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LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 3, 1949

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Tito Reveals Basic Economic Cause For Break With Russia, Cominform

By HAL DRAPER

Uncertainty about the "mystery" of the Tito-Stalin break was abruptly ended last Monday when Tito himself, in a speech to his parliament, opened up with the most important revelations made since last July, when the Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party answered the Cominform blast against it.

Tito's sensational disclosures made it clear that the "basic" cause for the split was the Yugoslavs' economic

drive toward industrialization and the Russians' opposition thereto.

As the Times' correspondent Handler summarized his speech: "... he made assertion that the fundamental issue at stake between the Yugoslav Communists and the Cominform was the desire of the Soviet bloc to place Yugoslavia in a position of economic servitude by reducing her to the status of a supplier of raw materials and prevent her industrialization."

The most important passage in Tito's speech underlines this point in his own words:

"... it is easy to understand that the basic trouble is that we want to bring socialism and industrialize our country as rapidly as possible, and that we are not remaining a backward rural country which only sends out raw materials. Our country need not remain only as a source of raw materials for industrialized states and buy manufactured goods from them at high prices. That is the way it was in the past.

Thus a quietus is given to the various theories which have circulated for a half year as to the "real truth behind the break"—most of them revolving around such issues as the collectivization of agriculture, personal conflicts, desire for neutrality in war, etc., not to speak of the crop of crackpot hypotheses which sprang up everywhere. We can point out that the analysis of the conflict which was given in our own press has been confirmed to the hilt, both in general line and in some detail.

RUSSIA DIDN'T DELIVER

Tito prefaced his remarks by indicating that up to now there have been reasons for giving no publicity to this "basic" cause of the split. "Things have come to such a pass today," he said, "that I must say something about this, if not everything, and for understandable reasons."

The "pass" to which things have come, he explains, stems from the refusal of Russia and the Russian satellites to carry out their economic agreements with Yugoslavia to deliver heavy capital equipment for the industrialization of the country; and the Cominform states' economic blockade, which has now assumed a "hostile character."

The fact is, however, that this is not the immediate reason for making the disclosures at this time. The economic difficulties of which Tito complains are neither new nor recent, having started soon after the break itself, when Rumania took the lead in withdrawing its oil from trade with Yugoslavia.

What has recently happened, on the other hand, is the fact that the Yugoslavs have succeeded in coming to an economic agreement with Britain, whereby they hope to make up for the lack of supplies from the East. The "understandable reasons" for their silence up to now has been the fact that, until they were sure of this alternative, they did not want to take the initiative in embittering relations further with their sister "popular democracies" in the hope that economic aid might be still forthcoming. With the British agreement in his pocket, Tito can now afford a cockier sort of pressure upon the Russian Empire's economic arrangements.

It would be a mistake to conclude from this development that Tito is making or planning a turn to the West politically. While we have said before that even this eventuality is

not an impossibility in the event that the Yugoslav dictatorship runs into catastrophic economic difficulties, this does not appear to be immediately in sight; and in any case such a solution of Yugoslav difficulties would mean an overturn in the whole regime and its bureaucracy, which is founded on a bureaucratic nationalization of the economy under the totalitarian state. Such a turn, which is still occasionally wistfully hoped for in the West, would therefore not in any case be a matter of deliberate policy but a course of desperation associated with breakdown.

The next move is up to the Cominform (i.e., Russian) leaders. Will it be in the direction of intensified hostility, or of overtures for compromise? Far from venturing a prediction on this question, we would rather emphasize that in our opinion the Russians themselves have still to decide this question for themselves. If—as has been so often the subject of speculation—there is a "hard" and a "soft" wing vying for influence in the Moscow hierarchy, it is at this point that the two lines will have to fight it out.

U. S., Russia Both Stymie UN Action Against Dutch Grab

OBVIOUSLY!

If the Dutch should ever contemplate a resumption of the police action in Indonesia, they would not do so without previously consulting the United Nations Committee of Good Offices.—J. A. Jonkman, Netherlands Minister of Overseas Territories, in a speech to the Dutch Second Chamber, January 16, 1948.

While the Dutch went ahead with their brazenly imperialist raid on the Indonesian Republic—counting cynically but apparently correctly on the United Nations to do nothing—the representatives of the United States and Russia in the Security Council have been devoting their wits and energies for the past week to laying the blame on each other for the lack of action.

The Council's order to cease fire—the only decision that body decided to take—was openly flouted by The Hague government, whose troops took Madiun (last major city of the republic) on the day after Christmas, after the cease-fire order had been issued.

(Meanwhile, in a Christmas broadcast on the day of "peace on earth, good will to men," Queen Juliana informed her hearers that "It is a tragedy of human society that makes force the necessary reaction of force.")

The Dutch imperialists likewise refused to release the Indonesian leaders arrested and held in custody by them. With the UN yelling "cease fire" futilely in the general direction of both Palestine and Indonesia, the Dutch are acting on the assumption that it means no more than the queen's "Off with his head" in Alice in Wonderland.

In Indonesia itself, the harassed republic has been unable to organize serious resistance as yet, but is undoubtedly planning to preserve its forces for longer-term guerrilla operations. This weakness has been due to at least three factors:

- (1) Because of Dutch encirclement and their control of the sea and land passages, the economic position of the republic has been steadily deteriorating. Three-quarters of its army had had to be demobilized before the latest fighting began.
- (2) The United States had refused to give recognition to the republic, and the latter could not get arms. Only a small portion of the Indonesian forces have any equipment.
- (3) The internal revolt of the native Stalinists further weakened the republican government.

REFLECT POWER POLICIES

This three-way squeeze on the islands reflects the power policies of the three imperialist actors on the international stage—Holland, the United States, and Russia.

In Holland: The present Dutch government is made up of a coalition between the Catholic Party and the social-democratic Labor Party. The leaders of the latter party have issued no public statement on the situation for which they are responsible as members of the government, but—like many another "labor leadership" of the same stripe with a bad con-

(Continued on page 2)

WDL Wins Halt In Deportations Of Indonesians

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29 (WDL)—Threatened deportations of Indonesians by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service have been indefinitely stayed in response to urgent pleas of the Workers Defense League that deportations at this time threatened the lives and liberty of deportees, according to Rowland Watts, national secretary.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in Indonesia, immigration officials here began what appeared to be a wholesale round-up of Indonesian nationals, according to Watts, and the first contingent of four was scheduled to be shipped out on December 22. The WDL national secretary in Washington found that the Immigration Service had no information from the State Department, its proper source, that a state of war in fact existed in Indonesia. Immigration officials reported they could not act

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Press New York DA for Action On Tresca Case

NEW YORK CITY (TMC)—Carlo Tresca, murdered Italian radical editor, will be honored both in New York City and in Sulmona, his birthplace in Italy, on Tuesday, January 11, sixth anniversary of that unsolved crime. Meanwhile many of Tresca's friends there and here are awaiting District Attorney Frank Hogan's decision on the question of calling Benjamin Gitlow, former high Communist official, before the Grand Jury to tell what he knows about the Tresca slaying.

"We hope for and expect some word from Mr. Hogan on that question before the murder date, especially in view of Mr. Gitlow's expressed willingness to co-operate in solving this case," Norman Thomas said. He heads the Tresca Memorial Committee, which will sponsor a meeting in tribute to Tresca in the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, on January 11, at 8:00 p.m.

Recently Mr. Thomas urged the District Attorney to ask Mr. Gitlow to testify before the Grand Jury because of disclosures about the Tresca case and the apparently related Julia Poyntz disappearance case in the new Gitlow book, *The Whole of Their Lives*. Mr. Gitlow, ex-secretary-general of the Communist Party of America, wrote that the editor's murder grew out of a feud between Tresca and Enea Sormenti, now said to head the Communists in Trieste.

"We hope, too," Mr. Thomas stated, "that we can cable soon to the mayor of Sulmona that Mr. Hogan has taken favorable action on our request before the murder anniversary. That pleasant town has notably honored Carlo Tresca by renaming for him a public square which long bore the name of King Victor Emmanuel II, and last summer it dedicated in its public garden a striking bronze head of Tresca, the gift of his widow, with a great crowd watching the ceremony."

Speakers at the Labor Temple meeting will include: Donald Harrington, national chairman, Workers Defense League; Dorothy Kenyon, former Municipal Court 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, executive director, League for Industrial Democracy.

That night also some of Tresca's intimates will drop red carnations at the scene of his murder in the 1943 dim-out, northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 15th Street, and two of them will speak briefly about him, in English and Italian.

What a System!

Potato prices are high. This would automatically mean that there is a shortage of potatoes. That is, it would mean that to simple people like you and me. But potato prices are high because there is a lot of them. When there are many potatoes and the prices start to drop, the government jumps in and buys as many potatoes as it can to hold up prices.

When the price falls below \$2.85 per hundredweight, the government's Commodity Credit Corporation starts buying madly. In one county alone, California's Kern County, the CCC has already purchased more than 700,000 sacks from the large farmers.

These potatoes will be converted to stock feed, or sold to starch factories at very low prices, or just permitted to rot.

What a system!

