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# **Air Chief Vandenberg Reveals:** U. S. Aim Is to 'Dominate the World' With 'Big Stick' like British Empire

**'Beneficently'? U. S. Arms Drive Is Ruining Europe, Dispatches Report** 

American-led and directed efforts to mobilize the non-Russian world for a coming war is encountering opposition, latest reports indicate, not only from anti-American or "neutralist" groupings, but from the essentially sick economies of the countries to be mobilized themselves.

A series of articles, published recently in the New York Times, written by one of its

best European correspondents, Michael Hoffman, pointed out in one instance after another that for most European nations rearmament was not only unpleasant and unpopular but economically, under the present system,

And-on the other side of the Atlantic-in a conference of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America held in Mexico City, various speakers stressed the fear of their respective governments of the disruptive effects of rearmament on their

Hoffman's five informative articles, following right on the heels

of Aneurin Bevan's eye-opening resignation from the British cabinet in protest against the rearmament line, have a message which is only beginning to be heard and understood in the West. Europe simply cannot rearm to the extent which Washington is forcing it to, without seriously disrupting its al-

ready unstable economic structure. Hoffman well appreciates the deep and unalterable weaknesses of the European capitalist economies. In the first place, the resources of capital necessary for the military undertakings urged by the U.S. simply do not exist.

"The capital market," he writes, "in the broadest possible sense of that terms, is one great European institution that has never recovered from World War II." And he added that "the new defense program is beginning to show, for the first time, what Europe has really lost in this respect."

### DEAD END

For the first time since the years immediately following the war, the sick and diseased character of European capitalism is becoming a serious problem to Western strategists. The Marshall Plan, as well as general American prosperity, temporarily made it appear that Europe was again 'on its feet." But the outmoded character of the European economy cannot be forever overlooked.

"Not one Western European member of the Atlantic Pact is capable today of financing rearmament or anything else by mobilizing, in the traditional manner, the savings of its citizens."

Floating loans would be possible, in other words, if the governments created money as fast as it. borrowed it-and this, of course, would only lead to an inflation which, in turn, would lead to a lowering of a standard of living which is only today beginning to surpass pre-war levels.

And, as nearly every European politician knows, such a lowering will be politically suicidal. European officials, Hoffman points out, must daily take into consideration, in every step, the possibility that a policy may encourage tremendous social unrest and up-(Turn to last page)

At a time when the gen erals have become the chief spokesmen of U.S. foreign policy-put forward as such by the Truman administration to defend its record against the reactionary attacks of MacArthur and his Republican claque — Air Chief of Staff Vandenberg has put into the clearest words what the aim of that policy is.

His testimony before the Senate inquiry on May 29 explicitly confirms the view of independent socialists that the aim of both U. S. and Russian power is to dominate the world, and that it is not a question of diplomatic doubletalk about "defense," "defeating aggression," etc.

"What was being sought by the air leaders, General Vandenberg told the inquiry, was the creation of a force so great as to dominate the world, though beneficently, just as the British fleets dominated the world in the 19th century.

"Such a force, he said in substance, could through the balance of power it would create bring to the world that prolonged peace that the British sailing ships had brought many generations ago." (N. Y. Times.)

# THE WORLD HEARD HIM

Vandenberg dotted the i's by referring to Theodore Roosevelt's notorious declaration about carrying a "big stick"-with which 'to knock competitors over the head. it must be understood, just as the first Roosevelt used it to club down anti-imperialist opposition in Latin America. He lamented that "to date, instead of a big stick, it is a fairly large club' only.

The builders of the ex-British Empire, whose big stick has in our day been splintered by the revolt of the Asian peoples, in their day also spoke of their beneficent mission, the "white man's burden," and such-as has been the habit of all would-be world conquerors. Such talk, being cheap, did not prevent them from becoming the classic exponents of capitalist-imperialist exploitation of backward peoples.

It can be imagined that Vandenberg's frank declaration will not make the peoples of the world happier about helping Washington to impose its power over the non-Russian world in the name of "containing Communism." In the same way, they have learned (Turn to last page)

(2) It has made numerous approach es to Washington to establish a common attitude, which Acheson finally acknowledged publicly with his appeal to both sides to negotiate, thereby satisfying

(3) It has sent off to Mossadegh a series of offensive diplomatic notes denying the Iranian governments rights in the situation, thereby affronting the entire Iranian people-at a time when anti-British imperialist feeling is at fever

(4) It has referred the matter to the Hague court in a final gesture of futility, since the Mossadegh regime rejects the jurisdiction of the court on the grounds that nationalization of its own natural resources is not a matter of international

None of these steps contain even the smallest grain of a democratic or socialist foreign policy—or even of an effective one, admitting the great complexity of

LABOR ACT'ON



By GORDON HASKELL

The International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America unanimously adopted a resolution on May 10 which demands that all controls be taken off the economy. Here we have another example of that curious and almost baffling combination of economic militancy and political backwardness which is John L. Lewis, and hence the leadership of the UMW.

The resolution starts out with a ringing indictment of the Defense Production Act of 1950 and the administrative nightmare which has been set up to carry out its provisions. In language which is pure Lewis, the resolution states that continuously after the passage of the act:

"There has been a never-ending and unceasing stream of orders, rules, regulations, decrees, promulgations, amendments, interpretations and declarations by such agencies and their manifold respective administrators, directors, chairmen and other official and unofficial spokesmen, so as to, in effect, virtually overwhelm and flood all industry, business and labor, large and small with long, involved, technical, legalistic, complex, complicated, duplicitous, confusing and confounding rules and standards of conduct restricting, limiting, prohibiting, circumscribing and choking their otherwise normal and ordinarily successful and smooth operation. . . ."

But that is not all. The resolution comes to the heart of the whole question when it points out in the next WHEREAS that:

"The Act is shot full of provisions allowing for discrimination and inequities favoring industry and big business and weighted by spirit and letter against labor and the vast numbers of American citizens, who by its terms and the continuation of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (the Taft-Hartley Act—Ed.) are cast arbitrarily into the unjustified and despised role of 'second class citi-

With this indictment, the whole labor movement in the United States is in full agreement. During their brief revolt against the mobilization set-up all the labor leaders said as much-and more. They pointed out that in addition to the measures built into the act which favor the capitalists against the rest of the American people, these same capitalists had also been put in full charge of administering the very agencies which were, in theory, set up to control their activities.

They demanded that the Defense Production Act be so drastically revised as to constitute its repeal, and that in its place be put an act which would really effectuate price controls, would keep wages free and flexible, would ensure rent control, the continued building of homes for low income groups, etc.

### OPPOSITE CONCLUSION

The IEB of the miners, however, reached exactly the opposite conclusion from the rest of the labor movement, though up till this point their resolution seems to be very much akin to the kind of resolutions passed by the United Labor Policy Committee in its fire-eating days. The next

WHEREAS begins to show the difference in approach:

"The brief but chaotic experiences already had under the Act demonstrate conclusively that its continuation, or the continuation of the various boards and agencies, particularly the so-called Wage Stabilization Board, as created under the amended Executive Order No. 10161 of April 21, 1951, and the Office of Price Stabilization agency, would only serve to rivet upon the American people and all segments of business and labor an iron collar of political and governmental controls leading inexorably to a socialistic and paternalistic way of life utterly contrary and inimical to the best interests of this nation."

Little would be achieved by trying to figure out by what logical process Lewis has arrived at the conclusion that government controls have something "socialistic" in them. The word is used as a cuss-word, and nothing more. But the resolution moves right along, with a couple of unimportant asides, to:

"NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RE-SOLVED, by the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America that we deplore the original passage of the ill-considered, restrictive and prejudicial legislation, denounce its present confused and confounded administration, condemn as entireunworkable and unnecessary and as contrary to the American way of life the abortive attempts to stabilize prices and wages and hereby cail upon all labor and industry to join the United Mine Workers of America in opposing the extension of the Act and thus speeding the return of this government to the people.'

Again, there would be no point in dissecting this last paragraph. Even though it is full of unclear, muddled, and contradictory phrases, what it means to say is clear enough: take controls off the economy . . . let prices, wages, and production go up till they reach their own "natural" supplyand-demand levels . . . that is the good old American way . . . and at any rate, in that kind of set-up the UMW knows how to take care of itself.

Of course, one is immediately struck by the fact that the policy proposed by the UMW, and even a good deal of the phraseology produced to justify it, is identical with the policy and phraseology of the most conservative and even reactionary sections of the business community. Yet every thinking person also knows that next week, or whenever Lewis thinks the time is favorable, the UMW is quite capable of serving demands on the employers which will make them proclaim that Lewis is as great a danger to the capitalist system as Stalin him-

# SNARE AND DELUSION

In addition to the resolution, the United Mine Workers Journal of May 15 summarized the discussion by the IEB in terms which may throw further light on their action. Point two in the summary reads as follows:

"That the effort to control prices would be futile because of the many other factors in the economy left uncontrolled, notably

# They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has especially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the ISL, at 114 West 14 Street, 3rd floor, New York City.

profits, speculation and taxes, and that the end product of the socalled stabilization program would be severe restraints on wages alone to the detriment of labor. It was noted that price control in World War II had proved to be 'a miserable adventure and a delusion and a snare."

