades:

The main responsibilities of socialists today are 1) to maintain their complete independence from Russian and American imperialism; 2) to place the interests of socialism above the interests of a "lesser evil" imperialism; 3) to state clearly and honestly that they will not subordinate the politics of socialism even temporarily to the interests of American imperialism in a Third World War. That these are our prime political obligations as socialists should be obvious. However, an equally important responsibility of individual socialists is to give these views some practical meaning through participation in an organized socialist force. It is here, we feel, that those revolutionary socialists who are in the Young Peo-

ence and delicate handicrafts. Village economies, based on communal Adat law, are in a state of permanent in-

hopelessly lost in lib-lab reformist

phraseology that is passed off as a

ture than in the past because the ills

of the Socialist Party are not acci-

dental; the conservatism of this

movement lies in its basic reformist

character, which cannot be reformed.

(Continued in Youth Corner, page 2)

of these governments have resigned in protest.

CAPITALS DISTURBED

These events have "disturbed" the capitals of the Western powers, in danger of losing out to the Stalinists in much of Asia. As Premier William Drees told the Dutch Parliament, it should not hope that "the outside world will understand at once the necessity for this action." The British Foreign Office, which has been able to temporarily stabilize its position in the Far East, is very sympathetic with the Dutch position, but is obviously annoyed at the timing, with its possible repercussions in India and elsewhere.

The United States is in an even more uncomfortable hot seat. It has received an Indonesian request to terminate Marshall Plan aid to Holland. With its position daily growing weaker in China, it cannot afford to alienate anyone on the Western shores of the Pacific. On the other hand, the Dutch government is a charter member of the Western military bloc. American spokesmen brought the matter before the UN but so far remain completely silent on their own opinion of the "police action."

The territory of the Indonesian Republic has been one of the richest colonial spoils in history. After the end of the war in the Pacific, the Indonesian people took the stated war aims seriously and set up their own (Continued on page 2)

"program"; and in a movement whose internal life is stagnant and bureaucratic. The Socialist Party, to which its youth section is politically subordinate, cannot by virtue of its politics and traditions offer a fruitful field for socialist activity. Those militant socialists who have attempted to inject the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League with a revolutionary program have been frustrated at every turn. Their efforts will be no more successful in the fu-

elections to the Murray bloc.

philosophy is clearly indicated in the speech he made to an assembly of Contest Murray Hold in Md. CIO Haifa students. "You are not students, you are so much molasses. There is not one of you capable of committing murder after the fashion of those German students who murdered Ship-Auto Delegates Form Progressive Opposition Caucus Rathenau, [German liberal leader-F.] You lack the national spirit that BALTIMORE-The struggle of a milidominated the Germans. There is not tant bloc of CIO unions, led by ship a single one among you who could and auto locals, to unseat the Murray kill like the German students who machine from control of the State murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa CIO Industrial Council was the main issue of the Maryland CIO convention

Abba Achimeyer is now one of the (Continued on page 3)

about five years, represented a donothing policy. The executive committee of the Council had met only three times since the last convention. and one of those was a meeting to which was held here December 16, 17, arrange the convention, and a second and 18. The anti-Stalinist fight took a was held because of the pressure of back seat, and the small bloc of the opposition to do something about around 25 to 30 votes (out of a total of PAC policy for the presidential elec-546) controlled by the followers of tions.

During the discussion on the legisthe Communist Party line was the lative resolution, the ship-auto oppobalance of power which threw the sition tried to get an election of a The issues of the militant opposition regular representative at meetings of bloc were not presented very clearly, the legislative council of the state asbut came out gradually during the sembly. They pointed out that the discussion on various resolutions. The CIO had been represented there in general charge was that the present the past on only a few isolated occa-

officers, who had been in power for sions, and that it should have a planned, consistent and aggressive program of pressure to carry out the legislative program that was being adopted.

The failure of Maryland labor to carry the state for Truman in the national elections was laid, at least in part, at the door of the do-nothing policies of the state council.

CLOSELY DIVIDED

The incumbent officers of the state council, President Di Dominicus, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Joint Board, and Secretary-Treasurer Klauzenberg, President of the Bethlehem - Sparrows Point Steel

(Continued on page 2)

TO ALL OUR FRIENDS, WE EXTEND OUR WARMEST NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS-FOR A YEAR OF SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE FOR THE INTERESTS OF LABOR AND TOWARD SO-CIALIST VICTORY AND THE EMANCIPATION OF HUMANITY - The Editors.

the reactionary ideological back-

Page 2

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT Ohio Labor Notes **Buck Stalinist Leadership Oppose Murray in Md. CIO--**In Fisher Body Local 45

(Continued from page 1) Workers' Local, had been in office five and three years respectively. During that time, the State CIO Council was considered to be a generally ineffective body. During the war, the Stalinist-led locals had controlled the state council through an alignment with the Steel and Amalgamated Clothing workers locals with Di Dominicus and Klauzenberg still the officers.

The so-called right wing localsauto, textile, ship and others-split from the Council charging Communist Party domination. The 1947 state convention was the first convention in which the "right wing" came back into the State Council, though they were unable then to unseat the Stalinist-Murray combination. This year the year the auto-ship locals organ-

20 52 the start is not

Sidelight

We wonder if some of the Steel Union delegates noticed that the same Steel Union officers who tried to shoo them away from the Socialist convention visitor by charging that the visitor was a Communist, weren't a bit bashful about putting a Communist Party line supporter on their slate. Could it be that what was really worrying these officers was that they didn't want "their" delegates discussing convention problems with anyone outside the steel caucus?

ized a caucus to make a determined bid to take control.

It was obvious, as soon as the convention opened, that the present controlling group intended to make no concessions to the progressive autoship caucus, but to attempt to keep exclusive control of the State Council. They circulated a slate continuing the same essential line-up. Di Dominicus was to resign the presidency, while Klauzenberg would run again for secretary-treasurer. Frank Bender, regional CIO director, dropped his usual role of trying to compromise the differences between the factions, ran for the presidency on the Murray slate.

The opposition caucus ran Ernest Moran, regional UAW director, for president and John Helm of the Brewery Workers for secretary-treasurer.

The convention forces were closely divided. The Steel and Amalgamated Clothing Workers alone had about 240 votes. The opposition had about 250 votes and included all auto locals (the Stalinists have lost all control in the Maryland UAW), textile, brewery, shipyard, maritime and the newly affiliated telephone locals. Packinghouse workers lined up with the

last three months when it had paid its per capita tax only to fulfill the constitutional requirements for seating at the convention. Moran accused the steel people of expecting him to go into the local and require them to affiliate to the State Council and said that the UAW is a democratic organization and does not tell its locals what to do. He further claimed that the local was in a bad financial position because of heavy layoffs the first of the year and a strike later on. Then he accused the controlling Steel and Amalgamated Clothing Workers' bloc of making no objection to the padding of per capita votes from one steel local through greatly increased dues payments in the last three months before the convention.

When it became clear that a majority of the delegates were for seating of the Hagerstown UAW local, Attalah, regional director of Steel, took the floor, practically admitted that there was a question of the legitimate size of the vote of one steel local and then conceded defeat by moying for unanimous seating of the UAW local.

Until the time of the elections on the last day, it was not clear where the Stalinists would throw their vote. Then on a rollcall vote on procedure, the Stalinists showed their hand by voting with the Murray bloc. Many of the steel and clothing delegates were not clear on the matter even then, as it was not known until the election of vice-presidents that the Murray bloc had included a Communist Party line follower on its slate for the vice-presidency of the Washington district.

The Murray-Stalinist bloc line-up showed the unprincipled character of both. At the national CIO convention, Philip Murray came out in an open fight against the Stalinists for the first time. According to his stand there, the Stalinists work against the interests of the American workers whenever the Russian bureaucracy demands it, and therefore they are dangerous force to be rooted out of influence in the CIO. Yet at the Maryland convention Murray's followers, who went down the line with him on his anti-Stalinist fight at the national convention, lined up with the Stalinists and apparently made a deal to include one of their number on the slate in order to keep the Murray machine in control and to defeat the militant and progressive ship-auto forces. Over this issue, one steel local at the Rustless Iron & Steel plant broke with the otherwise solid front of steel locals to vote with the Ship-Auto caucus.

CAUCUS OPERATION

The Stalinist clique showed themselves to be just as unprincipled as the Murray bloc. The Stalinists had a balance of power. Whichever way

Stalinist bloc in this convention was a repetition of the past relationship of the two groups, but what was new was that the more democratic and aggressive element came out and fought both bureaucratic machines and made a determined bid for control alone.

The operation of the two main caucus groups showed their principal differences. The Steel-Clothing Workers' caucus seemed to be led by Attalah of Steel, in cooperation with Frank Bender, regional CIO director. The usual number of hallway conferences between key people went on during the sessions, but the whole. group of Steel and Clothing delegates were called into caucus only after the decisions had been made. The line was handed down and the delegates followed with little understanding of the issues. Practically none of the delegates from Steel or Clothing took the floor in discussion on issues. Klauzenberg, secretarytreasurer, did not speak once. In short, the Murray caucus functioned almost strictly on the basis of agreements for control of votes and not by open and democratic discussion of the issues.