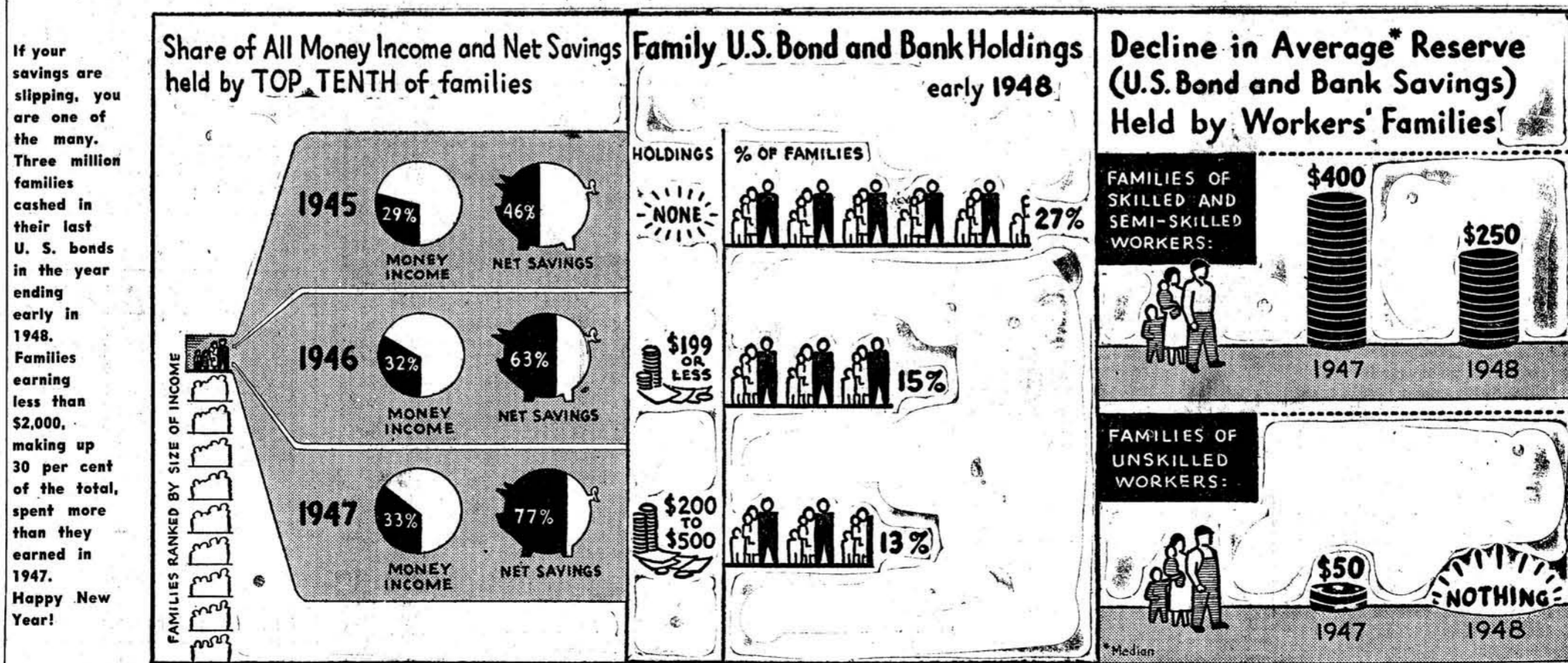


"At the beginning of the five-year plan there were statements from responsible people in the East (that is, Russia) to the effect that we were to remain only a supplier of raw materials. These Marxist wiseacres tried to enforce their distorted views with citations from Marx and Lenin."

In Next Week's Labor Action

Two highly important articles for U. S. labor arrived too late for inclusion in this issue. One concerns the new expulsions of Stalinist leaders in the National Maritime Union, which our correspondent criticizes severely. The other, from Pittsburgh, details the smashing victory won by the Rank and File ticket over the Stalinists in Local 601, United Electrical Workers. Both will appear in next week's LABOR ACTION.

Poor Poorer, Rich Richer: A Bird's-Eye View of Savings



*Median

(Continued on page 4)

Real Criminals Are the Lawmakers

New York's "Divorce Mill" Scandal

By SUSAN GREEN

Mrs. Sara B. Ellis, twenty years old, mother of three tots of two, three and four, wife of the superintendent of 1469 St. Nicholas Avenue where the family lives, has had a unique profession for a year and a half. It was cut short by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan a couple of weeks ago.

Mrs. Ellis worked with a divorce ring consisting of lawyers, law clerks and detectives, specializing in trumped-up adultery evidence to comply with the barbaric divorce law of the State of New York. Twenty times during the eighteen months she hired herself out as the "unknown woman" to do what is called, a "set-up job" with a husband "cooperating" with a wife seeking a divorce. Fifteen times during that period Mrs. Ellis also did what is known as a "testimony job," meaning that she acted as a phony witness to give manufactured evidence against a husband.

For these jobs Mrs. Ellis got \$8 or \$10 per case. Thus she pieced out the income of an apartment house superintendent with a family of three children. Often Mrs. Ellis accompanied his wife and waited downstairs while she and the "client" went together into a hotel room, awaiting the arrival of the "raiding party" who was to give evidence of seeing a disrobed woman with the "cooperating" husband. Mrs. Ellis, however, swore that she only took off her coat and shoes, climbed into bed and pulled the covers up to her chin. She also swore that she instructed the client husband to take off only his jacket, tie and shirt. She stated that husbands never molested her and seemed only too eager to get the whole thing over with. She also revealed that at times the "raiding" wife and the "cooperating" husband would celebrate the completion of the trumped-up evidence by meeting afterward to have a drink together.

All this was not thought up by the nimble brain of a Hollywood writer specializing in the horrible and the nightmarish. It is the real McCoy. What need will drive people to do to get that coveted dollar? What a barbaric law will drive unhappy married people to do to get that coveted divorce!

SOCIETY AT FAULT

Benjamin Schmier, a lawyer of the Legal Aid Society to whom Mrs. Ellis turned for legal help, said that, aside from the money Mrs. Ellis earned, "She may have been a public benefactor. Society is at fault for the stringent divorce law in this state. It should be modified. Of course I cannot condone what allegedly went on here." Mrs. Ellis herself said she felt she was performing in each case an act of mercy on behalf of a woman who found it difficult to get a divorce in this state where there is only one lawful ground. Be that as it may...

About this law out of the middle ages, it is often said: "The rich go to Reno; the poor are forced to commit perjury." However, that is not exactly true. The very poor cannot even commit perjury—that too costs money. Lawyers' fees for trumped-up adultery evidence run from \$250 up. Those unhappy married people who can't cough up \$250 and more must somehow do without legal divorce. Either they separate while still legally married, or live together in mutual hatred that poisons all family life and plays even more havoc with the normal development of the children than does divorce.

So now the District Attorney and his office have moved in to break up the divorce racket which is the natural result of the atrocious law. A number of lawyers and their associates in the "divorce mill racket" have been arrested. Sure-fire evidence was procured by wiretapping. One of the key men in the ring was broken down by letting him hear his own voice, recorded, giving instructions to the principals in one of the trumped-up cases. The Grand Jury will be sitting on the case through February. In the meantime the District Attorney's office has, by judicial order, access to matrimonial records in New York County for the past five years. During that time there were in Manhattan alone 22,000 cases of divorce with decrees granted by the court; most of the cases were uncontested and the implication is many if not most of these were of the trumped-up variety. In the meantime action has been stopped on 77 cases of uncontested divorce now pending in Manhattan.

judges would work with staffs of social workers, psychiatrists and doctors, who would study each application for divorce. Their findings would be given to the judge within three to six months, and the judge would then take up and decide the case. In the meantime, the couple would have time "to think it over." The sponsors of such an arrangement are deeply concerned about the children of divorced parents and their purpose is to save as many marriages as have real elements of healthy recovery in them.

BACKWARD LAWS

So what? The law remains on the books. It will continue to be circumvented in the indecent way described above, probably with improvements, even after the District Attorney has "cleaned up" the racket. Of course, it will be more difficult for the lawyers, who will therefore charge higher fees, which in turn will make legal divorce available to still fewer couples seeking it.

Few New York residents realize that New York State is the most backward—all but one—of all the states in its divorce law. Throughout the nation divorces may be had for the following reasons: adultery, cruelty, desertion, alcoholism, impotence, felony conviction, neglect to provide, insanity, pregnancy at marriage, bigamy, imprisonment, fraudulent contract, felony before marriage, violence, venereal disease. The divorce laws throughout the nation are not, to be sure, the most enlightened legislation; however, all the states, except New York and South Carolina, grant divorces on several of the grounds listed above. Seemingly South Carolina grants divorces on no grounds at all, and the great State of New York recognizes only adultery as reason for divorce.

The Bar Association of the City of New York has attempted to have legislation passed to add as grounds for divorce: extreme cruelty, willful conduct rendering it unsafe and improper for defendant to cohabit with the plaintiff, abandonment, neglect or refusal to provide where the plaintiff is the wife, conviction of a felony and actual imprisonment for two years, habitual drunkenness. But nothing has come of the effort.

WHO OPPOSES CHANGE

The strongest opponents of changing the New York divorce law are found in the various churches. Officially, they state as the reason that marriages are made by God and should not be unmade by man. But since these godly ones do not ask for repeal of the present law which recognizes adultery as the unmaker of marriages, do they believe then that adultery is made by God? However, this talk about God is a cover for that traditional ultra-conservatism of the church based on lack of confidence in people—fearful that a little freedom must mean licentiousness.

On a national scale Bar Associations are also making an effort to stem the tide of divorce by imposing a period of compulsory "thinking it over" on couples seeking divorce. The method must be something as follows: It would be up to special judges to decide whether or not there were enough healthy elements and reasonable possibilities in a marriage to warrant its continuance. Such

A SCOOP FOR THE NI!

We are happy to point out that the "basic" explanation of the break with the Cominform which has now been revealed by Tito was explained in detail in the pages of our sister publication, The New Internationalist, two months ago. To our knowledge, this was the only place which such an analysis—or anything close to it—was made anywhere; and the identity of the two explanations is not approximate but exact. The articles were: "The Economic Drive Behind Tito" (October) and "The Class Forces Behind Tito" (November), by Hal Draper.

Interested readers can still obtain these issues of The New Internationalist. Since no over statements from the Titoists were available at that time, the analysis was based on a study of the drives of Yugoslav economy, the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the economic reports at the Titoists' Fifth Congress in July. The second article takes up especially the political issues and consequences, which became involved in the struggle and some conclusions with regard to the nature of the new Stalinist regimes and their inherent contradictions.

Send 25 cents for each issue to: The New Internationalist, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.—Ed.