From the above, with which we concur heartily, the UMW has concluded that the government is not to be trusted. that it would be better to have no controls and to battle out the inflation with collective bargaining and increased production rather than to attempt to improve the controls.

This idea is contrary to the thinking of all other sections of the labor leadership, and of all segments of liberal and Fair Deal opinion. Its fallacy is the fallacy of all old-fashioned "free enterprise" thinking. It is the idea that the workers can get a "fair share" of the national product if the market is permitted to operate freely, particularly in a period of a great armament boom when means of destruction replace means of consumption as the product of a large and growing segment of industry.

### ANOTHER FALLACY

The rest of the labor leaders understand this idea to be fallacious. They therefore demand that the government control prices, rents, and speculation in commodities, and that it adopt a more "equitable" tax system, subsidize low-rent housing, etc. But in doing so, they ignore an element of truth in Lewis' approach. and they fall into another fallacy.

This element of truth is that this government will not control "profspeculation and taxes," and that therefore as long as the labor government confines itself to pleading with it to do so, "the end product . . . would be severe restraints on wages alone to the detriment of labor."

John L. Lewis has proved himself a giant within the narrow

limits of business unionism. His control over the UMW is the envy of every would be union czar in the labor movement. The miners have such a strong sense of solidarity that they have been able to wring undreamed of concessions from the mine owners under his aggressive leadership. But whenever Lewis has attempted to go beyond the narrow sphere of business, unionism into the broader realm of political life, he has proved himself inept-a failure.

That is where his limitations, and the limitations of business unionism in general become all too obvious. And so, instead of taking a leap forward, he retires into the shibboleths of old-fashioned economic liberalism.

# REAL LABOR POLITICS

The other labor leaders are, so far, not much better off. Their approach has shown no great prospect of success. It is evident that their demands for changes in the Defense Production Act, on taxation, on housing and the rest are going to be ignored. They are looking in the right direction insofar as they recognize that the workers must participate in politics if they are to hold their own, let alone advance, in the economic field. But the kind of politics in which they have engaged have been and will continue to be futile

When Lewis says that this government will not really control prices, he is right. The problem, then, is to get one which will. And that will not be accomplished by voting for more "good" Democrats and Republicans. It can be accomplished only if the working people of this country form their own party, a labor party, and take the government away from the businessmen who run it today. This would not end inflation, or at least. it would not necessarily end it. But it would be a long step toward that "return of this government to the people" of which the UMW resolution speaks.

**About Children** In the Richest Land on Earth

In 1949 over four and a haif million children lived in families with an income of less than \$1,000 per year, or an average weekly ncome of less than \$19.

This was not in Russia, or even in France or Britain, but in the good old U.S.A., the richest country in the world.

Another eleven million children, a number about equal to the total armed forces of the United States at the height of the last war, lived in families with annual incomes of less than \$2.000 (that is, \$38 per week, \$166 per month). Over twenty million children lived in families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 (that is, \$58 per week, \$250 per month.)

These figures are a result of a child-population analysis for the year 1949 issued by Director Roy V. Peel of the Census Bureau, according to the New York Times of May 23.

Of course, this is the richest country in the world, and no one in his senses would seek to deny it. All one has to do is read the rest of Peel's figures to realize it. Almost twenty-two million children lived in families with an annual income over \$3,000 during 1949, and over seven million in families with incomes over \$5,000. The Times report does not indicate whether the original figures showed the size of that happy band of kiddies living in families with incomes over \$20,000, which is about where the capitalist class begins, more or less, in this country

The report also does not indicate how many children, on an average, there were in each of the families, but it is a well known fact that the richest families do not tend to be the largest Among how many mouths did that \$19 or \$38 or \$58 per week have to be shared ... and on how many backs did it have to put clothing?

In addition to being the richest country in the world, the U.S. is frequently referred to as the land

"Racial segregation was forgot-

wars, marched shoulder to shoul-

der singing 'Pack Up Your Trou-

bles' and 'Tipperary.' They held

protesting banners saying 'Uphold

the White Man's World,' 'Hitler

"'We demand a general elec-

"Malays in red fezzes and Ne-

Again' and 'Down with Malan.'

tion,' the crowd shouted.

# By AVEL BAKER

ner.tal China.

June 4, 1951

The formula used to effect the conquest is extremely important-far beyond the significance of Tibet in world pol tics. It is an indication of the real attitude of the Peking regime toward its own national minorities. The Chinese Stal nists came to power on what amounted to a twopronged program, one of which was land reform and another respect for national minorities, of which there are five main groups and numerous lesser ones in China. The policy toward Tibet has effectively exploded the Stalinist claim to represent a democratic solution to the nationalities problem, not only for China but for every nation in the Far East. For Asiatic politics, and most especially for the Socialist Parties of Asia who are to convene later this year in Rangoon, the Peking regime's chauvinism toward its minorities is a development which, while not unexpected, is now fortunately quite clear.

outside of a few phrases conthe Chinese Stalinists.

mean? Sian. actu: Mao's aim of taking Tibet. PUPPET LAMA

fran 2 of mind.

liberated and will return to the Next -A Lasor Party! by Jack Ranger in the A Hard-Hitting, Meaty Presentation of the Need United for an Independent Labor Party States 25 cents Order from: Labor Action Book Service 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

# Races Unite in So. African Rally Against Malan's Jim Crow System

One of the biggest political demonstrations in the history of South Africa took place on May 28, when a vast throng of people of all colors marched outside the House of Parliament in Capetown in protest against the Malan government's bill to take Coloreds (people of mixed race) off the white election register.

This bill is a further application of the government's reactionary "Apartheid" program which seeks to impose completely rigid lines between the races, and to assure "white supremacy" in South Africa by practically disfranchising all but the whites of the dominion.

The great demonstration on May 28 was organized by ex-servicemen. As full reports are not yet available, it is impossible to indicate the political views or affiliations of the organizers of the demonstration. However, its size and the militancy with which it was organized and carried out indicate that the Malan government has a long way to go before it can impose Apartheid on a docile pop-

The New York Times for May 29 reports that after the parade, fighting broke out in which twenty-six persons and two policemen were seriously injured and taken to hospitals after the worst rioting in Capetown history. It appears that this riot broke out when police attempted to prevent pages, 25 cents.

some of the demonstrators from town streets were orderly at first. following a deputation that was taking resolutions to the political ten as men and women of all colparty leaders at the House. ors and races, young and old, some of whom had fought in three

# UNITED RACES

The Times describes the parade which preceded the riot as follows:

"Before the rioting white exincluding Negroes, paraded eight and more abreast in a three-milelong procession through Capetown

"Extra police guarded all entrances to Parliament as the procession passed with torches flaming and bands playing. The parade took more than eighty minutes to pass the House of Parliament. The marchers and the crowd that thronged the Cape-

# BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, May

JUDGMENT DAY, by James T. Farrell. A Signet Giant, 384 pages, 35 cents

A GALLERY OF AMERI-CANS, by Frank Luther Mott. Mentor, 224 pages, 35 cents. TIME FOR LOVE, by Mar-

garet Lee Runbeck. Signet, 192 pages, 25 cents. PRETTIEST GIRL IN TOWN.

by Thomas Fall. Signet, 240

gro women with babies on their backs marched beside white persons in one of the biggest demonstrations South Africa has ever

# Tibet Coup Reveals Mao's Demagogy **On National Minorities Question**

The Peking regime of Mao Tze-tung this week realized one of its most important objectives-the conquest and subjugation of remote Tibet. While military action was also employed, Tibet was taken over through a combination of political intrigue, threats and economic pressures. With this Peking has established itself over all of what was conti-

# The terms of the new arrangement amount to a complete subordination of Lhassa to Peking. There is little pretense,

China.'

agreement.

to keep out.

big family of the motherland . . .

Long live Mao Tze-tung, the great

leader of the Chinese people. Long

Live the Communist Party of

In the midst of the discussions

with the Tibetan delegation the

Panchen Lama delivered himself

of the following observations: "It

is only under Chairman Mao's

guidance that all the nationalities

of our country can win liberation.

The inclusion of the Panchen Lama

as one of the three constituents of

the new power over Tibet is obvi-

ously nothing more than the inclu-

sion of a puppet, albeit a willing

The real power will, of course,

reside with the Stalinist bureac-

racy assigned to the job by

Peking. This is unmistakably

established in the terms of the

The Tibetan army is to be re-

organized and absorbed into

Army," and in the meanwhile the

"Peoples Liberation Army" is to

take over all military establish-

ments. A political and military

mission is to be assigned from

Lhassa in order to supervise im-

plementation of the terms of the

agreement. All foreign affairs are

centralized in Peking and Tibet

is cut off from direct diplomatic

relations with India. as well as

with the rest of the world. Tibet

is enjoined to eliminate all "im-

perialist influence," which could

very well mean India since Pek-

ing has specifically warned India

The scope of Peking's control,

as delineated in the recent set-

tlement and the steps taken-mili

tary and political-to ensure their

obedience, amount to complete

conquest. The sole basis for this

action is the legal claim of

Chinese suzerainty over the area.

ous one. The long history of rela-

tions between the two countries

is a stormy one, with the Tibetans

invading China in the 8th cen-

tury and the Chinese invading

Tibet several times since. Present

legal relations were never ratified

by the Kuomintang, while the

Tibetans frankly looked to Brit-

ain and India for protection

New York Discussion Meeting

THE JEWISH QUESTION, ZIONISM.

