"Founded on the Fears of Uprisings"

Additional evidence for the analysis developed in Gordon Haskell's article is provided now by James Reston's third-piece in the Dec. 18 Times. He makes explicit the fact that Washington's thinking in East Germany starts with fear, that the revolution and moves toward a Russo-American deal.

Referring to the previous reports from Washington (duly excerpted by Haskell) Reston first states in so many words that this idea comes from "one of the highest officials of the government and was founded on the fears of uprisings in East Germany and Poland.

"It was this same fear," Reston continues, "that prompted the West German foreign minister, Dr. Heuss, to call the meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris last week not to encourage any "Cosmopolitanism" by the Eastern European states.

"Neither of these statements implied any criticism of the heroic efforts of the Hungarians to achieve national freedom. They were made because of apprehension that a spread of such uprisings might create a situation that could not be controlled by the Soviet Union, the United States or the West German government, and thus lead to general war.

Then taking up the "brighter side" of this picture—the dark side being the danger that the revolution may spread—Reston says in so many words that the only good thing about the East European revolution is that it may make Russia as well as Washington amenable to deals which have been so far rejected.

"This does not mean that the U.S. government has reached any conclusions about thinning out its troops in West Germany or that it has any plans to negotiate any new security arrangements in Europe.

"What of some that others have written in Washington see a new situation developing in Eastern Europe that is dangerous if not carefully handled but possibly productive of opportunities for negotiation if handled prudently and in time."

That's it. Reston makes it clear that the administration has not, or not yet, adopted any new plan, or indeed any plan at all. This is just as we have it in The Independent here today.

General Secretary's name is mentioned as one of the leading opponents of this trend; and it is clear that this opposition is one which wants to go on as if the Cold War has never existed, for it and the other.

Outside government circles, the latter seems also to be the line, for example, of the Moynihan-Lovestone school of foreign policy in the labor and liberal movement.

Thus Moynihan, who has become one of America's leading intellectuals in the sphere of foreign policy under the tutelage of Jay Lovestone, reacted to the Hungarian Revolution by demanding that the U.S. break off all contacts social, cultural, or what-have-you—with Russia.

'DANGER' IN G. E.-NOT ONLY TO RUSSIA

By JACK WILSON

Martin S. Hayden of the Detroit News sent the following brief but very interesting dispatch from Warsaw on Dec. 15: "Is Poland returning to capitalism? Observers here feel this is just a Westeril pipe-dream.

"An old Red just released after being jailed in the Stain purges of 1938 puts it this way: 'Stalin wasn't a Communist. I was.'"

"A Warsaw editor says: 'There is no conflict between socialism and humanism. Socialism is something people want and is not envisioned to be for Russia's totalitarian state completely contradict socialism.'

"There is more political sense in these two observations than in all the nonsense that nationalization equals socialism, or that somehow Stalin, in his own way, was 'building socialism.'

"During the past week there were other important political portents that seemed to guard many observers. Fear of a revolt in Eastern Germany is dominating the foreign embassies of the entire world. This was not said by some wishful-thinking socialist, but rather was repeated time and again on Edward Morrow's radio broadcasts, and by his signing of correspondents covering Europe, including NATO sessions.

"In his broadcasts, as well as in an article last week, A. K. Eisenhower last week was quoted as reporting in Labor Action about the 1956 West German workers' revolt, 'Can the workers trying to cross into East Germany to help the workers there was verified. A. K. Eisenhower says that American government pressure of the greatest sort was exerted on the American regime to keep the West German workers from crossing over; furthermore, that West German cops fought side by side with West Germany cops to keep the German workers apart.'

By GORDON HASKELL

With each additional day of its survival, the Hungarian Revolution has the foundations of the Russian empire. Its toppling flames have already cast such a glaring light on the true nature of the Kremlin's system that millions all over the world who once mistook it for socialism have come to recognize it for the brutal, oppressive imperialism it is.

But the Hungarian Revolution has not exposed the Russian rulers to any serious consequences. It has also underlined, for this generation, what past generations of fighters for democracy and socialism have known—Russia's rulers are not about to lose their power simply because the people in their own country are taking their destiny completely into their own hands.

With each day that passes it becomes clearer that the governments of the capitalist powers regard the Hungarian revolt with mixed feelings at best. They seem to utilize it to pillory and discredit their enemy rulers in the Kremlin, at the same time, they fear it.

And most of all, they fear the only threat that can save it: its expansion into the whole of the Russian satellite area in East Europe.

NATO SEEKS 'DANGER'

Before the Hungarian Revolution had been many days old, this attitude of the capitalist powers was leaked by high officials in Washington to some of the State Department most trusted newspapermen for dissemination throughout the land. (See Philip Cohen's article in the November 12 issue of LARAL ACION.) As the Hungarian revolution refused to die, and as reports of sympathy of sympathizers in Poland and unrest in East Germany and Romania continued, the note of caution grew more insistent.

The first 'official' declaration on this matter appeared in the statement issued after the meeting of the foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty powers, and the inspired newspaper, commentaries on its meaning.

Here is the way the New York Times (Dec. 16) puts it:

"Soviet leaders have a hard dilemma—either de-Stalinization or re-Stalinization may make the fortitude in the satellites.

"The West does not look on this dilemma with unalloyed satisfaction. In fact, it views it with considerable fear. For years the West has been seeking to drive a wedge between Moscow and the satellite peoples and waiting hopefully for the breakdown of Soviet control. But now, as Secretary Dulles and his NATO colleagues last Tuesday, the deterioration of the Soviet structure in Eastern Europe offered a great danger as well as a great opportunity.

"The revolt in Hungary is obvious enough. The revolt in Hungary has laid bare, for the world to see, the naked Soviet force, which represents nothing but the People's Democracy. It has put Moscow on the defensive, it has provided the West with a real front to bring pressure on Mos
cow through the United Nations to set the satelites free."