OPPOSITION LINE

The Ship-Auto caucus, of course, had their hallway meetings and caucuses, but their strength lay in that they carried the ball in convention discussion or real issues, making an open bid to convince the opposing delegates. One of their active caucus workers said that the weakness of the Murray bloc was that its members did not know the issues and that the fight was worth making to bring out the issues, even if they could not win. The case of the Ship-Auto caucus could have been strengthened by a clearer stand on many questions. For example, on the anti-Communist issue, which played a very small part in the convention, Moran took the floor to repeat the national convention formula that the Stalinists should go along with CIO policy or get out, in an obvious attempt to win support by showing his anti-Communist stand. But no one in the Ship-Auto caucus was clear enough on the Stalinist issue to point out the similarity between the bureaucratic machine methods of the Stalinist and Murray blocs, which made it possible for them to work together against the far more democratic and essentially progressive opposition bloc. Such a position might have swung some Steel delegates to support the Ship-Auto caucus in trying to build an active and wideawake CIO council in Maryland. If the Ship-Auto caucus forces

mean business in the fight they have begun at this convention, there is a lot of work to be done, and it appears that many of their supporters

By JOE HAUSER ever increasing cost of living. Now CLEVELAND-After many years of undisputed control of Fisher Body Local 45. UAW-CIO, the Stalinist leadership of this local is being challenged by a formidable opposition group. The administration has used the union time after time as a factional weapon both in the Cleveland Industrial Union Council and in the United Auto Workers International Union. Opposition has appeared at election times in the past, but with no effort to form

a definite group. Now, however, under the leadership of John Troeter, an international representative assigned to UAW Region 2A and a member of the local, a definite anti-Stalinist opposition has been formed. This group has been holding caucus

meetings, open to those invited by members of the group. Its programmatic base is for support of national CIO policy, although so far it has given little emphasis to program. As a matter of fact, this group has done little so far except draw the abuse of the Stalinist administration of the local. The Troeter caucus received favorable publicity in the Cleveland newspapers about ten days ago and as a result was severely attacked by what amounted to an anti-Troeter issue of the Eye-Opener, official Local 45 newspaper.

The new group includes two of the local's officers, yet it lacks any real leadership except Troeter. The caucus leaders have consistently failed to speak up at membership meetings or steward body meetings to defend themselves against Stalinist attacks or to present any ideas at all. Neither have they issued any leaflets or statements to the membership. Yet the present local leadership is in fear for its position, realizing that even such a negative group may sweep them out of power as part of the general trend in the unions to oust the Stalinists.

It is not too easy to characterize the Troeter caucus at present. It has done so little that it can hardly be branded progressive or reactionary. The fact that it was formed in opposition to the Stalinists makes it possible to attract either the progressives in the union or the reactionaries. What is necessary is for this group to take a definite stand on a program for the union, to provide leadership for the ranks and to publicize and open the caucus to the membership. is not enough merely to drive the Stalinists out; they must be replaced by a progressive and militant leadership, capable of fighting the General Motors Corporation on one hand, and the Stalinists on the other.

Workers Get Xmas Gift: Lavoffs While Cleveland manufacturers

at the time of Christmas holidays many plants here have had largescale layoffs. Most employers simply lay the men off, blaming model changes, inventory, steel or fuel shortages, cancellation of contracts, or lessened consumer demand as the reason. However, one company has hit the front pages by offering to help its former employees find work elsewhere. Apex Electrical Manufacturing Co., which has already laid off one third of its personnel and intends further reductions in force, has set up a placement bureau in cooperation with the plant union, a local of the International Association of Machinists, to locate work for laid-off help.

Postal Disloyalty Hearings Continue

Twelve more Cleveland postal clerks, mostly Negroes and Jews, received hearings this week before a government loyalty board. All were among a larger group accused a few months ago of disloyalty to the government. In appearing for his hearing, B. A. Washington, president of the local chapter of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, charged that discrimination and bias are dominant factors in assigning clerks to jobs in the post office.

Specifically, Washington stated: "There is not a single Negro supervisor of any kind in the letter carrier force, the custodial service or the motor vehicle service, among others. No Negro carrier has a downtown office building on his route, and no Negro substitute carriers are assigned to the main office."

Washington charged, as have other involved, that his group's protests against discrimination were the direct cause of the invented disloyalty accusations. He also pointed out that not a single member of the National Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL, a group apparently not at all concerned with the elimination of discriminatory practices, is facing any disloyalty quiz.

FEPC Legislation Stalled in Cleveland

After months of protracted hearings on compulsory city FEPC legislation and only after it seemed that such a law might actually pass, Cleveland employers represented by the Chamber of Commerce suddenly discovered their conscience and came up with a "voluntary" plan to combat discrimination in employment. This was the "out" sought by many of the city's lawmakers, and the pending legislation was shelved for the time being. While many workers will wonder why these employers have not long ago put into practice such voluntary



By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

(Continued from page 1) The national bureau of the Socialist Youth League openly and frankly invites the militants of the YPSL to join the SYL in a common socialist struggle against the war. We are fully aware that this invitation will be met by the YPSL leaders with cries of "disrupters," "splitters" and other such Stalinist epithets. They are the substitutes for political arguments made by petty bureaucrats who cannot understand that it is the political and moral responsibility of the SYL to invite all those who are in the camp of revolutionary socialism to joint it in the fight for socialist

This name-calling will be the response of the "virtuous" right wing YPSL leaders who were responsible for excluding the members of the Socialist Youth League, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party from the NYCIPA. It will be the response of these "exclusive" and totalitarian-minded YPSL leaders who were responsible for the document stating that they are in favor of excluding us from "all voluntary

freedom.

organizations." Through this appeal for revolutionary socialist solidarity we do not wish to give the impression that we are unaware of the political differences between many YPSL militants and the SYL. Some of these differences are real, others are imagined. But such questions as the "road to power" and the Bolshevik Revolution are. today, historical problems. Perhaps in the future they will assume a more fundamental importance. The main unifying criterion for various socialists' is the question of the socialist Third Camp and opposition to the war. It must also be noted that unlike any other movement in the United States, the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League have preciously guarded the democratic rights of their members. There is no other socialist party which has devoted so much time to the development of new ideas and the encour-

agement of minority viewpoints and discussion. It is only in such a movement today that the militant comrades of the YPSL can find the essential nucleus for the development of a mass revolutionary, socialist movement.

Join the SYL

The following is a statement written by several activists in the Students-for-Thomas movement. The world we live in is at an impasse which cannot be resolved except through a successful struggle for socialism. The two rival imperialisms

needs of American capitalism. Socialists must advocate aid to Europe but without political strings. We do not, however, have any artificial hopes in the ability or willingness of American capitalism to accomplish this.

DEMOCRACY ESSENTIAL

Those in the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League are not "luxury" socialists. Their opposition to imperialist war is not limited to the government's preparations for it, but also to the war itself once it breaks out. Unlike other so-called "socialist" organizations, the WP and SYL have demonstrated that in the event of a third world war they will not abdicate the fight for socialism with the rationalization of supporting the "lesser of two evils." It is this "lesser" evil" policy which has always hamstrung the anti-militarist struggle and led to the abandonment of the struggle for socialism.

The fullest internal democracy is indispensable for the health of any socialist movement. Without this democracy it would not be possible to meet the political requirements of the day. There are any number of new theoretical problems confronting the socialist movements arising out of the victories of Stalinism and the defeats of the working class. These problems can only be grappled with by a party which encourages the development and expression of ideas. The party which will best serve the working class will be one which has not only formal democracy but has an atmosphere conducive to healthy politicalintellectual life. It is precisely this atmosphere in the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League which has enabled them to analyze the nature of Stalinism, the role of American imperialism, the meaning of the resistance movements in the last war, current labor politics, etc.

For the reasons outlined above we have joined the Socialist Youth League. We are convinced that the SYL has within it the possibilities for developing into a significant revolutionary youth organization. Our decision to join was not a hasty one. As we were associated with the Students-for-Thomas movement, we naturally came into close contact with the Socialist Party and its youth affiliate, the Young People's Socialist League. But in our examination of and experiences with these "socialist" organizations we have found a movement that is characterized by political anemia. This movement, we learned, opposed the last war only until it broke out; is preparing to support American imperialism in the coming war; has a vague position on most political questions; does not have an adequate internal or external press and makes no serious provisions for a theoretical life. All these factors exclude the possibilities of this movement playing a serious socialist role

Murray bloc, rubber workers divided and the small Stalinist-controlled locals of electrical workers, government and office workers, furniture and marine cooks and stewards proved to be the balance of power.

The Ship-Auto opposition bloc showed its intention to fight on the first day of the convention by attempting to get elections held on Friday rather than Saturday. No decision could be made because of the delay in the credentials committee report which did not come out until noon of the second day, because of a fight to seat the UAW local from Hagerstown. The opposition won on this. Frank Bender, regional CIO director, tried to compromise through referring the matter back to committee for settlement, but Ernest Moran. regional UAW director, took the floor and insisted that it be settled by the convention delegates. Sec. 1. 1. 14

UNPRINCIPLED COMBINATION

The Murray bloc had claimed that the disputed local had refused to support the state council up until the

they threw their vote, they would be on the winning side. If there are any naive non-party followers of the Stalinist line left in the CIO in Maryland, this should show them the score. If the Stalinists really believe their own chatter about wanting militant, democratic unions, here was their chance to line up with the militant, democratic element in the Maryland convention. Instead they showed their colors and scuttled off to the shelter of the bureaucratic machine where they would not have to be troubled with the problems raised by sincere unionists who are seeking a democratic and aggressive solution to the problems facing labor today.