**ISRAEL and the NEAR EAST** 

**Reporter: Hal Draper** 

JUNE 7 at 8:30 p.m.

Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

against the Chinese.

2

Even the legal claim is a dubi-

AO'S POLICY EXPOSED

. .

"Chinese Peoples Liberation

ceraing "religious freedom," tha) anything else is intended. Power is placed in the hat is of a new constellation comprising three ostensibly distact groups: the Lhassa theconacy, the Panchen Lama's in branch of Tibetan Buddhis and the so-called People's Government of Autonomous Tibet which was set up about a year as the direct instrument of What does the 3-group formula

The Panchen Lima has been in exile from Tibet since 1923 and can hardly be said to speak for Lhama. He has been the spiritual lead : of Tibetan Buddhists in Tsinghai and the other nort orn provinces, although the extent of his control even here has been limited. Certainly he h d little influence as a political leader. However, the Stalinists found in him a willing tool. The Panchen Lama's aspiration to I turn to Lhassa in triumph and control dovetailed neatly with

Accordingly, the Panchen Lama was invited to pay his respects at the Peking court and to receive the official blessing of Mao's regime. On April 18 he left his monastery and began his long journey. He was given every facility along the way, entertained lavishiy, and treated with all the deference accorded a potentate was being wooed. Apparent ly he and his party responded well to this treatment and he arrived in Peking in the desired

Al eady en route he announced his full support to the then military attack of the Chinese against his cwn state in Tibet: "Tibet belongs to China and to the Tibetan people . . . Tibet will soon be

By LEON TROTSKY Marxism 35 Cents . . . . . Order from

Independent Socialist Press 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

But there can be no merely legal determination of the character viability of a nation. Much more to the point has been the consistetn desire of the Tibetans themselves to retain their distinctness. The people of Tibet adhere to a religion, to a general outlook and to an artisanal and socia tradition which is different from China's, having borrowed heavily from India as well as from China and produced a unique syncretic culture of its own. These fundamentals are more truly relevant to Tibet's right to independence, and no one denies them.

That Peking has gone to such lengths-including military invasion-to establish its hegemony, in utter disregard of these factors, is a complete repudiation of its promises to respect the rights of nationalities-and it is a warning to the other peoples of Asia. For the Stalinists have left no room for continuation of local autonomy by the inclusive nature of their new authority.

Nor is Tibet the only place where the new regime has violated the simplest democratic rights of the people. Its arrangements with Russia in Sinkiang, giving the former joint economic

ISL FUND DRIVE

rights, and its aquiescence to continued Russian military occupation in Manchuria are other aspects of this same question. But these are all, in large measure, beyond control or revocation in the immediate future.

But the same Great Hanism Chinese chauvinism) is also being directed toward the conquest of Formosa-and here it is not vet too late. While the people of Formosa are Chinese in terms of racial stock and origins, they have been politically and economically, culturally and linguistically separated from the mainland. by 45 years of Japanese colonialization. While Chiang has hardly endeared himself to the native population, neither has Stalinism achieved any hold over the minds or hopes of the people. On the other hand, there is a substantial sentiment for an independent Formosa, free of the Stalinism of the continent and of the civil war that Chiang brings with him.

The lesson of Tibet is that Stalinism cannot be given a free hand in Formosa. The people must be allowed freely to choose for themselves. The fate of national minorities cannot be left to the Peking regime.

# Nuisances

Associate Minister of Justice Herafa of Czechoslovakia has announced (January 4) that "today nothing any longer justifies the independent practice of the profession of law." It seems that up to now, lawyers have been under the impression that their job is to "take the part of their client's interests" and thus have "disturbed the prosecutors and judges in the good accomplishment of their tasks.

# Note on AMA

The American Medical Association, the reactionary "doctors' trust," which spent \$21/2 million last year to lobby against health insurance and anything else which would cut into the haul made by rich doctors, spent only \$1¼ million in 1949 for "advancing medical knowledge."

We mention this only because the AMA's reason for existence, according to its founding papers, is "advancing medical knowledge.

# Patriots All

They're plowing under again. But not because of a depression. A business newspaper reports that "here in the Salinas Valley of California, lettuce growers are rising early these mornings-to ploy under a third of their crops." These big "factory farmers" who supply most of the lettuce for the country, are "dissatisfied with the price, so they've decided to reduce the supply."

# **Final Report: Fund Drive Made It; Our Thanks to All Contributors!**

### By ALBERT GATES. und Drive Director

The final week of the 1951 ISL Fund Drive closed with cash conributions of \$380, making a total of \$12,459.06 collected. Although this is \$41 short of the goal of \$12,500, there are sums already contributed but not yet received which will push the campaign over the top.

In the closing days of the drive, Chicago sent in two sums which lifited it into the 100 per cent class with a total contribution of \$1800. We want to congratulate Chicago. Their quota was not an easy one; it required real effort. The effort was made and Chicago reached its goal.

The Los Angeles branch, which has had tough sailing in recent weeks, sent in another \$100 which came near making the 100 per cent for it. Of a quota of \$550, the comrades raised \$507.

Additional sums were received from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and the SYL. Alto-

The BEST recent book on the labor movement-"The UAW and

Walter Reuther"

Irving Howe and B. J. Widick **Random House** \$3.00 Order from:

Labor Action Book Service 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

gether they brought the cash con- friends was the first to pass the tributions so close to the goal of the drive that the moneys scheduled to come in guarantee the success of the campaign.

Most of the cities reached the 100 per cent mark. Several of them went way over the mark. Yet no report of the drive would be complete if it did not call attention to the splendid efforts made by the SYL, which nearly doubled its quota. In speaking of the work of the SYL in the drive, special mention has to be made of the Chicago unit which alone sent in almost half of the youth quota!

Our little contingent of Streator



vigorously for his immediate reinstatement. It seems certain that the categoric demand of the UAW was a big factor in his final reinstatement, which is an exceedingly important victory for the preservation of normal union rights and for the protection of union militants.

This victory, however, is of far lesser significance to the fight for general civil and political rights in the factories. The government agencies did not even -pose the political issues in this case;" they tried to press beyond the legal limits of their own bureaucratically devised formulas.

### DOUBLE ABUSE

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The real assault on democratic rights in industry takes place around the so-called "subversive" list. The government need only charge (very seldom does it have to prove anything) that a man is a member of, or sympathetic to, or friendly to someone who is sympathetic to any group listed on this notorious list. Out he goes.

In the maritime industry, the coast guard merely announces that it believes a man is disloyal

100 per cent mark and this was a real achievement. Twelve of the categories receiving quotas finished with 100 per cent or over, and of these more than half went above their quotas.

We take this opportunity, in closing the drive, to thank all the branches of the ISL, the SYL, our friends and sympathizers for the way in which they responded to our appeal. While the sucessful drive will not and cannot solve the over-all financial problems of the ISL, it has already made it possible to carry on in the coming

and he is denied shipping rights. He is guilty of having guard believe he is guilty

The Schuetz case was an abuse of these abuses. He was not even charged with being "disloyal" to the United States, only of being loyal to the union. And so it was possible for this case to be fought through without coming into headon collision with the whole "loyalty program."

The Schuetz case is not the first of its kind at Bell Aircraft. Almost two years ago, after a bitter strike, a whole group of active unionists were discharged. In their case, however, it was charged that they were "subversives." It is interesting that the UAW convention heard no reminding references to these cases. The Socialist Call, which has reported the Schuetz case in several issues, has not yet seen fit to remind their readers of the preceding cases at Bell. Yet these were no less important cases of antidemocracy.

The Schuetz case was indeed a victory for the union: but the labor movement still has to take up the fight for full democracy in - the plants.

(Continued from page 1)

Page Four

LABOR ACTION





# The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stainism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism-which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its everpresent struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now —such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner. join the Independent Socialist League!





# By PHILIP COBEN

The Tito regime's turn to the West on a power-politics and diplomatic level, which has lined his Yugoslavia up with the U. S. war bloc at least on the plane of foreign policy, was-as LABOR ACTION pointed out some months ago-accompanied by an obvious effort by Tito to seek points of support within the Western bloc by a rapproachement with the social-democracies there.

With the obvious differences dictated by their different situations and the times, it has been an adaptation of the "People's Front" line which the Russian Stalinists pushed in their time in the days when they looked to the Western governments as potential military allies against fascist expansionism.

Then, too, it was that the Stalinists sought "friends," fellow travelers, apologists and whitewashers in the U.S. and Western Europe, especially among the social-democracy-and succeeded in finding them. Proceeding along the same path, for all the differences in the available possibilities, Tito turned his main attention to the British Labor Party, for the obvious reason that here was a social-democratic party which controlled the government. In Britain, he picked up at least Konni Zilliacus-who isn't much of a help to his objective of swinging some weight with the Labor Party leadership.

It seems he can now boast of a very modest and minuscular success as regards the U.S. social-democracy.