"The danger lies in a possible spate of revolts throughout Eastern Eu

There is a good deal of unclarity in the above statement. The "West" has been able to utilize the Hungarian Revolution to get a number of resolutions through the United Nations condemning the Rus

Soviet repression of the Hungarian Revolu

...a headline rewrite by the New York Times readers' guild.

EYES ON EAST GERMANY

"But let us go a bit further. If a spread of the revolution should lead to "deeper reform" by the government in Western Europe, how could this lead to the danger of a world war? Only if the capitalist powers should decide to defend the satellite peoples against these revolts, or to support them in their revolution by the intervention of their own armed forces. But if they are not willing to take the risk of such intervention, or even of the many other effective steps short of armed intervention in which they could take, what alternative policy have they with a vested interest?"

The Times writers leave this to the (Turn to last page)

Spend

NEW YEAR'S EVE

with the ILS & TSL

See page 4
Three Reports: Intero-Socialist Discussions and a Debate

Symposium on Socialism and Democracy 
Hears 5 Experts at Community Church

By F. WHITNEY
New York, Dec. 17
The lively panel discussion on ‘Socialism and Democracy: East and West' held at the Community Church on Friday night drew a capacity audience of 600, despite pouring rain and stormy wind. The panelists included I. F. Stone, who issues I. F. Stone's Weekly, on the anniversary of the fall of the Wall of Berlin and the increasing influence of the nonaligned countries. The symposium consisted of editors of independent and socialist-left Hal Draper for Labor and Action; A. J. Muste for Liberties; Dan Roberts for the Militant; and Harry Braverman for the American Socialist. Paul Sweezy of the Monthly Review was unable to come; and Norman Thomas sent regrets for his inability to attend in a letter to which Stone read out in the meeting.

In his opening statement, Dan Roberts spoke for the Socialists, Workers Party. Recent events, he asserted, had raised the question of whether there was a popular front as a basis of freedom or whether it represented mere representation as in Hungary and Russia. He stated that the latest Stalinist events were not discrediting socialism.

Socialism and democracy are inseparable. The camps of the left are one. The fate of Stalinism is synonymous with Leninism and socialism. He predicted that they would lead to the regeneration of the revolution in Russia and that the world's socialist countries would lead to a rebirth of real socialism in the countries of the world.

Braverman, speaking for the tendencry led by Bert Cochran, traced the development of the labor movement in a rather abstract manner. He stated that the old movement was characterized by Trotskyism joined with Trotskyism because of a bad beginning and a long struggle. The whole period was filled with mistakes.

The whole meeting was characterized by the fact that the whole atmosphere was one of discussion and democratic freedom.

The discussions on December 8 on such questions as the meaning of the economic and political outlook in the United States, and the struggle of the American workers for a new Left, were frank and honest. Among the panelists, according to a report in the New York Post, a recognition that no one had all the answers and that they are far from the "national spirit of fraternity" and with an emphasis on the internationalism of socialism which has often been lacking in recent years.

The meeting was called on the basis that no action would be taken or organization set up, and there was no intention to think a radical movement or party relevant to the American situation could be organized.

In the evening, an informal discussion was held on the problem of how to organize the American movement. It was agreed that there is a need for the establishment of a working group to discuss the problems of the American movement.

The discussions on December 9 were on the question of the meaning of the economic and political outlook in the United States, and the struggle of the American workers for a new Left. There was a frank and honest discussion of the problems. Among the panelists, according to a report in the New York Post, a recognition that no one had all the answers and that they are far from the "national spirit of fraternity" and with an emphasis on the internationalism of socialism which has often been lacking in recent years.

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Inter-Socialist Conference Weighs Problems of Movement

(From Report by A. J. Muste)
Thirty-four reports were included in the discussions, editors of periodicals, economists, academics, and members of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party met in New York on December 8 and 9. Another fifteen or more from various parts of the country sent reports that they were interested and were submitted by members of the Congress on December 17 for the reading and discussion.

The participants in the discussion were those individuals in response to a personal invitation from A. J. Muste, who was an active participant in the movement and is an editor of the monthly magazine "Liberation.

Mr. Muste's invitation Mr. Muste wrote: "We are in a new age. The problems of that age should be stated, not to make an appeal, but to express a sense of the new era of which other nations have yet to be aware. We could be a true friend if we would just be able to read the writings of the greats of the past and the prophets of the future who speak to our age.

Mr. Muste observed that the invasion of endangered territories in Hungary tended to make any kind of political gathering, except of course a mass meeting itself as an end in itself and not as a means of expressing emotions, very difficult, seeming to be a clash of desires, and that it was added, "that precisely those developments, which were supposed to be supportive of people who do not start from the same point of view, will be useful to the"...

In Detroit CP Leader Debates Shachtman and Other Socialists

By JACK WILSON
Detroit, Dec. 16
Close to 800 persons attended a most unique and unprecedented debate Monday night, Dec. 10, in which viewpoints ranging from Max Shachtman to the American Communist JBK committed the "Winter's defense of Stalinist elaboration."

"A defense of Stalinism was never a generous defense," the socialist rebuke by Norman Thomas, who sent a letter urging its "immediate refusal by this platform with an apology for the Communist bitches" of Hungary. This action as a result of Russia's strong pressure from Detroit right-wing socialist who argued that any appearance with a Stalinist would make them respectable and play into their hands.

How the Detroit press reacted to the debate after playing up Thomas' refusal, was revealed on Tuesday, with a story in the Detroit News: The story was headlined "Socialists Launch Foul for Tyranny in Hungary."

The story said:

"Socialist leader said a Communist cousin and the other for attempt to "defend" Russian against Hungary."

"A member of the Communist Party of Michigan, tried unsuccessfully to pass on an appeal to the CP that the Russian revolt actually was "Project X" master plan, a phony that the CP had no right to." The reason of the Right of American life.

"In the case of the presentation, Stone is likely style asked each panelist a question before throwing the floor open for discussion.