UPPER COURT BARS DISCRIMINATION IN NEW JERSEY SWIMMING POOLS

Because of the far-reaching significance of the Melba Valle case, the Workers Defense League asked Hiram Eifenbein, a WDL attorney in Jersey City, N. J., to make an analysis of the case. The analysis follows:

Discrimination against or exclusion of Negroes from public swimming pools in New Jersey has been declared illegal in a unanimous decision handed down by the New Jersey Superior Court in the Melba Valle case. This case has nationwide significance because of the many civil rights laws which follow the New Jersey terminology.

Melba Valle brought suit against the operators and owners of Palisades Amusement Park for being denied the right to go swimming in the "world's largest salt-water pool." This pool is directly across the Hudson River from Negro Harlem. Meyer Pesin of Jersey City and I were the attorneys for Miss Valle, at the request of the Committee of Racial Equality, in cooperation with the Workers Defense League.

In the Rutherford District Court, Judge Marconi held that the N. J. Civil Rights Law did not apply to swimming pools because it did not specifically mention such a place of public amusement. He also at the last minute before the trial allowed the park and pool operators to withdraw their demand for a jury trial over objection of Miss Valle's lawyers.

On the question of the jury, the appellate court held that it was an abuse of discretion for Judge Marconi to allow this switch at the last moment without the consent of the other side. On the question of the law's

application to the swimming pool, the upper court declared that the statute applied to "any place of public accommodation, resort or amusement," including those mentioned in the law.

The statute said such a place "shall be deemed to include" those listed, but the Superior Court held the word "include" did not exclude a swimming pool merely because it was not mentioned among those enumerated. It is now unnecessary to amend the law to incorporate specific reference to all "places of public amusement," such as circus, rodeo, dog show and many others too numerous to list, which are omitted. The law should be similarly interpreted in many other states.

Inasmuch as the decision of the Superior Court by three judges did not have a dissenting opinion, it is probable that no appeal to a higher New Jersey court will be filed or permitted. The opinion, in that event, will stand as the law of New Jersey, and the case goes back to the lower court for a jury trial on the facts.

A very amusing and significant situation existed when the case was tried before Bergen County District Court Judge Marconi. At the outset, Bergen County Prosecutor Winne represented the Palisades Amusement Park owners. He is generally considered to be the political boss of that Republican county. The law imposed on him the duty of criminally prosecuting those who violated the Civil Rights Law. But in entering this case, he was defending in a penal action those who, for the very same offense, he would otherwise have been obliged to prosecute.

Stymie UN Action on Dutch Grab - -

(Continued from page 1)

Without this (as the Indonesian representatives have bitterly pointed out) the cease-fire order would have been a mockery even if the Dutch had decided to observe it formally. Both Washington's Jessup and Moscow's Malik proposed resolutions incorporating such a provision. Each, however, refused to vote for the other's motion, leading to complete stalemate, since seven votes in the council are necessary to pass a proposition. The end result: (1) Both are now in the position where they have gone on record for a return to the true lines; and (2) both have managed to make it impossible to adopt such an order.

Naturally, still an additional question is what the Security Council would have done—if anything—if the Dutch flouted such an order also, as they have done in the case of the cease-fire.

While the name of American imperialism is already mud in Southeast Asia, as a result of the policy this country has adopted in and out of the UN with regard to Western colonialism, Russia obviously hopes to make capital for itself by posing as the friend of the Asiatic peoples against the colonial robbers. In this sense, the Dutch aggression plays right into its hands; and it is not too surprising to find the Moscow maneuverers far from anxious to end the fighting—as long as they can claim that they "tried."

With their own bands of Stalinists in Indonesia itself harassing the republicans' other flank, the Dutch arrest of the republican leaders especially benefits Russia by leaving the field open for their infiltration. In this way, Dutch and Russian imperialist appetites are feeding on each other over the suffering bodies of the Indonesian people.

The effect of the Indonesian struggle on the colonial peoples of Asia has been important. As an alternative both to continued Western domination on the one hand, and to Russian ambitions in that part of the world (exercised especially through the strengthened Stalinist power in China) on the other, the idea of Asian unity against imperialism under the leadership of India has taken on new attractive force.

This aim of a Southeast Asian Union is taking serious hold, as sanctions are applied against the Dutch

throughout this area. Both India and Burma have revoked all permits to the KLM (official Dutch airline) to land on their soil; and there are reports of plans to extend this treatment to Dutch ships in their ports. India's leaders have also given refuge to Indonesian figures and they are actively circulating inflammatory statements by Indonesian officers in exile. These republican officers have issued a call to the workers of South-east Asia to refuse to work Dutch ships, and for an all-Asian boycott of both Holland and France.

The Southeast Asian Union thus envisioned would include India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Straits Settlements (Singapore), Thailand (Siam), Indonesia and the Philippines. The movement is part of the post-war revolt against imperialism, and had its origin in the Calcutta conference of Asiatic states in 1947.

Its guiding spirit is Nehru, prime minister of India; and in Indonesia it is Sjahrir, leader of the Socialist Party in the islands (which is a government party). In conception it is directed against both Western and Russian imperialism; but recognizes that while the former is on the decline and on the defensive in Asia, Russia has emerged as a new threat. Its advocates have learned from Russia's imperialist policy toward Iran, its quiet conquest of Inner and Outer Mongolia, and its sphere-of-influence policy in Manchuria, and point to these as indications of the new Russian colonialism in Asia.

One question is whether the Dutch action, as well as the French war against Vietnam, will set up a stronger pro-Russian trend. This at least is what Moscow hopes and is trying to achieve.

ANY OF YOUR FRIENDS HOARDING DIAMONDS?

"Sales of gem diamonds for the first six months of 1948 will approximate sixty million dollars, and industrial diamonds about twenty-eight million dollars, the De Beers chairman asserted. De Beers sales for 1947 amounted to \$97,912,000. The large sales of gem diamonds were attributed to some extent to hoarding purposes as a measure against currency inflation."—Wall Street Journal.

working class world whose ideas and activities are decisively influenced" by the capitalist world, in Max Shachtman's words.

Two: Or will the WP refuse to support either of the evils—imperialist Wall Street's anti-Stalin crusade or imperialist Stalin's anti-Wall Street crusade?

George YAMADA Los Angeles (Correspondent Yamada started to write: "I think I know," but did not complete his thought. In which case, he should know by reading Max Shachtman's article or any issue of LA that "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" is, and has been, the central political slogan of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party.—Ed.)

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

The following article is written by an SYLer who is also president of the Brooklyn College Chapter of the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID).

SLID Convention

With fond Fabian hopes, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Norman Thomas and Harry Laidler organized the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) in 1906. Cared for by the Socialist Party and the Social-Democratic Federation, this group has done little more than publish a series of fuzzy pamphlets on post-war planning, housing problems, the British labor movement, the heroic work performed by the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, etc.

The era of the thirties poured new vigor into socialist organizations and the student section of the LID arose as a potent force on the American campus, leading anti-war student strikes, fighting for labor's rights, etc. This is no longer true of the SLID, which has become a pretentious and disoriented sect of a few hundred members drawn from the YFSL, the Social Democratic Youth, the Young Circle League, Young Democrats and even a handful of Young Republicans. The SLID is largely inactive, even where it has charters, and it has shown its conservatism in its opposition to such actions as the student demonstrations against bigoted faculty members at City College of New York.

The moral and ideological decomposition of SLID can best be demonstrated by a review of its national convention held last week at the Rand School in New York. A heated debate as to the fundamental nature of SLID dominated the first day's discussion. Two divergent resolutions were presented, both by members of the Socialist Party. One called for the SLID to function as an action and educational group for democratic socialism. The other resolution asked that SLID's activities be devoted to investigations of our economic system, to analyzing the causes of war and depression. A third bloc arose in the person of the presumably un-instructed delegate from Wayne University who had 36 votes, which was more than one-third of the convention's entire voting strength. He supported the first mentioned resolution but proposed the substitution of "commonwealth federation" for the words "democratic socialism" in that resolution. His stated reasons were that socialism had a significance of "evil" to most people and that the word socialism was connected with the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. The resolution for "democratic socialism" barely squeezed through.

DENY FLOOR TO FALK

Next a motion was introduced urging "non-cooperation with all totalitarian groups, including the fascists, Stalinists, Trotskyists." Three reasons for including the Trotskyists were presented: (1) "The only difference between the Trotskyists and Stalinists was that Stalin won and Trotsky lost"; (2) the Trotskyists try to take over every organization they enter; (3) they could not be democratic since Trotsky led the troops suppressing the Kronstadt rebellion, killing "18,000 Kronstadters" (1).

Ten votes were cast against this resolution. The Wayne University delegate gave the opposition eight out of his thirty-six votes, largely on an arbitrary basis.

An SYL member of the SLID requested that Julius Falk be invited to give a 5-10 presentation on a forthcoming resolution declaring members of "parties and factions based on Bolshevik principles" ineligible for SLID membership. Despite significant support, the motion to give Falk the floor for a few minutes was defeated. The ineligibility resolution was subsequently passed with such comments as, "we know all about the Trotskyites" and that "Trotskyites support the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus are undemocratic because they support dictatorship."

After the passage of this resolution the following statement was read to the convention by the SYL member of SLID:

"The burning need for the socialist

movement on campus today is for an organization or federation which can embrace all currents within the socialist movement, an organization which can find any number of issues on which to act and at the same time permit and encourage the expression of conflicting views within the framework of socialist thought.

"It is unfortunate that the SLID has proved at this convention that it is not the organization which can act as the rallying center for such a socialist student movement. On the contrary, it has only shown a fear of ideas and has permitted itself to develop the doctrinaire type attitude that the members bear decided.

SLID PARALYSIS

"The disorganization of ideas in the SLID is largely responsible for its organizational paralysis, for its inability to act on campus and for its failure to grow.