The Murray and Stalinist blocs have always had one thing in common in the CIO (as pointed out in the December 13 issue of LABOR ACTION). Both of them prefer a quiet deal to an open fight. For when the leaders of machine groups fall out, the rank and file of the unions have a chance to break the machine control and take things into their own hands. It seems that the Murray-

Orga they have to bring the rest of the CIO locals into the State Council, particularly the large textile local in the Cumberland Celanese plant which stayed out of the Council because they didn't like the leadership. On their program, they seemed most concerned about political action. They need to find out what kind of political action will work. Can they be effective in the State Legislature just by lobbying? Will getting into political activity within the Democratic (or Republican) Party along the line of Americans for Democratic Action give them what they want? Or will they find that labor's political program cannot be won in the state and nation without getting into politics through their own party? One thing is sure: if these questions are solved in the Maryland CIO they

are far more likely to be solved by the forces centering around the Ship-Auto caucus which function in the convention than by the groups in the Murray bureaucratic machine bloc made up of Steel, Clothing Workers and Stalinist locals.

ernment, announced that "the fall of

the capital and capture of several

leaders is just the beginning of the

life-and-death struggle of the Indo-

nesian people." That struggle will get

the support of labor and socialist

forces all over the world.

profits for year, their workers have made little progress in the struggle to meet the nority groups.

Will Honor Tresca Memory At Meeting on January 11

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 21 (TMC)-While District Attorney Frank Hogan weighed the possibility of asking Benjamin Gitlow, former high Communist official, to tell the Grand Jury what he knows about the murder of Carlo Tresca, Italian radical editor, the Tresca Memorial Committee prepared today to honor Tresca's memory on January 11, sixth anniversary of that crime.

Norman Thomas, the committee's chairman, wrote Mr. Hogan asking that Mr. Gitlow be called before the Grand Jury, soon after Scribners published his recent book, THE WHOLE OF THEIR LIVES. In that volume, Gitlow, expelled in 1929 as secretarygeneral of the Communist Party of America, declared that the editor's murder grew out of a feud between Tresca and Enea Sormenti, now said to head the Communists in Trieste.

Following Mr. Thomas's request to the District Attorney, the New York World-Telegram reported that Mr. Hogan had ordered a new inquiry into the Tresca murder mystery, It quoted Mr. Gitlow as saying: "Everything possible ought to be done to clear up this case-which I consider a political murder. I would be willing to help in any way I can. I believe I can furnish Mr. Hogan with leads that he can follow up."

what action will be taken by Mr. Hogan's office in view of his assurance to us that the Gitlow book would be studied carefully," Mr. Thomas said today. "So much detail is given in that volume about the Tresca situation and the apparently related Juliet Stuart Poyntz disappearance case that we feel there is strong reason for having Mr. Gitlow testify before the Grand Jury."

Old friends will pay tribute to Tresca in the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, on Tuesday, January 11, at p.m. Speakers will include: Donald Harrington, national chairman, Workers Defense League; Dorothy Kenyon, former Municipal Judge; Vincenzo Alvano, president, Italian People's Union, and co-manager, Shirt, Leisurewear, & Robe Workers Union (a section of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America); Frank Crosswaith, chairman, Negro Labor Committee, and general organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Dr. Broadus Mitchell, lecturer in economics, Rutgers University; and Dr. Harry W. Laidler, execu-

Democracy. After that meeting some of Tresca's intimates will drop red carnations at the scene of his murder in the 1943 dim-out, northwest corner of Fifteenth Street and Fifth Avenue, and two of them will speak briefly about his life and death.

tive director, League for Industrial

lans, the politicians now feel that new war. We have no illusions that they have done their duty to the mithis war can be prevented by either "men of good will' or through appeals to the two imperialist giants. On the contrary, we believe that only through the victory of the Third Camp-the camp of socialism and labor-over Stalinism and capitalism can society move forward. It is essential, therefore, that the socialist movement maintain its complete independence from both Washington and Moscow. Any support given by socialists to American or Russian imperialism, no matter how "critical." will lead, in effect, to the abandonment of the struggle for socialism."

of America and Russia are girding

themselves for the job of plunging

the world into the bloodbath of a

We see in the Workers Party and its youth section, the Socialist Youth League, the only organizations which have consistently maintained a Third Camp position. This is evidenced by their opposition to the last imperialist war and by their unalterable socialization to either the Marshallization or Stalinization of the world.

Their opposition to the Marshall Plan has nothing in common with that offered by the Stalinists. The Stalinist opposition flows from its role as agent of the Russian totalitarian ruling class and is directed against the interests of the working class. The socialist struggle against the Marshall Plan is not directed against the shipment of food or industrial equipment to Europe. Instead, the socialists point out that the Marshall Plan transcends these shipments and is actually the sum total of American policy directed toward the subordination of Western

Europe to the economic and military

on the American political scene. We wholeheartedly endorse the appeal of the SYL to the left-wing YPSLs to join with it in the struggle for a socialist America in a socialist world. We appeal to all young socialist militants to join the Socialist Youth League.

In the Socialist Youth League an instrument for revolutionary socialist action and an arena for comradely and serious discussion of political questions and differences can be found.

Max D .- Chairman of the former Oceanfront (Brooklyn) Independent Voters for Thomas.

Sol F .-- President of the former Brooklyn College Students for Thomas.

Melvin P.-President, Brooklyn College Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Subscribers _____ Attention! Check your NAME - ADDRESS --CITY -- ZONE -- STATE appearing on the upper left-hand corner of page one. If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out of the ad-dress, especially the ZONE NUM-BER, cut out your pame and ad-dress and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed. 12-52 If this number appears at the bet-tom of your address, your sub-scription expires with this issue. RENEW NOW

Attack on Indonesia --

(Continued from page 1)

government. Using British-given and American-made equipment, the Dutch military forces attempted for two years to subdue the territory, without success. Under the guise of the truce, they improved their positions in preparation for Sunday's sneak attack against a government that had just stopped a Stalinist attempt at rehellion.

CONTINUING FIGHT

The Dutch government tried to strangle the new republic by a military blockade. The people remained loyal to their desire for freedom. Many observers believed that the republican armies could have driven the Dutch off the islands if the original fighting had continued. Tricked by typical chicanery, the compromising government leaders have now been arrested in the commando-like sweep of the enemy army.

It is estimated that over a hundred thousand Netherlands troops, under the personal direction of Commanderin-Chief General Spoor, are involved.

World imperialism is trying desperately to hold on in a part of the world where the people are most definitely determined that it shall reign no

The Indonesian struggle against foreign tryanny is one of the most conspicuous facets of the continuing world-wide fight for democratic rights. It makes a complete mockery of the Western powers' protestations of democracy. It provides the Stalinists with new ammunition in that section of Asia where they have been decisively beaten militarily.

An Indonesian representative in India, in issuing a statement calling for support from all of Asia for his gov-

ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

WP Bulletin The latest issue of the WP Bulletin contains the Draft Besolutions on the Reconstruction of the Socialist International and Western Unioun, both drafted by the Political Committee of the Workers Party. It also contains

articles for the pre-convention discussion. Order from Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. 15 cents plus postage.

Sub for 10 issues of the bulletin is available for \$1.50. Write to WP National Office. Subscriptions to the bulletin may start with any previous issue of the bulletin.

"We are waiting hopefully to see

				-
11.1.1	19	47		
BC	JU	ND		
VOL	UM	ES		
	4.3	O F	62	
L	ABO	DR		
AC	TIC	D N	11 ar	5
114	6 to ;	.62	\$3.0)Q
	Order t	from	38 Z	с. С
	WORK PUBLI	CATIC		
			ty 1, N.	¥.
11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1	La bier analis	E. 2	20

HAND	Y WAY TO SUBSCRIB
	LABOR ACTION
ROR	A Paper in the Interest of Socialism
Licitory	
12191	4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.
Please enter m	y subscription: 🔲 NEW 📋 RENEWAL
	Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents
	☐ Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents ☐ One year (62 issues) at \$1.00
NAME	☐ Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents ☐ One year (62 issues) at \$1.00
	☐ Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents ☐ One year (62 issues) at \$1.00 (please print)
	One year (62 issues) at \$1.00
NAME	One year (62 issues) at \$1.00

A Dooumentation of the Accusations Against Beigin's Party

Irgun: Threat to Israel Democracy and Arab-Jewish Cooperation-

(Continued from page 1) chief editors of the Freedom Party daily.

VLADIMIR JABOTINSKY, leader of the Revisionists, supported and protected these fascist elements from the criticism of nationalist non-fascist elements in the Revisionists, led by Meir Grossman, Jabotinsky wrote: "I take my hat off to my friend and teacher, Abba Achimeyer." (Jewish Morning Journal, 1930.)

WOLFGANG VON WEISAL (Vienna, 1935) called on the Revisionist movement to adopt the "Fuehrer"

principle. Wolfgang now is a leader of the Freedom Party.