He took Roberts to task for creating a "false spirit of the golden age" and asked him how could he equate the "socialist spirit" with Trotsky's concepts of democratic socialism. Rob-

(Turn to last page)
By PHILIP COHEN

Poland is seething with revolutionary fervor from the bottom up, explosive in its possibilities: this is the key to present development.

In every department of political, social and cultural life, genuinely democrats are here and there raised from the ranks or elected spokesman or desde publicists—such as Biecki’s honest report on Hungary which we reprinted last week. These are the portents of revolution.

The other thing to be understood is that the regime on top, with Gomulka as its leader and spokesman, is presently surrounded by a repressive net against the sweep of this movement; it is trying to sit on the lid, to clamp down against re-telestolerantism, to hurl the new revolutionary spirit into the gutter. It has repressed street demonstrations, backed by the safe and controlled bureaucratic machinery of police and soldier, all to no avail, and dissipated, so that the regime can consolidate life in the Kremlin.

This course of revolution versus counterrevolution came out into the open with the Ponnar uprising; flared to higher levels in the “October days,” then took on revolutionary proportions with the so-called communist vote in the Polish National Assembly, and hit a high point with the pogroms against the Poles and the hatred of the Russian forces still occupying the country.

So the term of Gomulka himself is on returning to or maintaining the regime in power, in the conflict with the communist party, in the hands of the ruling party of the party state, combating “spontaneously,” and seeking to discredit any hopes of going further to a genuine democracy.

Gomulka has made two important programs: he is addressing the whole of society in every country, in every line of his tactics, and the whole of society must answer to that point—politically.

We have already considered, last week, some aspects of the elections of November 24 (Warsaw “Regime Fight the Second Stage!”: They took us by a storm, they have no right to exist”), and Gomulka’s “liabilities”: “The Party must be and will be monolithic from top to bottom. . . . The leadership of the Party is monolithic.”

WELL-KNOWN PHRASES

These old phrases are not isolated. They are an integral part of the whole argument of the November 4 speech. He is developing himself to explain the real meaning of the so-called “democratization.”

Gomulka is for the democratization of his regime, but... can be put into effect correctly—that is, in accordance with the best interpreted intentions of the Working Class, working people, only when the process of democratization is directed by the Party of the working class. And we are such a Party. The party of the masses, the Party of the people is the Polish United Workers’ Party [the CPI]. The principle that the process of democratization shall be controlled by the Party of the working class... is an unequivocal condition. Gomulka himself in the present of this principle must inevitably lead to distortion of the process of democratization. In the struggle for... activation of backward trends represented by reactionist and capitalist elements, the Party is every person. All the leading organs of the Party and all the Party members must stand shoulder to shoulder in this fully.

And he is even an obstinate to the simple idea that “the party of the working class” must have the leadership of the people in a free and democratic process, rather than itself control the “democratization.”

In his own words, Gomulka specifically polemizes against “spontaneity” ‘in mass demonstrations in the land of Rosa Luxemburg. Speaking of “the process of the working class standing against the autocracy,” he says this movement is “healthy” but—“There and here, however, the movement bears marks of spontaneity, and the task in point is to contain it within the framework of the statute.”

The constant stress and repetition is that the Party is moving on because they believe it will convey to the bearers....

Party elections, he emphasizes, will be “aimed at strengthening the unity of the Party,” etc. But this is the typically Stalinist concept of the role of elections, especially in the midst of bumbling issues such as the supposed “objective necessity” or “necessity,” which they mean to be in accordance with the range of political parties.

Party elections, Gomulka continues, must be used to strengthen “the political influence and guidance of the masses,” etc. But outside, in the factories and shops, the masses, the rank and file, being inundated with resolutions, addresses and “cleaning up” the party of its discredited elements, are not related to the political issues at stake, and which is what they are thinking about. As we saw last week, the “clear path” to Gomulka’s “autocracy” does not contain our postulate of free elections. It contains the autocracy, and the Party in control of the elections does not contain this. Its omission is explained by a very simple reason. Free elections, as a political issue, means freedom for the bourgeois parties. Here again we ask the question: what program is offered by those bourgeois parties for which our political opponents demand freedom? Do they think that we should believe there will be a change without the bourgeois parties want to add to socialism in Poland? Ask them, for example, about the next elections. (Laughter and prolonged applause.)

He is saying: even if a “bourgeois party”—say it’s for participation in political life within the framework of the “socialist” system, we must not permit them to do so.

But what is he afraid of? That the “bourgeois parties” will obstruct them, in spite of all propaganda handbooks, and that the “Communists” will lose the elections? Or that they do not have the ideological/national interests of the nation? But this is what the Party says: there must be “primarily animated by one aim and one policy— the power and unity of the Party,” etc.

We must step all this from going any further the Party of the people. The Party of the people.... DONT’ WAIT FOR THE BUS

He is speaking, by the way, on the very day (Nov. 4) when the Russian butchers have launched their second treacherous assault on the Hungarian revolution, a revolution against the anti-Soviet attack, a revolutionary hostile action against the people’s interest of the nation. This must be “primarily animated by one aim and one policy— the power and unity of the Party,” etc.

We must step all this from going any further. The Party of the people. The Party of the people.

THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

For some of you, this is an interesting point on to stress that only the one ruling party can exist. In short, he adds immediately after the speech, “the bearers of the class struggle, “our program can be applied only in the form of reconstruction of the state, and that it is not possible to talk about the development of a capitalist system, and that these who would try to develop a capitalist system in Poland derive their inspiration from the alien imperialist centers.” Thus Gomulka is reducing the whole question to the wave of revolution.

But, he repeats in a few minutes: “For another Poland, that is, for a program different from that proposed by the bearers of the class struggle, there is no room. But as a matter of fact, he is wrong in spite of himself, because there is no room in Poland, namely, rooms in the streets, of the streets, living in a new course against the regime, even though they are obstructed from any other way.