Reporting a couple of weeks ago at a meeting on his recent trip abroad, Norman Thomas (of the Socialist Party here) came out with a new line on Tito.

In part, Thomas' report on Yugoslavia (which he visited) was merely a sketchy repetition of claims for the Tito regime that others began making as soon as Belgrade became a "friend" of U. S. power and not an enemy. But on the other hand, he declared that Tito's Yugoslavia is still a totalitarian country.

# Totalitarian on Probation

His stay at the Hotel Moskva in Belgrade, however, and a chat with Moshe Pyade impelled him to talk mainly along the following lines: It is, to be sure, still a totalitarian country. BUT changes have taken place . . . there are no pictures of Stalin around . . . it is "communist" but not of the type admitted by Stalin or Trotsky . . . he did not feel in a prisonhouse as he did in Moscow in 1937 . . . slave labor is no longer conspicuous in Belgrade . . . there is more freedom, for example, the U. S. Information Service in Belgrade is thronged with people . . . Americans are welcome . . . U. S. relief is distributed honestly . . . compulsory collectivization has been stopped . . . Pyade assured him that the "jokers" in the Workers' Councils law would be removed in due course of time . . . there is an honest effort to get away from bureaucracy . . . etc.

Thomas' comparatively modest claims for Titoist "democratization" will be noted, and LABOR ACTION has analyzed bigger claims from other sources in great enough details. But in view of Thomas' opinion that Tito-Yugoslavia is still at any rate a totalitarian country, another aspect of his report is interesting.

The SP leader had reported in his talk that Tito wanted an alliance with the international socialist movement. He was asked: Do you mean he wants an alliance with the Yugoslav socialists?—No, of course not, Tito doesn't want an alliance with the socialists in Yugoslavia; he wants admission into the international democratic socialisist movement.

And we went on (referring to COMISCO, the loose coordinating center of the SPs): We must be a little cautious in admitting him Just as a church may put a new member on probation for a period, so perhaps we ought to have some such basis for admitting him. We must be cautious, but we would not slap him down if he wants in.

The spectacle of the SPs-which make a religious ritual out of repeating that we are "democratic socialists"-admitting the ruling party of a totalitarian state to their own midst is something to gawk at.

Naturally, any mystery in Thomas's attitude is cleared up easily hough if we understand that Tito's friendliness with the U.S. war bloc is far more important for him than anything he observed in the Hotel Moskva or its environs. Not that he is "selling" his principles, you understand, or any other such vulgar idea: it is merely that his ro-war views plus Tito's role in the cold war weigh heavier in his fuzzy brand of thinking than "minor" considerations.

Their leader's willingness to live in the same COMISCO with the Yugoslav totalitarian rulers (on probation, of course) ought to be disconcerting to many SPers and YPSLs we know of-who have refused to engage even in joint activity with independent socialists and Trotskyists on the ground that the latter are "Bolsheviks" and by definition "totalitarian"! History and politics play all kinds of



~ ~

# Reading from Left to Right

THE END OF BIROBIDJAN, by Isaac Perimutter.— East Europe (London), May 10.

The writer briefly sketches the story of the sad farce of Birobidjan as the "Jewish homeland" area set aside by the Stalinist government in 1928 in response to widespread aspirations by Jews in Russia. "The Crimea was the first dream; the Southern Ukraine (the Kherson region) the second. Then . . . the NKVD took a hand" and pointed to that "small strip of hilly territory along the Amur River, some 40 miles east of Khabarovsk, on the Manchurian border," Birobidjan. It was entirely wild country; the first Jewish settlers had to start with the ax to fell the trees.

Then, in spite of all, and after heroic labor had made the place habitable, "one of the factors which drove fresh resettlers to Birobidjan was the growing anti-Semitism in the USSR, which became ever more felt after the purge of the old Bolsheviks between 1933-38."

"By 1948, the Soviet authorities decided to liquidate the 'Jewish question' in the western USSR. Mass 'resettlement deportations' to Birobidjan of Jews from Byelorussia and the Ukraine began. But not all Jews were sent to this National Territory-some, probably the most Zionist-minded, were transported to an unknown Northern Jewish Resettlement Zone, several times mentioned by Magadan Radio. This indicates that the incurable dreamers of Palestine were dispatched to the subarctic clime of the Kolym,a in Dalstroy, whose capital -Magadan-lies on the northern shores of the Okhotsk Sea."

But now the latest reports show that even this phase of Birobidjan's status is over, "that the Jewish Autonomous Oblast (region), Birobidjan, had been transformed from an autonomous body into an administrative region of the Khabarovsk Krai (province). This followed a period of desertions by the Jewish population from Birobidjan and the wholesale arrest on charges of 'reactionary Zionism' of the editorial staff of the only Jewish language daily of the USSR, Freies Leben, published in Birobidian. This seems to be the end of the parody of Jewish national freedom in the USSR."

[Note to the editors of East Europe: In your footnote on page 3, the characterization of the Jewish Labor Committee of the U.S., given on the authority of LABOR ACTION for April 9, is entirely erroneous and bears no resemblance to the facts given in our article. The JLC is quite conservative.]



# ANOTHER EYE-WITNESS REPORT OF THE BARCELONA STRIKE

We present another report (condensed) from a participant in. the recent Barcelona general strike movement against Franco. this one taken from the French syndicalist magazine Révolution Prolétarienne, where it is published in the current May issue. The writer's name, of course, is withheld. The report is dated Barcelona, March 16.-Ed.

I have already written to you. about the street-car boycott in-Barcelona, Simple typewritten leaflets, appealing to the "honor of the citizens of Barcelona' (very moderate language), called on the people to undertake the boycott. These same leaflets isvited the people to recopy the text and circulate it further. A naive expedient, if you wish, but at least it avoids the danger of a large-scale publishing job and a raid by the cops.

In any case the street-car boycott was a howling success. . . . But more important, it showed the people the power of united action and the possibility of resistng the government. The people did not go into the action under the banner of any given political party, none whatever.

That is difficult to believe and undoubtedly astonishing, but I can assure you that this whole revolutionary upsurge was not "fabricated" in any political laboratory. was a popular movement, spontaneous, from one end to the other. Thus we came to March 12 [when the general strike broke

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out]. Two or three days before, leaflets appeared, also typewritten, calling for a general strike to protest against the cost of living, but nobody seriously believed in the success of such a movement. However, the facts showed that even after 13 years of Francoist dictatorship, after the almost total destruction of internal political opposition, there still remained among the workers and petty bourgeoisie a treasure house of revolutionary spirit, hidden of course but still living and

# EYEWITNESS STORY

ready to struggle.

I left home at 8 in the morning. The construction and factory workers were going to work, but no one set foot on the cars. The workers stood around the entrance to the shops; then left in groups and headed for the center of the city. The lower functionaries of the government "unions' also supported the strike, which shows how popular it was-it is a fact that these people are themselves exploited and wretched.

At 9 it was the turn of the office workers. They also refused to go in and the workers invited them to join them. At 10 the victory was total.

Then, with obscure instinct, the great wave of strikers began rolling toward the center of the city.

A very large contingent headed toward the central university, the students having been themselve on strike for several weeks. In front of the university, the latter joined the workers and office employees and together moved to go inside 'the buildings. First scuffle with the police-emergency call. Other thousands of citizens turned toward the city hall square. Soon the square was overflowing and stones were thrown at the windows. A hospital service truck was burned. Then gassoaked rags were thrown through the city hall windows. The firemen were impeded in getting to the spot and succeeded in putting out the blazes only with great difficulty.

At the same time, in the street before the top police prefecture, a demonstration was taking form. Insults were hurled at the copsa thing unheard-of for many years; stones were thrown, swear words resounded. A few shots were fired and it was on that occasion that The International was sung by some demonstrators. . . . But it was not the end. The

whole city was seized by a sort of revolutionary fever. Thousands and thousands of workers and of fice employees concentrated be-

You may have read something like this before, but it fore the Civil Guard headquarmust be remembered that never before have more than 80 Fruits of Meditation ters. Stones and insults-mounted leaders of thought decided this after such exhaustive conpolice, encircled, fired some shots The think-fest-entitled the American Assembly and -dead and wounded. The Ritz sideration held last week-assembled "more than 80 leading men and Hotel, the big luxury hotel, was (2) "A war is not inevitable but we must not shirk one women from business, labor, agriculture and government also attacked with stones and flaming rags. and the professions." By invitation only: you can't elect if necessary. There may be a long period of tension." Note the brilliantly scientific phrasing. The Brains do HUNGER, ORGANIZER Brains; they are separated out of the unwashed mass by not go off the deep end like less powerful minds: There may The police were powerless to Achievement, Success, Innate Ability and Columbia Univerput down the disturbances breakbe a long period of tension....