"I have seen a bewildering mass of resolutions passed at this convention, many of them excellent in themselves, but without a consistent framework of thought. Most important, on the war: some of the resolutions favored democratic socialism, the socialist third force, while other resolutions evaded the questions of the draft, military aid to Western Europe (these were specifically eliminated from a resolution on war), favoring American expansionism and preparations for a new world conflict and thereby abandoning any meaningful struggle for socialism. The struggle against imperialism has also been abandoned. (This was evidenced by the defeat of the resolutions calling for the stoppage of Marshall Plan aid to Holland and the sending of military supplies to the Indonesians. It was argued that the weakening of Holland and her armed forces was inconsistent with their belief in a strong Western bloc to oppose communist Russia.)

"The SLID has not adopted the democratic approach of trying to become the center for all socialist thought and activity on campus. This attitude destroys the basis for an exchange of ideas which would better enable it to reach correct means and objectives for the solution of those ills inherent in our social system.

"Instead of this, the SLID has shown that it prefers the methods of witch-hunting, loyalty oaths and the exclusion of ideas. It has, today, even refused to permit a qualified representative of a current of thought which it is banning from SLID to speak in his organization's defense for a few minutes. It has asserted its powers to expel a number of members after a few minutes' discussion" at a national convention. Under the slogans of democracy, the spirit and meaning of democratic procedure have been trampled on."

After the statement was read, a motion was made from the floor to reconsider the question. However, the ineligibility resolution was once again passed.

Following this action, the SYL member who is president of the chapter at Brooklyn College walked out of the convention.

Like His Job?

"It is disturbing to observe how few of our young people know how to work. And the feeling of disturbance increases when it appears that many of them not only do not know how to work but have little intention of learning. They don't like the idea of work. They just don't want anything to do with it. Yet, they want jobs and incomes."—Henry C. Jones, Jones & Jones Advertising Agency, in an article in Printers' Ink, December 24.

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RENEW NOW

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Social Injustice And Divorce Laws

Editor:

During the recent "Divorce Mill Scandal" I looked through all the revolutionary papers in order to study the nature of the comments that would be made on this subject.

I was particularly interested in reading and seeing how LABOR ACTION would deal with this social problem that consumed the interests of such a broad section of the population.

It seems clear to me that the function of the church and state in all their aspects, enforce upon the people that set of morals and laws which would maintain the life of capitalist economy.

I feel it incumbent upon a revolutionary organization, not only to fight for political and economic advances, but also to lead a struggle against these social and legal obstacles, which wreck the lives and freedom of so many people.

If two people no longer love each other, then they should not live together, but a set of lousy laws, maneuvered by a bunch of hidebound, sterile, puritanical authoritarians presumes to do so. Or, it compels them to engage in subterfuge, deviousness and dishonesty, like a common criminal to circumvent the law. (Unless of course, one has the wherewithal to make a trip to Reno.)

I would like to know if your understanding of Marxism excludes participating in some sort of struggle against a system, or a set of laws, that

are geared to develop and perpetrate the existence of a marriage and family structure that is bound to breed misery, unhappiness and a submission to the mores of an authoritarian society that thrives on social and economic inequalities.

Henry JACKSON, New York (See article by Susan Green on page 2 of this issue. We regret that we were unable to publish Comrade Green's article, sooner.—Ed.)

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Which Side Are You On?

Editor:

Max Shachtman says, "The whole capitalist world, including that part of the working class world whose ideas and activities are decisively influenced by it, is now mobilized for preparation for the third world war, the war between the U. S. and Russia." (Emphasis mine. Source, LA, Nov. 15, 1948)

This raises the question, on whose side will the WP line up? I don't presume, with Stalin. Then, two alternatives remain.

One: Will you support U. S. capitalism as the "lesser of two evils"? (And doing this as parcel of "the

working class world whose ideas and activities are decisively influenced" by the capitalist world, in Max Shachtman's words.)

Two: Or will the WP refuse to support either of the evils—imperialist Wall Street's anti-Stalin crusade or imperialist Stalin's anti-Wall Street crusade?

George YAMADA Los Angeles

(Correspondent Yamada started to write: "I think I know," but did not complete his thought. In which case, he should know by reading Max Shachtman's article or any issue of LA that "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" is, and has been, the central political slogan of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party.—Ed.)

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Somoza Invades Costa Rica

Turbulence in Latin America

By A. FERRARA

It is clear from the latest news reports that Somoza, the Nicaraguan dictator, has failed in his attempt to invade Costa Rica, overthrow the present Figueres regime, and install a puppet government headed by Calderon Guardia, a wartime president of Costa Rica and loser in the Civil War of last Spring. The civil war was provoked by Guardia and his gang of corrupt political supporters (including the Stalinist Vanguardia party) when they lost the presidential election.

Undoubtedly, Somoza was encouraged in his adventure by the successful military coups in Peru and Venezuela, and the prompt recognition granted the Odría regime of Peru by the United States. Recognition of this reactionary regime was granted under article 35 of the Bogota Inter-American pact. Better known as the Daniels doctrine, since it was sponsored by Paul Daniels, the American State Department Director of Inter-American Affairs, article 35 states that any regime which rules in an orderly fashion shall be "recognized" by the other American states. Daniels argued that "recognition does not imply approval." By means of this tricky formula the United States hoped to cut the gordian knot of carrying on business with the many dictatorial regimes in Latin-America and at the same time maintaining the fiction that it favored "democracy." Instead, this formula has helped unleash a wave of reactionary uprisings in a dozen countries and bring Central America to the verge of a general war.

OEA SHOWS ITS TRUE COLORS

Both Nicaragua and Costa Rica are postage-stamp size countries, having a combined population of less than two million people. But the political issues involved are continent wide in importance. The United States and the OEA, the inter-American organization it brought into being are now put to the acid test in a very clear-cut situation. The Figueres government of Costa Rica was legally elected and has popular support—formally speaking, it is a conservative bourgeois-democratic government. Calderon Guardia's invading army is a curious amalgam of Nicaraguan soldiers, Costa Rican Stalinists and outright mercenaries. Dictator Somoza's ambition to expand his sphere of operations is one driving force; another is his fear of the Caribbean Legion, a military group of political exiles from the dictator-ridden Central American countries, whose aim it is to drive Somoza, Trujillo and Co. from power.

The resolution adopted by the OEA on the Nicaraguan-Costa Rican conflict is dictated by Washington's desire to maintain the "status quo" in Latin-America. As such it is a blow against the struggle of the masses to win political and economic emancipation. It mildly rebukes the dictator, Somoza, for having permitted the invading "Costa Rican forces" to gather and arm on Nicaraguan soil. THE CYNICAL FLAVOR OF THIS JUDGMENT WILL NOT ESCAPE THE POLITICALLY ALERT PEOPLES OF LATIN-AMERICA. THE INVASION WAS ORGANIZED BY SOMOZA AND SOMOZA ALONE. Costa Rican politicians are his hirelings. In fact, Picado, a leader of the Guardia faction is a lawyer for the Nicaragua government. Guardia is a former business partner. Nicaragua is a dictatorship in which every vestige of opposition has been drowned with blood and fire. Nothing can take place without Somoza's approval.

The resolution takes the Costa Rican government to task for harboring the Caribbean Legion, and orders the Figueres regime to dissolve this armed force. The dictatorial regimes in Central America as well as Venezuela and Peru can now rest easier. By its very first action, the OEA, the tool of American imperialism, helps confirm every reactionary regime in Latin-America in power.

The Military Coup in Venezuela

From his exile in Cuba, the deposed president of Venezuela, Romulo Gallegos, has accused the American government and American oil companies of having collaborated with the reactionary militarists who overthrew his regime on November 24, 1948.

Gallegos has denounced that the United States explain the presence of its military attaché, Col. Edward F. Adams in a Caracas barracks on the day of the uprising. According to Gallegos, Col. Adams acted as a "counselor" for the militarists. As for the American oil companies, the ex-president of Venezuela charges they were angry because of increased taxation on profits, and the refusal of the government to grant them new oil concessions. "Venezuelan capital without social feeling" and the "foreign exploiters of the riches of the Venezuelan people were the forces that incited the traditional lust for power nurtured by the authors of the successful military coup."

How much of what Gallegos says can be accepted as true? It must be remembered that Gallegos is an internationally famous writer who has won a high reputation for his selfless, personal idealism and ascetic devotion in the struggle for Venezuelan freedom. What gives even greater weight to Gallegos' statement is his friendly attitude to the United States and the system of bourgeois-democracy.

FACTORS WORKING FOR REACTION

As Gallegos has indicated, the political atmosphere was favorable to a reactionary coup d'etat. The swift recognition granted the Odría regime of Peru by the United States, the open hostility of the American oil companies aroused by the recent government decree taking 50 per cent of their profits, and the refusal to grant them new oil concessions; all these factors worked in favor of the reactionary uprising headed by the Minister of Defense, Colonel Chalbaud.

What Gallegos has not explained is why the Democratic Action government permitted itself to be surprised and so easily overpowered by the military junta. The Democratic Action had overwhelming mass support, having won a 70 per cent majority in the last election, and had complete control of the government. The only governmental post not held by the Democratic Action Party was the Ministry of Defense which was occupied by Col. Chalbaud, the very leader of the military coup of November 24.

The presence of Col. Chalbaud in the government, as the representative of the army, reveals that the Democratic Action Party ruled only with the consent of the Venezuelan armed forces. It never challenged the predominance of the army from that day in October, 1945 when a military junta headed by the same Col. Chalbaud overthrew the dictatorial regime of General Medina Angarita and called upon the Democratic Action to take over the reins of government.

WHERE GALLEGOS' PARTY FAILED

The "democratic" face which the Venezuelan army turned toward the people in 1945 had its roots in the turbulent social conditions created by the war and the pressure of American imperialism. The war-time need for oil accelerated American investment in Venezuelan oil production and completed the distortion of the Venezuelan economy which began in the '20s. The working-class, drawn from the peasantry, swelled at a rapid pace in the cities and oil centers, creating potentially explosive social conditions. The decline in agricultural production raised food prices, the rise in prices provoked a general demand for higher wages in the town and country, the demand for higher wages led to the formation of unions, the workers demanded democratic rights.