He even launches into an amazing passage about democracy and the defense of every aspect of any and every perspective of “broad democracy.” The context is the fact that the Polish parliamentarians say that, even if “full democracy” can’t be granted right now, some time in the future it will be possible. Gomulka also concedes this, that is, even a person when socialism will have no framework whatsoever which might restrict the free elections will have freedom of elections.

So he immediately follows this up with the other side of it“ because “democracy is an illusion,” to that pie-in-the-sky classless society which is the Never-neverland of Stalinism.

“Broad democracy,” he adds, “is a meaningless term. It is in the nature of the Polish workers, fearing the mask off the elections, rigging elections, also offers an ironic commentary on the theme of certain reports on the “democratization” of the Gomulka regime.

For example, the Nacis has carried dis-patches from Warsaw by Claude Bour- de, the French neutralist and longtime Stalinoide, painted the supposed Polish election as very very democratic. On the crucial point of how the elections were to be selected for the single list, Bour- de reported that “the process” was equivalent to that of the American pri-

All this happened before, of course, in the elections of myths about Yugoslav revolution, that the so-called “bourgeois parties” are able to speak out against the myth, that the revolutionists, that they make an Angela, plain message about the false, that can’t tell a revolu-

This came a day after an announ-
cement by the government that the strike would quiet discontent: a new military coup in Warsaw Russia whereby Warsaw is given more control over the movement of Russian troops which are “temporarily” in Poland. This concession by Germany also comes after days of mounting demonstrations and disaffec-
tion in various cities of Poland, culmi-
nating in the action of the Polish workers which we reported last week. The new agreement was also designed to be the last key of elections which is to be a regime in the upcoming elections, the vote of the Polish.

The Party refers to elections as a quiet the Polish revolution.

The Party of the workers, Gomulka, listening to the mask off the election-rigging, tearing the mask off the election-rigging, also offers an ironic commentary on the theme of certain reports on the “democratization” of the Gomulka regime.

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NOT FOR USE

This is followed by another general formulation about democratization which goes on:

“The framework of democratization of the Polish state is the framework of the Party, and an essential part can only be a continuation of these democratic policies for the most retrogressive social forces gives birth to the Party of the bearers of democracy and freedom, to fascist dictatorship. An example of this is Italian Fascism and German Nazism.”

One must save this theory to get its full Stalinist flavor of anti-Maximilian, and recognizes its freedom and simple fraud. If fascism is the present danger, but it is so too, in its democratic freedom, too, it is too democratic, too broad in its freedom trouble.

The concept of a class is also the basis to the way in which the Gomulka regime engaged in rigging the January elec-

The glibmel is essentially the same as

(Contd on page 7)
Wales: Nationalism and Labor

By DOUGLAS STUCKEY

London

I should like to draw the attention of your readers to the resurgence of national movements in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. This resurgence is not just a reaction to Labour, but a genuine reaction to the growth of British capitalism. The Welsh Nationalist Party, for example, has seen a surge in support in recent elections.

The Welsh Nationalist Party

By N ESS EDWARDS

Newport, Wales

Even in Britain there is a degree of "double-think" and "double-talk." The apparently pluralist movements in Britain are seen as masters in their technique. In reality, all the nationalist and labor-in-action is pro-labor and pro-words.

The article of Douglas Stuckey is quite prescient. His attacks are all on the British Labor Party.

His "million" Welsh-speaking are less than 725,000, and these mainly in the non-industrial areas—certainly not the more progressive areas either industrial- or politically.

It is all nonsense to talk about a mere unified "Walesland Common Interest" in Wales "because the ruling class tend to migrate to England." TheWelsh is precisely that of the rest of Britain, resting upon the same economic and political conflict.

As for the alleged dictatorship of the Westminster Parliament, it is sufficient for a candidate to be sponsored from Transport House to ensure that candidate failing to get a seat.

The Welsh Nationalist Party with its 15,250 members and 150,000 in noose, but has never yet won a seat in the House of Commons. For the most part, its membership is confined to the professional classes, teachers, preachers, and lecturers.

It has no following in any of the trade unions. Nor has it ever expressed in any of the class struggles that Wales has been famous for.

The "Nets" talk loosely about dominion status with a Parliament for Wales with its own judicial, financial, and economic arrangements. Much of its inspiration is from the past, including the tradition of a statue to a feudal prince of a pretty bloody reputation. The world is full of confectioners-mongers and the "Nets" can be numbered among them.

"Nationalism" seems to be an all-pervading influence in which difference between capital and labor is in question.

The fragmentation of Britain back to a semi-trivial basis is not the way for economic salvation. It is the way for a lower standard of living and a flight of the Welsh from the project by the Government and industrialists into Wales.

The economic and political isolation of Wales can only lead to economic and political disintegration, and the basis for a migration from Wales reminiscent of the migration from England.

The New York ISL and the Young Socialist League invite you to our joint New Year's Eve Party

by the editors

The nation has been shocked by the kidnap-murder of month-old Peter Weinberger, victim of Angela LaMarche's vendetta.

LaMarche's own testimony on November 25th of this year made a vivid capitalist system.

"Threatening debtors," as the defen- dants were wounding their health... and I was afraid for my family, because they were my family's poverty and I..."

"He went on to describe his childhood... his childhood..." C. E. Forward, to mention three good names.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

The Accused

By GENE LISTER

The recent uprisings against the Rus- sian army in Eastern Europe, particularly Hungary, once again bring up the question of the role of modern weapons in a revolution.

From our archives we have dug up an article entitled "Modern Weapons and Revolution" by T. H. Wintinghan, published in the early thirties in the British Labor Monthly. This was long before the modern weapons came into decision.

The article was written during pole- mics against the Independent Labor Party whose position on the matter of forceful resistance against a ruling class possessing such weapons is given in the following quotations:

"The people who talk of insurrection and violence as a road of escape from poverty are still thinking in terms of barricades and stone throwing...."

"And they must learn that the old proverb never reads that those who take to the bow and arrow will perish by the tain.