(5) Then the conference boldly and with squared-off factories the movement still went which was necessary to "explore" the problem and "ferret" chins sailed into the problem of the disagreement in their on; the workers refused to work, out the "truth" in profound lucubration. this time without violence because midst, expressed by Taft vs. Douglas. Lesser men might of the concentration of repressive It is impossible, therefore, to reveal all of the fresh new sidestep, compromise, fiddle-faddle, shilly-shally or even forces. That same day the moveperspectives and profound contributions toward solving the diddle around. Not the 80 Brains. With clarity that was ment won over the big industrial problems of the world crisis which undoubtedly poured out outright, upright, downright and forthright, they decided cities of Catalonia, Sabadell, Tarrasa, Manresa, etc. . . . of the participants in this perfect setting like Ramapo that Europe is important, and so is Asia; and "in the last The consequences of all this? rivulets. Disclosed to the press, no doubt, were only the analysis final determination in this matter must be made Certainly very good. Hope and more scintillating rills of thought, the most important gerby our constitutional authorities." courageous confidence in their minal ideas. Like Taft's statement of his "basic principles": Admiration at this democratic attitude overwhelms one own strength will be reborn in 'My view is that American foreign policy should be diat this point and estops further elaboration on the rest of the masses. rected primarily to the protection of the liberty of the peo- the epoch-making declaration. It is enough to say that the No political group can claim ple of the United States and that war should only be under- mountains labored and brought forth even more. this victory for itself. The French

the strike movement.

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.



ing out simultaneously in all parts of the city. At noon, however, 1000 uniformed cops arrived in Barcelona and 500 more the next day. Toward the end of that day the naval division made its appearance in the port: five warships comprising a cruiser, two destroyers and two third-rate ships. A swarm of cops in plainclothes also settled on the city and the repression began....

The next day the city recovered its normal appearance, but in the

l'Humanité and the Italian Verità Stalinist organs] yell in vain that the Spanish CP is the "leader of the working masses," etc. That is false, completely false. On their side, the anarchists play no role, although their supporters, always more numerous among us than the CPers, have rallied to.

The real organizer of the movement, the only one, was hunger, the brutal difference between wages and the cost of living. Poverty on every side. All that aggravated by the corruption of the government clique and the brutality of its repression of every opponent whatsoever.

You're Invited

# **Eighty Brains and 96 Rooms: Giant Intellects Dispose of World Problems**

Get the Brains of the country together in one room, and the results are bound to pass belief.

Foreign policy, for instance. There are some difficulties about it. The trouble-so decided the mentors of Columbia University — was that the leaders of the nation had too little time to *think* about it. The roughneck pace of modern life and politics was too rushed.

And thus a great idea was born. For consider: how do the Hollywood moguls handle the situation when they're up against a tough production problem? The producer packs up his associated Brains in a couple of Cadillacs and off they go to a simple lodge in the wilds, Palm Springs, for example-without even a swimming pool, to get the peace and quiet necessary for reflective thought. The movie columnists have explained that often enough. It's part of the American Way of Life and a close rival of the scientific method.

So Columbia promoted a kind of "story conference" on foreign policy which would bring together the type of giant intellects that have made America great, and from which would emerge the long-desired clarification of what is to be done by the United States in, and to, the world.

Fortunately, W. Averill Harriman had the essential ingredient, the sine qua non, the all-important prerequisite: a 96-room mansion in the Ramapo Mountains 50 miles from New York. It was the perfect place for fresh new thinking, a place where a man could get a new perspective on the world, a reflector for the concentrated cerebral waves that must surely sweep away old cobwebs.

After that hurdle was passed, the rest was easy:

So naturally there were present such Thinkers as: Hugh More, chairman of the board, Dixie Cup Company; Francis R. Wilcox, treasurer, California Fruit Growers Association; Thomas Watson, president, IBM; Dr. Johnson, president, Carnegie Endowment for Peace; Director Dunn of the Yale Institute for International Studies; Grayson Kirk of Columbia; and in addition such towering figures of political philosophy as Senators Robert Taft and Paul Douglas, David Lilienthal, Felix Morely, etc.

With the exception of the opening discussion between Senators Taft and Douglas, the entire proceedings of the five-day affair were held incommunicado, with that privacy

taken when necessary to protect that liberty. ...

It takes peace and quiet to work out a masterly statement like that-something different, unhackneyed, undemagogic; in a word, fresh.

# A Few Figs from Thistles

Senator Douglas, in his turn, emphasized attention to Europe: we cannot let Europe slip into the hands of the Russians. We cannot afford to lose a quarter of a billion people, 65 million tons of steel, and our main foreign market for wheat, cotton and tobacco. But "this does not mean we are neglecting Asia."

Lewis Douglas, ex-ambassador to England and the moderator of the occasion, summarized by saying that there was little disagreement between the speakers except that Taft was more cautious in the field of foreign aid and more advanced on the subject of Asia. Which could happen only in the Harriman mansion: outside, some less-than-giant intellect would have been sure to bring up the question of Secretary Acheson.

With these two incisive analyses of the world scene in their minds, the more than 80 leaders plunged into the heavy week of ratiocination. *Item*:

• Lewis Douglas suggested a return to old-fashioned secret diplomacy as the road to world peace: the trouble, he said, with diplomacy today is that too many people knew what was going on and this disturbed the diplomats.

By Thursday—such is the rapid rate of progress once Brains assemble-it was announced that the question had been narrowed down. The question was not "whether" we should aid Europe but "where, when and how." Our choice was not "between complete abandonment and unlimited involvement." The luminaries tended to a golden mean between the two

It was clear that the conference was already historic even if nothing more was done.

• Item: one conferee illuminated the gathering with the thought that "the U.S. ought to embark on a positive, not a defensive psychology.

• Item: Another was worried lest too much aid to Europe might make them soft, lazy and unappreciative. (He undoubtedly knew all about how raising wages merely softens the fibre of workers in comparison with the hard, self-reliant pioneers who lived on beans.)

# **Grand Climax**

But it was on Saturday that the general conclusions of the whole week's work were finally announced. The first fresh new conclusion, born of fresh new perspectives, amid fresh new surroundings, was:

(1) "The main issue before the world today is that of reedom against slavery. The threat to freedom from Soviet imperialistic aggression is immediate, serious and continuous. The purpose of the free world must be to stop this threat. . . .'

(3) "The position of the United States ... imposes great and continuous responsibilities. The big question . . . is how they can best rise to meet these new and unprecedented tasks.

Taking up their own question "How?" the conferences meets it unequivocally, succinctly and cogently:

(4) "... all free men must meet the threat by all means available-military, economic, political, moral and spiritual."

No one-sidedness here.

Or as we said to start with: Get the Brains of the try together in one room, and the results are bound to pass belief.

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**Page Five** 

# Iran: 4 Hands Grab for Oil - -

# (Continued from page 1)

The apparent premise on which the Labor government is operating is that it must accept full responsibility before the world and before history for the various treaties and arrangements which British governments have made for the imperialist exploitation of Iran for over half a century.

The present London government did not negotiate the treaties which the Iranians are now repudiating. It has, however, made no effort whatsoever to modify these unequal and exploitive agreements-nor has it taken the elementary step of separating the obvious national interest of Britain in Iranian oil from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and all that hated name stands for in the Middle East.

Thus, while the British Labor government finds itself in a world it never made, it continues to act as if there was no other way than to defend this world to the fullest. Morrison and Attlee do not indicate any alternative more in harmony with Labor Party principles-and thereby they leave no alternative to the Iranians.

The threat of military intervention is ridiculous, as no one knows better than Downing Street. The treaty of 1921 between Teheran and Moscow specifically provids that in case of a threat to Iranian soil by any third power Russia may send in its troops.

If this eventuality were to develop the British and the entire Western coalition would be in a most foolish situation. The Russians could even invoke the Hague Court on their own side since they would not only be acting "legally" but would probably receive the welcome sanction of the Mossadegh government or of whatever regime replaced him in power in Teheran. All the various circles in Iranian politics are, of course, equally aware of this reality, the Tudeh Stalinists no less than the anachronistic reaction that now rules the country.

# America's Role

The bulk of the press and large elements in the ruling groups as well as among the intellectuals and theocratic mullahs (Moslem priesthood) have been tending toward Russia in any case, in order to offset Anglo-American pressures. The military moves by London have served only to give fuel to the current wave of violent nationalism—but otherwise have frightened no one.

In this connection Vincent Sheean tells an instructive anecdote. When Sheean interviewed Rothstein, the Russian ambassador to Teheran in 1922, the latter remarked that Iran was safe. despite all appearances to the contrary. When Sheean asked for an explanation-this was at a time when the British of that day seemed about to swallow the country whole and transform it into a kind of twentieth-century India-Rothstein replied that any Iranian politician would gladly sell his country to the highest bidder provided only that this did not prevent him from continuing to shop around for a still higher bid and to sell his country again and again.

And this has indeed been the basic policy (if it can be so designated) of Iran's rulers through out modern times-to play off one imperialist against another in order to remain in power, to the utter ruin of Iran. It would be entirely consistent with this attitude for Iran's present reactionary rulers to invite the Russians into the country if they felt forced to the wall.

Morrison's approaches to Acheson will yield no greater result. Mossadegh's demagogues have already denounced Washington for switching from a "neutral" position to an anti-Iranian one.

# ''VPERED''

is the organ of the Ukrainian socialist resistance movement, published by its section in emigration in West Germany, recording the thinking and activities of the new anti-Stalinist underground fighting behind the Iron Curtain. It is written in Ukrainian, of course, but an English summary of the contents appears in each issue.