To slow down the too rapid penetration of American capital into Venezuela, and at the same time to channelize the demands of the workers into controllable forms, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie was compelled to shift from a dictatorial to a "democratic" regime. Hence the overthrow of the Medina regime in October, 1945. But lacking the confidence of the masses, and needing to bring the combative weight of these same masses to be against the forward thrust of American imperialism, the Venezuelan feudo-bourgeoisie in the person of the army junta embarked on a period of "democratic" collaboration with the Democratic Action Party, and willingly handed over power to this civilian party.

Once in power, the Democratic Action Party began to carry out a program of democratic reforms. It sponsored and enacted a radical and progressive constitution, it increased the taxation on the oil companies, it encouraged the formation of hundreds of industrial and agricultural unions. It distributed considerable land to individual peasants and cooperatives, poured large sums of money into education and housing, and attempted to balance the national economy by encouraging native industry and agriculture through government corporations.

However, since the Democratic Action Party was engaged in a program of democratic "reform" and not "revolution," it failed to act against the enemies of the Venezuelan people and insure the permanent evolution of its program. It did not expropriate the American and English oil companies, it did not curtail or liquidate the power of the army. It did not even create a counter-weight to the military by forming a popular militia, it did not carry on a merciless campaign against the social basis of Venezuelan reaction, the landlords. Lulled into a false feeling of security, the masses were not prepared for a possible counter-revolutionary attempt, and were unable to resist the seizure of power by Col. Chalbaud and his military cabal.

The alliance between the Venezuelan petty-bourgeois democracy and the feudo-bourgeois was broken by the bourgeoisie on November 24, 1948. Fearing that the next stage in the evolution of the Gallegos government would lead to an invasion of property rights of considerable scope and an attack on the power of the army, the militarists took the initiative and overthrew Gallegos. Inspired by Peron's successes, the Chalbaud clique feels it can handle American imperialism as well as the "social question." However, the interests of American imperialism are a hundred times more directly involved in Venezuela than in Argentina. They will not permit Chalbaud to play the part of Peron. In addition, the Venezuelan masses have known three years of a democratic regime, and they will not be tricked easily by demagogic promises and minor bribes. The future does not look too bright for the Chalbaud regime.

A TASK OF SOLIDARITY

As in all colonial and semi-colonial areas, the political education of new layers and new generations of the working-class in Latin America is taking a cruel and tempestuous course. The need to resist and expel American imperialism; the need to curb and uproot a native ruling class ready to engage in the most ruthless of excesses to maintain its social power; the need to break out of semi-colonial barbarism—these are the grandiose problems posed today by history.

The workers of Peru and Venezuela have seen the parties and programs of petty-bourgeois democracy fail. It is to be hoped that the need—tempered by experience—will create the necessary instrument: genuine working class parties raising the banner of independent class struggle against all exploiters—foreign and domestic.

Meanwhile, progressive democratic and socialist opinion in the United States has a task of solidarity. Thousands of workers are languishing in the jails of Odría and Chalbaud. We must raise a cry: For the unconditional freedom of the members of the APRA in Peru and the Democratic Action Party in Venezuela! For the freedom of Haya de la Torre and Betancourt!

Breeding Is No Joke

"It is unbelievable that Soviet officers, some with war decoration, have been so contaminated by their contacts with the rotten western culture that they would dare to deride the motherhood medal. The guilty officers have been punished severely and sent back to Russia."—Soviet Army circular addressed to all officers at Schwerin (Russian zone), Germany, where several Russian army officers giggled and exchanged jests when a dozen women dependents of the Russian garrison were being decorated during a ceremony with motherhood medals for having produced a fifth or sixth offspring.

CHINA'S FUTURE: (Part 2)

In last week's column we outlined briefly the course by which China's Stalinist movement, thanks to the unhampered aid indirectly given it by the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek, has grown to gigantic proportions so that today it is ready to assume power over the nation as a whole. This fact confronts the political world with such an unbalancing of present forces that all political tendencies—governmental, democratic, radical, revolutionary—must readjust their outlook and analyses accordingly.

We cannot, of course, accept the popular view among journalists that what is happening is simply a shift of direction by Stalin and Moscow in their campaign against the United States. Blocked in the West (that is, Europe), so runs this viewpoint, Stalin has turned his field of action toward the East (that is, Asia). Undoubtedly, Stalin benefits considerably by the victories of the Chinese Stalinist movement and certainly takes it into account in planning his future actions and strategy. But not only is it simply not an all-sided victory from his viewpoint, in that it creates the danger of a new Titoistic tendency to disturb him; it must also be borne in mind that we are witnessing a veritable social overturn and not merely a battle between America and Russia in China. This last factor, at the moment, is of little importance and far outweighed by what is occurring within and to China itself.

COMPLICATIONS MULTIPLY AS FORCES ADVANCE

Within the past few weeks it is clear that the leadership of Chinese Stalinism itself must be freshly evaluating the situation and analyzing the meaning of its remarkable victories. The closer it approaches the vital areas of China—particularly the seaboard cities where both foreign imperialism and a large city population and working class await it—the more carefully must Stalinism itself inspect its future and lay its plans. Caution seems to be increasingly the word, and the immediate objective seems to be a coalition government with Chinese politicians and elements not too much tarred by the Kuomintang brush. Above all, power must be assumed with reasonable calmness and orderliness in the great cities and a violent transition is to be avoided.

The overturning of the ancient feudal land relationships has built up a tidal wave which is now flowing on and which has—in backward, agrarian China—sufficient momentum to engulf the cities where a passive and beaten proletariat lives. Chinese Stalinism is depending upon a peaceful and orderly future in which it can consolidate its power, build up its own administrations and bureaucracy, prepare the day when, with one stroke, it can liquidate today's apparently unavoidable coalition government, trade with the Western powers and accumulate capital and goods for some kind of an industrialization program, and keep Stalin's hot and suspicious breath from blowing down the neck of Mao-tse, the potential Tito of China. This is a program of accumulated headaches, and explains why Stalinism does not yet administer the final coup to Chiang.

Simultaneously, all world powers are busily reconsidering their relations with the China of the future. The Dutch attack upon Indonesia has further complicated the problem of this reconsideration since it has given the Stalinists not only a new departure point for invigorated campaigns against imperialism, but has aroused Asiatic nationalism as nothing before. The possibility of an Asiatic bloc, no matter how feeble it might be at first, would be unwelcome to American imperialism at present and largely explains the exasperation with which America has reacted to the Dutch invasion. With such blundering, how can American imperialism plan its business with Stalinist China and develop a Marshall Plan for Asia as a whole? Yet this is the real perspective that America now has. Since the ultimate issue of Russia versus America is to be decided by war, reason the leading American imperialists, while we have suffered a serious reverse in China it is not disastrous. In Europe we have had a partial success in our program, and momentarily halted Stalinism. With time we can perhaps even partly make up for the defeat in China, but in any case the Third World War will ultimately decide everything, and China represents only backwardness and ignorant masses.

This is an analysis of rationalization and consolation, and probably the only one that can be drawn from the defeat. Its value cannot be determined today, but only when we shall see more clearly how far Chinese Stalinism can go with its program and what—in practice—it can accomplish toward the industrialization and modernization of China.

INTERPRETATIONS OF CHINA EVENTS

Other political tendencies have tentatively attempted to pass judgment on the events in China, with a mini-

num of success and even disaster in some cases. Most of the conservative labor movement, of course, has little or no interest in such matters and pays no attention to them. Certain isolated labor leaders of the Mathew Woll stripe have made isolated remarks critical of the American government for not backing up Chiang Kai-shek! This contribution to political thought, based upon the remarks of Max Eastman at the recent AFL convention, have been ignored by the State Department, which knows a lost cause when it sees it. Eastman's wisdom is not available to the State Department. The rest of the press has been sucking whatever meager comfort it could out of the situation and mumbling about "we can still do business."

Of particular interest has been the New York Evening Post, a newspaper of traditional liberalism, which has championed the cause of the Chinese Stalinists! Since the organized liberal movement in America has maintained an embarrassed silence on the whole matter, it is curious that the one loud liberal political voice should be behind that of Chinese Stalinism under the total misconception that their cause represents a "democratic people's movement" which shall bring the traditional American liberal precepts of peace, prosperity and freedom to 450 millions of people. The editorials of the Post exhibit a vigorous example of liberalism aiding a noble cause, "in our nation's finest traditions" which is unmatched only by the writer's utter incomprehension of what is going on.

Stalinism in China, to him, is a democratic movement of the masses to end "corruption" and bring the modern world into being; it is the fulfillment of Sun Yat-sen's people's program, etc. One would never dream in reading these remarks that Stalinism, with a tradition and program of its own, exists! This is indeed making the best out of a situation, in the best American traditions of optimism and progress, but what relation has it to reality? In an event of such scope we see our famous liberals either maintaining a blanket silence or so twisting their conceptions as to pervert all their treasured "values" beyond recognition and make the victory of a reactionary, bureaucratic and totalitarian force something that even if no longer pretends to be! Many years have passed since Chinese Stalinism claimed to be a gentle, harmless ewe, offspring of the lamb of democracy.

In the radical movement, with the exception of the Workers Party, only the SWP has had anything to say on China. It naturally supports the Stalinist movement—with its monotonously repeated criticism and stale "qualifications"—and is sure that the hopelessly isolated Trotskyist sect in Shanghai will be able to "survive." The Militant "Far East expert," Li Fu-je, writes a letter to the editor from Los Angeles in which he slaps down a not so expert comrade who had suggested that "the Chinese Stalinists continue to score successes not because of their own policies but despite them." It seems, according to Li Fu-je, that the Stalinists' agrarian program, which he quotes at great length, is "... drastic, radical—yes, revolutionary. I doubt if a Trotskyist government would proceed very differently in tackling the land program in the initial stages." Not only does he show his incomprehension of a revolutionary agrarian program, but Li Fu-je joins with the Post in proclaiming a "democratic" revolution as taking place in China. The Post, at any rate, has the decency to stop at this point, but not our Far Eastern expert.