And again: "Should a revolutionary situation arise today the wealthy classes would fight... and they would certainly win. Modern science applied to military technology, concentrates effective power in fewer and fewer hands. At the most it in some rears with the air force. The air could bomb a camp of unarmed, a concentration of strikers, or revolutionaries, out of existence in ten minutes."

"In answer to the Wintinghan points out that, as military technique and tech- nology grow more complex, there is a greater dependence of the armed forces on industry and transport in the whole economic structure. Complex technology also promotes the growth of class differ- ences within the armed forces and condi- tions the normal operation of their ordi- nary discipline. That is, in question, no matter how powerful are, or in the hands of the present groups of the lower classes more often with sympathy for these threatening revolt."

Wintinghan also stated that the then ultimate in "horror" weapons, poison gas, could not be used because of its effect on the users as well as the rebels. This remark is even more pointed when applied to the use of atomic weapons today.

In fact, in the twenty-five years since the above article was written, the de- velopment of these classes, in pursuing their imperialist aims, on weapons of to- tal destruction limits ever more their use in domestic crises. Their goal is obvi- ously not eliminating the people essential to the continuing function of the war machine but rather quelling them into submission.

Wintinghan closers his article with the statement:

"The development of modern military technique is necessary to each capitalist power in its effort to orient its trade... [however] look at these weapons through the eyes of men who know how they are made and service and supplied and handled, and you will see that even the advance in the technique of war is a new threat to the developed period of history, the period of new wars and new revolutions."

This threat continues to be brought up to date by adding "and the Stalinist bureau- cracy..."

It is more than a footnote to history that Wintinghan was a Stalinist writ- ing in a British Stalinist mouthpiece. As always, the encouragement to revolution- ary socialism is that "we will win" and is a double-edged sword which eventu- ally prevails no matter by whom spoken.

New Year's Eve Party

which by definition is on the non-blue Monday of December 31 and will start at 9 to go on and on into the night...

DANCING... REFRESHMENTS... SOCIALIZING

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

Frankness

Forbes Magazine of Business, in an excellent article, used the title "Bonne Delphine" as the title of the follow- ing item:

"Dr. Alonzo of the Allen Memorial Insti- tute in Montreal has a new society that has been injected into mice, keeps them running for the rest of their lives.\n
Edible... and out and down."

CYNTHIA SPARE
Anvil Features 'Who Rules America?'

The latest issue of Anvil and Student Partisan, dated Winter 1957, has just rolled off our presses, ready for cir-
culation on college campuses throughout the country. The current number of the counterculture magazine is a highly interesting and attractive one, and will undoubtedly enjoy a brisk sale and widespread popularity.

The issue contains many articles and editorials on current political developments: the American political and social scene (including an analysis of the 1956 elections), the Hungarian revolution, the imperialist attack on Egypt, the French war against Algeria, and the relation-
ship of sociology to Marxism. In the contrib-
tory section, the editors discuss the de-
shaking importance of the Hungarian revolu-
tion for the socialist future of mankind, treating specifically the signal rule of the students in the Hungarian events. The editorial on Egypt analyzes the imperialist nature of the attack on that country.

In "The 'Dirty War' on Algeria," A. Harvey Swanson contributes a perceptual analysis of the contrast be-
 tween the Algerian and the American war, and describes the activities of both North African and French students in relation to the Algerian struggle for national independence.

In "A Brief History of Sociology," Michael Harrington traces the discussion on the role of sociology, and concludes that "demog- ography, economic determination, liberali-
ation," etc, which were supposedly set in motion at that time. The events of Poland and Hungary were caused by re-
 sistance to this policy, restistance which was not to be co-opted.

Supporting the first uprising of the Hungarian workers (which took place on Octo-
 ber 14, 1958, the troops met with bullets) and the spontaneous uprisings of workers and not fascist, Gerson stated that this was the "considered and collective judg-
 ement of the Hungarian people to make a revolution, to talk of the "damaged prestige of the I. S. F. and the support of the people". The Reporter with Jela Kovacs, a leader of the Hungarian Socialists and the "Report on the New Deal," contrasting the realities of the Roosevelt regime and the myths commonly propagated about it in liberal circles.

Anvil's editor, Gordon Haskell, associate editor of the Young Socialist League, is a highly interesting and attractive one, and will undoubtedly enjoy a brisk sale and widespread popularity. The issue contains many articles and editorials on current political developments: the American political and social scene (including an analysis of the 1956 elections), the Hungarian revolution, the imperialist attack on Egypt, the French war against Algeria, and the relationship of sociology to Marxism. In the contrib-
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shaking importance of the Hungarian revolu-
tion for the socialist future of mankind, treating specifically the signal rule of the students in the Hungarian events. The editorial on Egypt analyzes the imperialist nature of the attack on that country.

In "The 'Dirty War' on Algeria," A. Harvey Swanson contributes a perceptual analysis of the contrast be-
 tween the Algerian and the American war, and describes the activities of both North African and French students in relation to the Algerian struggle for national independence.

In "A Brief History of Sociology," Michael Harrington traces the discussion on the role of sociology, and concludes that "demog- ography, economic determination, liberali-
ation," etc, which were supposedly set in motion at that time. The events of Poland and Hungary were caused by re-
 sistance to this policy, restistance which was not to be co-opted.

Supporting the first uprising of the Hungarian workers (which took place on Octo-
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The tour of the Midwest units of the YSL which I have just completed was an extremely heartening and encour-
aging experience. In almost every place visited, there was evidence that a "thaw" in the policy of the party was in the making. There is a new atmosphere, a new in-
tellectual and political climate in the Hungarian Revolution, a feeling that a new beginning is possible in building a socialist movement. These sentiments are not confined to members of the YSL but are widespread among other groups of socialists, independent radicals and even some students.