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Acheson's extremely mild statement was a deliberate attempt to reserve for himself the role of potential "honest broker" when the time would be ripe. In fact the early State Department releases, issued anonymously, seemed to pressure the British to capitulate by agreeing with the Teheran claim that nationalization was a purely domestic affair.

# Behind this apparent liberalism is a long and murky history of underhanded machinations by Washington and more especially by American oil companies.

For several decades Standard Oil, California Oil and others have been working to break into the British oil monopoly in Iran, but with no results. The closest they have been able to get is Bahrien Island in the Persian Gulf, an "independent" territory, and of course Saudi Arabia, which is practically a U.S. oil monopoly.

# U. S. versus Britain

Particularly in recent years various representatives of the American oil companies have surreptitiously suggested nationalization, as a means of getting into the picture. They have felt that the mere threat of such an act would probably force London to appeal to Washington, as indeed it has, and this would create their soughtfor opportunity. Or if nationalization were carried through, American oil would offer to operate the fields for the Teheran government, and as a lesser alternative to buy its oil at a better price than the British have offered or can offer.

As a matter of fact, in recent months a representative of California Standard Oil, Max W. Thornburg, has actually offered to replace the British operators with himself and an American staff. Foreign Office pressure forced him to withdraw from the picture, but not without denouncing the British first. Thornburg had been invited by Teheran to act as its oil adviser.

Acheson's latest statement-after numerous discussions with London and marking therefore the maximum concession Washington would make-proposed two considerations.

(1) The British should accept nationalization and drop opposition to it. (2) The British and Iranian governments then should negotiate on questions such as compensation (which Acheson pointed up sharply as something the Iranians could not ignore), operation of the fields and sale of the product.

While Morrison must have wished Acheson had remained anonymous-or better still, entirely silent-the former darling of the Western diplomatic corps at the UN, Nazrollah Entezam, delivered a stinging rebuke to Acheson for interfering in an unfriendly manner. It is doubtful if Washington will have the opoprtunity to be an "honest broker" under these circumstances.

Britain and the U.S. have yet to achieve a common policy on Iran. And while Washington's policy is not identical with that of the U.S. oil companies-since the latter consider only profits while the former must also think in terms of world politics-still Washington definitely has a different interest in the matter and it has

shown that it will not hesitate to speak out. There is little solace for Morrison, then, in Washington.

# Stalinists Gain

One final factor makes Washington a poor instrument with which to pull Anglo-Iranian's chestnuts out of the Middle Eastern fire—and that is the steady deterioration of American prestige in Iran during the past year.

When Ambassador Grady was dispatched to Teheran from Athens, where he had first applied the Truman Doctrine, there were high hopes that he would bring to his new post the same huge military expenditures and lavish funds for bolstering the economy. But the only things Grady seemed to produce were more commissions of experts who investigated all aspects of Iran's economy endlessly-but no loans.

Finally the shah himself made a good-will tour to the U.S. In New York he dedicated a special institute of Iranian affairs at Columbia University. But to no avail. The "democratic" shah didn't even raise his expense money.

Upon his return his own stock began to decline in Iranian ruling circles as a result of this failure. Meanwhile all promises of loans seemed stalled and the wily Iranian reactionaries began

to play up Tass news dispatches about U. S. defeats in Korea.

Washington is now held in very low esteem by these gentry and it can hardly under these circumstances serve as London's court of resort in its present extremities.

# The Stalinists have, of course, gained tremendously. While the Tudeh party remains illegalized, this has become a legal fiction.

Teheran's outstanding intellectual, the poet Bahar, leads the local "Partisans for Peace," which organization serves all the needs of the Stalinists at the moment. The Russians are enjoying very high prestige among all circles.

The Abadan oil workers as well as most of the lower governmental echelons have definite pro-Stalinist and pro-Russian sympathies. Stalinism in Iran does not even pretend to be an exclusively national outfit, but without any circumlocution works for a pro-Russian orientation. Its power in the country is now immense.

Whether or not it is still possible to prevent the ultimate catastrophe of Stalinist conquest of Iran is uncertain. It may be too late regardless. of what is done.

After all, there is involved here a heritage of many decades of shameless exploitation which can hardly be atoned for, considering the depths to which the country has been dragged. Then there is the fact of the backward society of Iran and its feudal rulers, plunged into severe economic crisis, verging on famine, ridden with corruption.

The tiger that has been loosed in the streets of Teheran and Abadan by the reaction may not be so easy to control. Nationalism may yet be conquered by Stalinism.

# Iran's Rights

The beginning of a democratic attitude must be the admission of the right of the Iranians to repudiate imperialist and unequal treatiestreaties, incidentally, which give a smaller share to Iran than the U. S. grants to other Near Eastern nations in comparable enterprises.

And British labor can hardly deny the right of Teheran to nationalize. British law also guaranteed private property until the law was changed by Labor's coming to power. Now a nationalist group has legally changed Iranian law -and it is only Iranian law which can prevail in the country.

Nor can the charge that this is expropriation, not nationalization, be taken seriously. While Labor nationalized with compensation inside. Britain, there is nothing which makes this the only recourse. The method of nationalization cannot be dictated either by Morrison or Acheson. It can only be determined by Iran. And if expropriation is considered to be the way to best protect that national interest, London can only bow in aquiescence.

The Iranians have these rights even when they are exercised by feudal and tribal cliques in a reactionary manner and for ulterior purposes. All that is beyond British control.

It can only be influenced if the Labor Party truly "takes up the torch," as Bevan put it on another occasion, and fraternally offered to the Iranian people a progressive solution to their age-long misery. But before even this can be done Britain must begin by acknowledging Iran's independence and equality as a nation, with full power over its own resources.

It must also be acknowledged that Britain has a vital stake in Iranian oil. Its importance has been fully described in the press in recent weeks. Iranian oil should be available for sale on the world market, as is any other commodity. The British can offer to buy it with the ordinary dignity of a commercial transaction between equals.

The other way-the imperialist way-is now closed, and not only in Iran.



# The Crisis in Israel—2 Why Ben Gurion Broke with Religious Bloc

By AL FINDLEY desire.

June 4, 1951

The religious bloc demanded a menopoly of education over the children of the immigrants from oriental countries during the time they were in the reception camps. It goes without saving that the religious bloc fully expected that these children would continue to go to the religious schools after they left the camps. The religious bloc claimed the above as their right at the same time that it raised the bugaboo about coercion and intimidation by the irreligious officials. They also claimed that the immigrants were susceptible to the influence of officials who favored non-religious schools even where no coercion or intimidation was employed, asserting that the prestige of these officials was enough to sway the grateful newcomers. Thereupon, a commission of in-

citizens. This compromise lasted for a time.

for them.

the cabinet resigned.

# WHY MAPAI BROKE BLOC

the cabinet.



Israel has four official school systems: the national system, which is supported primarily by the General Zionists; the Histadruth, or labor network which is unofficially divided into Mapai and Mapam branches; two religious school systems organized by the Misrachi party and by Augdos Israel. The first two systems ara secular. Israeli citizens, however, can choose any school they

quiry was set up. The commission found that coercion did not exist as a factor in the choice of schools, but recommended a political compromise: the children of immigrants from Yemen were to be in the sole charge of the religious blcc: all others were to enjoy the same freedom of the other Israeli

The steady influx of 200,000 immigrants a year increased the already large number of people who could not be absorbed by the country. The government, therefore, decided to create a new form of settlement, the Ma-aborot. This was a provisional arrangement under which the immigrants were no longer complete wards of the state. They worked at jobs but continued to live in barracks-like Reamps until homes could be found

The religious bloc demanded the same privileges in the field of education in the new camps that it had enjoyed in the old ones. But now Mapai had had enough of the constant bickerings with the orthodox leaders and refused to deny to these immigrants the same freedom of choice accorded to other citizens. At this point the coalition split up and

A number of factors influenced Mapai in its new attitude. First of all, the religious bloc had broken the de facto division of labor economic and not religious issue. The Mapai naturally felt that if it wanted to fight about economic of the General Zionist Party in

A second factor in this changed

new law.

by Max Shachtman

attitude was the municipal elections. The religious bloc had lost heavily. The vote was along class conscious lines on economic questions. The religious middle class voted for the non-religious General Zionists which emerged as the second largest party. The Mapai lost some of its support.

The election showed that the decisive questions were not religious but social and economic. The religious bloc, while still strong, had lost its power of blackmail At the same time, the Mapai realized that it could not hope to compete with the General Zionists for the vote of the party bourgeoisie. Mapai then decided to consolidate their working class vote and made a turn to the left A third fact was that the Mapai had made an important concession to religion within the Histadruth school system. The labor Federation had established over fifty religious schools. It hoped to adapt itself to the religious views of the new immigrants while at the same time molding their social and political outlook. Having made this internal concession to religion, it would have been foolish to then give control over education to political parties like the Misrachi and Agudos Israel, which are capitalist and reactionary.

