

SUGGESTS POLICY FOR BRITISH SOCIALISTS

Argues for Independent Western Union

By R. SHERMAN

The world, as at present organized and divided, is inexorably moving towards the heinous climax of war.

The present armed peace is no means of assuring peace. This is the lesson of the tragic history of the last decades.

In specific terms, what awaits mankind is the black fury of atomic destruction. Regardless of which side emerges as the military victor, there is absolutely no hope and no future for the people of the world as a whole.

For Europe, the consequences of the conflict are manifest: occupation or ruin, or both.

WAR OR PEACE?

It should be clear that another world conflict would lead in reality, to the triumph of barbarism for the survivors, and a decline of the world into an amorphous period without history.

If war comes, then all the important, and for the working class progressive, reforms which the Labor Government has introduced.

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

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

The present threat to peace is grounded in the polarization of the world around two opposing and antagonistic centres of imperialist power—the USA and the USSR.

The United States is the only remaining viable capitalist state. Its economy is dominated by giant monopolistic corporations.

Another factor that shapes American imperialist policy is its need to protect capitalism throughout the world. It has become the guardian and protector of the whole capitalist world.

The main threat to American imperialism is the aggressive expansion of Russian imperialism. Russian economy suffered tremendous destruction

and devastation during the war. In order to make good these losses and to protect its own privileged position, the Russian bureaucracy has begun a campaign of expansion.

The Russian bureaucracy uses its army, its Communist parties and the crisis conditions which prevail in Europe and Asia to gain control of these areas, for its own exploitation, and to upset the world balance of power in its own favor.

WHAT KIND OF UNION?

Within this context Western Europe occupies a most strategic position. It is the key to the world balance of power.

The Committee on Western European Unity which has now begun its work in Paris was appointed to consider and to report to governments on the steps to be taken toward securing a greater measure of unity between European countries.

At present, together with the talks on Western Union now going on in Paris, we have the draft of a North Atlantic Pact which the five countries connected with the Brussels Pact have sent to Washington.

This military alliance can in no way be sanctioned by the British labor

movement. It can in no way be relied upon to preserve the peace which is so essential if mankind is to live.

We have previously stated that Western Europe is now the key to the world balance of power. The Western Europe we must strive for can, however, be more than the key to the world balance of power.

In "Feet on the Ground," a study of Western Union issued by the British Labor Party, it was stated that "the final aims of Western Union must be to produce a third center of power independent alike of America and Russia."

A United Europe would be strong enough to maintain itself as an independent political body between the two world-powers.

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

It must be based upon the most consistent democratic policy at home and abroad. It must break down all barriers which stand in the way of a democratization which will give the broadest strata of the people an opportunity to fight for all their economic and political interests.

There will be thousands of clever liberals eager to tell us: "Look as much like the Republican and Democratic Parties as possible."

"No, then the masses will NOT follow the labor party. Why? Because the two old banker-controlled parties can always wave the flag more furiously and convincingly than we can, can shout twice as pay-tritically over twice as many radio stations and in twice as many newspapers."

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

We've touched on only about two-thirds of this fine booklet. The physical setup—separate cover and all—makes it an extremely striking job, and the price was set at two bits in spite of the fact that this probably won't cover over-all costs.

For the world can never be free from the scourge of war unless all forms of oppression of man by man are eradicated.

The British present historic situation demands that we, the British working class, we, in the British labor movement (and our Labor government) declare ourselves for this policy and begin to put it into operation.

This program is only a bare outline. Many important details have not been touched upon.

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Philip COBEN

WORLD POLITICS

China's Future:

A little over twenty years ago, a handful of Chinese Communist Party members and leaders, in a state of utter dejection and demoralization and entirely without influence, fled hastily from Hankow to the southwest of China.

Twenty-odd years later, the historic circle is about to be completed, even in the literal sense of the word! This band of several thousand guerrilla fighters—many of whom were originally pressed into service, and who constituted a unique combination of peasants and tough Stalinist leaders with a savage determination—has now grown to a mass organized army of perhaps 3,000,000 soldiers, organized and led by a political movement which itself numbers perhaps 3,000,000: the Chinese Communist Party.

During the course of the struggle against Japanese invasion and the war itself, Chinese Stalinism finally took root and found other means of solving its basic problems—lack of contact with the industrial centers of the Chinese seaboard and Yangtze valley areas; lack of arms and munitions; lack of a worked-out program for conquering the peasant mass without entirely alienating the middle layers of the backward areas over which they ruled.

THE FAILURE OF CHINESE CAPITALISM

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



CHIANG

solve the eternal land problem, to build up China's industries, to settle accounts with the foreign imperialists—all this made it inevitable that a new force arise and confront these unavoidable issues.

Put in a more theoretical way, Chinese capitalism, represented by Chiang and his corrupt Kuomintang Party, has proved incapable of handling the simplest and most basic needs of the country, the historic tasks of the democratic revolution.

But just as the return of Mao-tze and his Stalinist clique to the seaboard areas of China from which they fled 20 years ago marks the completing of a geographic circuit, so does it mark the completion of an ideological circuit.

Stalinist leadership which left once before. At that time, even if in an incorrect and erroneous manner, it represented the working class and had its roots and origin in it.

THE COURSE OF CHINESE STALINISM

How else can we explain why this clique fails to fall upon the seaboard proletariat to rise up and administer the coup de grace to Chiang? The more easily the armies of Mao-tze slice through the territories still "held" by Chiang, the closer they approach the industrial cities, the more apprehensive Chinese Stalinism becomes and the more it reveals its true social nature.

Chiang Kai-shekism is finished and it remains only as to how it shall be buried. It is of little relevance whether a "coalition" peace government is formed (with the Stalinists running the show), or whether Chiang clings to life over another few months.

America, obviously, is counting upon the development of a Titoist tendency in Chinese Stalinism. Once Chiang has been disposed of and the civil war ended, the problem of reconstruction will face the new ruling group in all its force.

To ask the question is to give the answer. Only American imperialism is in a position to supply masses of capital and this knowledge has tended to lull the State Department in estimating the real nature of the disastrous defeat they are suffering.

The consequences of this Stalinist victory will reverberate not only throughout the world of capitalism, but within the ranks of the labor and socialist movement itself.

Henry JUDD

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Books You Should Know...

"NEXT—A LABOR PARTY," by Jack Ranger, Workers Party Publications, 64 pp., 25 cents.

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

Comrade Ranger, whose LABOR ACTION column "Tapping the Wall Street Wire" is familiar to our readers, succeeds in doing two difficult things: his pamphlet is simple and down-to-earth without being MERELY agitational; and it is educational and meaty without getting lost in either history or economics.

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

ANSWERING ARGUMENTS

One of the highlights of the booklet is the chapter entitled "New Answers to Well-Worn Arguments," in which six of the stand-bys are taken apart. It's worth the price of admission alone.

ago. There has been a constant succession since then of attempts at some kind of third-party action. It is important to know this because it proves that the best elements in American life have never been satisfied with the setup. But on the other hand, it is also important to understand why none of them lasted up to now.

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

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

The idea of a labor party is not a new one. In fact, the first one was set up in the United States 120 years

want to go on playing tag with the Demorepublicans. The last six chapters also are a "must" for those workers who are "for a third party, but..." First of all there are the Wallaceites, and within the restricted space of a few pages, the pamphlet summarizes the case against the Wallace-Stalinist abortion of the third-party movement.

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

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

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