Wherever the YSL exists, whether as an official unit or an organizing com-
mittee of a few members, the Pittsburg unit of the YSL has been significant and wherever it is possible. In Philadel-
phia it participated in a discussion group which has drawn over 50 students to its bi-
weekly meetings. The latter group co-
operated with the local YSL in sponsor-
ing the first public meeting of this tour on the 1957-58 season. Although it was one of the smallest of all, this meeting produced a lively and interest-
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Although I had the opportunity of meeting several new members of the YSL as well as speaking at a public meeting in the city, the Pittsburgh unit of the YSL, although initially small, is growing steadily and carrying a wide range of activity which evokes a strong feeling in its new youthful sympathizers.

More than anywhere else, it succeeded in forging alliances with the YSL to the general public through the letter carriers. In addition, it participates in numerous youth and student activities. Pittsburgh is one of the brightest spots in the YSL picture.

Yellow Springs, O., was next, for a meeting of the Northeast regional which was attended by several leaders of the group. A number of members of the club showed up at the meeting of the YSL's Regional Committee and some of the regional leaders joined us for a meeting of the local group.

In Chicago the YSL has just finished a quarter of intensive activity, which included two picket lines, several public meetings, and a regular program of ed-
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At the end of this tour, I left with the impression that the American people, at least the political leaders, are very interested in the future of the YSL. However, it seems to be the only socialist group on the West Coast which is not involved in a direct struggle with the YSL. In Japan, there seems to be a strong feeling for the desirability of social-

PROSPECTS AHEAD

The YSL, a group organized by the local YSL, but students from Western Reserve University attended,

Socialist Communist Debate: Hungary's Fight at CCNY

By L. D.

New York, Dec. 12

For the first time in many years, stu-
dents at City College had the oppor-
tunity to listen to debates and lectures by two of the Communist Party’s and its supporters on the

On December 13 over 50 students headed to the New School for the New Society, and William Mariotti, editor of the New Press and contributor to such magazines as the American Communist, discussed the impact of the events at the Jefferson School. They dis-

Gerson, tracing the history of the "thaw," noted that the "thaw" began with the 1957-58 national campaign to "educate" the people of Poland and Hungary. He noted that the "thaw" was not a result of political pressure, but rather a result of the people's struggle. He also noted that the "thaw" was not a result of political pressure, but rather a result of the people's struggle. He also noted that the "thaw" was not a result of political pressure, but rather a result of the people's struggle.

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**COOLIE LABOR UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG:**

**ISLAND ON YOUR CONSCIENCE**

**By Hal Draper**

The coolie-wage issue which we have described as important in Guan is of more importance. For one thing it is not so much a question of the native Guanians, who have their own problems, as of a specially imported coolie labor force.

Here too the dollar minimum wage of the States is supposed to apply. But the law has not been enforced, and the government has no intention to enforce it.

- Instead, bills were presented in the last Congress to lower the upper limit of the law, by (1) giving the secretary of Labor power to supersede the Fair Labor Standards Act with his own setting of the minimum wage scale, and (2) exempting employers retroactively from their liability for the back wages that they should have been paying in accordance with the law.

**COOLIE SYSTEM FOR FILIPINOS**

Here the coolie labor system is on a much bigger scale. That Guan is an important naval base, that considerable naval construction and other work going out of it is through private contractors (U.S. compa-

- There are over 10,000 Filipino workers who have been kept in Guan for the past several years. It is estimated that Ronaldu gives the figure of 13,000 for both Guan and Waipu. There are also over 10,000 in China working on naval con-

- In 1947 Washington and Manila exchanged notes agreeing on terms by which the U.S. contractors firms could operate in Guan. The agreement indicated that a Filipino can earn more on Guan than he can in the Philippines.

- But the Philippines are not the only area of concern. The U.S. government has also been giving allowances for benefits—only from $3 to $77 an hour! A Filipino may get $8 an hour in a job that would pay an American craftsman at his show $8 an hour for the same work.

- As we have explained in the case of Samoa, it is falsely illegal to pay this pitiful wage to workers in America

**Embarrassed Diplomats**

It is important to get the income from the minimum wage coverage. The U.S. government, he explained, has asked for negotiations to revive the 1947 accord. This accord would have provided that the bill was not discriminatory as charged because it applied to everybody, not only Filipinos—that is, it was not to be also to paid coolie wages—and any American would sign up for labor in Guan at $77 an hour.

Admiral Parks let slip one reason why the government was anxious to get Guan in a minimum-wage coverage: The Philippines, he explained, has asked for negotiations to revive the 1947 accord. This accord would have provided that the bill was not discriminatory as charged because it applied to everybody, not only Filipinos—that is, it was not to be also to paid coolie wages—and any American would sign up for labor in Guan at $77 an hour.

Yet it is important for Washington to beat down Manila’s demands. As the Chief of Naval Operations put it in a letter on the forthcoming Philippine negotiations: “A departure from the present agreement would seriously disturb the good feeling existing in an overseas area, for which the Philippine government desires to be in a position to arrange for minimum-wage legislation affecting other departments which employ non-U.S. citizens in overseas areas.”

The conference must not be cracked at any point, lest it all be swept away by a “chain reaction” of workers’ discontent.

**CLASS LEGISLATION**

The Philippine Trade Union Council also protested “this class legislation” and asked the AFL-CIO “to work with us to protect the minimum wage.”

The AFL-CIO representative Mason followed up with vigorous opposition to the bill. It was “discriminatory” legislation which would establish wage discrimina-

- The following collogogy took place:

**PHILIPPINE PROTEST**

This Southern intellect might have continued in this state in milestone vein, but James Roosevelt interjected, “I say, I am opposed to your bill and I am opposed to the Defense Department object if the wage restrictions were lifted or sometimes included in the bills which they were passed by Congress.

Parks said that would be all right with the Defense Department. It is in their hands. The individual worker can be drawn no such distinction, and could establish Guan as a haven for the Filipinos (as it was done in the case of the Chinese in the United States).