The fourth factor was the split within the religious bloc along class lines, but of this we shall treat later on

After the breakup of the coalition government, the Mapai introduced a bill to draft religious women. No bill or proposal has aroused more talk and bluster as has this inconsequential piece of legislation. Israel drafts women into the army for service on the home front. Under the pressure of the religious bloc, religious women had been exempted from such service. Ben Gurion now claimed that this exemption had been misused by all women despite the fact that Israeli needed more manpower. Cvnics claimed that Ben Gurion wanted to show the religious bloc that it had ob tained most of its "obtainable" desires and that its best bet to preserve them was to continue as the docile ally of the Mapai.

### THE FIGHT DEVELOPS

A majority of the Knesseth voted for the bill at the first reading. The Mapam, too, voted for this bill to strengthen the armed forces of the government which it accuses of being the "Marshallized" tool of the imperialists.

The bill to draft women created great stir. The Rabbinate and the religious parties declared that such a law contravened the bible. The place of women was in the home; the chastity of Jewish womenhood was endangered. No wonder the Rabbinate called on all its referred to above, demanding at loyal followers to violate the law the same time a turn to the right and chance juil rather than accede in the economic policies of the to this "affront" to God and regovernment. The first time this ligion. The "Brith Kanogim" which bloc guit the cabinet was on an either organized or attempted to bomb the Knesseth with smoke bombs was acting in the spirit of this call to militant action when questions, it did not need the echo it employed terrorism as the means of protesting against the

However, such are the facts of

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life, that the lesson of the municipal elections is repeating itself. As we have said before, the decisive questions are social and economic, not religious. Despite all the pressure from the leaders, a majority of the religious labor group has come out in support of "drafting" religious women with the condition that they be assigned to religious colonies for home front duties.

The religious labor groups, the Hapoel Hamisrachi and the Poale Agudos Israel are far larger than the religious bourgeois groups, the Misrachi and Agudos Israel. Thus, the conflict within the religious bloc is primarily along class lines but it also involves the question of reform in the status women under religious law. The trend within the religious labor parties is toward independent action as a class party. And this trend exists in all sections of the religious labor parties.

The religious bourgeois parties are opposed to giving women full political equality. For a long time opposed giving them the right to vote. The Agudos Israel, for example, boycotted elections to the Jewish national assembly even under the British mandate. The Misrachi reluctantly accepted women's suffrage but is opposed to women being elected to any office. In the last national elections, the Hapoel Hamisrachi

was forced to put up a separate women's list (apart from the united religious bloc list) in order not to lose all the women's vote. Alongside with the immediate question of the political rights of women, is present the problem of removing some of the social and legal disabilities of women under orthodox Jewish law.

# FIGHT INSIDE RELIGIOUS BLOC

As a result, the religious bloc is now in the throes of a serious internal political struggle. In addition to the tendency amongst almost all rank and file members of Hapoel Hamisrachi to lay greater emphasis on its labor character which compels it to act either as an independent labor party or in conjunction with other religious labor groups, there is the important "Lamifneh" group. It now controls about forty per cent of the Hapoel Hamisrachi, some of its most strategic strongholds. and seems to have the support of Poale Agudos Israel. This group demands unity with the rest of labor, entry into the Histadruth and in general, a socialistic orientation in political and economic auestions.

However, while the rank and file of the religious labor groups have been moving leftward, the official leadership led by Moshe Shapiro, Minister of Interior, has been moving toward support of the rightist economic demands of

the bourgeois groups. Despite the official leadership, the rank and file was able to force the separation of the religious labor groups from the bourgeois groups in the municipal elections held last winter. In the jockeying for posts that took place after the elections, the Shapiro leadership supported the Misrachi and General Zionist candidates for mayor while the Lamifneh group voted for Histadruth candidates.

For the coming national elections, the Lamifneh group has adopted a two-pronged position. First, it calls for a religious labor ticket independent of the bourgeois religious groups. Second, it instructed its own officers to place a list in the field should the official leaders of Hapoel Hamisrachi refuse to do so.

The Shapiro leadership is carrying on a struggle of exclusion against the leaders of the Lamifneh group. At the same time, however, it is seriously considering a separate ticket in the coming elections in order to maintain its control of the movement and prevent affiliation with the Histadruth.

Whether or not the entire religious labor movement presents an independent class list in the coming elections, it seems likely that the religious bloc is being separated into its class components

(To be continued)



# **On Left-Socialist United Action**

[Our correspondent below, an ex-member of the Socialist Party, requests us to print his letter in the interest of united action of genuine socialists along the lines which he saw on the West Coast -Ed.

# To the Editor:

Today there is a real opportunity for the genuine socialist movement to rally left socialists and independent radicals in joint activity around issues relevant to the war crisis. These include such important matters as civil rights, now increasingly endangered by reactionary legislation on all levels and by the undemocratic policies of campus officials, the militarization of education, with comoulsory ROTC, denial of basic rights to minorities and labor, loyalty oaths, purges, and hysterical "security" measures, swollen war profits and wage freezes, and fascist regimes abroad.

Recently, here on the West Coast, at the initiative of the Independent Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League, joint conferences of ISL-SYL, left YPSLs. Libertarian Socialists and independents produced outstanding examples of united socialist action for limited, specific objectives, action which cemented solidarity between like-minded people and aroused greater enthusiasm among all participants for actual work outside the cloistered atmosphere of theoreti-'cal discussions in the respective organizations.

From a state of relative inactivity the propensity for socialist action has been admirably enhanced, and new opportunities for joint, concerted activity loom on the horizon. To break its comparative isolation from the masses, the socialist movement must work unceasingly to reach the people with the kind of positive a vital socialist organization with struggle the more conscious public understands and appreciates: struggle related to the needs and problems of a population asked to all forms of totalitarianism evsacrifice in an unpopular war.

Once the militant socialists are identified with the broad aspirations of democracy, with the protection and extension of democratic rights, more and more persons, particularly workers, students, and low-income segments of America will more readily examine and accept the socialist philosophy and the socialist program.

The West Coast Conference of Socialist Youth against War produced a fine document to guide socialist activity and to aid the socialist analysis of imperialist war today. The anti-Franco picket lines in a number of major cities recently increased the respect of the democratically-conscious public and the unaffiliated left-oriented independents for militant socialists. On a number of campuses the SYL, left YPSLs and others are working in close ities.

This work by young socialists is, of course, embarrassing to the right-wing social-democrats and crypto-liberals in the national leadership of the Socialist Party, the architects of "critical support" for the imperialist war and of the liquidation of electoral independence in order to please the Fair Dealers, the SDF fossils, the top union bureaucracy.

That YPSLs and even some adult SP members continue to participate in areas of united socialist activity in the face of the official discpleasure and reprimands of the opportunist SP reformist hierarchy is a tribute to these persons' determined adherence to socialist principles.

As a former SP member myself, I can only hope that these real socialists and those who have already left the SP will discard in due time any possible illusions that the SP can be made over into a genuine socialist program to replace the decaying social order at home and to combat effectively erywhere. The recent SP referen-

dum which carried overwhelmingly to undermine the SP's major reason for existence, as well as the NEC's surrender of the party press to non-party liberal celebrities, and the Thomas leadership's official support to the war without prior discussion, let alone membership referendum or consultation with the branchesall of these brutal facts should make it clear to everyone that the SP is incapable of fighting for socialism as a national organization or even for many basic democratic principles. The Thomasites are determined to shove the SP farther and farther to the right. even if it means even greater decline in party membership, in order to appease the Truman war administration.

In order to work for socialism, SP members and YPSLs must look beyond their own compromising and declining organization and strengthen or extend their cooperation to fight ROTC, re- fraternal ties with socialist milistrictions on academic freedom, tants elsewhere. As I see it, this government aid to reactionary or and discrimination against minor- means willingness to shed old historical misconceptions, prejudices, and sectarianism. It means working together with the comrades in the LSL and the ISL-SYL in activities of deep interest to all, as exemplified by the recent examples of joint activity cited. Let our slogans at this time be: Build the socialist movement! United socialist action in the struggle ahead for a warless world of socialism, of peace and plenty!

> George R. CLARK Los Angeles





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# **U. S. Arms Drive Is Ruining Europe**

discontent is taken for granted. Hoffman underlines this point several times. It is almost impossible, politically, to foist a lowered standard of living on the masses of Europe; no amount of propaganda about the danger and imminence of Russian aggression is able to ease this situation. The working classes have so little confidence in their governments that rather than suffer a lowered living standard they will risk exposure to Russian

Hoffman refers to the "absolute primacy of social peace as an objective of public policy." The European bourgeosie, in

ization upon the people; some heaval; that there is great social form of revolt is too great a probability. European statesmen know they live on borrowed time and want to extend it as much as they can.

# NOT VIABLE

The rest of Hoffman's articles deal with countless other obstacles to rearmament programs in Europe, many of them stemming from the outstanding fact of political and economic instability.

One example is the inconvertability of European moneys. Investment in-say-Belgian bonds is out of the question because, if the Belgian government falls, Belgian bonds are worth nothing at other words, cannot force militar- all since they cannot be converted

to other currencies. In addition, he deals with the higher prices not equipped to employ U. S. milof raw materials caused by the itary equipment efficiently. Amersuddenly increased competition (which the United States usually wins) for them on the world mar-

Other difficulties stem from the policies of the U.S. government, which for example, demands that the U.S. army purchase most of its goods from American manufacturers, even when in Europe. This means a higher cost for their supplies and, more important, that a logical supply of dollars for European nations is cut off.

Moreover, he points out that no amount of U.S. military aid will help Europe defend itself if the economies (transportation, pipe-

in Mexico, or acting as couriers.

Anyone with the slightest

working class political experience

and sensitivity for the psychology

of political life will recognize the

types immediately. Epstein is the

calloused, cynical, apparatus

leader, a graduate of the interna-

tional brigades in Spain, the clas-

porary international NKVD

agents. It is not impossible that

he was directly implicated in the

murder of Trotsky. He admits to

being in Mexico in 1940 or 1941.

The others are common enough

party types or close sympathizers

-intellectuals of one degree or

another who matured during the

depression and were attracted to

the CP because it promised a way

out, smug and not very inspired,

and probably more than a little

wondering in their middle age

and in these times as to just

where their ideas have led them.

Their response to the many

very concrete and damaging ques-

tions is typical of what we have

come to expect from Stalinists-

prompt, precise, and voluminous

on unimportant points, evasive

and falling back upon their right

not to incriminate themselves on

most other matters. The total ab-

sence of any sort of political de-

fense is interesting as a manifes-

tation of the manipulative char-

acter of the Stalinist movement

NO POLITICAL DEFENSE

sical training schools for contem-

lines, communication, etc.) are is slightly different, for the ican faith in sheer quantity of military equipment causes no end of trouble.

According to Hoffman, the American officials are only faintly aware of these problems, and even if aware, not very interested. To accept the fact that European capitalist nations, in his words, no longer are supporting viable economies, would be, of course, too much to ask of American diplomats committed to the "American way of life."

"The national state in Western Europe," Hoffman writes, "is no longer a viable institution in fiscal matters . . . [nor] . . . in monetary matters.'

# LATIN AMERICA TOO

It is interesting to note that Hoffman believes that the economy of Europe, taken abstractly, is quite capable of expanding its plant so as to be able to produce both the arms and consumer goods which American policy seems to ask of it. (A UN report issued last week confirmed this by an-The eight other witnesses were nouncing that an increase of 13 per cent in the produce of Europe was possible, though not likely under present circumstances such as the lack of raw materials.) But fortunately Hoffman does not take the European economy abstractly.

"There is distressingly little evidence," he writes, "that this power can be mobilized by means of the governmental, fiscal and other institutions that now exist . . ."

He sees fully the obstacles to the type of bold planning and enterprise which Europe so desperately needs; he notes that the Schuman Plan suggests the type of super-national organization required, but, correctly, does not bank very much upon its future. He states that one of the chief reasons no more broad-scoped authority has been organized is that -and this is symptomatic-loans floated by such an authority would decrease in value the present government credit structure.

Hoffman's articles end with a few rather feeble suggestions as to how this situation might be improved, but it is plain that he believes none of them plausible, "under present conditions," or, if "plausible," profound enough to alter the situation sufficiently. the U.S. to stay clear of both In Latin America the problem

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ADDRES

CITY.

that Russian demagogy about "liberation" of nations from capitalism is also a cover for its own imperialist designs of conquest.

ist democracy?

To the peoples who are justifi ably frightened by the prospects of Stalinist expansion, the U.S. offers the alternative: Accept our overlordship instead!

This is the heart of U.S. foreign policy and, at the same time. the basis for the overwhelming sentiments of the peoples outside war blocs.

**On Murder of Trotsky by GPU** charged variously with serving as mail drops in New York City, forwarding money to NKVD agents

It is a task dictated by the

ion in a period of acute crisis when the minds of peoples all over the globe are being fought for by the two dominant imperialisms with every weapon that

the possibility of an inadvertent or consciously undertaken dissemination of the truth will always exist. Jacson's death is also necessary as a means of protection for the other robots of the apparatus here and abroad. Finally, it is necessary as part of the reconstruction of history which Stalin, out of personal and more general considerations, is constantly engaged upon. The version of Trotsky's death which portrays Jacson as a disaffected member of the Fourth Interna-

The extensive number of NKVD agents permanently alerted in the Jacson case has been commented upon by Victor Serge, by Gorkin and Salazar in their book Murder

In the latter part of 1950 the committee on un-American activities of the House of Representatives held hearings on a new aspect of the Jacson case. Summary reports on these hearings appeared in the metropolitan press during that period. The testimony given before the committee has ernment and released under the title American Aspects of the As-

The fragmentary revelations of one small aspect of a plot to free Jacson are enough to indicate the size of the forces which were employed and are undoubtedly still being employed to get rid of an embarrassing survivor of a hide-

The foreword to the testimony begins with a statement by Louis Budenz tracing the organization of the murder of Trotsky. Much of the material has already been covered by Budenz in his previous writings. Relatively new, how-Caulwell, former secretary to James P. Cannon of the Socialist Workers Party, was an NKVD Budenz, was the wife of Irving Franklin, a secret agent who had been active in Spain and had engaged in espionage in Canada. mation concerning Trotsky and ous occasions in Mexico City."

the Trotskvist movement to the NKVD apparatus. This characterization of Caulwell, it should be noted, has been rejected by the SWP with a statement declaring that its own investigation refuted Budenz' story.

Another new element of the Budenz statement is the identification of the leading organizer of the assassination on the United States scene as a Dr. Gregory Rabinowitz, a Russian NKVD agent who operated under cover of the International Red Cross.

### GPU TYPES

The second part of the foreword consists of a summary of information gathered by United States officials plus the limited information contained in the testimony.

"During the years 1942 and 1943," the committee report states, "a number of letters from Mexico City to New York City, and from New York City to Mexico City, were intercepted by the United States Office of Censorship. After laboratory examination of the intercepted letters, it was determined that these letters contained ciphered messages in invisible ink. When the messages were deciphered, they were found to relate to the efforts of persons in the United States and in Mexico to free Frank Jacson from imprisonment. Further investigation disclosed that an elaborate system of mail drops, both in Mexico and the United States, was used in the handling of this correspondence. Subsequently, each of these mail drops was investigated to determine the scope recently been printed by the gov- of his activity as a part of the conspiracy to release Jacson.

"Jacob Epstein, 958 Madison Avenue, New York City, was identified as the head of the group in Mexico City. This individual is of Russian extraction and was born Jacob Eppstein, November 10, 1903, in Brooklyn, N. Y. He attended public schools in New York City and graduated from Cornell University in 1924. Mr. Epstein is a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and participated in the Spanish Civil War in 1938. The mail drops in Mexico City through which Epstein received correspondence from the United States were Mexicans and refugee Spaniards, all of whom were identified as members of the to agree with the temperate conever, is his assertion that Sylvia Communist Party. Ciphered mes- clusion reached by the committee sages between New York City report: "From the facts set forth and Mexico ceased in November 1943. Shortly thereafter, Pavel plant. Caulwell, according to Klarin, vice consul of the Soviet consulate general, New York City, was transferred to Mexico City. Pavel Klarin is a known close contact of Vassili Zublin, She was brought to New York who at that time was head of the be, and are, recruited into Comfrom Chicago, set up in a sepa- NKVD (Russian secret police) in rate apartment from her hus- the United States. Investigation band's, and was soon at work fun- disclosed that Jacob Epstein conneling the most complete infor- tacted Pavel Klarin upon numer- NKVD agents operating in the

and its important NKVD auxiliary. The hearings closed with background testimony by Hilda and Sylvia Ageloff and Ruby Weill, in which there is no significantly

new material. If the Stalinists who testified had been suspected of membership in an atomic espionage ring there would be more reason for hoping that further light will be thrown on their past activities. But to prove and to reveal generally that United States Stalinists actively participated in the assassination of Trotsky and in attempts upon the life of his murderer is not of compelling 'interest to United States propagandists.

As it stands it is not difficult in this report, it is definitely indicated that Frank Jacson was of special interest to the NKVD, and is possibly an NKVD agent. The cause further sets forth the fact that American Communists can munist conspiracies which are under the direction of Russian - United States."

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June 4, 1951

economies are on the whole more

vigorous, even if more backward;

At the Mexico City conference

fears were expressed that Latin

American countries which "have

not yet achieved sufficient eco-

nomic maturity to protect them-

selves against external fluctuations

beyond their control" (in other

words, in the control of the United

States) will be unable to continue

to purchase goods on the high-

priced world market (inflated by

military expenditures) and be

forced to make uneconomic mili-

tary expenditures "that will not

contribute to our economic de-

Again the grave concern over

the inflationary effects of Amer-

ican-inspired rearmament and the resultant increased domination of

the United States of the world

market; again the fear that pro-

posed cuts in living standards will

lead to increased social tensions.

testimonials, in the concretest

economic terms, to the galloping

decay of capitalism as a world

system than these from the Times

ference in Mexico. They are all the

more important since they come

from worried friends of the sys-

This fact points to the world-

historic choice of our times. This

is not how to save capitalism or

how to patch it up, but: What will

replace it? A "new barbarism'

born of capitalist decay itself

The spread of Stalinist totali-

tarian power further over the

globe? or a new world of social-

tem, not from opponents.

correspondent and from the con-

There have been few clearer

velopment."

but resemblances are seen.