It was from among these groups

that Irgun was formed. For the first few years the Irgun was a part of the New Zionist Organization organized by the Revisionists. A. Abrahams, head of the political department of the NZO, said in 1944 -"The Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern groups were, until 1940. a military body, united in a single organization and closely associated with the New

The fascist Italian government hailed the Revisionist World Conference in Vienna, in September, 1935. The official Italian news agency, Orienta Moderna, made the reason for Mussolini's enthusiasm very clear: "The Revisionists take a sympathetic attitude toward Italy. Their paper, Havardein, stands on the side of Italy in the conflict in Ethiopia, because the **Revisionists are extreme nationalists** and outspoken opponents of the official labor movement."

Zionist Organization." The Irgun never really broke with the Revisionists. The Irgunists considered themselves a separate group that had more important work - military organization. There was a de facto division of labor-the Revisionists combatted the Zionist and labor Zionist politicians. while the Irgun built up its military power. They grew apart organizationally, with the Irgun leaders refusing to obey the orders of the "politicos" of the Revisionist movement.

What ideology did the Irgun claim? Borisov, pro-Irgun author of "Palestine Underground" (1947), says: "The Irgun has always considered itself disciples and spiritual heirs to Vladimir Jahotinsky, the founder and leader of the Revisionist movement in Zionism."

On the eighth anniversary of Jabotinsky's death, the Irgun issued an "ORDER OF THE DAY" which said. in its eulogy of Jabotinsky :"For the eighth time we turn to the grave of the first commander of the Irgun, Zeev Jabotinsky."

The Freedom Party still considers Jabotinsky its leader and ideologist. of Betar. In "The Ideology of Betar,"

commander." The works of Jabotinsky are still circulated and held up as the theoretical foundation of the Freedom Party.

IRGUN RECRUITMENT AND BETAR

The backbone and core of the Irgun is recruited from Betar. Menachem Beigin himself was head of the Polish Betar. His quick transition (just about overnight) from head of the largest Betar organization in Europe to commander of the Irgun in Palestine was a duplication of the careers of many of the lower echelon leaders of the Irgun.

"Answer," organ of the American League for a Free Palestine (American sympathizers of Irgun), gives great publicity to Betar and comments: "This is the seed which Jabotinsky planted and from which come the Beigins and Gruners." Thus even the "Answer" indicates that the majority, or a significant section, of the Irgunists come from the Betar and maintain its ideology.

Menachem Beigin paid tribute to this fact on his recent visit to the U. S. While in New York he "reviewed the troops" of the Betar. (Explanation is offered that it was only an unavoidable courtesy to young people, that they are only tolerated. But facts remain facts. Why review them at all, if "unwillingly"?)

What kind of organization is the Betar from which Beigin came and whom he genially "reviews"? The Betar is a semi-military youth organization of the Revisionists that has usually tended away from the moderate Revisionists to the more extreme Baryonim and Irgunists.

Abba Achimeyer wrote: "My last lecture in Betar occasioned me some pleasure. I asked: 'What is the correct vardstick by which to evaluate events?' Someone answered: 'By the amount of bloodshed that accompanies them.' To which I replied: 'This is the correct answer according to Betar! It is by the amount of bloodshed that we can evaluate a revolution, and not by the beautiful ideas for which the blood is shed."

Betar was the only Jewish organization given permission to parade in Hitler Germany. The Berlin movement of Hashomer Hatzair was betrayed by Betar to Nazi hangmen. [Youth and Nation (Hashomer Hatzair periodical) March, 1947]

The Polish Betar supported the "Colonel's" dictatorial government in Poland, In return, Polish government officials urged Jewish youth to join Betar and gave it facilities to train as a military group. Despite the government's support, the Polish Betar never reached the size of other Jewish youth movements, such as the Bundist Youth and the Socialist Zionist Youth. Jabotinsky formulated the ideology

strongest of the labor organizations in Palestine does not recognize these principles, but insists upon the classstruggle viewpoint, the Betarim workers do not join the Histadruth."

It was for this reason and this reason alone that the Revisionists organized a dual union, the "Histadruth Ovdim Leumit," to smash strikes. supply strikebreakers and in general do the work in Palestine done by the Nazi Labor Front before the Nazis came to power in Germany. The slogan created to launch this organization was, significantly, "Yes - Destroy!" (the Histadruth)

The anti-labor attitude of Jabotinsky is further exemplified in the fol-

lowing quotations: "Every labor strike is treason!" (Speech in Tel-Aviv, 1928) "With the authority of an honest man and honest writer, I remove the

stigma attached to the expression 'strike-breaking' in Palestine." (Rasviet, No. 43, 1932) "We accordingly hold that the 'class war' theory, be it good or bad when applied to other countries, should not be applied to Palestine. Conflicts of interests between employers and labor should be settled

by obligatory national arbitration.... Both strike and lockout, as well as the boycott of Jewish labor, should he declared treasonable to the interests of Zionism and REPRESSED by every legal and moral means at the nation's disposal." (Jabotinsky,

"State Zionism," p. 10) This pamphlet on State Zionism continues to be one of the basic political tracts of the Freedom Party's educational work.

The Freedom Party continues this anti-labor attitude of their leader. Jabotinsky. They now use these ridiculous arguments:

1. Mapai (Palestinian Labor Party) has a monopoly, and like Mussolini, the Freedom Party piously wants only "to break the Mapai monopoly on trade unions." This despite the fact that the Histadruth has within it the Mapai, Mapam (socialist) and Oved Hatzioni (liberal capitalist) Parties and shares the trade union field with the Hapoel Hamisrachi and

Paole Agudath Israel. 2. They also charge (a charge learned from the propaganda of Hitler) that the bona fide trade unions are "capitalist." By this they mean the funds of the cooperatives organized by the Histadruth. What they

forget to mention is these, are run on a non-profit basis. The viciously anti-labor attitude

of the Irgun's theoreticians has not been the usual reactionary one, but of a really fascist kind. An essay written by Abba Achimeyer, "Megiloth Sikarim," says: "We must create groups for action to EXTERMI-NATE THE HISTADRUTH PHYSI-CALLY; they are worse than the Arabs. 'P' into their meetings." ("P"

was admitted by Uri Zvi Greenberg, Dr. Alazaroff. His appeal was upwho wrote in Chazit Haam (1934): held, but only on technical grounds. (Revisionist periodical edited by leaders of the Brith Baryonim) "The Baryonim ought to serve as symbols of true Jewish fighters for liberty. The documents discovered in their possession are the True Gospel." Thus wrote Uri Zvi Greenberg, not only acknowledging the facts but also approving the fascist ideology. Uri Zvi Greenberg is now reported to be a leader of the Freedom Party and in any case, a contributor to their newspaper.

ENDORSE TERROR AGAINST JEWISH OPPONENTS

A Pamphlet entitled "The Third Destruction," circulated by a similar grouping of Revisionists, says: "The calamity comes from within, not from abroad. Therefore we must direct our struggle first of all against the internal enemy."

It was this attitude that led to physical attacks and terrorism against the political enemies of these totalitarians. Workers' clubs were attacked and burned. Specially singled out for attack was Hashomer Hatzair.

The anti-Histadruth policy of the Revisionists and the Irgun Zvei Leumi erupted in typically fascist hooligan violence as recently as December 16, 1946. Eighty people were hurt, eighteen of them hospitalized, as a result of an Irgun-led assault on pickets in Petach Tikvah.

The news agency Palcor, December 15, 16 and 18, 1946, reported as follows: "The strikers comprise workers of the General Labor Exchange. which included ALL national labor organizations, except the Revisionist national labor organization." . . . "ALL labor organizations represented in the General Labor Exchange-Histadruth, Poel Hamizrachi, General Zionist Workers and Poali Agudat Yisrael-issued a united appeal to the workers in Petah Tikvah to support the General Exchange."

"The fighting started at 5:00 a.m. Friday, when eighty men, reportedly UNDER THE COMMAND OF MEM-BERS OF IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI, surrounded 'Sib' factory, from which Revisionist workers had been forcibly removed on Thursday by pickets. . . The new arrivals reportedly attacked the pickets with stones and knives, and one girl among them threw a scare bomb.'

This clash gives the lie to Revisionist and pro-Irgun apologetics in which the existence of a Revisionist-Irgun, anti-strike, dual union is justified on the grounds of a trade union "monopoly" by the "Marxist" Mapai (Palestinian Labor Party.)

This hatred of the labor movement. even of the mild reformist variety of the Mapai, led to the political assassination of Chaim Arlazaroff, a Palestinian labor leader, by Abraham Stavsky, an activist of the Brith Baryonim.

The technical grounds were that Palestine law required more than identification by one witness, it required more corroborative evidence. "In England," the Chief Justice said, "the conviction would have had to stand." (Palestine Post, July 22, 1934)

Abraham Stavsky was one of the deputies of Beigin, commander of the Irgun. He was killed in 1948 in an attempt to land the Altelana's arms cargo (killed near the same spot that Alazaroff was assassinated).