He must criticize the Stalinists to prove he is still a Trotskyist. The Stalinists, he says, "offer nothing to the city proletariat except a continuation of wage-slavery in industries owned by capitalists, with whom they hope to force a coalition government. . . . The Stalinists hope to rule China, in coalition with the bourgeoisie, with a satisfied peasantry as their base." This, of course, is the familiar SWP version of events according to which Stalinism operates as an "agent of capitalism" (in this instance, Chinese capitalism) and desires only to keep capitalism alive. Of course, to be consistent, Li Fu-je must really insist that Chinese capitalism is really undergoing a rebirth and has a wonderful future ahead of it since every Marxist knows that "democracy" symbolizes the highest flowering and flourishing of capitalism. If he could only persuade the Kuomintang leaders and bankers, along with the industrialists and landlords, that such is their future, he could replace both Confucius, the Chinese Buddha and even the opium pipe as a source of cheerful consolation!

Narrowness, one-sidedness, half-blindness and, above all, a lack of the proper imaginative vision to see the sweep and scope of China's Stalinist revolution—these characterize to date the suggested evaluations of the event.

Henry JUDD

NAM Convention Meets - -

(Continued from page 1)

wants the government in business—if you can believe the election returns (and some folks still do)." And how would Mr. Mosher solve the problem unapologetically?

One must make the distinction between government regulation and government control. Control is the forerunner of the socialist state, warned Mr. Mosher, but regulations could be approved. What regulations? Anti-trust laws, fair trade practices, conservation of natural resources, safe working conditions, pure food and drug laws, minimum banking requirements. Price control? No, absolutely, no; in that direction lies the socialist state. But even as to the regulations business has become enlightened enough to approve in theory, it is irked by the measures taken to carry them out. For Mr. Mosher wanted it understood that the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, Security and Exchange Commission "have transgressed more and more the boundaries in which they were intended to operate."

The outcome of the discussion on government controls was a resolution opposing all peacetime controls—as distinguished from regulations, but as if the new Congress adopts any compulsory economic controls to strengthen "national security against possible aggression," NAM wants the law to contain these restrictions: limiting controls to those absolutely necessary for national defense; administration in close cooperation with industry; provision for review by Congress from time to time to determine whether their continuation is warranted; their removal as soon as

possible to meet civilian needs. Thus private enterprise tries to erase the handwriting on the wall.

DIFFER ON INFLATION

On the important subject of inflation, which all speakers agreed is bad and is something about which something should be done, considerable difference of opinion developed. E. E. Hutchinson, chairman of Chrysler and an irreconcilable foe of the Wagner Act, was one of the main speakers on the subject. His remedies for inflation are: "hard money," which means tightening up the issuance of paper; new methods of government financing; tax reductions—for workers too?—to encourage saving and capital formation; reduction of government spending. Not a word about the \$33,000,000,000 of 1948 profits-before-taxes having to do with high prices—not a word!

But the payoff was that while Mr. Hutchinson and others wanted a res-

WP Bulletin

The latest issue of the WP Bulletin contains the Draft Resolutions on the Reconstruction of the Socialist International and Western Union, 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.

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tion on inflation brought to the floor and passed upon, other NAM leaders felt that a definite stand should not be taken at this time. What should they wait for? The disclosures of the position taken by the Truman administration, by labor unions and by farmer organizations. So the captains of industry had nothing to offer on the question of inflation. Where, captains, is your "captaincy"?

No NAM convention would be complete without the normal amount of hokum about "capital and labor being lost without each other." AFL Vice-President Matthew Woll was on hand to ladle out the syrup of class collaboration too. He assured business that now that the Taft-Hartley law is up for revision—though he didn't mention the law by name—labor "will want to enlarge upon the freedom of both management and labor to the end that a cooperative relationship may be fostered and encouraged." So now the lions and the lambs can lie down together.

PUBLIC HEALTH INTERESTS CAPITALISTS...WHEN THERE IS A PROFIT IN IT

"Because international trade is necessary to the survival of world peace, we must think internationally in terms of health at a time when American manufacturers, with huge production plans under way, are searching for new markets and new resources. Sanitation and good health conditions are essential to these countries if they are to be economically able to buy from us."—Ernest F. Gamache, executive director, American Foundation for Tropical Medicine, N. Y. Times, December 26.

Bolivia

TOTALITARIAN VICTORY AN IMMINENT DANGER

By JUAN ROBLES

The totalitarian coups in Peru and Venezuela have had repercussions in Bolivia. In the first place, there has been a rapprochement between the Stalinist and Nazi-fascist forces, between the PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left) and the MNR (Nationalist-Revolutionary Movement). Although the Stalinist leaders deny the existence of a political pact with the MNR, the miners' and factory trade unions, controlled by the MNR, and the railroad workers federation controlled by the PIR arrived at an agreement to stage a general strike against the Hertzog government. The formal reason for the strike was to force through a voluntary retirement law, a social security law, family aid, and subsidies for workers housing. The Hertzog government responded with the militarization of the railroads, a measure which forced the railroad workers to retreat and call off the general strike, and with the proclamation of a state of siege—a measure that was primarily against the fascists, and was not used against the PIR or the other parties.

The demand for social security laws is a powerful instrument in the hands of the totalitarian Nazi-Stalinist alliance. It is a question of a general program of social security, which includes a voluntary retirement law that would indemnify a worker when he retired in accordance with his length of service, and family and housing subsidies. For a poor country having a semi-colonial character, such a program of social security constitutes a serious economic problem, whose cost has been estimated as being more than 500,000,000 bolivares (about 10 million dollars in American money). This progressive program in the hands of the totalitarian opposition has become a powerful weapon with which to carry out a totalitarian coup d'etat.

The Bolivian Congress approved a voluntary retirement law according to which retiring workers receive a retroactive payment of 25 per cent of their wages from 1939 on, and 100 per cent from May 25, 1948. It is one of the most advanced laws in the world. A housing law has also been approved which compels enterprises employing more than 200 workers to provide them with free housing or pay for such housing.

GOVERNMENT HIT FROM ALL SIDES

The big mining interests and the industrialists are faced with serious problems in the application of these new laws. There is talk of a military coup inspired by the right in order to prevent the application of the social security laws and the "dictatorship of the workers trade unions." Such a coup is much more probable than one carried out by the MNR or the PIR. The real bosses of Bolivia are the big mining interests, who can easily install a new military regime if they do not wish to conform with the new social security laws. Consequently, the totalitarian forces have the role of provoking a military counter-revolution, in spite of their "social" demagogy.

The Hertzog government bases itself on the PURS (Socialist-Republican Union) which lacks a majority in Congress. The Stalinists frequently unite with the Liberals, who represent the big mining interests, in their struggle against the government. This provokes parliamentary deadlocks that frequently end in Homeric battles with inkwells, chairs, etc., between the Stalinists and the government supporters. The government party is the party of the middle-classes, of the moderate bourgeoisie.

Confronted by an empty treasury, the government has initiated tax reforms which call for greater contributions on the part of the big mining enterprises. It is also favorable to the demand that the mining interests deliver all of their foreign exchange to the treasury, instead of 60 per cent as heretofore. Pressed by the Nazi-Stalinist opposition, the government strives to maintain a centrist position; a fact which arouses the opposition of the capitalist right and encourages the tendencies toward a military dictatorship.

If such a military overthrow has not taken place as yet, it is because of the memories of the July 1946 revolution. A democratic spirit still exists, and in addition there is internal dissension within the army which has declined greatly in prestige because of the support it gave to the brutal Villaroel regime.

FOR INDEPENDENT WORKERS' FRONT

Within the working-class, one can note resistance to the political adventurism of the Nazi-Stalinist alliance, which in spite of the program of social security laws is really carrying the proletariat toward the disaster of dictatorship which would abolish not only the existing laws but the union organizations and the democratic rights of the workers. In the mining centers of Catava, Llalagua, Pulacayo, etc., independent trade unions have been formed which adhere to the new Bolivian Trade Union Federation, which in turn is linked to the anti-Stalinist Inter-American Trade Union Federation.

This tendency is striving to form an independent workers front which resists both the totalitarian offensive and the threat of a military coup. It is difficult to predict how successful this independent action will be since many agents of the government as well as agents for the capitalists are trying to penetrate its ranks and utilize it for their own aims. Differences as to tactics exist in the left wing of the workers government. While the POR (Bolivian section of the Fourth International) supports the MNR in its struggle against the government, the PSOB (sympathetic to the WP) strives for an independent line of action in the trade unions.

The electoral successes of the MNR in the municipal elections of Santa Cruz demonstrates that a totalitarian victory in Bolivia is an imminent danger. Only a united Socialist front of the proletariat can prevent this victory. But the Stalinist party is under orders to defeat any such front, even at the price of opening the way for the military dictatorship of the Capitalist right.

WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK

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Material for the Discussion on "Western Union"

Trotsky on: "United States of Europe"

By LEON TROTSKY

I think that in conjunction with the slogan "A Government of Workers and Peasants" the time is appropriate for issuing the slogan "The United States of Europe." Only by uniting these two slogans shall we get a definite, systematic and progressive response to the most urgent problems of European development.

The last imperialist war was essentially a European war. The incidental participation of America and Japan did not alter its character. Having secured what she required, America withdrew her hand from the flames and returned home.

The motive power of the war consisted in the fact that the capitalist forces of production had outgrown the boundaries of the European national States. Germany had set herself the task of "organizing" Europe, i. e., of uniting economically the European continent under her own control, in order then seriously to set about contending with Britain for world power. The aim of France was to break up Germany. The small population of France, her predominant agricultural character, and her economic conservatism, make it impossible for the French bourgeoisie even to consider the problem of organizing Europe, which, indeed, proved to be beyond the powers of German capital, backed as it was by the military machine of the Hohenzollerns. Victorious France is now maintaining her mastery only by Balkanizing Europe. Great Britain is inciting and protecting the French policy of dismembering and exhausting Europe, all the time concealing her work under her traditional mask of hypocrisy. As a result, our unfortunate continent is disintegrated and dismembered, exhausted, disorganized and bankrupt—transformed into a madhouse. The invasion of the Ruhr is a piece of violent insanity accompanied by far-sighted calculation (the final disruption of Germany)—a combination which is not unfamiliar to the psychiatrist.