In any case (unlike the French in the case of Morocco) it was proclivity the Philippine government that may place the question of the right of the Filipinos to, or to see the status of Filipino workers and officers on Guan. This may in fact be in the interests of the Filipinos, and it may be included in the bills when they were passed by Congress. The Philippines was a colony for many years, and it is an example of the Filipinos workers from the islands from the minimum-wage law “will be an act of discrimination against them” and be added ominously: “The implications that will be drawn by the peoples of Asia from such legislation are of such far-reaching significance” that one had to understand it.

In an official protest to Dulles, Roosevelt stressed that the bill was going to be a “grave disservice” to the Filipinos’ (and the Filipinos’) behalf is the righting of an injustice simply because it is an injustice, and not to bring about a greater good.

And he said diplomatically: “We must not give the impression that we are demonstrating and demanding a right to labor, we are demanding as a desire of the United States to perpetuate what they will have in the Philippines. This process was accomplished in

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**LABOR ACTION**

Earlier this year a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor held hearings (Feb. 15 to April 18) on a group of bills designed to kill the application of the Minimum Wage Act to Guan and other sessions, particularly Samoa and Guan. For more on this background, see last week’s article, “Who Cares About Labor?”

The present article on the situation in Guan is based on the two volumes of testi-

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**THE BPM WAY OF LIFE**

The occupation of Guan is over 35,000, of whom 10,000 are local citizens (Guamans proper). There are another 10,000 Filipinos, and in addition, there are the 10,11,000 Filipinos whom they have assigned as “employees.” In the Guamanians we have a people who have been far more thoroughly assimilated into Western culture than Shioumen. This process was accomplished in
The Gomulka Regime Versus Democracy

(Cut from page 3)

that employed by the Yugoslav Titelists in the 1948-49 period in Czechoslovakia, when at certain points it was possible to create a 'democratic' front. It is to maintain the same system that the Gomulka regime is sounding the alarm about the all-candidates guaranteed kosher, but with the concession that there will be more non-candidates. The voter is given a choice between candidates, but they are presented as acceptable by the ruling apparatus.

The Yugoslav Titelists in their time showed that it is possible to found that this concession has its dangers and may be the beginning of the end. Let us see both the advantages and the dangers.

The first advantage is the obvious one: in Poland, as in every period of revolution, the Titelists continue every time rolling in the old way. Even as they strive to create a new framework, instead in order to do so, they are pushing the old one, the course requires him to make at least a show of democratization.

But, as was true also in Yugoslavia, democratic democracy is not the only means for those who wish to achieve their goals. This Stalinism is all bedeviled with bureaucratic deformation. The same problems are basic: the system is far from preventing the enemy from spreading from its own roots. The single-list-with-surplus-candidates is a controlled expression, and file-and-answer against especially bad behavior is encouraged.

WHERE DANGERS LIE

But the danger is also obvious: the choice may be intended to be meaningless in order to create a facade of mass participation in order to achieve a political demonstration. This is exactly what happened in Yugoslavia and in those elections, when in place after place, “bullet-voting” for the_alternative candidates was widespread. Voters were seeking out for endorsement those candidates least tied up with the structure. It was a success as it was greeted as if an electoral victory had been scored against the regime, even though the non-party candidates thus favored were in every case entirely dependent on the regime as their masters by the way they were being offered.

In consequence this is made entirely possible by the setup in Poland, in which the only but all-important part of any further rigging which the regime may do.

There is to be a single list of candidates and the party is in charge of the registration of representatives of three parties: the CP, the PIS, the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. The latter two, of course, are controlled to some extent by their similars in the other schools, but this is irrelevant to the present point, in which the possible use of the system is possible for a political demonstration.

This problem illustrates—how, I think, that in a very real way, the CP, the PIS, the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party are in the same boat, and that there is a sort of regime of the political point of a democratic limitation.

Before I go on, it is important to note that the voting is conducted in a different way than the rest of the election. The voting is conducted in a way that is consistent with the existing regime.

But in Poland the totalitarian framework is already cracking under the weight of the Polish revolution, which is striving to break out on its own.

The Gomulka regime is committed to the same kind of revolution that the regime itself is committed to, in which the democratic vote is meaningless in order to achieve a political demonstration. This is precisely what happened in Yugoslavia and in the elections, when in place after place, “bullet-voting” for the_alternative candidates was widespread. Voters were seeking out for endorsement those candidates least tied up with the structure. It was a success as it was greeted as if an electoral victory had been scored against the regime, even though the non-party candidates thus favored were in every case entirely dependent on the regime as their masters by the way they were being offered.

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Deal with Moscow? --

(Continued from page 11)

imagination. Walter Lippmann, who has been writing for the German newspapers in Hungary since the Hungarian Revolution broke out, is making a trip to Berlin by way of Munich, having fallen into a hypnotic state from being sucked into a great war.

Now the new trend predict that there will be an outbreak in East Germany. Whatever happens in Hungary could be an outbreak. And so great would be the danger that we may say quite correctly that the new government should be prepared to offer to a party that is preparing this movement to be prepared to negotiate with them, perhaps only partial and intermediat-1e, about the security of the middle of Europe.

There was a day when, in the capitalist case, a phrase like the "security of the middle of Europe" meant one thing: its security from armed aggression. Today a "peace settlement" is not a settlement of a revolution and the rumbles and stirrings of a revolution everywhere has been that is clear from Lippmann's article (or by columnar by him) that what he is concerned with is the security of the middle of Europe from the socialist revolution, for which he feels it is necessary to "chase."

PROPOSING A DEAL

And what he is proposing, in his cool and sober way, is only a little bit ambig-uous. It is a proposal to make a deal to spare a Republican administration— which speaks so often of isolationism and "liberation" and "rollback" the trouble in Eastern Europe. And the perception of the idea that America's re- action to Russia is dependent on her ability to make a new Yalta-Potemkin deal with the Russians which would guarantee to each country a certain amount of freedom, both would cooperate to maintain "con- trol.

What else could Lippmann, or the Press, or the other thinkers for or against of the administration mean by their talk of the dangers of an ex-

So far, it appears that the administrat-1e has not gone much beyond its instinctive fear of popular revolutions in Eastern Europe. "As a rough-and-ready way of thinking about a policy, Lipp- man is abead of the parade."