OVERLAPPING LEADERSHIP OF THE GROUPINGS

The overlapping of membership between the Irgun, the Betar and Freedom Party is matched by the overlapping of leadership between the pro-fascist Brith Baryonim, Revolutionary Zionists and the Freedom Party. We have cited Wolfgang Von Weisal, Stavsky, Abba Achimeyer, Uri Zvi Greenberg. A word about Greenberg. He not only endorsed the fascist ideology of the Brith Baryonim and was an editor of "Chazit Haam," but was also a proponent of the propaganda of the "big lie" as propounded in "Mein Kampf." He wrote, "The periodical (Chazit Haam) must make itself beloved both for its truth and its holy falsehood." Any reading of Irgun and American League propaganda shows they have learned very well the insidious technique of "The Big Lie." Many other Revisionist leaders are now in the leadership of the Freedom Party and its foreign affiliates including Uri Jabotinsky, son of Vladimir Jabotinsky, William Ziff, etc. Noah Ben Tuvim, a recent representative of Irgun in the U. S., was editor of "Chazit Haam." This list can be extended almost indefinitely.

In addition, there is now a strong tendency of the Freedom Party to re-unite with the Revisionists all over the world. This tendency only underscores the fact that their original separation was more formal and personal than real.

The "Answer" of October 15, 1948, reports that the National Conference of Zionist - Revisionists in Palestine, decided by a majority of 63 to 32, to merge with the Freedom movement. The United Zionist-Revisionists Party of Great Britain and Ireland hailed the Freedom Party as "the principal effective expression of the political ideals formulated and taught by Vladimir Jabotinsky."

The U. S. Betar, in national convention, September, 1948, called upon Beigin to become commander of the World Betar. That Beigin will do his best to achieve this is evidenced by his "review" of the U.S. Betar troops.

The moderates, under the leadership of Meir Grossman, head of the World Executive of Revisionists, are fighting against this tendency, but will probably not succeed. Grossman's

The Irgun, then closely associated with the Revisionist NZO, adopted the attitude that all Arabs are guilty and began to engage in indiscriminate retaliatory terror against Arabs by bombing cafes, market places and ambushing Arabs wherever they could. Irgunists falsely claimed that only by adopting the Mufti's pogromistic tactics and turning them against the Arabs, but doing a better job, could the Jews stop the riots and pogroms. In practice their tactics only strengthened the Mufti.

In the fall of 1943, the Irgunists, in a political advertisement in the N. Y. Times, under the name of one of their early American fronts-"The American Resettlement Committee for Uprooted European Jewry" - proposed that the Palestinian Arabs be transferred to Iraq. They took some care to describe the project as "voluntary" and "organized." but in the light of Dir Yassin, one can hardly be blamed for interpreting such a transfer plan as a proposal for forced deportation. That these front committees, including the American League for a Free Palestine, were directed by the "Palestine Delegation" of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, was admitted by Pierre Van Paassen, who for a long time was an active participant in most of them but who later broke with them. Here is the way Van Paassen put it: "sponsored by the same Palestinian body, through its delegation here in America; the fascist, terrorist Irgun." (April, 1945.)

In the 1948 struggle between the Jews and Arabs, the Irgun repeated its actions of 1936-39. The most glaring example of this is the pogrom organized jointly by the Irgun and Stern groups against the Arabs-men, women and children-of Dir Yassin. Irgunists, when they are not stressing the fundamental incompatibility

of Jew and Arab, sometimes pretend to be the "best friends" of the Arabs. Some have even recently claimed that their opposition to Histadruth is partly based on Histadruth's exclusionist policies.. But Dir Yassin speaks more on Irgun policy towards Arabs than a thousand friendly gestures or statements, which are invariably contradicted! (There, Jabotinsky could, in a 1942 book, allege that an Arab could be vice-president, or president, of the Hebrew state-and then speak calmly some pages later of moving the entire Arab population, voluntarily, of course.)

THE MASSACRE AT DIR YASSIN

Dir Yassin was a village on the strategic highway between Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. It was the only village in the Jerusalem area that had not appealed to any Arab authority as being in danger from the Jews. The villagers lived under an agreement of non-aggression with Jewish settlements surrounding it. In the winter of 1947 (long before the Dir Yassin massacre in April, 1948) Abba Hushi. Jewish labor leader, cited a number of Arab villages in which the villagers had fought off Arab bands attempting to infiltrate and occupy them as positions against the Jews. Dir Yassin was prominently noted. Its villagers had successfully repelled an armed Arab band which attempted to entrench itself in the village mill. These Arab villagers, who faithfully carried out their obligation to exclude strangers and to maintain peaceful relations, despite the partition fighting, were the victims of the only Jewish pogrom, carried out by Irgun and Sternist squadristi. An Irgun broadcast of April 11, 1948, reported: "We have counted 240 Arab dead. Our casualties are four dead, four wounded and twenty-eight slightly injured." The majority of those killed were women and children. The village was not occupied by any foreign or Kaliwkzi troops when the Irgun and Stern groups attacked. A letter from the Haganah District Commander, April 7, 1948, printed in "Answer" (organ of the American League for a Free Palestine) on May 7, 1948, to justify the strategic importance of the village, establishes that at that time, Dir Yassin was not occupied by foreign Arabs. The Haganah commander cautioned against blowing up the village "since it will bring in its wake the desertion of the village by its inhabitants and its occupation by foreign forces." This nails as a lie the Irgun communiques, which justified their assault on the village by claiming that "Iraqui and

Syrian troops arrived in the village." The recent Irgun version of the murder of the women and children of Dir Yassin is that the Irgunists, at great danger to themselves, FIRST warned the women and children to leave the village and then attacked. This is clearly contradicted by the Irgun Communique of April 9, 1948. It speaks of storming and capturing most of the enemy strongholds without warning. The Irgun communique goes on to say "While the attack was in progress, a loudspeaker warned the women and children to seek shelter in the mountain slopes. Many saved their lives that way." As to how many, the communique is diplomati-

cally silent, since few villagers sur-

vived. The real reason for the massacre of Dir Yassin was first the need of the Irgun and Stern groups for a "victory" to enhance their prestige vis-avis the Haganah, which had scored a series of gains. In addition, they wanted to transform the war into a war of all Arabs against all Jews. The tawdry propaganda nature of the Dir Yassin massacre is clearly brought out by the April 12, 1948 issue of the "Palestine Post," an impartial Palestinian newspaper: "They scored a cheap victory, 'capturing' a village that was peaceable and constituted no menace." "How desperate for applause the dissidents were, is to be seen in their squalid parade of their helpless prisoners who had to be taken from them by the Haganah and handed over to the government security forces for safety."

That Dir Yassin was a pogrom and not a battle, is further evidenced by the Chief Rabbis of Palestine, Dr. I. H. Herzog and Rabbi B. Z. Uziel, who issued a statement "vigorously condemning the murder by an IZL and Stern unit of the Arab villagers of Dir Yassin."

These Rabbis cannot be accused by the Irgunists of being agents of the Jewish Agency and therefore agents of Britain. They have more than once engaged in friendly acts towards the Irgun and interceded in their behalf. As a matter of fact, they are considered to be "sympathetic" to the Irgun. The record convicts the Irgun of organizing a useless massacre and pogrom at Dir Yassin. A massacre that served as the only victory of the Mufti, who used it as the basis for cruel retaliation. How many Jews and Arabs lost their lives as a consequence of this brutality will never be known, but their number is sufficient to condemn the Irgun for irresponsible barbarism.

A SUMMARY OF THE CHARGES

The documentation we have here presented establishes in our opinion

the following: 1. The anti-labor, pro-fascist character of the Revisionist wings from which emerged much of the Freedom

"Basaar," paper of the Youth Section he wrote: "A 'Cherem' (taboo) of the Freedom Party, dedicates a against the two national crimes- brew word Petzatzoth-bombs.) current issue to "Jabotinsky-our strikes and lockouts. . . . Since the

was interpreted to stand for the He-

Abraham Stavsky' was convicted and sentenced to death by the Court That the "Megiloth" were genuine of Criminal Assize for the murder of

The Nationalist Movement in Indonesia

By JACK BRAD

Already before World War I, imperialism had raised against itself movements for colonial freedom everywhere. In Indonesia the earliest movements were semi-religious Islamic, which by 1917 had 800,000 members and had reached the consciousness of organizing a national congress which demanded independence. Spiritually Indies' nationalism looked to India for guidance.

After 1918, as everywhere in Asia, the nationalist movement began to divide along class lines. A new generation of leadership arose which no longer accepted Serekat Islam's limited goal of autonomy with the empire.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

2

In 1920 the Communist Party of Indonesia was formed. One of its founders was Tanmalaka. By 1924 the entire nationalist movement had launched a great struggle. Trade unions had grown into large mass organizations, peasant unions covered the islands. In 1926 the CP launched a rebellion under its own leadership which failed, was bloodily suppressed and the party outlawed. By the next year, however, the indefatigable Tanmalaka had reorganized the party from exile.

The CP leadership, however, was dispersed. Some under Muso went to Moscow to become the Stalinist machine men in the present CP. One of the present CP leaders, Alimin, has a record as a Stalinist agent in Europe and the Middle East from 1933 to 1941. It was he who helped organize the pogromist riots in Palestine in 1926.

While little is known about the development of the CP, it appears that two distinct tendencies



Editor Editorial Board: Jack Brad, Hal Draper, Henry Judd. Business

Manager: Thompson Conley Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a year; 50¢ for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada and Foreign) Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874

developed. One under Alimin is strictly a Stalinist creature, following the line in every detail. A second group under Tanmalaka holds to a policy which has been obscurely labeled "Trotskyist" in the press. Since there are no details available, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the truth. Some of the few facts about Tanmalaka seem to indicate a lack of that absolute servility which is the mark of Stalinism.

Almost a legendary figure in the independence movement, he first conceived and organized an All Southeast Asiatic Revolutionary Party looking toward an "International Workers Republic of Asia." In 1945 he returned from exile and joined with Alimin to reconstruct the CP. The CP leadership joined in the national front under the policy of Stalinism everywhere in the colonies, which is to participate regardless of class lines, so long as CP power is enhanced. In opposition, Tanmalaka raised the slogan, "one-stage revolution" (which was denounced by Mao Tze-tung), that is the kernel of the idea of permanent revolution. He launched a coup which failed and his arrest followed. There are indications that since his abortive coup in 1946 Tanmalaka has split with the CP and gone into openly declared opposition, but here too there is no certainty.

RISE OF THE REPUBLIC

The present leadership of the Republic of Indonesia, which rose out of the Japanese defeat, is jointly social-democratic, native bourgeois and Islamic. In international politics it has drifted between a pro-Russian and a pro-American orientation. For a long time the CP had a peculiar position of strength through its control of a section of the SP under Sjarifoeddin, who revealed in February 1948 that he had been a secret member of the CP for 10 years. At that time the SP split, the majority going with Sjahrir, who advocates a pro-India orientation with close relations to Pandit Nehru. Another factor aiding the CP was that only Russia and her satellites recognized the Republic and denounced the resumption of war by the Dutch in February 1947.

Incidentally, throughout Southeast Asia, political groups are developing around the program of a Southeast Asian Union independent of both imperialist camps. This movement finds its inspiration in the Indian Republic.

In August of this year Muso, a Russian agent, managed to get into Java, where he became almost immediately the leader of the CP. The line of government cooperation was changed overnight to one of opposition. Muso united the Stalinist wing American policy is not highly regarded in Java

"Workers Front." On September 2 a reorganization of the CP leadership was announced with Tanmalaka out and Muso, Alimin and Sjarifoedgin in. Muso became chairman of the party.

On Sept. 20 the CP declared war on the Republic on the grounds that it had capitulated to the Dutch by signing the Renville agreement. There are indications that this revolt, like those in Burma and Malaya, were planned at a Southeast Asian conference of CPs in February and March, 1948, in Calcutta, as part of the Russian program for disruption of the Marshall Plan.

THE RENVILLE TRUCE

On January 17, 1948, the Dutch agreed to a truce, while a UN committee negotiated peace. This "Renville truce" was scheduled to last one year. But the terms of the truce were so unfavorable to the Republic that its survival has been increasingly difficult. The Dutch retained the areas they captured in 1947. This restricted Republican territory to less than half of Java. The armies remained at the truce lines so that in effect the Dutch established a military blockade of the Republic.

Since Republican Java was poor in food, what with over a million refugees pouring in, a terrible inflation rayaged the land and the price of rice rose 2000 per cent in one year. Absolutely no textiles could be brought in so that the predominant dress became gunny sacks. As a result of the Dutch blockade, no medicines could be brought in and many illnesses simply cannot be treated. As a result of the blockade also, acquiesced in by the Western imperialists, the Republic could receive no arms so that it had to demobilize ¾ of its soldiers because they had no guns. These were the conditions which permitted the Stalinists to plan their revolt and the Dutch to renew their war of conquest.

The Republic is thus threatened by the Dutch and the Stalinists The internal politics, likewise, are extremely complex. The Dutch have taken advantage of all these difficulties to set up a series. of puppet governments in the islands against the Republic.

U.S. fears that the Dutch war will redound to the CP's benefit and any "middle groups" will be eliminated. At a time when the CP is on the march' in China and a CP army is holed up inthe islands' interiors, the U.S. feels the Dutch are wrong to launch their offensive at this time. Yet the Dutch troops march with U.S. guns and U.S. planes bomb the Republican armies, so of the SP, the CP and the Labor Party into a in spite of its current policy.

main argument is characteristically that the time now is no longer ripe for military men, but for political men. There is never any indicationnow or before on either side-of any disagreement with or revision of Jabotinsky's principles. In many a discussion with rank and file Irgunists and Revisionists no one has ever been able to point to any principled disagreement between the Irgun's official policy and the official policy of the Revisionists.

ATTITUDE TOWARD ARABS AND IRREDENTIST POLICY

Irredentism occupies a central position in the Freedom Movement's program of action. It demands the continuation of the Palestine war until the Arab-held areas of Palestine and Transjordan are incorporated into Israel.

While not 100 per cent predetermined, this irredentism entails the development of a political practice hostile to Palestinian Arabs. The ideological baggage and traditions of the Irgun-Jabotinsky movement virtually guarantee this.

Jabotinsky, the first commander of the Irgun and acknowledged ideologue of the Freedom Party, established the line long ago in his frequent polemics against those Zionists who entertained "vain" hopes of Arab-Jewish reconciliation. Here is a typical instance:

"Zionist colonization must be either terminated or carried out against the wishes of the native population. This colonization can therefore be confinued and make progress under the protection of a power independent of the native population-an iron wall, which will be in position to resist the pressure of the native population. This is, in toto, our policy toward the Arabs-a voluntary reconciliation with the Arabs is out of the question. either now or in the near future." (The Iron Wall, in Rassviet, 1925, German Edition.)

The Irgun carried into action the anti-Arab doctrine of its teacher-Jabotinsky. The Irgun first came into public notice during the riots of 1936-39. While the Mufti-Arabs attacked Jews indiscriminately, the Jewish community under the leadership of the socialist parties adopted a defensive attitude known as Havlagah. This policy consisted of attacking only known Arab bands and retaliating only against Arabs guilty of attacking Jews.

Movement's leadership.

2. The great overlapping between the leadership of the old Mussoliniworshipping Brith Baryonim, Revolutionary Zionist League, with that of the newly formed Freedom Movement. Ideologues of the former remain theoreticians of the later.

3. That the Irgun and Freedom Movement leaders and ranks consider themselves to be the principal spokesman of the Jabotinsky movement and circulate Jabotinsky's programmatic documents without repudiation or revision of any of the many reactionary ideas that abound in them.

4. That the temporary organizational separation of the Irgun from the Revisionist political movement, was essentially formal, reflecting no organic ideological break and expressing, in part, competition between cliques of Revisionist politicians. Now that the period of illegality is over, the formal division of the Jabotinsky movement in Palestine into a legal party and an illegal military underground is being ended by their reunion in the Freedom Movement.

5. That the Revisionist-Irgun Freedom Movement is the executor of a virulently anti-Arab tradition and a key obstacle on the road toward Arab-Jewish unity and cooperation.

The conclusion that Beigin's Freedom Movement is a threat to the democratic character of Israel and a force hostile to Arab-Jewish cooperation is inescapable. It is a totalitarian enemy that must be exposed and combatted. American liberals and socialists have an important role to play in combatting it.



LABOR ACTION

By R. SHERMAN

Page 4

The world, as at present organized and divided, is inexorably moving towards the heinous climax of war. This war of annihilation, though not an immediate prospect, is being actively prepared and methodically organized by the leaders of both imperialist blocs-America and Russia. In fact, the fatal fission of the world into two blocs, concentrating gigantic military and economic power, makes such a war for world mastery inevitable. A world cut up into two camps, with both sides arming against one another, and snarling at each other at many of the crucial danger spots on the shattered continent of Europe, and in Asia, makes, by its very essence, for war.

The present armed peace is no means of assuring peace. This is the lesson of the tragic history of the last decades. A world sitting on an atomic stock-pile, accumulating inflammable economic political and military situations will not produce a fire-works display, but a global explosion.

In specific terms, what awaits mankind is the black fury of atomic destruction. Regardless of which side emerges as the military victor, there is absolutely no hope and no future for the people of the world as a whole and for the people of Europe and Britain in particular. At the least we will be faced with our industries destroyed, our land devastated, our independence lost and our man power exterminated.

For Europe, the consequences of the conflict are manifest: occupation or ruin, or both. This is the most favorable, the least catastrophic prospect that confronts us.

WAR OR PEACE?

It should be clear that another world conflict would lead in reality, to the triumph of barbarism for the survivors, and a decline of the world into an amorphous period without history. This cataclysm has to be prevented. The primary, the most urgent problem that faces us, the British working class and people, is whether we shall have war or peace. It should be the over-ruling issue agitating the working class, arousing intense discussion and it should be the spur for the most critical probing of our Labor government's policies. For, if the foreign policies of the Labor government are linked or subordinated to political. and military objectives which might, however, unwillingly or unintentionally, produce a war situation, then it is the duty of socialists to expose these dangerous policies and to point boldly to new paths for the labor movement to follow.

If war comes, then all the important, and for the working class progressive, reforms which the Labor Government has introduced (social security, health services), the nationalization measures which can be made the stepping stones for so

The article which appears below is reprinted from the December 11 issue of the Socialist Leader of Great Britain. We commend it to our readers' attention as a specially interesting contribution to the discussion begun in LABOR ACTION last week with the publication of a resolution on the question of Western Union drafted by Political Committee of the Workers Party.

try) will be wiped out. All the progressive potentialities which the power of the labor movement has for the future of the British people will go down in a blast of atomic fire.

It is therefore necessary for the labor movement, for the rank and file to understand what are the underlying causes for the present war danger and to hammer out a policy which will prevent it.

The present threat to peace is grounded in the polarization of the world around two opposing and antagonistic centres of imperialist power -the USA and the USSR. The clash between these two centres of power flows from the economic and political dynamics which propel them to engage in imperialist expansion and ag-

gression. The United States is the only remaining viable capitalist state. Its economy is dominated by giant monopolistic corporations. Today American industry can turn out 50 per cent more goods than before the war and agriculture can turn out 33 and onethird per cent more goods. Today United States production is much greater than that of the rest of the world in so far as it produces capitalistically. This tremendous increase in productive capacity has to find a market. Being a capitalist country not based on economic planning for use, American capitalism has to expand over the whole world in order to satisfy the profit needs of its monopolists, trusts and corporations.

Another factor that shapes American imperialist policy is its need to protect capitalism throughout the world. It has become the guardian and protector of the whole capitalist world. Left to itself the American economy would now be faced with another of the classic capitalist crises of over production. The methods adopted by the present rulers of America to solve their economic crises at home, to meet the collapse of world capitalism abroad and the threat from another imperialist competitor is to increasingly convert their own economy and the economics of their satellites into a war economy or a potential war economy, and to drive for imperialist mastery of the world.

The main threat to American imperialism is the aggressive expansion

and devastation during the war. In order to make good these losses and to protect its own privileged position. the Russian bureaucracy has begun a campaign of expansion. It aims to gain control of as many areas of Europe and Asia, so as to re-equip its own economy, to strengthen the economic, military and political power of Russian totalitarianism and to reduce the gap between itself and the United States.

The Russian bureaucracy uses its army, its Communist parties and the crisis conditions which prevail in Europe and Asia to gain control of these areas, for its own exploitation, and to upset the world balance of power in its own favor. The existence of these two imperialisms and of their world wide antagonisms must sooner or later, lead to war.

WHAT KIND OF UNION?

Within this context Western Europe occupies a most strategic position. It is the key to the world balance of power. It is the prize over which the two world contestants are waging their cold war. The organization and the building up of a Western Union must be viewed in relation to this conflict.

The Committee on Western European Unity which has now begun its work in Paris was appointed to consider and to report to governments on the steps to be taken toward securing a greater measure of unity between European countries. At this meeting Mr. Dalton is representing the British government. There is no doubt that in the next period some form of Western Union is going to become a reality. The decisive question for the British working class is what sort of Western Union is going to be created. The very peace of the world will depend on the kind of Western Union that is going to be established

At present, together with the talks on Western Union now going on in Paris, we have the draft of a North Atlantic Pact which the five countries connected with the Brussels Pact have sent to Washington. The North Atlantic Defense Pact will connect these five powers to the drive for world mastery waged by the United States of America. According to the (London) Times Diplomatic Correspondent this pact commits its signatories to go to war if one of them is attacked in Europe. It will also restart a new program of military lend-lease to the Western European countries.

The kind of Western Union that is now being built is therefore openly merely a battering ram of American imperialism against Russian imperialism. It represents the merging of Western Union into the American imperialist bloc. It is a guarantee for

war. This military alliance can in no

bor movement. It can in no way be relied upon to preserve the peace which is so essential if mankind is to live. It perpetuates the two-power world which is the direct cause for the coming third world war. It means that such a war is inevitable.

We have previously stated that Western Europe is now the key to the world balance of power. The Western Europe we must strive for can, however, be more than the key to the world balance of power. It can become the decisive force for a new realignment of peoples, for reversing the tendency toward war. It can set in motion a chain-reaction of events which will go far toward securing a breathing space for the peaceful reconstruction of the continent and for breaking open an era which will make it possible for all the oppressed peoples, for all the victims of the seemingly overpowering imperialist forces on all the four continents, everywhere, to begin to make those necessary radical transformations in world conditions which these grave times compellingly demand.

In "Feet on the Ground," a study of Western Union issued by the British Labor Party, it was stated that "the final aims of Western Union must be to produce a third center of power independent alike of America and Russia." This goal, in our view, should not be the final aim, but the first aim. The only kind of Western Union that can stop the coming war is one which now immediately declares in ringing terms, its independence of both American and Russian imperialism.

It must issue a declaration of independence which lays down that it will not work or fight for American imperialism, nor will it work or fight for Stalinist totalitarianism. If the British Labor government issued a declaration of this character it would dramatically transform the present world situation.

If the British Labor government were to propose this indispensable deelaration of political and military independence, if together with the sixteen nations of Western Europe, and a Free Western Germany, we could act as one, if we will pool our resources in population, industrial capacity and war materials, we could become a buffer of sufficient strength and power to assure world peace.

A United Europe would be strong enough to maintain itself as an independent political body between the two world powers. It could use all its strength and influence to resist the drive of these war-mad powers.

WHAT CONDITIONS?

didates for a neo-fascism:

majority in 1950.

would assure the return of the Labor

government to power with a bigger

would play an even greater role. It

could, from the very beginning, have

the sympathy of millions in the

United States as well as of millions

who are at present paralyzed or ter-

An independent Western Europe,

creating a planned economy based on

consumption, a peaceful Europe

which refuses to play any political

game but its own could become the

point of origin of a movement which

would sweep across the world. An

independent Western Union which

renounces its imperialist interests

and declares for the emancipation of

the colonial masses could then make

an alliance with Asia and Africa for

peace and democracy. An alliance

between these three continents would

become a powerful magnet of attrac-

tion for all the oppressed masses in

For the world can never be free

from the scourge of war unless all

forms of oppression of man by man

The British present historic situa-

tion demands that we, the British

working class, we, in the British la-

bor movement (and our Labor gov-

ernment) declare ourselves for this

policy and begin to put it into oper-

Many important details have not been

touched upon. This is not a finished

program. It can be discussed and

clarified. But we believe that it forms

the essentials for the kind of socialist

This program is only a bare outline.

are eradicated.

ation.

the Russian and American camps.

rorized by Stalinism in the East.

An independent Western Union

The conditions necessary to ensure the third independent force which such a Western Union would represent must include the following mini-



China's Future:

A little over twenty years ago, a handful of Chinese Communist Party members and leaders, in a state of utter dejection and demoralization and entirely without influence, fled hastily from Hankow to the southwest of China. The last act of their series of criminal adventures-the Hankow "Soviet"-had just been played out with the crushing of the Hankow proletariat. The new master of Kuomintang China, the dictator Chiang Kaishek, had established his indisputable authority. In remote Hunan province, this same handful of Stalinist political adventurers began their struggle anew, but on a different political and social basis. This time, they organized peasants into roving bands, loosely knit into a so-called Red Army, and vowed to continue their struggle.

Twenty-odd years later, the historic circle is about to be completed, even in the literal sense of the word! This band of several thousand guerrilla fighters-many of whom were originally pressed into service, and who constituted a unique combination of peasants and tough Stalinist leaders with a savage determination-has now grown to a mass organized army of perhaps 3,000,000 soldiers, organized and led by a political movement which itself numbers perhaps 3,000,000: the Chinese Communist Party. Pursued by Chiang's original Nationalist armies, then harassed by local warlords in Chiang's pay, the original Hunan and Kiangsi peasant forces staggered 6,000 miles over mountains to the deepest and remotest hinterland of China, Shensi province, far in the northwest. There, over a period of years, Stalinism worked out its program for China, adapted to their view of the nation's special needs and circumstances.

During the course of the struggle against Japanese invasion and the war itself. Chinese Stalinism finally took root and found other means of solving its basic problems-lack of contact with the industrial centers of the Chinese seaboard and Yangtze valley areas; lack of arms and munitions; lack of a worked-out program for conquering the peasant mass without entirely alienating the middle layers of the backward areas over which they ruled. It cannot be denied that the Stalinist leaders-Mao-tze-tung; Chou En-lai and Chu Tehproved far more successful in manipulating broad masses of backward peasants than in handling the problems of the proletariat and its relations with China's capitalist class and imperialism. Trained in the Stalin school, they have the necessary lack of principle and the required suppleness to execute whatever turns and twists the Stalin "general line" demanded in the past

THE FAILURE OF CHINESE CAPITALISM

But, at this moment when power over all of China and its 450 million people apparently lies within their grasp, it must be recognized, even by them, that they had a most helpful-in fact, essential-ally who did everything possible to smooth and virtually guarantee their path to victory. We refer, of course, to the assas-

> sin, Chiang Kai-shek, his cut-throat wife, "Madame," currently sulking in Washington, and the despicable crew of Kuomintang landlords, bankers and warlords who surround this loving couple. Is it conceivable that Stalinism could today stand at the threshhold of social and political power if the murderous Chiang regime had not consistently conducted itself in such a way as to lose every thred of popular support in China? The failure to

CHIANG institute a democratic regime, to solve the eternal land problem, to build up China's industries, to settle accounts with the foreign imperialists-all this made it inevitable that a new force arise and confront these unavoidable issues. Stalinism has proved to be that force and this is the whole of the disStalinist leadership which left once before. At that time, even if in an incorrect and erroneous manner, it represented the working class and had its roots and origin in it. This is no longer true. These men will re-enter the Yangtze valley cities, Shanghai, Hankow, Nanking, etc., as conquerors over an apathetic and indifferent proletariat upon whom they will seek to impose their proconceived plan for the totalitarian organization of a Stalinist China. They come at the head of a vast conglomeration of peasant irregulars, partly impressed and partly motivated by Stalinist land reform and bound together by a staunch layer of Stalinist soldier-regulars. Their basic aim is to assume control peacefully over a submissive proletariat.

December 27, 1948

THE COURSE OF CHINESE STALINISM

How else can we explain why this clique fails to call upon the seaboard proletariat to rise up and administer the coup de grace to Chiang? The more easily the armies of Mao-tze slice through the territories still "held" by Chiang, the closer they approach the industrial cities, the more apprehensive Chinese Stalinism becomes and the more it reveals its true social nature. Yes, Chinese Stalinism is destroying feudalism and its remnants as it marches; just as it will destroy whatever remains of advanced Chinese capitalism and foreign investments. In this sense, the victory of Chinese Stalinism may be described as a "social revolution." That is, it is fundamentally overturning the existing social relations of ancient China. But in its place, what is to be substituted, providing Stalinism has its way? It offers only the social order of Stalinism, at preesnt drawing its support from the land-hungry peasant mass and later holding its power on the basis of the nowfamiliar technique and pattern of Stalinism. Broadly speaking, the future image of a Stalinist China can today be seen in the land of Jugoslavia. This means, of course, the enslavement of the passive seaboard proletariat under the gigantic and bureaucratic apparatus of the future.

Chiang Kai-shekism is finished and it remains only as to how it shall be buried. It is of little relevance whether a "coalition" peace government is formed (with the Stalinists running the show), or whether Chiang clings to life over another few months. The final blow to his reaime has been administered by the announcement of ECA Administrator Hoffman to the effect that America was fully prepared (even anxious!) to do business with the new China in the making. No loss, this. But the creation of the new China is another problem and, indeed, poses innumerable questions not only for the imperialist world but for revolutionary socialists.

America, obviously, is counting upon the development of a Titzist tenden y in Chinese Stalinism. Once Chiang has been disposed of and the civil war ended, the problem of reconstruction will face the new ruling group in all its force. Above all, this requires capital, in enormous quantities. Can Stalinist Russia supply the capital goods and equipment essential for the construction of a productive China which is, in turn, essential for the Stalinists if they are to build up their totalitarian state?

To ask the question is to give the answer. Only American imperialism is in a position to supply masses of capital and this knowledge has tended to lull the State Department in estimating the real nature of the disastrous defeat they are suffering. Precisely how this will work out cannot yet be seen, but there is little doubt that the U. S. will "do business" with the new China, and thus hope—temporarily at least—to neutralize the effect of this Stalinist victory by weaning the new Chinese ruling class away from Russia and encouraging whatever Titoistic trends it may develop.

The consequences of this Stalinist victory will reverberate not only throughout the world of capitalism. but within the ranks of the labor and socialist movement itself. If the bourgeois press is still so dazed and partly oblivious to what is happening in China that it seeks consolation in the thought that, after all, what happens in China is not decisive for the world, then it



of Russian imperialism. Russian econmeans of workers' control of indus- omy suffered tremendous destruction way be sanctioned by the British la-



"NEXT-A LABOR PARTY," by Jack ago. There has been a constant suctions, 64 pp., 25 cents.

Jack Ranger's booklet "Next \rightarrow A Labor Party!" ought to be received with open arms-and with orders for bundles-by every trade-union militant who has been talking to his shopmates about the necessity for really independent political action by the labor movement. It does the job for him.

Comrade Ranger, whose LABOR ACTION column "Tapping the Wall Street Wire" is familiar to our readers, succeeds in doing two difficult things: his pamphlet is simple and down-to-earth without being MERE-LY agitational; and it is educational and meaty without getting lost in either history or economics. Every page makes its point, backed up with facts and experience.

The first three chapters (out of fifteen) sketch in the social background. What do we want out of life?-Ranger asks. A decent standard of living, security, peace and order at home, including racial understanding and democracy. And we're not getting these things. Why? The pamphlet explains. Something has happened to the "American system," that is, the capitalist system-the same thing that has happened to the system all over the world: the growth of monopoly and big business, which rules politics as well as industry, for its own profit. The famous two-party system is the two-headed monopoly of big business in government. Ranger explains in a nutshell how this bi- ANSWERING ARGUMENTS partisan monopoly arose and what it has meant.

LABOR PARTY HISTORY

new one. In fact, the first one was sion alone. But "Next-A Labor Parset up in the United States 120 years ty!" is not directed only to those who

Ranger, Workers Party Publica- cession since then of attempts at some kind of third-party action. It is important to know this because it proves that the best elements in American life have never been satisfied with the setup. But on the other hand, it is also important to understand why none of them lasted up to now. The pamphlet explains why none of these parties could have been expected to take root, and why this is also the reason that TODAY a labor party can and will take root and flourish.

Why is the labor movement of the United States so far behind the working class of most other countries in its political development? What is wrong with the old Gompers-AFL theory of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" by pressure politics? There is a difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties, but how important is that difference to LABOR? What are the five social groups which especially fear and fight a labor-party development? The pamphlet gives the answer.

What's a labor party anyway, and how does it differ from the old parties, including Wallace's latest-born one? Why is it that the present leadership of the trade union movement doesn't see the need for labor-party action if its necessity is so clear? (The booklet gives a pungent explanation of that fine old term, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.")

One of the highlights of the booklet is the chapter entitled "New Answers to Well-Worn Arguments," in which six of the stand-bys are taken The idea of a labor party is not a apart. It's worth the price of admisfrom here on out.

want to go on playing tag with the Demorepublicans. The last six chapters also are a "must" for those workers who are "for a third party, but ... " First of all there are the Wallaceites, and within the restricted space of a few pages, the pamphlet summarizes the case against the Wallace-Stalinist abortion of the thirdparty movement. But much more widespread in fact is the feeling that labor should not try to set up a different kind of political instrument, should not try to organize themselves

politically as a class. Writes Ranger: "There will be thousands of clever liberals eager to tell us: 'Look as much like the Republican and Democratic Parties as possible. Wave the flag. Sing a-men. Then the masses will follow you."

"No, then the masses will NOT follow the labor party. Why? Because the two old banker-controlled parties can always wave the flag more furiously and convincingly than we can, can shout twice as pay-triotically over twice as many radio stations and in twice as many newspapers. Because it is just exactly this old blarney that the masses are sick to death of."

That's only the beginning of the discussion of "How Labor Can Win the Support of the Majority of the People.'

We've touched on only about twothirds of this fine booklet. The physical getup-separate cover and allmakes it an extremely striking job, and the price was set at two bits in spite of the fact that this probably won't cover over-all costs, what with printing rates today. But wherever this pamphlet gets into the hands of progressives in the unions, it's going to show returns-in stimulating and educating the drive for a labor party

foreign policy on which the peace of Philip COBEN the world depends.

aster and tragedy that China faces today.

It must be based upon the most Put in a more theoretical way, Chinese capitalism, consistently democratic policy at represented by Chiang and his corrupt Kuomintang Party, home and abroad. It must break down has proved incapable of handling the simplest and most all barriers which stand in the way basic needs of the country, the historic tasks of the demoof a democratization which will give cratic revolution. Chinese capitalism thus takes its place the broadest strata of the people an unreservedly in the ranks of world capitalism as a naopportunity to fight for all their ecotional segment of an international social order that can nomic and political interests... This no longer live and breathe. But backward, chaotic China, kind of program would be the most whose masses have gone through more hell in the past powerful assistance we could give to ten years than any other nation in the world, must be orthe democratic socialist sources of ganized, unified and dragged out of its backwardness if Western Europe to regain their init is to survive. If the Chinese bourgeoisie has proved fluence over the working masses, to incapable of this, and if the proletariat has likewise been smash the grip that the Stalinist tounable to perform this task (and this is the case in China talitarians have over the labor movesince the defeat of the revolution in 1927), then the conment, to cut the ground under the ditions have been created for the successful intervention feet of the de Gaulles and other canof another force, neither capitalist nor socialist, in the proletarian sense. This, obviously, is the role of Chinese It would smash to fragments the Stalinism. Stalinist party in this country and

But just as the return of Mao-tze and his Stalinist clique to the seaboard areas of China from which they fled 20 years ago marks the completing of a geographic circuit, so does it mark the completion of an ideological circuit. Politically and socially, this is not the same

is also true that the labor movement has only begun to reflect on the meaning of these events. Yet these preliminary estimates are worth consideration and we shall do this in the concluding part of this article in next week's issue.

Henry JUDD

2

14

Limited Number of Copies Available The Permanent Revolution By Leon Trotsky New-Cloth-Complete Edition Printed in India \$3.50 Per Copy Order From: LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Sq. Long Island City 1, N.Y.

Celebrate a Socialist New Year's Eve With Your Comrades in New York City FEATURING: The Socialist Chorus and The Youth Players The Time: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31-9 p.m. till the wee hours The Place: IRVING PLAZA, 15th Street and Irving Place

Admission: One Dollar in Advance, Fifty Cents for SYL

Obtain Tickets at 114 West 14th Street

\$1.50 at the Door

Auspices: Workers Party, Local New York