Behind the war lay the need of the forces of production for a wider field of development, unhampered by customs barriers. Similarly, in the occupation of the Ruhr so fatal to Europe and to mankind, we find a distorted expression of the need for uniting the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine. Europe cannot develop economically with the State customs frontiers created by Versailles. She is compelled either to remove these frontiers, or to face the prospect of complete economic decay. But the methods adopted by the ruling bourgeoisie to overcome the frontiers if itself created, are only increasing the existing chaos and accelerating the process of ruin.

To the toiling masses of Europe it is becoming ever clearer that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the basic problems of European restoration. The slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government" is designed to meet the attempts of the workers to find an issue by their own efforts. It has now become necessary to indicate this issue more concretely, namely, to assert that only in the closest economic co-operation of the peoples of Europe lies the path to the salvation of our continent from economic destruction and enslavement to American capitalism.

It must not be overlooked that the very danger arising from the United States of America (which is assisting the destruction of Europe and is ready to step in subsequently as its master) furnishes a very substantial bond for uniting the mutually destructive peoples of Europe into a "European United States of Workers and Peasants." This orientation, of course, proceeds from the difference in the objective situations in the European countries and in the mighty Transatlantic Republic, and is not directed against the international solidarity of the proletariat, nor against the interests of the revolution in America. On the contrary, one of the obstacles to the development of the revolution throughout the world lies in the vain European confidence in the American uncle (Wilsonism, the charitable feeding of the worst famine districts of Europe, American "loans," etc., etc.). The sooner the masses of the nations of Europe recover the confidence in their own powers which was destroyed by the war, and the more closely they are rallied around the slogan of a "Union of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics of Europe," the more rapidly will the revolution develop on both sides of the Atlantic. For, just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia furnished a mighty impulse to the development of the Communist Parties of Europe, so, and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe furnish an impulse to the revolution in America and throughout the whole world. Although, when we abstract ourselves from Europe, we are obliged to peer into the mists of years to perceive the American revolution, yet we may safely assert that by the natural sequence of historical events the triumphant revolution in Europe will serve in a very few years to shatter the power of the American bourgeoisie.

ECONOMIC UNITY OF EUROPE

America is standing aloof from Europe, patiently waiting until her economic agony has reached such a pitch that it will be easy to step in and buy up Europe—as Austria was bought up—for a mere song. But France cannot stand aloof from Germany, nor can Germany stand aloof from France. Therein lies the crux, and therein lies the solution, of the European problem. Everything else is incidental. We asserted long before the imperialist war that the Balkan States are incapable of existing and of developing except within a federation. The same is true of the various fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and of the Western portions of Czarist Russia now living outside the Soviet Union.

The Apennines, the Pyrenees and Scandinavia are limbs of the European body stretched out toward the seas. They are incapable of an independent existence. The European continent in the present state of development of its productive forces is an economic unity—not a close-knit unit, of course, but one possessing profound internal ties—as was proved in the terrible catastrophe of the world war, and again revealed in the mad adventure of the Ruhr occupation. Europe is not a geographical term; it is an economic term, something incomparably more concrete—especially in the present, post-war conditions—than the world market. Just as federation was long ago recognized as essential for the Balkan Peninsula, so now the time has arrived for stating definitely and clearly that federation is essential for Balkanized Europe.

There remains to be considered the question of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and of Great Britain on the other. It is obvious that the Soviet Union will not be opposed either to the federative union of Europe, nor to its own adhesion to such a federation. Thereby, too, a bridge will be created between Europe and Asia.

A TRANSITIONAL SLOGAN

The question of Great Britain is much more uncertain; it depends on the pace at which her revolutionary development proceeds. Should the "Government of Workers and Peasants" triumph on the European mainland before British imperialism is overthrown—which is extremely probable—then the European Federation of Workers and Peasants will of necessity be directed against British capital. And, of course, the moment the latter is overthrown the British Isles will enter as a desirable member into the European Federation.

It might be asked: why a European Federation and not a World Federation? Of course, as the

Two weeks ago, we published in LABOR ACTION a resolution, drafted by the Political Committee of the Workers Party for presentation to the party's coming national convention, which put forward the slogan for an Independent Western Union. We then invited (and do again) discussion articles on this and other political issues that are to come before the WP convention. In last week's issue, we reprinted an article from the British Socialist Leader by R. Sherman which argued for independent Western Union. Below, we publish an article written by Leon Trotsky in 1923 (and reprinted from the October, 1923, issue of the Communist Review) as a contribution to the discussion. Trotsky's article—which was originally sub-titled, "IS THE TIME RIFE FOR SUCH A SLOGAN?"—is, in our opinion, especially interesting in the light of the discussion initiated by the PC resolution on Western Union. Readers will, of course, note that the article was written in 1923 when the Communist International was what its name said it was, and not the Stalinist that it is now, when the Soviet Union was a workers' republic and not the fearsome totalitarian prison it is now. We have emphasized several paragraphs, not so much to distinguish them from the others, as to increase the facility of reading.—The Editors.

world develops economically and politically, it will tend to become more and more centralized, depending upon the level of technical development reached. But we are now concerned not with the future socialist economy of the world, but with finding a way out of the present European impasse. We have to lay a solution before the gullied and ruined workers and peasants of Europe, quite independently of how the revolution develops in America, Australia, Asia or Africa. Looked at from this point of view, the slogan "The United States of Europe" has its place in the same historical plan with the slogan, "A Workers' and Peasants' Government"; it is a transitional slogan, indicating a way out, a prospect of salvation, and furnishing at the same time a revolutionary impulse for the toiling masses.

It would be a mistake to measure the whole of the world revolution with the same footrule. America came out of the war not enfeebled, but strengthened. The internal stability of the American bourgeoisie is still very considerable. It is reducing its dependence upon the European market to a minimum. The revolution in America—considered apart from Europe—may thus be a matter of decades. Does that mean that the European revolution must proceed step by step with the American revolution? Certainly not. If backward Russia did not, and could not, await the revolution in Europe, all the more Europe will not, and must not, await the revolution in America. Workers' and Peasants' Europe, blockaded by capitalist America (and at first, perhaps, by Great Britain) will be able to maintain herself and develop as a closely consolidated military and economic union.

It must not be overlooked that the very danger arising from the United States of America (which is assisting the destruction of Europe and is ready to step in subsequently as its master) furnishes a very substantial bond for uniting the mutually destructive peoples of Europe into a "European United States of Workers and Peasants." This orientation, of course, proceeds from the difference in the objective situations in the European countries and in the mighty Transatlantic Republic, and is not directed against the international solidarity of the proletariat, nor against the interests of the revolution in America. On the contrary, one of the obstacles to the development of the revolution throughout the world lies in the vain European confidence in the American uncle (Wilsonism, the charitable feeding of the worst famine districts of Europe, American "loans," etc., etc.). The sooner the masses of the nations of Europe recover the confidence in their own powers which was destroyed by the war, and the more closely they are rallied around the slogan of a "Union of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics of Europe," the more rapidly will the revolution develop on both sides of the Atlantic. For, just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia furnished a mighty impulse to the development of the Communist Parties of Europe, so, and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe furnish an impulse to the revolution in America and throughout the whole world. Although, when we abstract ourselves from Europe, we are obliged to peer into the mists of years to perceive the American revolution, yet we may safely assert that by the natural sequence of historical events the triumphant revolution in Europe will serve in a very few years to shatter the power of the American bourgeoisie.

AWAY WITH THE CUSTOMS BARRIERS

Not merely the question of the Ruhr, that is, of European fuel and iron, but also the question of reparations is envisaged in the scheme of "The United States of Europe." The question of reparations is purely a European question, and can be solved in the near future only by European means. The Europe of Workers and Peasants will have its reparations budget—as it will have its war budget—as long as it is menaced by dangers from without. This budget will be based upon a graduated income tax, upon levies on capital, upon the confiscation of wealth plundered during the wartime, etc. Its incidence will be regulated by the appropriate bodies of the European Federation of Workers and Peasants.

We shall not here indulge in prophecies as to the speed at which the union of the European re-

public will proceed, in what economic and constitutional forms it will express itself, and what degree of centralization will be obtained in the first period of the workers' and peasants' regime. All these considerations we may safely leave to the future, remembering the experience already gained by the Soviet Union constructed on the soil of former Czarist Russia. What is perfectly obvious is that the customs barriers must be thrown down. The peoples of Europe must regard Europe as a field for a united, and increasingly schematic, economic life.

FEDERATE TO FIGHT

It might be argued that we are in reality speaking of a European Socialist Federation as part of World Federation, and that such a regime can be brought about only by the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will not stop to answer this argument, since it was refuted by the international analysis made during the consideration of the question of a "Workers' Government." "The United States of Europe" is a slogan in every respect corresponding with the slogan, "A Workers' (or Workers' and Peasants') Government." Is the realization of a "Workers' Government" possible without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Only a conditional reply can be given to this question. In any case, we regard the "Workers' Government" as a stage toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therein lies the great value of the slogan. But the slogan, "The United States of Europe," has an exactly similar parallel significance. Without this supplementary slogan, the fundamental problems of Europe must remain in suspense.

But will not this slogan play into the hands of the pacifists? I do not believe that there exist such "lefts" nowadays as would consider this danger sufficient grounds for rejecting the slogan. We are living in 1923 and have learned a little from the past. There are the same reasons, or absence of reasons, for fearing a pacifist interpretation of "The United States of Europe" as there are for fearing a democratic-social revolutionary interpretation of the slogan, "A Workers' and Peasants' Government." Of course, if we advance "The United States of Europe" as an independent program, as a panacea for achieving pacification and reconstruction, and isolated from the slogans "A Workers' Government," the "United Front," and the "Class Struggle," we shall certainly end in democratized Wilsonism, that is, Kautskism, or something baser (if there is anything baser than Kautskism). But, I repeat, we live in the year 1923 and have learned a little from the past. The Communist International is now a reality, and it will not be Kautsky who will initiate and control the struggles associated with our slogans. Our method of posing the problem is in direct contrast to the Kautsky method. Pacifism is an academic program, the object of which is to avoid the necessity of revolutionary action. Our formulation is an impulse to fight.

To the workers of Germany, not the Communists (it is not necessary to convince them), but to the workers in general, and in the first place to the social-democratic workers, who fear the economic consequences of a fight for a Workers' Government; to the workers of France, whose minds are still obsessed by the questions of reparations and the state debts; to the workers of Germany, France and of all Europe, who fear that the establishment of the workers' regime will lead to the isolation and economic ruin of their countries, we say: Europe, even if temporarily isolated (and with such a powerful bridge to the East as the Soviet Union she will not be easily isolated), will be able not only to maintain herself, but to consolidate and build herself up, once she has broken down the customs barriers, and has united herself economically to the inexhaustible natural riches of Russia. "The United States of Europe"—a purely revolutionary perspective—is the next stage in our general revolutionary perspective. It arises from the profound differences in the situations of Europe and America. Whoever overlooks these differences, which are of such a vital significance at the present time, will, willy-nilly, reduce a true revolutionary perspective to a mere historical abstraction. Naturally, the Workers' and Peasants' Federation will not stop in its European phase. As we have said, by our Soviet Union an outlet has been obtained into Asia, and from Asia into Europe. We are, therefore, here envisaging only a stage, but a stage of great historical importance, through which we must first pass.

Mikolajczyk Makes New Appearance

Three Parties Join in Pact to Form New Polish Opposition Center

By A. RUDZIENSKI

After his sensational flight from Poland, the former chief of the Polish London government and ex-prime minister of the Stalinist government in Warsaw, took refuge in the United States, seeking support among Polish-Americans against both his Stalinist ex-colleagues and his former collaborators in the Polish government-in-exile in London.

Mikolajczyk met with strong resistance in the Polish emigration against his policy of collaboration with Moscow, particularly his acceptance of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements,

which divided Poland and handed it over to Stalin's Russia. He was also reproached with having delivered up the Polish underground resistance movement to the GPU and having helped to liquidate and disarm it; of having weakened the Polish resistance in exile; and of having abandoned the Polish government-in-exile in order to join the Stalinist government in Warsaw.

Although these criticisms contain a great deal of truth in accusing Mikolajczyk of having betrayed the policy of Poland's national independence, surrendering it at one point to the

Anglo-Americans and at another point to the Russians—their political basis is rooted in the desire of the Nationalist right for revenge against the peasant leader whom it had to support for quite a period of time.

The rightist circles in the Polish emigration carried out a palace revolution, refusing to recognize the Socialist, Thomas Arciszewski, as president—a thing agreed upon by the big parties—and named as the president of Poland-in-exile, Zaleski, a "man of confidence" of the rightists and the army of General Anders. The Socialists have left the government-in-exile, which is limited to the Nationalist Party and the military circles. At its recent congress in Belgium, the Socialists called for an agreement among the democratic forces and the creation of a political body to represent it.

FORM NEW MOVEMENT

A congress has just taken place in Paris including representatives of Mikolajczyk's Populist Party, of the Polish Socialist Party (the authentic PPS) in exile, and the Labor Party (Christian Democrats). A pact among these democratic parties was agreed upon, and a representative organization set up, "A Committee of the Democratic Parties." Thus, after a period of isolation, Mikolajczyk has succeeded in breaking through the ostracism, and becoming part of an organization representative of Polish political tendencies outside the Russian orbit.

In opposition both to the Polish government-in-exile dominated by the rightists, and the puppet Warsaw government, an organization of the militant petty-bourgeois democracy has been formed, linked with the anti-Stalinist workers' movement, a fact that will have its repercussions in Poland as well as internationally.

This fact acquires even more importance, inasmuch as in Poland itself, under the heel of the MVD (GPU), the "unification" of the "workers' parties," PPR (Stalinist) and PPS (reformist-pro-Stalinist) into a single monolithic party has just taken place and underscores the perspective of the direct incorporation of Poland into Stalinist Russia. The "unification" was dutifully prepared for by great purges which swept up more than 5,000 militants of the pseudo-PPS, among them almost all the old leaders such as Drobner, Schwalbe, Rusinek, etc. Purges of a similar nature have wreaked havoc in the Populist Party and the "Democratic Party," a shadow-party led by Rzymowski.

ADOPT CAUTIOUS POLICY

Confronting the Stalinist government in Warsaw and the exiled government of the right in London, the new committee (supported by Socialists, Populists and Christian-Laborists) represents perhaps the living forces of the peasant, working-class and middle-class opposition against Stalinism in Poland. However, this organization has its dark side in the political history of Mikolajczyk. Poland was the first to struggle against Nazism and was cynically betrayed. It has lost a third of its population, half of its territories and suffered incalculable economic losses. In spite of its hatred for the invader, the Polish nation has lost confidence in its "generous democratic allies" and has no desire to throw itself into an unequal struggle against Stalinism.

Consequently, the opposition political circles in the country have adopted a policy of caution and of "saving Polish blood." I believe that this attitude is in accordance with popular aspirations. The worker and peasant masses of Poland demand a true policy of national independence and socialist democracy; a policy of the independent socialist front, free of capitulations or surrender.

time, Truman calls for peacetime draft (we are now told it was based upon the fantasies of General Clay) and WP and SYL organize another large protest meeting at same campus.

KANSAS CITY—This is the city that is almost in dead center geographically. It's the spot that saw some of the bitterest anti-labor violence during the packing strike. Its athletic representatives didn't do too well this year, but a local boy from nearby Independence made the headlines. Harry Truman scored the greatest upset since Man O'War got beat. Labor support was primary in getting him back in. What is the most significant feature of this event? Is it most amazing that the man who threatened to draft strikers, who established government loyalty boards, who introduced peacetime conscription, who issued injunctions could receive such widespread labor support? Or is it more important to note how labor demonstrated its potential political power?

As was indicated at the outset, there are at least two sides to all events of the past year. The demonstration of labor's might offers the great hope, the evidence of its leadership's poor memory brings great dismay. The coming year is approached with the lesson of last year's potentialities showing what can be done, the failings showing what must be combated.

A Round-Up of the Year's Events at Home and Abroad

By WILLIAM BARTON

This is the time of the year for summarizing. Commentators list the best and the poorest that; many try to characterize the entire year with a catch phrase. Their efforts produce little, for this has been a year of many contradictions.

The history of the past year has been at least two-sided everywhere. Crucial issues presented themselves; also the hope for their solution. It has seen many exciting contests in the world of politics and elsewhere, as for example, in sports. In the latter, there have been striking victories and stunning defeats. In the former, all is, as yet, in the stalemated stage.

AROUND THE WORLD

A quick imaginary radio roundup from the important cities of the world might sound something like this:

LONDON, England—A new heir to the throne is born, while most Englishmen remain more concerned with the expected continuation of austerity. The Labor Government is increasing production appreciably, but remains saddled with the outdated economic structure it inherited from the Conservative Party. Its nationalization measures have only scratched the surface of requirement. Steel nationalization is still held up but will probably be achieved this year. India is free and Ireland completely outside the Empire, but the Foreign Office continues the old shell game in the Near East.

Probably the most exciting non-political event in the country was the renewal of Olympic Games, conducted with only a few international repercussions, such as athletes refusing to return to the other side of the Iron Curtain.

PARIS, France—United Nations meeting late in year finds East-West division greater than ever. The two sides have trouble getting together on agenda.

Frenchmen elated as Marcel Cerdan wins world middleweight boxing title. Otherwise all is indecisive. Coalition center governments replace each other and struggle along. Stalinists attempt to utilize workers' grievances to openly sabotage French production (and little else), and call adventurous strikes. Government physically suppresses strikes in mine areas. Result is overwhelming defeat for Stalinists and, unfortunately, French workers.

De Gaulles become increasingly stronger. However, France witnesses a highly significant political development, the organization of RDR, a broad political grouping agreed upon its opposition to the systems represented by both Washington and Moscow.

THE HAGUE, Netherlands—Mrs. Fanny Blankers-Koen, 30 year old Dutch mother of two children, is top star of London Olympic Games with four track victories. Receives plaudits of world. Several months later, Dutch government is condemned by entire world for its invasion of territory of Republic of Indonesia, without previous warning and in violation of truce agreement.

ROME, Italy—Stalinists defeated in spring Italian election. Victory is mostly that of America and the Vatican, which ran the show. Big socialist vote in industrial centers, however, is encouraging. Unfortunately, Stalinists are reported gaining anew.

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia—Emil Zatopek, Czech army officer, wins 10,000 meter run in Olympics and almost repeats at 5,000 meters. Other Czech sportsmen do not do as well as national Sokol sports organization gets reorganized because of part it played in anti-Stalinist demonstration after February coup. Stalinists in complete control of country, producing only headaches for them. Purges continue, working hours lengthened, widespread underground activity reported. The brightest jewel of the new Stalinist Empire is proving to be a hot potato.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia—Sports activity not too world-publicized. However, more important battle opens between Yugoslavian Stalinist leader Tito and his former mentors in Moscow. Russian tyrants shiver as satellites talk back and mean it.

MOSCOW, Russia—The scared men of the Kremlin are really worried. They start the year off by telling

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Halt Indonesia Deportations

(Continued from page 1)

Sanator Langer reported to Watts having received assurance from Attorney General Clark, who has authority over the Immigration Service, that all deportations of Indonesians had been held up.

Many Indonesians are still being held at Ellis Island, however, Watts reports. The WDL will now be active in securing freedom for those among them who have been in the United States at least seven years or who have dependents who are American citizens. It will also continue its advocacy of a law giving Indonesia an immigration quota and a removal of the bar against naturalization.

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