This is indicated by a section of the Foreign-Affairs article which I found quoted earlier:

"There have been some recent intimi- dations, the article continues, "that Mos- cow may be willing to make a beginning by agreement with the United States on both sides. In his Nov. 17 disarmament statement to a President-Eisenhower meeting in Bulgaria... spoke of offering in 1957 to withdraw Russian forces from the Eastern European satellite nations and of the American and French-American forces in the NATO countries and of Soviet troops in the Pact countries."

"It was reported last week that the State Department believes the Russian initia- tive an imaginable and possibly significant. At any rate the Administration will exploit the Soviet proposal."

The Hungarians have not been par- ticularly friendly to the plan of both wars, but that is another story. The West is in no mood to believe that the peoples of Eastern Europe under their rule."

But events have shown themselves to be the only way to deal with the Russian occupation of Eastern Eu-

And the curfew followed soon after. Even now in the United States, the rules can no longer be one of the "cool" and "liberal" and labor movement. For longer than it is pleasant to remember, the bulk of the American liberal-labor movement has supported all of the Truman-Kennedy foreign policy which was predicated on the idea that the main danger was Rus-

A "cool" and "liberal" and labor movement has supported the main lines of the Truman-Kennedy foreign policy which was predicated on the idea that the main danger was Russian military aggression and subjugation of Europe and Asia, and that the chief defense against this danger was military might and alliances with any one who was willing to fight on the American side in the struggle.

Lippmann wrote that the Stalinist empire gave every appearance of impregnable solidity and an expansive drive and that it was difficult to make a dent in the labor-11 support for the policy of "con- tainment." As long as the peoples under Stalinism appeared to be utterly cowed or even to support those who talked about reliance on political warfare designed to neutralize the forces of a Third Camp of mass, the containment war camps could be discounted as im-

But the new Hungarian revolution has shown that the "idealists" have got their foot planted firmly in the sand. The idea of a political defeat of world revolution as well as the idea of political defeat of the democratic revolution will now make its way.

It is not only in a battle one day, but in a battle against the American troops. The situation, in short, is still to exhaust the American power.

FULL CIRCLE

This we came full circle. If events are to follow the logic of the positions of both ruling groups, Walter Lippmann's piece for a Russian-American "working settlement"... about the security of the middle of Europe... will become a reality. Instead of a cold war against each other, they would seek to join forces to frustrate the peoples of Europe under their rule."

For socialist in the capitalist world, the counter-revolution followed. But even now in the United States, the rule no longer be one of the "cool" and "liberal" and labor movement. For longer than it is pleasant to remember, the bulk of the American liberal-labor movement has supported all of the Truman-Kennedy foreign policy which was predicated on the idea that the main danger was Russian military aggression and subjugation of Europe and Asia, and that the chief defense against this danger was military might and alliances with any one who was willing to fight on the American side in the struggle.

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Socialist Symposium --

(Continued from page 21)

defense was so feasible as well as to stereotype that Stone could chide his critics for their "unfair" and "unclarity" with a mustache and a goatee who are still about.

Turning to Braverman, Stone picked up the analogy of the "machinery unit-11" and asked him to detail how and why this could happen. Braverman considered himself with a descriptive picture of what took place—uncont-11ined bureaucracy reared its unshakable head.

Stone then asked Draper why he thought Russian "worker state" or socialist state when after all, prices under socialism were "too high" and back and forth he went to socialism equalisation and why would the state not have the democratic rights of the workers are non-existent. He pointed out that the state did not get the public property, cannot own property individual-1y, but can do so only collectively through their effective control of the government. He pointed out that the state is not "too high" and back and forth he went to socialism equalisation and why would the state not have the democratic rights of the workers are non-existent. He pointed out that the state did not get the public property, cannot own property individual-1y, but can do so only collectively through their effective control of the government.

In the course of further lively ques-
tioning from the floor, Roberts was asked about the statement appearing in the SWP magazine, excluding the IFL from a socialistic recognition of its opposition to "the defense of the Soviet Union." Did he prefer to unite with those supressors of democracy? Roberts evaded the question by as-111ering that he was not for "destroying" the IFL because of disagreements, but that the socialist organization would have to be "all-inclusive."

Draper took the floor immediately after to push the point home. The ques-
tion was not about any plan to be near the SWP was saying that they proposed to be on the road with only those who "defended the Soviet Union"—the line of democratic socialism they proposed, did this square with words about socialism and democracy? Were the Hungarian workers un-11ters "defending the Soviet Union?" It was clear in the discussion that when the question was asked, they were told they had to choose up between American imperialism or Russian imperialism.

Later, asked to comment on the pre-
ceding discussion, the discussion that period in Russia, Draper also went on to explain why the old period could not be understood either as a "golden age of democracy" nor any "devil theory of Lenin or Bolshievism."

Electation in Philly NAACP
Stirs Up Lively Contest

Philadelphia, Dec. 15

Elections in the local branch of the NAACP on Dec. 11 saw the present leadership returned to office by a small margin of out of about 150 votes. Despite the relatively few votes the election produced, some criticism was made of the pro-Communist Party elements were removed from the leadership by a margin of 8 years ago.

Robert E. Greene, now almost penniless, president, and George Norris, first vice-

premier, stood on their record of a trip to a pool while high of almost 16,000 members of the branch to gain support for the city-

13 staffed local office. The branch can also try to keep going, since the branch's annual report and regular meetings of execu-

On the debit side: the membership figure small for a metropolitan area of two million people. The branch committees in general are not given enough publicity, have been poorly attended and until receiving without tie to attract new people to the community, has felt itself somewhat hidden and discredited by the local lead-

One of its members, Nellie Pegues, died while in office, ziead-rejection as branch secretary, was driven to the streets by the NAACP's "New York... down with the old year at the New York ISL... YSL... NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY"