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LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

SHACHTMAN VS. EARL BROWDER: A Three-Page Report of the Debate

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CP Caught Redhanded Stealing Funds of UE

APRIL 10, 1950

NEWARK, Apr. 1-More evidence that the Communist Party and its ers were engaged in a life-andfollowers put the interests of the. death struggle with the company Stalinist organization above those of the workers was revealed last week by the official publication of District 4 of the CIO's International Union of Electrical Work- riod of combat was for \$250. When ers (IUE), the District Dispatch.

The Dispatch carried photostatic the Council of Soviet - American hot seat by saying that all the Friendship, the Joint Anti-Fascist checks uncovered were payments Refugee Committee, etc., from the for ads taken during the strike. funds of Local 441 of the United

Harry Bridges Convicted

As we go to press, the news comes of the conviction of Harry Bridges, Stalinist leader in the West Coast CIO. LABOR ACTION has al-

ready expressed its opinion of this trial as a case of political persecution. As firm and vigorous opponents of Stalinism and of everything that Bridges stands for, we look upon this case not as a blow against the CP but as another bow by the government against civil liberties for all.

Full story and discussion next week.

during their eight - month - long strike in 1946. One of the checks made out to the Daily Worker during this peconfronted with the damning evidence by the IUE-CIO, James Mccopies of checks made out to the Lesh, Stalinist leader of the UE Daily Worker, CP newspaper, to district, tried to squirm off the

Electrical Workers (UE) in Elizabethport, N. J., while the work-

Such is the phony excuse that McLesh gave as a trade-unionist -that it was a matter of tradeunion "business"; but what excuse can the Daily Worker give for taking such sums of money from starving strikers? The CP sheet will have to think up an explanation for its failure to DONATE the ad space used by the Phelps-Dodge strikers in appealing for

Instead the Stalinists and their front organizations systematically and cold-bloodedly raided the in order to finance their own stooge outfits.

CP TRIED HOUSEBREAKING

All this information was uncovered when the Phelps-Dodge workers, about 100 of them, voted

FIVE CENTS

Liberal Dilemma: ADA Weighs Its

By HAL DRAPER

The third national convention of Americans for Democratic Action ended last Sunday, April 2, with the great dilemma of U.S. liberalism as unresolved — and unresolva-

There is no doubt that ADA is by far the outstanding organized representative of American liberals. Formed at the beginning of 1947 un-"sinking fund," as they called it, der the leadership of the most prominent "left-of-center" political personalities and labor leaders, many of them exiles from the New Deal, it started as an attempt to provide a center for those liberals who would have nothing to do with the Statinist taint. This it did by demonstra-

ranks. But this settled only one Deal was voted down and deleted problem besetting liberalism.

It was made definitively independent of all Kremlin influence. But that did not yet give it a reason for existence. And the great dilemma before it is nothing less than its very reason for existence. That was the problem, almost in so many words, which was the main focus of its debates once again.

The kernel of this question is: independence from the Fair Deal. The concrete dilémma is: if the ADA is to be independent from the Fair Deal Democrats, by virtue of what program and ideas is it to achieve such independence?

At this third convention, by an insurgent "revolt" from the floor, against the recommendation of

tively excluding the CPers and the Political Policy Committee, CP fellow travelers from its an explicit tieup with the Fair from the statement. The move has important significance, but mainly because it deepens the dilemma, not because it resolves

MORE CRISIS AHEAD

The passage stricken out stated that "for the achievement of liberal purposes, cooperation with the Fair Deal elements of the Democratic Party affords the best opportunity on the national level at this time." In its place was inserted: "ADA reaffirms its political and organizational independence. We will continue to work for the nomination and election of candidates for public office of whatever party, when their records are consistent with the prin-

ciples of ADA." (Continued on page 5)

sia a Socialist Community?"

Shachtman, an outstanding been discarded by the Communist boss of the CP. Party, which he ran for Moscow for 14 years, and is now in a kind

NEW YORK, March 31-In what hundred. The meeting had been was widely regarded as the most initiated by and was held under unusual and even sensational po- the auspices of the Eugene V. litical meeting of recent times. Debbs Society of Brooklyn Col-Max Shachtman, national chairman lege, a campus club. Victor Kapof the Independent Socialist lan of this club opened the affair League, and Earl Browder, ex-gen- and introduced Professor C. eral secretary of the Communist Wright Mills of the Columbia Party, met in debate yesterday University's Sociology Departbefore a packed audience in Web- ment, author of the recent book ster Hall on the question "Is Rus- "The New Men of Power," who acted as moderator.

The debate went off smoothly spokesman for the ideas of genu- before a uniformly attentive and of Leon Trotsky's works, is a speakers alternated before the "Trotskyist enemy" in Browder's mike. By previous agreement, vocabulary. This was the first Browder spoke first for 45 mintime in-this country that a promi- utes, followed by Shachtman for nent Stalinist has appeared on the same amount of time; after the same platform with a leading these presentations, there fol--cause, since 1946, Browder has minute sur-rebuttal by the ex-

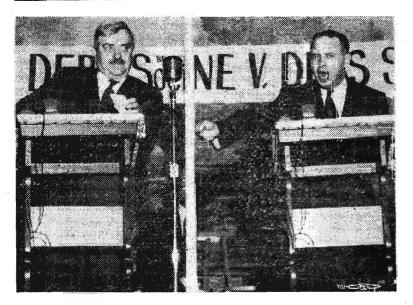
interested in the event, the press report on the debate itself. About 1,200 listeners crowded table was well filled. News stories into the hall to hear the debate, appeared the next day in the N. Y. tape and if possible the full text filling all chairs and overflowing Times and other papers. The New of all speeches will be published to standing room for a couple of York Post's Inbor columnist, Mur- in some permanent form.

ray Kempton, devoted his Friday space entirely to the debate, noting in regard to Browder's argumentation that "what Shachtman did to this was murder." The Daily Worker also had its official representative present at the press table in the person of Joe Clark, listening with poised pencil for "deviations" by his former master.

On the same day, by previous arrangement, the N. Y. Daily Compass - which runs a daily "Issues of the Day" page presentine socialism and once the editor engrossed audience as the two ing opposing points of view on various questions - devoted its page to a preview of the debate in the form of short statements on the subject by both Browder and Shachtman. This is unusual for the Compass, which is run by spokesman of Marxist socialism lowed a rebuttal by Browder for a fellow-traveler of the Wallaceto match political views. As is 20 minutes, one by Shachtman ite variety, T. O. Thackrey; in well known; this was possible be- for 25 minutes, and a final 5- any case, in spite of devoting this amount of space, or perhaps because of it. the Compass subse-Indicative of the wide circles quently did not even print any

The debate was recorded on

Independent Socialist League challenges Communist Party to put up official spokesman to debate on Russia . . . p. 8



Chrysler Local 7 Demonstrates In Mass Rally at Plant Gates

DETROIT, April 2-Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, and the whole labor movement here had their eyes opened this past week by the magnificent demonstration that Chrysler Local 7 put on before the plant gates, with between 8,000 to 10,000 strikers marching and attending a mass street rally.

This was the most important event during the tenth week of the strike because it confounded the Chrysler Corporation - which skeptics and disheartened unioncall to action would be ignored by the rank and file.

What the rank and file showed strike. was that no matter how painful the sacrifices and no matter how long the struggle, if the UAW-CIO summoned them to a militant program of action they would re-

A big question in Detroit this week is why Dodge Local 3 and other locals on strike who keep prating about their G-R-E-A-T militancy don't do as well as Lo-

Getting the rally was not an easy matter. It took some spirited fighting on the part of a tiny handful of union militants at Local 7 to convince the leaders that such a demonstration should be held. At a membership meeting the rank and file backed the proposal unanimously

When one recalls that Local 7 has only 14,000 dues-paying members, and that more than 2,500 are out of town with another 1,000 working elsewhere, the size of the demonstration becomes a real achievement and a testimonial to the determination of the ranks to see that their sacrifice is

best. He poured it on, as they say in the UAW, and he made some important commitments: (a) a good pension plan; (b) health insurance program, and (c) a better contract.

Make no mistake about it, the Reuther leadership never faced a crucial test comparable to the Chrysler strike.

Negotiations at General Motors have begun, and certainly the outcome of the Chrysler struggle will must have been dismayed by the determine to a considerable exmilitant spirit shown at the rally fent what happens at GM-unless -and it was a big surprise to the GM decides to do the highly unlikely thing of signing a new conists who thought that a militant tract, including a union shop, and granting a pension plan, suddenly and while Chrysler is still on

Of course, if the Chrysler Corporation retreats from its vicious anti-union stand and does offer a compromise settlement, the Reuther leadership will settle and the ranks will accept it; but the active strike leaders will be very bitter, for they expect more from the Reuther leadership, and that is why this strike is so important, from Reuther's viewpoint.

For Reuther's power rests on , the active chief stewards, committeemen, and secondary leaders. Thus far, with the exception of his faux pas on arbitration of the contract, Reuther has shown that he understands the situation. Between the pressure of inci-

dents like the Local 7 rally, and the murderous anti-union campaign of the corporation (which is attacking. Reuther sharply and personally), the Reuther leadership has responded by getting more militant in its propaganda. This past Sunday the UAW had its first real effective attack on Chrysler over a major radio station in Detroit. Nat Weinberg, UAW research director, did an Of course, with that kind of excellent job of exposing the Wall

poration, and generally blasting

As this strike approaches the 1946 General Motors strike in duration, the tension is greater and the feelings of the rank and file more bitter. In 1946, the workers at least had some war bonds to help them, and they had been working almost the whole war period on a six-day schedule. Today the Chrysler workers are having a very hard time living; they merely exist, and many are losing homes, cars, and finding themselves way behind in rent.

Tempers are sharp, demands for welfare are increasing daily, and the urge for a successful settlement stronger every day.

If this anger is directed against the corporation, the UAW may come out of this strike struggle with a more militant and determined rank and file and with a victory settlement. If the Reuther leadership pussyfoots in its attitude toward the corporation and the strike settlement, the resentment will turn against the Reuther leadership.

The chips are down in the Chrysler strike, and everyone

Why Rents Stay Up

Sure, private enterprise is building a lot of houses—but not for you. The Senate Banking Committee, in its\1949 rent-control report. said that the average monthly rental for 41,205 newly built units in 1000 cities and towns was \$109.38 a month; more than 55 per cent of all new apartments rented for at least \$80; the average rental for 62,000 newly decontrolled rental units jumped 60 per cent.

In spite of such facts, the realestate lobby's fight against public housing goes on. The above item did NOT hit the big news in the

DETROIT NEWS NOTES.

Mayor Vetoes Negro Housing; **ACTU Tries Redbaiting in UAW**

By JIMMIE LITTLE

DETROIT, April 1-Mayor Cobo has apparently killed the Schoolcraft Gardens Cooperative housing project by vetoing the City Council's approval of the site plan. Objection to the project had been made by bigots due to the fact that Negro families are members of the cooperative.

Edward M. Turner, president of the Detroit National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has asked the Common Council for a public hearing April 4 on the segregation policy of the Detroit Housing Commission. He asked for this hearing before the NAACP institutes any legal action which might be deemed necessary. The Reverend Robert L. Bradby Jr., former Housing Commission member, blamed the city administration for the rise in race tension in Detroit. Bradby said that attempts by the mayor to place the blame on Negro leaders and the Negro press was "just an excuse

VICTORY FOR BIGOTS

A motion in the Detroit Housing Commission to lift racial barriers in public housing projects failed for lack of a second last week. The plans of Cobo emphasize rebuilding slum areas with private funds. One project for which the city has applied for a federal grant is a segregated all Negro project. When Detroit has prepared the sluin-clearance area for their use, the real-estate interest will purchase the land and develop the project. This is also a victory for the bigots who hope to confine the Negro families within their present living

Meanwhile, Harry J. Durbin, director-secretary of the Housing Commission, demanded that rent cuts for strikers be stopped. At present, when a striker loses his income completely, he can apply ership be re-elected.

for a rent reduction to the welfare level of \$25 monthly.

How NOT to fight Stalinism: the Wage Earner, official publication of the Association of Cathoic Trade Unionists, in its March issue carries an all-out attack against Harriet Edith Van Horne, for her consistently pro-Stalinist

According to the Wage Earner, there are 900 workers in the Di ision of Dodge Local 3, United Auto Workers (CIO), in which she is the chief steward. Of the workers in her department 800 are women, and approximately 700 are Catholic women.

On what basis does the Wage Earner appeal to the workers to 🚕 defeat Van Horne in the coming elections? Strictly on religious and red-baiting grounds. At no time do they or have they offered any program in opposition to the one followed by Van Horne.

We have consistently disagreed with the Stalinist line as espoused by Van Horne and will continue to do so by offering better ideas, programs, and methods of fighting the company. That is the only way to fight the Stalinist misleaders while at the same time fighting the company.

The Wage Earner, while showing so much interest in Dodge Local 3, neglects to mention the unsavory fact that the local, in which ACTU supposedly has a bit of strength, has not had a single membership meeting since the strike started January 25. Could it be that neither of the groups in control of this local want the rank-and-file members to become actively involved in the affairs of the local? If the local had regular membership meetings and a voice in the affairs of the local, would the present lead-

Akron Grand Jury Whitewashes Two Cops Who Murdered Negro Vet; NAACP to Appeal

AKRON, April 3-The two Akron cops who murdered a Negro veteran have been cleared by a Summit County grand jury!

Robert Wilcox and Dan Pohl, the two uniformed anthropoids who shot Ernest Fenner in cold blood, have been declared blame-Iess by a grand jury that declared in part: "His [Wilcox's] conduct did not exceed the limits of reasonableness in view of his daties as a peace officer and in view of the situation that confronted him. We believe he acted as any reasonable prudent person would."

Attorney W. Howard Fort, representing the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after hearing the statement of the grand jury read, said that the national organization of the NAACP would be asked to step into the case.

"If our national organization finds Fenner's civil rights were violated, the facts will be turned over to the Justice Department for a federal grand jury investigation," said Fort.

Later at a mass meeting the NAACP circulated petitions addressed to Governor Lausche of Ohio demanding that the state's attorney general investigate the murder and that a special grand jury be called.

Fort spoke and attacked sharply disgraceful findings of the grand jury. He said that the evidence compiled by the NAACP and the Frontiers Club would be submitted, along with the petitions, to the governor.

"We don't need any new evidence. The evidence we have is enough for an indictment," he

"PSYCHIATRIC MILESTONE" Samuel Sheppard, a member

of the NAACP committee and editor of Akron's Negro paper The Akron Informer, also spoke, correctly pointing out that the failure by Chief of Police Lynett suspend Wilcox and Pohl at the time of the murder, because he didn't want to "prejudice" the case against them, was actually an overt move to prejudice it in their favor and against Fenner Readers of LABOR ACTION

will recall that Ernest Fenner was the Negro veteran who, suffering from nervous disorders resulting from his experiences during the war, and who, under the nfluence of a sedative administered by a physician, became hysterical the evening of February 9. He was subdued by a 17-yearold neighbor boy but later when police arrived one of them, Robert Wilcox, shot him twice, once in the back, without even bother-

him into an ambulance, the windshield of which Fenner had just broken with a stick; this according to numerous eye witnesses.

The grand jury that found it possible to call this murder "reasonable" also found it comparatively easy to decide retroactively that Ernest Fenner was insane!

This is the sort of decision men study for years in order to be competent to hazard an opinion on and even then it is necessary that they have considerable contact and lengthy interviews with the patient before they feel qualified to make any statement.

Yet this glib irresponsible grand jury, through its foreman. Mark A. Merickel, found it relatively easy to pass judgment on the sanity of a man whom they had not known and a man who was no longer alive to be interviewed. This milestone in psychiatric investigation was modestly tossed off without embellishment in a simple declarative sentence, to wit: "On February 9, 1950, Ernest Fenner was insane." Sic!

To date, then, the police chief, the mayor, the county prosecutor and the grand jury, all of whom have collaborated in their refusal to act against the murdering cops, have been victorious. The two murderers remain actively on duty as "peace officers" though they continue to be securely occupied at "desk" jobs in the traffic division. The next stage of the fight to secure justice must continue to have the support of those organizations (the CIO Council passed a resolution of support before the grand jury miscarriage) that have already declared themselves. Militants in all sections of the labor movement should press for official support

ISL New York City Convention Gears Movement for Activity

NEW YORK, Mar. 29-The Independent Socialist League's New York organization held its regular city convention here at the local headquarters on March 25-26 Attendance was good and discussion full throughout the gathering...

The convention was opened by

Ben Hall, the city organizer, followed by a report for the national Political Committee by Albert Gates, who gave a general summary of the national situation since the last convention, paying particular tribute to the work of the Socialist Youth League. L. G. Smith gave a report on the press, reporting the excellent response to recent changes in both LABOR ACTION & The New International and stressing the need for more systematic contributions from members; he particularly urged the development of "specialists" fields such as civil liberties, East Europe affairs, etc.

Joseph Roan, making the financial report, pointed out that there had been a marked improvement over the summer of 1949 but that a subsequent rise in expenses would necessitate a rise in the

Comrade Hall's organizational report for the outgoing city committee made clear that the general political situation has held back any notable strides in the present period but stressed that an adequate level of effort could and must be expected from every comrade. An amendment by Dave Corbin looking toward increase of activity gave rise to a lively dis-

In the second day's session, Max Martin, reporting for the Socialist Youth League, gave a detailed re port on the activities of the youth groups and the role of the SYL in the recent Conference on Democracy in Education. A large part of this day's discussion was devoted to the situation in the labor movement. A new city committee was elected at the close of the convention.

Big Brain at Work

It takes brains and higher education to think up arguments like this against strikes. This one was fathered by a University of Pitts-

"Assault and battery cases between husbands and wives were always on the increase during times of strikes, because people get bored and some women just naturally prefer a sock on the iaw to two in the darning basket.

The Root of All Evil

In Boston, attorney Lawrence Locke rose before the Committee on Labor and Industries to argue against legislation to benefit widows and children of workers killed in industrial accidents. That's been done before, but this unsavory character had a new thesis: Don't give them the money instead of husbands and start liv-

Israeli-Jordan Peace Prospect Bogs Down

The bright rays of peace in Palestine flickered for a while but have quickly died down.

There were reports that a treaty between Israel and Jordan had been initiated and would be signed in a few days. It was to he a five-year non-aggression pact that would ease the road to a final peace treaty. Rumors had it that the treaty provided for Israel's recognition of Abdullah's control of Arab Palestine: mutual recognition of Israeli and Jordanian rule over their respective portions of Jerusalem; access to the Mediterranean for Jordan; and opening of a route to Mount Scopus for Israel in return for a route to Bethlehem for

The broadcasts of the Arab language radio stations in Ramallah and Cyprus gave real credence to these reports as did the actions and intimations of Israeli diplo-

The U.S. State Department could not hide its glee and even the British Foreign Office let its pleasure be known. The U.S. is pushing for a stabilized Near East that can be organized into a "strong" bloc capable of resisting Russian expansion. Peace and the development of a modicum of industry are essential. Peace is needed so that the arms supplied by the U.S. will not be squandered in useless local squabbles — useless to the U.S. It is also needed

of one country as THE power in countries.

old diplomatic shell game of balance of power. The victory of Israel in the recent fighting had, in the opinion of American imperialists, upset the balance. Anglo-American munitions factories are now shipping large quantities of arms to the Arabs and small quantities to Israel. Acheson hinted that should the balance tip the other way the U.S. would supply Israel.

The expected treaty did not

Then came the meeting of the Council of the Arab League. There was talk of expelling Jordan for dealing with Israel. The charge as a precondition for gaining the was enlarged to include complicity acceptance of this policy by Amer- even during the war period. The ican voters in general and Amer- opposition against Abdullah is led ican Jewish voters in particular. by Egypt, the strongest single While working for stability the Arab country and the leader U.S. (as opposed to Britain) is against Abdullah, "Greater Syria" trying to prevent the emergence and unity among other Arabian

the unity of Syria and Iraq. LA-BOR ACTION has been the only

materialize. The first explanations were that the treaty had been delayed. The Jordanian cabinet had resigned and Abdullah sought a cabinet that would push for a quick treaty. The incumbents were reported to favor going slow in order to mollify sections of Jordan's rulers and the rank-andfile Palestinian refugees who opposed a treaty. The king could not form a new government and the treaty was reported delayed until after the parliamentary elections in April. These elections will include Arab portions of Palestine. It is felt that these elections will give Abdullah a show of popular support for a treaty not only among his own tribes but also among the advanced Pales-

cil was to invite representatives gram that could draw to it the from the "government" of Western Palestine, headed by the the Near East who are seeking a grand mufti. Jordan is now boycotting those sessions attended by its rival for rule over Western Palestine Arabs. This action of the league was foreshadowed by the Egyptian declaration against

paper that has pointed out that the wording of the statement was This "recognition" may foreshadow an attempt by the Arab

League to recognize the mufti's

government as ruler of ALL Pal-

estine, including the area held by Another resolution passed by the council was to forbid any member to make a separate peace, economic or political treaties with Israel without consulting the other member states. Jordan was obliged to vote FOR this resolu-

The net result is that peace is delayed indefinitely.

These events are not part of the calculated policy of Israeli diplomats. They have always been in favor of a modus vivendi with Egypt because it is in control of the Suez, is the most industrialized Arab country and is in favor of keeping the Arab states Balkanized. The Labor government of Israel placed all its hopes on power politics and completely ignored ANY action or even statements to build up peace or pro-Israeli sentiment among the oppressed workers and peasants of the Arab countries. Arab countries, was fought by

more far-sighted nationalists of road to unification and democratization of the area.

The Israeli labor movement was and is in a position to do this by aiding the creation of an independent socialist movement in Arab countries and extending the hand of brotherhood to them. designed to include the mufti's. The second task could have been "government" which is now "func- accomplished by advocating some Instead, the Mapai (Israeli's dominant labor party) chose to rely exclusively on "diplomacy"and the worst kind of diplomacy. By now it should be obvious to the Mapai that without a mass demand for peace—or still worse, in the face of popular opposition to peace in the Arab states—real peace is far off.

The attitude of the other labor party in Israel, the Mapam, is different, but equally fallacious. They too had hoped for peace with Egypt, but unlike Mapai were opposed to a treaty with Abdullah, even as a second best.

The anti-Abdullah position of the Mapam is not taken as a result of consideration of Near East problems, but as a result of Mapam's position on world politics. Mapam urges support of Russian "peace efforts." Abdullah is a puppet of England: Russia is violently opposed to England; ergo, Mapam is violently opposed to Abdullah.

The prospect of the signing of

a treaty with Abdullah, which

would have broken the Arab bloc

and led to treaties with other

however, a slavish follower of the Russian line, like the CP. In relation to Jerusalem, its attempt to be pro-Russian and to be the best nationalists has led to a strange position. It demands annexation of the Jewish section to Israel and raises the demand for the maintenance of the "unity of Jerusalem," which in effect means incorporating 100,000 Arabs in the Old City into Israel against their will.

Now the Mapam has developed a new line. It is opposed to peace treaties with ANY Arab aovernments. The so-called realists of Mapam, who aroue that the Third Camp position is unrealistic, are now in favor of postponing ALL peace until the time when the Stalinists will be in control of the Arab countries. "No pact with Abduliah or other puppet rulers of the Middle East: no regional agreements, but rather the alliance of those democratic forces now rising in the Middle East." (PZL Newsletter, Feb. 1.) It is no secret that even the non-Stalinists in Mapam "realistically" explain that the only existing "democratic" forces among the Arabs are

It is small wonder that such a distortion of the Brest - Litovsk idea and its subjection to the necessities of a foreign imperialist bloc has not been received well. The road to peace lies through negotiating with the existing governments; utilizing their differences; but at the same time recognizing that the ultimate power lies with the people, the workers and peasants, and by putting them into motion, really effective pressure for peace can be put on

WITH THE ISL



You are invited to attend meetings, classes, lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the Independent Socialist League.

For general information and literature, write to: Independent Socialist League, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. (telephone IRonsides 6-5117). For information about the Socialist Youth League:

Write to Box 221.

BALTIMORE Write to national office of ISL.

639 Main Street, 2nd floor. SYL meets Friday evenings.

333 West North Ave., Room 3. Tel.: MIChigan 9003. SYL: same.

Write to Box 1190, Station B.

Meets Thursday evenings at Craftsmen's Club, 275 E. Ferry

Educational program for evening

begins at 8:30.

LOS ANGELES 213 S. Broadway, Room 201. NEWARK

248 Market Street.

Next —

NEW YORK CITY City Center and Labor Action Hall: 114 West 14 Street, third floor. Tel.: WAtkins 4-4222, CHelsea 2-9681.

Manhattan Branch: meets Wednesdays 8:30 p.m. at City Queens Branch: for informa-

tion, write to ISL City Center.

by Jack Ranger A Hard-Hitting, Meaty Presentation of the Need for an

Independent Labor Party

Order from Labor Action Book Service 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

West Side Branch: meets Thursdays 8:30 p.m. at City Center.

Wednesdays 8:30 p.m. at the De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., (near Pitkin). SYL: for all information on

Brooklyn Branch:

PHILADELPHIA

1139 W. Girard Ave., third floor. Meetings Mondays at 8 p.m. Open house, Sundays 8:30-10 p.m PITTSBURGH:

New York SYL, address 114 West

Write to national office of ISL. Write to P. O. Box 1671

SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND Labor Action Hall, 466 Tenth St., Room 212, Oakland 7.

SEATTLE Write to Labor Action, Box 358. ST. LOUIS Write to Douglas Bridge, P. O.

WEST VIRGINIA Write to national office of ISL.

Independent Socialist League

Box 3414, Maplewood Branch,

YOUNGSTOWN Write to J. P. Walters, Box 605.

4 Court Square

Give Now to the ISL! A Labor Party! Fund Drive Director

Long Island City 1, N. Y. ..., my contribution to the Enclosed is \$... Tenth Anniversary Fund Drive of the ISL.

ADDRESS

Fund Drive Needs More Steam!

Fund Drive Director

April 3-The ISL Fund Drive receipts seem to be suffering a serious letdown. The gain for the last week was only 3 per cent. Unless there is a marked upturn in the next weeks, there will be great difficulty in achieving the full \$12,000 goal.

There is only one month to go. This is the time for all branches to begin making a final checkup on fund drive plans and to begin taking steps for the final push.

Chicago is one of the branches in the drive which continues to make good progress. This week's \$130 from Chicago raises its total to \$1268 (85 per cent). Only another \$232 to go-which means that Chicago has plenty of time

to go over the top. Our Boston comrade J. C. completed that quota by sending in the balance of \$50 this week. There are still many Boston friends to be heard from. We hope they will follow the wonderful example set by J. C. and help Boston go over the top. Buffalo too is doing well. An

week raised its total to \$700 (70 per cent). We know that the going will be tough from now on

make the excellent showing they have made in all previous drives. Streator sent in the \$3 necessary for it to make 100 per cent. Our Streator friends believe that

they will be able to go over the

Branch

but we continue to hope that our

Buffalo comrades will again

Cleveland increased its stand-\$27. West Virginia, which was late in getting started, hit the 80 per cent mark with another \$10 contribution. And we have a friend in California to thank for the \$10 increase in the "General"

The receipts for the week total

Received

Fund Drive Box Score

Chicago SYL	\$100	\$200	200
Berkeley SYL	30	39	130
Boston	75	75	100
Streator	25	2 5	100
Newark	\$250	218	87
Chicago	1500	1-268	85
West Virginia	50	40	80
Los Angeles	500	357	7.1
Buffalo	1000	700	70
Youngstown		70	70
New York City SYL	125	` 87	70
New York City		2770	69
St. Louis	100	68	68
Cleveland	300	179	60
Philadelphia	400	204	51
San Francisco Bay Area	500	22 3	45
Reading	100	35	35
Akron	200	64	32
Detroit	500	140	28
Baltimore	75	20	27
Pittsburgh	150	41	27
General	1525	165	10
Seattle	300	8	0
Newark SYL	15	0	0.
St. Louis SYL	15	0	0 -
Detroit SYL	30	0	0
Buffalo SYL	30	0	0
SYL (at large)	30	0	0
		_	
Total	\$12,000	\$6989	58

Editorials

'World Citizen' Garry Davis is back in the United States, entering as an immigrant under the French

The significance of this, of course, is the fact that Davis was the young man who created a sensation by renouncing his U.S. citizenship in Paris and declaring himself a "world citizen," thus initiating a movement (which attracted more attention and support abroad than in this country) for "world citizenship" now as an immediate and individually-powered way of meeting the coldwar threat:

Reports are none too clear on what Davis' return means with regard to the fate of his movement or his own relation to it. With due regard for what the U.S. press can do to derogate unorthodox personalities such as Davis, it vet appears that the World Citizenship idea attracted its quota in whom it touched off a spark, and then flared down.

We do not note the fact, if such is the case, with malicious glee. And even a movement with all the glaring weaknesses of Davis' could well have a longer life even under today's conditions. The best that can be said for it is a good deal more than can be said for many others: the sentiments it appeals to are not only noble and enlightened but fundamentally sound. Unfortunately this is true only of its sentiments.

For the Garry Davis movement was from the start doomed to impotence for all its idealism. It was, in the fullest sense of the word, utopian.

As socialists who have notoriously had this epithet so often flung at us, we do not ourselves use it lightly. It has a definite enough meaning, though one might not suspect that from its frequent use to mean "contrary to the norms of capitalist politics."

It means: setting oneself a great and desirable end and thoroughly ignoring any scientific analysis of the real political and social forces through which that end can be really achieved.

World citizenship and a world community are such desirable—nay, absolutely necessary —ends. There is certainly one thing that the man of the future will marvel at even more than at the monstrosity of war: it is the idea that one must be resolutely willing to kill another man in war for no other reason than the fact that he was born within other national boundaries than oneself.

The end-aim of world citizenship is an integral part of socialism. It is indeed the socialist movement—and not Tennyson's poetic reference to the "parliament of man" in Locksley Hall which the World Federalists never fail to refer to-which spread the concept among all enlightened men.

But to try to act now as if a world community already existed is both less than utopian and self-defeating. It is less than utopian because the old utopian socialists at least went out of society to build themselves "ideal" socialist communities in which they actually lived. There is no world in which one can live as a world citizen. And to go through the motions of acting like one in today's world is self-defeating because it has only the effect of cutting one off from the real fight that has to be made, against the existing national state boundaries.

Tearing up one's passport does not make one a citizen of the world. It merely makes one a prisoner of a particular national state. As the Marxists used to tell the anarchists: you may refuse to have anything to do with the state, but the state will not refuse to have anything to do with you. The only real citizen of the world possible today is the internationalist who, on the terrain of his "own" national state, fights the battle of socialist freedom, peace, and plenty everywhere, and in the first instance against the capitalist system which oppresses him at home.

If you're—

- against capitalism
- against Stalinism
- for socialist democracy

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U. of Calif. Clubs Form Wide United Front

BERKELEY, Calif., March 15—Yesterday a meeting was held under the sponsorship of the campus chapters of Students for Democratic Action and American Veterans Committee for the purpose of initiating a united front of student political, religious, and other groups on the issue of academic freedom at the University of California. The response to this first meeting was excellent—seven organizations sent official observers or delegates and another ten had members present. In addition to the sponsors, the groups who participated in this meeting included the Graduate Students Association, the Socialist Youth League. Channing Club of the Unitarian Church, Student Progressives, and the Labor Youth League.

In the course of working out a minimum program, the new group unanimously adopted the following positions: complete opposition to the loyalty oath now being demanded of the faculty by the Regents; ondemnation of the policy adopted by the Regents in 1940 of excluding Communists from university employment; and a demand for the reinstatement of a teaching assistant recently dismissed without a hearing for "failing to meet the minimum requirements of university employment" (i.e., refusing to testify before the House Un-American

In addition to laying the ground work for a common program, the group elected a chairman, the AVC representative, and a secretary, the SYL delegate. Before adjourning, a provisional name was adopted as well; the "United Action Committee on Academic Freedom,"

This united front has a good chance for the success of its ultimate goal: offering the students infinitely better leadership than either the faculty or the official student government could give in the event some kind of mass action such as a student strike should occur. At this time the possibility of such action looks very dim in view of the compromise spirit rampent among the faculty.

There are two reasons for the probable stability of the united front. First, it is a genuine united front of organizations and was not started by the Stalinists, hence they had no opportunity to pull their old tactic of calling on the members of other groups to form an organization of individuals under CP leadership. Second, the reason the UACAF looks good is because there is unanimous agreement that the basic issue is not merely the loyalty oath per se, but rather the policy of determining who should teach, on any other basis than individual competence.

Student Federalists and Political Action

The United World Federalist chapter at the University of Chicago has been publishing an interesting bulletin called "The New Federalst." One of these bulletins is devoted to the issues in the Willoughby Abner campaign in Chicago. This chapter of the UWF is engaging in political action through its endorsement of Abner, who is running in the Democratic primary for state senator on a militant, labor, antiparty-machine program.

The bulletin states: "A serious political organization such as UWF cannot function if it isolates itself from politics. More specifically, it needs closer ties with the labor movement, which has no vested interest in preserving the status quo of national states.'

This approach is, we hope, symptomatic of a wider trend in the federalist movement to move away from dealings with big-time politicians and business, and to look toward the labor movement as the best potential force for achieving many of the ends of federalists which are common to socialists.

Prof. Meyer Schapiro Art Department, Columbia University, on The SOCIAL MEANING of MODERN ART

Friday, April 7, at 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall (9th floor), 74 Fifth Avenue between 13th and 14th Streets

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Reading from Left to Right

THE CRISIS IN THE POLISH COMMUNIST PAR-TY, by Adam B. Ulam. (Review of Politics, Janu-

LABOR ACTION

A very informative article by a member of the Russian Research Center of Harvard, mainly on the Gomulka struggle in 1948. The conclusions and general picture will be familiar to L.A. readers, in particular Mr. Ulam's evident acceptance of national-Stalinism ("national-Communism") as the key; but it is filled with interesting detail, especially extensive citations from the speeches at the August 31-September 3 plenum of the Central Committee where Gomulka recanted after a fashion. Like our correspondent Rudzienski, Ulam interprets the Stalinist policy of go-slow in Poland out of fear of

At the preceding June 3 plenum, Gomulka liad opened up, explosively. Ulam tends to think he did it without previous internal organization. depending on the popularity of his views and person to carry the day (but he did not wield the internal power of a Tito). In the guise of a historical analysis of Polish labor, he made in effect a plea for national sovereignty. Seven of the CC (underground fighters with Gomulka) supported him; the six other members of the Politburo kept mum and opened on him later.

From Borejsza's speech at the later plenum:

"On June 4 there appeared an article in the Polish and Soldiers Journal under the title 'The Amarantine Communists,' which openly played with the ideas of 'national-Communism.' It is clear that the representatives of the right-nationalist deviation knew the day after the June plenum that there are those who count on them Alien forces within our country have conducted the same gamble from the June plenum on. They believe-stupidly or naively-that the Yugoslav example could be duplicated here."

Ulam makes an interesting point: Gomulka made no bones about "confessing" to nationalist, pro-Titoist deviations, etc., because such admissions could not harm his prestige among the people. That is why the plenum stuck on only one point 🥷 the accusations against him, Point which charged that he was ready in 1944 to play ball with the London Polish government-in-

He finally gave in on this too, abandoned by Bienkowski and his other supporters who ran like rats; but, says Ulam, "not perhaps without an undertone of sarcasm." The double-jointed sentence he points out is: "Yet without having been the country they [his accusers] evaluated the ryoblem correctly ... while I who had had a direct contact with the situation evaluated it incorrectly." Presumably the unspoken sentence is: "Can you people really swallow that?"

Readers Take the Floor

S-D and the Ruhr

In the concluding section of my article on the Ruhr Authority and the AFL-CIO proposals dealing the latter (LABOR AC-TION, April 3), I wrote that the German Social-Democratic Party had a program for the socialization and internationalization of the Ruhr industries far superior to the one advanced by U.S. trade-union federations. The program is undoubtedly radical and progressive; but the Social-Democrats have done nothing to bring it nearer to realization, and their record suggests no relationship between radical phraseology and an actuality in which the preservation of their bureaucratic fleshpots is their REAL policy. "The leaders of German labor

in the Ruhr . . . have seemed to display more interest in ensuring the appointment of their nominees as trustees of the Ruhr coal mines and iron and steel industries, than in opposing the virtual detachment of the Ruhr from the German economy." Thus writes Freda Utley, a friendly critic, in her recent book "The High Cost of Vengeance" (which, despite its various drawbacks, deserves wide circulation). As I indicated in my article, the trusteeship associations were created under the Ruhr statute: they were, and are, composed of German representatives of management, the public and labor; they are the administrative and operational tools, weighted heavily in favor of the old German management, of the occupation powers who have retained real control over the industries. By giving the trusteeship associations a quasi-public character, the Anglo-Americans enabled the Social-Democratic trade-union leadership to send its representatives into them; for, as is well known. like their British and French confreres, the German socialist leaders, too, hold the formalistic view that public ownership or anything resembling it already constitutes socialization. Naturally, this view also serves to perpetuate their bureaucratic functions

From any long-range political point of view, their membership in the trusteeship organizations was and is an act of stupidity and spinelessness. The West German Stalinists, for example, vigorously protested the creation of the Ruhr Authority at the time; their leader, Max Reimann, was arrested by the British for his militancy, causing what must certainly be regarded as a national protest and increasing the prestige of the Sta-

leadership to the occupation authorities is, of course, no secret (Miss Utley goes so far as to compare the role played by the S-D in the British zone to that of the Socialist Unity Party in the Russian zone). That they have failed to take the initiative (outside of programmatic pronunciamentos). n any of the vital national concerns of the German masses may yet break their backs; it is bound o drive the German werkers deeper into their fateful apathy, unless the latter can develope a

Eugene KELLER April 2, 1950

Dim View of V. Bush

Since LABOR ACTION recently carried a review of the Vannevar Bush book, Modern Arms and Free Men, I think many of your readers will be interested in a review of that book appearing in the March issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Many of the comments made by the reviewer. Hans J. Morgenthau (Department of Political Science, University of Chicago), are similar to the viewpoint expressed in the LABOR ACTION article. The following awareness of the inadequacy of

"The impact which this book has had upon a segment of our 30ciety, then, results from two lies tors: the optimistic appraisat of the present and future state of our affairs, and the scientific pretense which supports that evaluation. It is with the scientific character of its analysis that the political philosophy of this book stands and

"It is indefatigably moralizing in seeing in the great political conflicts of the age a struggle between good and evil. In its thought it is strictly commonplace, and in its avoidance of anything that might seem novel or even unconventional it does not always avid the platitudinous and the trite

"As concerns the relations be tween science and democracy the reviewer's task is made easy, for the fundamental political problems to which modern science gives rise in a democratic society are never mentioned in the book. Under the impact of modern science, power is continually chifting away from the people and into the hands of oligarchies of differ-

"Yet, by taking control of tech-

The subservience of the S-D safely be left in private hands, the state itself acquires unprecedented powers which threaten the liberties of the people. In times past the ever-present threat of popular revolution provided the single most effective check upon the arbitrary uses of governmental powers. The monopoly of the most destructive weapons of warfare in the hands of the government has made popular revolutions impossible and thus has enormously increased, in absolute and relative Iterms, the powers of the government. All these problems created new and vigorous and auditions by modern science confront democracy with many challenges."

> "It is characteristic of Dr. Bush's excursion into social and political philosophy that it misses completely the international and domestic problems which can be understood only in terms of power."

"What democracy needs next is creative thought, as creative as the-political thought of the founding fathers was for their own day, thought which re-examines and reformulates the eternal verities of democracy in the light of contemporary conditions and devises institutions which are able to cope with the challenges of modern science in response to the popular

In the same issue of the Bulletin the military aspects of the quotations show Morgenthau's Bush book are reviewed from a more sympathetic standpoint by W. S. Parsons, rear admiral, U.S.

Frank HARPER

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back! And most of them do not tion' is downright tragic. Its legislators have all but deserted the even know that the situation is organization because, as officeage-old in political history for atholders, they find it expedient to tempts like the ADA's—and that work through regular [Demo- the "way out" on that hasis has cratic] party channels where the never been found, because it does ADA label is an 'embarrassment' not exist. ... While ADA was in large part The solution of the dilemma responsible for the great liberal proposed by the top figures would victories of 1948-49, this year it solve the dilemma—by leading to

independence testifies only to the low traveler). Just previous to

the only possible form it can may fairly be asked: What can

is not welcome in a number of suicide. The majority saw that capitols, state and national, by clearly. Consciously or unconits own kind. . . sciously the said top leaders do "Within ADA chapters each not mind that prospect so much Democratic victory raises anew -precisely because they are not the question: Why not join and based on the ADA but on their work within the party, where one own political forces in the Fair can be most effective? . . . In prac-Deal. The non-officeholders feel it tice, in states where ADA is more keenly. They do not trust strong its members are a power the Fair Deal to lead them to the in the Democratic organization, promised land. They want to keep and ADA is rendered superfluat least one foot out-but only ous; in areas where the ADA is one foot. That requires acrobatweak, it is ignored, or it is inics, which is possible for an indifiltrated and used by the regular vidual politician but not for an Democrats. New York, where the organization which simultaneous-Liberal Party provides a counterweight to Democratic magnetism, ly likes to think of itself as "prinis an exception.' cipled."

This is the organizational form

which the dilemma takes. But with

painful obviousness it is not at

important question.

At the same time, opposition to

the organization of a third party

was also voted. The center of lib-

eralism is standing foursquare

on the moldy policy annunciated

by the AFL and Samuel Gom-

pers, way back, of "reward your

friends and punish your ene-

Right or wrong, that could be

a stable policy for a long time for

trade unions, which have a reason

for existence of their own, apart

from political activities. For

ADA, it means: continuation of

crisis. The verbal declaration of

 $d\epsilon sire$ of the lower and secondary

ranks for an independent road.

At the same time, under the spell

ments of big names, they reject

He continues: "ADA's position

vis-a-vis its 'parliamentary frac-

movement to build the U.S. not?"

of the "practical politics" argu- Daniel James.

ADA-Politicians Taking a Powder

"as injurious to liberal purposes"

Behind the Question of Independence record on imperialist wars and imperialist diplomacy has always been one of liberalism's shadiest

bottom an organizational question aspects. ---separate party or not. It is pro-But civil liberties? democracy in the concrete, not in platform The same convention which, in oratory? This has traditionally its majority, was so anxious to been the strongest contribution of declare its independence of the liberalism to the forces of prog-Fair Deal also sprained its back ress, given its over-all limitations.

lining up with the Truman ad-The country is in the midst of ministration on virtually every an unparalleled kind of witchhunt, unparalleled in its insidi-The question of the cold war, ousness and unparalleled in its war and peace, is no doubt the methods. If it were the gross atoms was officially given on April tracity travel (which would be most overshadowing one, but the Palmer raids of the '20s, the lib-ADA convention's actions on this erals would rise on their haunchpoint, miserable as they were, es and squawk. It is not. It takes were from one standpoint not the the form of the Truman-sponmost revealing. Because one can sored loyalty purge outside the see how, from the pro-capitalist law, reaching into every departliberal's angle, that is the most ment of American life—and only difficult one for him to orient him- ineptly aped by such operators as self on, the one which most Senator McCarthy. And make no squarely poses the question of mistake about it, the liberals in fundamental program. The liberal their numbers are uneasy.

They Elect a Symbol — Francis Biddle

istration they support.

But they do not dare to speak ever those may be interpreted to out! They do not speak out, there be-no "excesses," let the purge in Washington in convention as- go on as planned. Forthrightness sembled. No hint of criticism of and vigor on this question are rethe political master to whose served for a denunciation of the apron strings they are tied, dec- drive "by individual Republicans laration of independence or not— in the House and Senate"-Mcin other words, not a hint that Carthy and his friends-who, of the threat to civil liberties is com- course, are gunning for Truman ing precisely from the Fair Deal and the Fair Deal more than they are for "subversives."

easiness about the loyalty And as the symbol, what more is translated only into a pat than the election, as the new mendation for a non-parti- president of ADA, of the man who ommission to investigate the as afformey general carried would have adequate numbers of centers, whether or not these comtion of the purge program through the wartime application be appointed by the very of the infamous Smith Act to prosdent who is responsible for ecute the 18 Minneapolis defendit! No "excesses" are to be al- ants on the basis of quotations lowed—Truman is as opposed to from Marx's "Communist Manitities of bulky supplies to rein-"excesses" as the next man, what- festo" among other things—Fran- force local services and commodi-

Liberal Dilemma: ADA--

Party—a party independent of

the pro-business parties, both

fact that none was even suggest-

idea that this is some kind of

socialist publication finds little

verification in its columns but it

is very much of a left-ADA fel-

the convention a very revealing

article in this weekly posed the

problem sharply, written by

James puts it: ". . . the question

A bewildering situation for the

liberals: every success is a set-

Stone of the N. Y. Compass has Democratic and Republican, and done a journalistic service in resquarely based on labor, which is vealing facts about the ADA the only vitalizing force inside stand which are much more inthe ADA itself and the only pro- structive than what is in its resogressive social force in the counlutions. This is: what is not in its resolutions, or rather what was That there is no exit from this specifically rejected from its resoblind alley is testified to by the lutions — amendments proposed not by unknown rank and filers ed. One of the mouthpieces of but by its Washigton, D. C., chapthe more-left-of-center wing of ter and its own headquarters the ADA is the New Leader (any staff.

With the exception of a slap at the overtures to Franco, the State Department line was virtually written bodily into policy in all important respects - Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan, etc. As Stone comments, "It is as if the blue pencil of the State Department operated behind the scenes of the convention." For example, the following statements were stricken:

take: alliance with the labor ADA now offer which Truman con-"We condemn those who would use ERP as a means of preventing necessary social change.' An amendment condemning the

On the cold war, columnist I. F. to "key political and economic positions" and the failure to "take effective steps against the reac-.tivation of international car-

An amendment by the head-quarters staff to "condemn the policy by which Military Government, catering to a minority of European reactionaries, has sought to bring an unreal 'free enterprise' to Germany at the cost of alienating democratic groups all over Europe."

The last point suggests what is so very obviously the bottommost ground of the dilemma. The ADA is a type of organization whose working capital can only be its political and social ideas. In the first place, it has to have some! And not only on specific issues, important as those can be; these, derogatory as it may sound, are only the small change of a working capital for a major political group in these days. It has to have a basic program relating to the kind of social system it wants.

Three Paradoxes of Capitalism

Most ADAers would probably say they are for capitalism, a reformed capitalism, but not for "free enterprise" especially "as interpreted by the violent freeenterprise shouters." The distinction has a meaning in some concrete issues ("small change"). but, faced with the big overwhelming problems of revamping German capitalism, it falls flat on its face.

It is in truth no less flat in America. They cannot have their capitalism and their civil liberties intact also; they cannot have their capitalism and peace. In 1947 the ADA bravely resolved to "explore to the full" the possibilities of a "mixed economy." Even this is now out and completely forgotten. As James says, "ADA, it seems, does not want to be accused of being visionary.' As a result it is patently blindfolded, tonguetied and bewildered -liberalism at the end of a rope.

At the end of a rope? How can time liberalism is organized and

politically influential? Yet both are true. The paradox can be put alongside two others: growing unemployment in the midst of "prosperity," and the most insidious kind of witchhunt from the "left" capialists of the Fair Deal. It is no more paradoxical to see liberalism at its height of bewilderment on every question-even civil liberties-at an apogee of

apparent weightiness in society. The paradox belongs to capitalism, which today shows us the shambles of capitalism in Europe and the boasts of capitalism in U. S. production - one, in fact, existing only because of the

In convention assembled the liberals could not figure it out. They never will-and remain liberals. We are witnessing a society in decay. It will be reborn under socialist democracy or rot down to its stumps in a monstrosity not a whit preferable to the Stalinist monster which the liberals fear more than one say that when for the first they believe even in their own

ATOMIC PROSPECT

THERE WON'T EVEN BE ENOUGH BANDAGES ...

Another inkling of what is in ties would be severely limited by in the event that the present imperialist cold war explodes into 1 by the head of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, Senator Brien McMahon in what the press described as "another carefully edited installment of hitherto secret testimony on civil-defense planning."

"It seems clear to me that if war should come, our nation's fer said. cities may be prime targets for atomic and hydrogen bombs," said McMahon. A part of the testimony made public was that of Dr. Norvin C. Kiefer, director of the Health Resources Division, Office of Civilian Mobilization, National

Security Resources Board. The medical man said that in case of atom-bomb attack completely adequate health services "would become impossible." The following shortages would occur, according to NSRB studies: in all types of health personnel; health supplies (severe shortage), hospital facilities (serious shortages).

personnel and adequate supplies, immediate mobilization and transportation of large numbers of professional persons and huge quan-

store for the civilian population availability of interurban transportation (which might by crippled by enemy attack) and of in ilar obstacles)."

A bombing such as that on Hiroshima, producing 20,000 casualties, would require for initial first aid and treatment during the first week alone 200 railway boxcars full of medical supplies, Dr. Kie-

While with proper planning it would be possible to produce medical supplies adequate for both military and essential civilian needs, such supplied "would be grossly inadequate for major wartime civilian disasters he said This is because no substantial reserves of such supplies are held in civilian warehouses, on retail dealers' shelves, or in hospitals, he added.

Ralph R. Kaul, acting director of the Housing and Community Facilities Division of the NSRB. predicted: "In any future war we can expect urgent housing needs "Even if we could assume—and to arise immediately in all induswe certainly cannot—that we trial communities and military

munities are subject to attack. This, as indicated, tells only part of the story of what the current imperialist drift to war will mean for the people, even after "careful editing."

Shachtman challenged Browder to cite a single demo-

cratic right left to the Russian workers, aside from the

'right" to vote for Stalin whenever the latter decides to

permit "what he calls an election." He asked: "Does the

worker have the right to form a political party of his

own? Would I have that right? Would Norman Thomas

have that right? Would Wallace have it? Would Browder

There was naturally no reply to this question, and

Regarding the emphasis on state control of Russian

industry as "proof" of socialism, Shachtman recalled that

Browder had already had two experiences with "social-

ism" in America—one in World War I in Leavenworth

penitentiary and the other in World War II in Atlanta

penitentiary. Both are "nationalized" institutions, he ex-

plained to the laughing audience. But: Browder was able

to leave these institutions when his terms were up, where-

as the Russian worker is imprisoned virtually for life

In his rebuttal Browder gave prominent place, in the

course of his 20 minutes, to a familiar Stalinist cover-up

when confronted with the crimes of the Kremlin. In ef-

fect he asked "What about Italy? What about France?

What about conditions there, under capitalism?" He be-

moaned the situation of the French and Italian workers,

claiming at the same time that the standard of living

The dodge was quite plain. Shachtman stressed (once

again) that Marxist socialists, in attacking Stalinist Rus-

sia, held no brief for the oppression of capitalism in its

own lands, but, he hammered home, tonight we are debat-

ing whether RUSSIA is socialist not any other question.

Browder could not get away by the trick of drawing at-

tention to Italy or France as a means of evading a discus-

sion of the facts of Russian life, since he was debating a

consistent and uncompromising foe of capitalism as well

The appropriate anecdote about the American tourist

who was being shown the Moscow subway also served to

make the point. After waiting some time for a train to

come along, the tourist complained to the guide: "It's

very beautiful, but the trains don't seem to run on time.'

and his family is held as hostage if he tries to flee.

has gone up in all the East Europe satellites.

Browder later sloughed off part of the question with the

casual statement that "there is a limit to the amount of

"Yeah—but What About Italy?"

trimmings [sic] of democracy that are enjoyed."

have it? What would happen if he tried?"

Shachtman versus Browder: A Full Report of the Debate

It was a unique—almost an historical—occasion: the debate between Max Shachtman of the Independent Socialist League in one corner, and in the other the outstanding example of a living ex-general secretary of a Communist Party. It was, as Shachtman remarked in opening his presentation, an occasion which "I have been waiting for more than 20 years."

For Marxist socialists have been trying for years to get Stalinists to debate them, without success. The Stalinists have on occasion broken up their meetings, organized their squads to bash their heads in, in some countries assassinated them, but they have not been willing to confront their left socialist opponents in open debate, spokesman against spokesman, platform against platform, movement against movement.

The reason this debate took place, of course, was because Earl Browder is no longer an official spokesman of the Communist Party, although he still proclaims what was the official line of the party when he was removed as its titular head in 1946, after 14 years of service to the Kremlin as its U.S. general secretary.

That is why Shachtman commented in his opening remarks: "It seems that the only way you can get a Stalinist to defend this position in fair debate is when he has been cast out of the inner darkness into the outer light, and branded publicly as an 'agent of capitalism' and an 'enemy of the Soviet Union.' So, for a debate with the genuine article, we must still wait patiently, or rather impatiently. Meanwhile I must content myself with the second-hand article, the somewhat used-or, as I read the Daily Worker-the somewhat abused article."

Browder is thus not a laboratory-pure specimen of a Stalinist, being slightly contaminated by his continued adherence to the "peaceful cohabitation of 'socialism' and capitalism"—a theory which changed from orthodoxy to heresy in the twinkling of a cablegram in 1946. But in all essentials of Stalinist doctrine he passes the test and is the best (thus far the only) surrogate for a Stalinist

"There...Stands a Corpse"

The debate was an opportunity for independent socialism again to challenge one of the world's dominant idealogies through an unofficial spokesman. This is the ideology that is filling the vacuum that declining capitalism leaves, more apparent in Europe at present than in the United States: the anti-capitalist but also anti-socialist totalitarian doctrine that is falsely couched in Marxist phrases, Stalinism. This doctrine is seen in its purest form in the Communist Party, but it has its variations and reflections elsewhere: in Titoism, the national-Stalinism of the Yugoslav rulers and their sympathizers within the pro-Stalinist world; in Wallaceism, the curious American admixture of Stalinism, totalitarian liber-

It was with realization of his ignominious decline that Browder said at the beginning of his speech: "I speak for myself alone." The broken ex-general secretary had only a comparatively small claque of personal followers to applaud him. Gone were the cheering CP multitudes in Madison Square Garden, the kleig lights, the halo of absolute authority. He seemed a man almost bewildered. Yet the slander machine of which he was once the leading manipulator, and which now brands him as a "traitor and agent of capitalism" has not shaken his totalitarian faith. He has been too long schooled in its ways. He still does not even understand what happened to him.

This is what Shachtman pointed to in the last words

the other decapitated Stalinist heads in East Europe, he said, pointing to Browder: "There, but for the accident of geography, stands a corpse." A political corpse it was. But one still exuding the stench of totalitarianism; that is why no tear could be shed over the whited sepulchre.

At one point Shachtman even proposed a "sporting proposition": "If what you [Browder] call 'socialism' the Russian variety—were installed in the United States, who would be the first to get the ax, Browder or Shachtman?" Browder did not, of course, rise to the bait.

Browder's main line of defense for Russia was made, as usual, under the cover of pseudo-Marxist terms. "Marxism is a system of philosophy that explains the development of society by the development of the productive forces," he began, as the first speaker of the evening. "Socialism was introduced as a living reality in relation to Russia. The question whether Russia is a socialist community is thus a question of fact as to whether it has increased the productivity."

To lend the thesis profundity, Browder made an analogy with the early history of the U.S. "Charles Dickens," he said learnedly, "leveled the charge of backwardness against young America. Dickens and those who agreed with him were profoundly mistaken." Despite the superficial appearance, he added, "America was in the vangard of world progress in the 19th century.'

Browder's Main Line of Defense

With this, Browder set the equation "expansion of production equals vanguard of progress" as a tight and unqualified formula. The purpose: to contend that the productive role played by America has passed to Russia in the 20th century, since the latter has achieved (he claimed) a higher development of the productive forces. "It [Russia] speedly forged ahead from the last of the European powers to the first. Only the U.S.A. is today comparable in force and influence with the USSR. In its rate of growth it has already surpassed America."

Thus the formula became, in his hands, "expansion of production (automatically) equals sociolism."

When later Shachtman quoted the figures on the expansion of production by industrialization in Japanwhich ought, by Stalinist Marxicology, to be equal to "at least three-quarters of 'socialism'" - this argument bounced right off Browder, who did not even try to meet it. But the Stalinist spokesman went so far as to say that "even the building of every great modern factory is a step toward socialism. If Taft and McCarthy want to pass a law against socialism, they will have to pass a law against building factories—these are the most powerful instruments of socialism."

Presumably, also, the Oak Ridge and Los Alamos atom-bomb plants come under the head of "instruments. of socialism," as would an atom-bomb plant in Yakutsk or Kazakstan. It was, in other words, clear that Browder sought to rest his case upon the equation of production ability and socialism, a pseudo-Marxist thesis which is a main line of approach to the Russian question also on the part of many Stalinoid liberals as well as, in part, of the official-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

In part of his answer on this point-that every factory built is a step toward socialism-Shachtman read from one of Browder's own pamphlets, What Is Communism? In this work, Browder referred to the construction of Boulder Dam and to the fact that Roosevelt was very proud of it. But, asked Browder in that pamphlet, "This dam, and achievements similar to it, what have they contributed to the material welfare of the working ican capitalist class, it was even more legitimate to ask it of those who claim that industrialization of Russia is "socialist in character." On this basis the main portion of Shachtman's presentation consisted of a veritable landslide of facts and figures on Stalinist Russian life and economy to prove (a) that the wealth produced by advancing Russian industry goes not to raise the consuming ability. and standard of living of the mass of people, but of the ruling bureaucracy; (b) that the people have no control, no voice and no democratic participation in the new exploiting society developed under Stalin. These, he stressed and repeated, were the criterion for the socialist character of a society and an economy, and it is by these criteria that the character of the Russian state has to be judged?

An outstanding fact about this demonstration was that, with few exceptions, all the factual material and citations were taken entirely from official Stalinist sources, so that there could be no charge of relying on biased enemies of the regime, and also were taken from the period before the late war, so that no rebuttal was possible along the lines of the claim that current conditions are simply a result of war devastation. The detailed information poured out in this section of the independent socialist spokesman's presentation will be made available to L.A. readers in another form, but it is necessary to note that in no way did Browder make a stab at discussing any of it concretely.

No "Socialism" for the People

Shachtman also pointed out that although Russian production has increased tremendously-"Let us even grant Browder's inflated and falsified statistics," he said at one point-still it was also important, even from a purely economic viewpoint, to see that the productivity of labor in Russia is greatly lower even than in capitalist America, not to speak of what it would have to be to stamp the economy as socialist.

As a sample, he quoted from the Russian magazine Planned Economy for December 1940: the Russian miner, in spite of the appalling speedup system of Stakhanovism, produces less than half the tonnage of coal than does the American miner, man for man (370 tons as against 844 tons). "While production in a U.S. mine is three times as large as in a comparable Russian mine, the latter uses 11 times as many technicians, twice as many miners, three times a many office workers and 12 times as large a supervisory staff. What kind of 'socialism' is it where the productivity of labor is so inferior to that which prevails in advanced capitalist states?" Shachtman asked.

On the one criterion for socialist industrialization the tendency toward an improved economic welfare for the worker-Shachtman cited numerous figures to show that in 1937, at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, in respect to many phases of the economy touching upon this question, including basic necessities of the people, production had not only not kept up with the plan but was lower than in 1913. (Browder had referred disparagingly to American boasts about refrigerators and television sets. "I'm not talking about refrigerators, or radios . . ." said Shachtman, "I'm speaking of tea for the Russian workers, of shoes, of basic articles of consump-

He cited the wage differential in Russian society, showing that in no country of the world is inequality as great as in Stalinist Russia. Whereas in the U.S. the spread between the poorest paid and the best paid is at the most five to one, in Russia, according to Dr. Abram Bergson's The Structure of Russian Wages, in October 1934 "the earnings of the highest paid Soviet worker were more than 28.3 times the earnings of the lowest paid worker at that time." In 1949, using official Russian sources, Shachtman demonstrated that the ratio of lowest to highest was about 50 or 60 to one.

The NAM Shows Up

At this point also, Shachtman showed the difference in lution under Lenin, when the "Commune" principle of paying officials no higher than skilled workers was established and that of today under Stalin. A new bureaucratic ruling class has rooted itself: "the factory directors, the managers, the army and navy officers, the millionaire kolkhozniks, the bureaucrats of all varieties, stripes, ranks, sizes and weights."

In December 1938, when the average worker was earning 259 rubles a month, Shachtman reminded Browder, "it was decreed that the Russian 'Gil Greens' get 100 rubles a month, while the presidents of what are jocularly called 'soviets' get ten thousand times more. Presidents of the federated republics get 12.500 a month." And so on. "John L. Lewis would break his back to get that kind of 'socialism,'" he concluded. "Wouldn't the NAM be delighted with such a differential in this country? The problem for them would be how to conceal their delight!"

Shachtman piled on the coals: "Under 'socialism' we have 'marshals'!" he exclaimed, describing the caste system in the Russian army, pay differentials there also, etc. -"Are the American colonels any better off? . . . Go peddle your 'socialism' to the Pentagon building!"

Browder indeed, had in effect done just that. In his rebuttal, Browder (apparently out of Stalinist habit, since he did not bother to try to hang it on to anything specifically said by Shachtman) had verbally linked his socialist opponent with the NAM. In reply, Shachtman devastatingly showed that, whereas the Independent Socialist League was and always had been an unvarying enemy of the NAM forces, it was Browder who had openly tied himself up with that citadel of reaction. He quoted from a wartime interview with Browder printed in the New York newspaper PM on March 15, 1944, in which

talk like them," and more of the same.

Yet all that Browder could do in his final rebuttal was more futile invective: "When I hear such speeches as that, I say that even a peace-minded capitalist, every member of the NAM, is preferable to such war-mongering under the name of socialism."

This last empty accusation—Browder also at one point called his opponent "a recruiting sergeant in this war against Russia"—was flung out with no attempt to give it even a color of correspondence to any fact. Typically he was depending on identifying ANY criticism of Russia with the anti-Russianism of American imperialism. Shachtman made short shrift of this dodge, vigorously stating (as in his opening remarks) the opposition of independent socialists to both imperialisms, to the cold war, to both capitalism and the Russian exploiting system.

Something New for a Stalinist

He pointed out that Browder's slander was of a piece with that which was used to railroad Debs and others (including Browder) to prison during the imperialist First World War. When they criticized the U.S. at that time, the opponents of the war were told they were "helping the kaiser." He also referred to the arguments used by the labor leaders against Browder when the latter was the editor of the Labor Herald: any criticism of the leaders of labor was identified by them as an attack on the labor movement itself, and denounced as "playing into the employers' hands." At that time, Shachtman said, the revolutionary socialists "stood by the precept that the truth never hurts the working class."

Again: on the standard of living of the Russian people as one of the criteria for socialism. Shachtman exhibited Stalin's justification for the growing trend toward inequality and bureaucratic privilege. "The Russian workers yearned for greater equality, and Stalin answered them (at the 17th Congress in 1934) that this yearning is 'a reactionary, petty-bourgeois absurdity worthy of a primitive sect of ascetics but not of a socialist society organized on Marxian lines."

For Browder, this question scarcely existed, for the reasons noted above. In one of his passages on the point he wound up with something new for a Stalinist:

"Russia required enormous production to lift itself up from backwardness, and national defense in order that Russia not be destroyed by its enemies. Are these things important, or is immediate consumption the only test of socialism, as he says? [Shachtman had not given consumption as the only test.] There is nothing of Marx in the whole approach. There is only a vulgar demagogy of such schools of socialism as, for example, that of the famous Disraeli of Great Britain, the kind that wants to protect the working class from the evils of capitalism. The socialism of the Tory Disraeli [sic] is equally respectable with the socialism that has been expressed

And further: "In so doing he [Shachtman] moves to the position of the reactionary form of socialism, utopian, clerical socialism. Not a Marxist socialist certainly —a Christian socialist, perhaps."

Detailing the Indictment

The spectacle of a Stalinist denouncing a "Trotskyite" as a "Christian socialist" was perhaps one of the reasons why there was an audible titter through the audience at this point. The reader may find it interesting to learn also that at no time during the debate was Browder so indiscreet as to accuse Shachtman of being what he has so often called Marxist socialists in the safety of printnamely, "fascist," "ally of Hitler," etc. If in effect he ate those words during the debate, it was due to the better part of valor and not to respect for his own previous slanderous mouthings of the Stalinist book of invective.

Browder again and again put forward his awed respect of power and military might, together with deification of industrialization as such, as evidence of Russia's socialism." Early in his speech he said that Russia "sustained its right to use of the name [socialist] by its victory in the greatest of all wars.... There is the fact, a very important one. It is the prudence of wisdom to recognize facts and try to understand them....

"Many Americans believe that Russia is backward and powerful. But a powerful nation cannot be un-

"Statistics can be falsified [he did not say by whom] but they were confirmed in the battle of Europe and the defeat of Hitler. Artillery, planes and tanks were means by which the war was won.... Such modern means as atom bombs do not come from falsified statistics. They come from highly skilled labor and the advance of sci-

The reply to this was a setup. For one thing, Shachtman reminded the audience of the defeat of Napoleon, the organizer of bourgeois rule over feudal Europe, by Czar Alexander's army of serfs. "Does that prove that Alexander was Lenin, or his 'best disciple,' or that he 'created the world'?" asked Shachtman, referring to the Byzantine eulogies lavished on Stalin by his Russian sycophants.

Browder dismissed all reference to the standard of living of thé Russian people as irrelevant. Life in Russia, he admitted, "remains hard and austere," and it must be that way because this "socialist" country must first be concerned with "the expansion of production... and a military establishment able to meet all possible

But far from being execlusively concerned with "consumption," as Browder was able to charge only by ignoring a whole long section of Shachtman's presentation, the ISL chairman maintained that the political nature of the regime was also basic. No democracy existed for the working masses (that, indeed, is why the new exploiting in the direction of its own power and revenue).

"There is not a working class in a single modern country that is as brutally exploited as is the working class of Russia, not one as cynically disfranchised and deprived of its elementary rights," he charged The evidence, which we have already referred to, was marshaled to demonstrate the following, among others:

(1) The Russian worker has no real trade unions. (2) He cannot determine hiring, firing, wage scales, working days, working conditions.

(3) The so-called "trade unions" are pure and simple speedup instruments of the state power. Trade-union committees are composed of appointed officials.

(4) The wage scale is in the hands of the managers of industry and the bureaucrats. (5) Every worker must carry a labor book of the type

first introduced by Bonaparte and later by Hitler. (6) Workers are forbidden to leave the factory without permission of the boss; violation of this is called deser-

tion, with penalties up to 10 years. (7) The worker must accept work wherever he is

ordered to be or to go. (8) Absence from work without excuse can be punished by dismissal, involving loss of trade-union cards and lodging; three latenesses of 20 minutes are equal to

(9) The czarist system of internal passports, abolished the revolution, was reintroduced in 1932 by Stalin. (10) A Russian cannot leave the country without authorization and the cannot get authorization. "Flight" abroad is punished by death.

(11) Whereas even the czarist regime abolished capital punishment for all crimes except assaults on the czar and political assassination, in Stalinist Russia the death penalty is inflicted for: counterfeiting, acts of "sabotage" (which can include anything), strikes in state enterprises, illegal slaughter of cattle, etc. (12) All children from 12 up may be punished to the

full limit of the law, including execution. (13) The legal minimum in housing is six square meters,

except for the apartments of the ruling bureaucrats, which are built with servants' quarters. (14) Women have been reduced to the status of child-

bearers by the laws against divorce and abortion. (15) Millions of slave laborers are penned in the labor

camps as a working force for the GPU. (16) The secret police (GPU) rules omnipotently over everyone in the land.

(Continued on page 8)

The SWP Fumes and Froths

At the Shachtman-Browder debate a leaflet was distributed by the Cannonite Socialist Workers Party which, with all due respect, can be characterized only as a minor scandal.

The leaflet is headed: "Trotskyism Vs. Browder-Shachtman." This is already an appalling amalgam. Who or what is "Browder-Shachtman?" Is it not an abysmal lapse from the most elementary standards of socialist ethics to lump together Browder, a Stalinist, and Shachtman, an anti-Stalinist Marxist? True, the SWP disagrees with Shachtman, and has every right to criticize his ideas. But this does not mean that it has the right to speak as if Browder and Shachtman could possibly have anything in common. This sort of thing isn't politics; it's filth.

The leaflet complains that "Neither Browder nor Shachtman officially represent movements whose ideas they will presume to defend in the debate." In fact, Cannon's Bureau of Good Trotskyist Housekeeping seems to approve of Browder more than of Shachtman since "At least it can be said for Browder that . . . he continues to defend . . . treacherous Stalinism Shacht man, however, makes his appearance as a thoroughgoing imposter." (How these SWP epigones love the "official"—what else have they?)

Shachtman pretends to speak "officially" only for the Independent Socialist League. If he claimed to represent the Fourth International or the SWP or the SP or the Epworth League or the Boy Scouts or the Bronx Hikers Club-then he would be an imposter. But simply because he has not received the stamp of approval from Cannon is hardly reason to speak of him as an "imposter." (And by the way, what a dignified and principled vocabulary the SWP has-"imposter"—as if it were running a detective agency.)

OFFICIAL SECRET

In any case, suppose Shachtman represented "officially" no movement whatever. Would he then not have the right to debate against the view that Russia is a socialist community? Do only "official" representatives, their ideological passports stamped by Cannon, have the right to speak against Stalinism? How revealing this is of the SWP mentality, bureaucratized from beginning to end!

What is most interesting, however, in the SWP's leaflet is its omissions. It begins with a trumpet blast against imposters, unofficial representatives, etc., etc. But then what about its own position on Russia, "officially" represented by its leaflet?

The "official" position (perhaps it would be more accurate to say the official secret) of the SWP is that Russia is a degenerated workers' state and that it should be "defended" from capitalist attack. All that its leaflet says, however, on this score is that "Trotsky-

ism distinguishes between the parasitic caste in the Soviet Union and the non-capitalist property relations in that country. . . ." But this isn't a statement of the SWP position; it is an evasion. The SWP position is not merely that there is a distinction between the bureaucratic caste and the property relations, but that Russia is a "workers state." And as for "noncapitalist property relations" that again is an evasion: the only people who believe there are capitalist property relations in Russia are the followers of the forgotten man, J. R. Johnson, who are in the SWP and are doing their best to keep their positions a secret. Shachtman doesn't believe there are capitalist property relations in Russia; the ISL doesn't say so, either. To say that the property relations in Russia are "non-capitalist" is not yet to say whether they are

part of a "workers state." So tell us, "official" Trotskyist pundits, why in this leaflet to an advanced political audience do you omit to say, as your program requires you should, that Russia is a workers state?

Tell us again, "official" Trotskyists, why you do not say anything about "defending" this "workers state"? Is that "official" revolutionary intransigence? Or is it just shamefaced cowardice?

CAN IT BE SIMPLY STUPIDITY?

Considering the semi-hysterical and third-period Stalinist tone of the entire atrocity, the outright and unadorned lie which it contains is not out of place: "During the 1948 presidential campaign, under cover of impartiality, he [Shachtman] supported the prowar 'Socialist' Norman Thomas for president of the U. S. against the class-war prisoner, the Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs. . . ." Shachtman and the Independent Socialist League, as readers of LABOR ACTION know, urged in 1948 a vote for any of the three socialist candidates and specifically refused to favor any one above the other. For that matter, the authors of the leaflet know it just as well. But Stalinoid types will be Stalinoid types, even when they write diatribes for the SWP instead of the Daily Worker.

A final word: there is a difference of opinion on the motive for this extraordinarily cheap SWP attack. Some people think it bureaucratic stupidity. some mere pique. There is something to be said for both opinions, of course, but we lean to the former. For after all, suppose Cannon could have debated Browder . . . would the subject have been how best to defend the "workers' state"?

[Editor's Note: With all due respect to Comrade R. Fahan, we wish to point to a third theory: that the said leaflet was written and mimeographed in the dead of night by the seven-year-old son of SWP's building janitor. This theory is the simplest one which explains everything and is therefore, so to speak, most scientific.]

der, which was held under the auspices of the Eugene V. Debs Society of Brooklyn College and was attended by large numbers of students (who made up more than half the audience) has had an especial impact on the city campuses.

The debate had the Stalinist student fuehrers worried even before it took place. In advance, a meeting on "Trotskyism" was organized by the Brooklyn College group of the Labor Youth League, which is the CP's latest version of its youth organization, the meeting being scheduled for the day after the debate, Friday. The CPers were evidently worried over the effect of the clash on the LYL youth who would be there (there were many present in Webster Hall) and of the others who would hear about it. And with good reason: the carnage at Webster Hall has been an initial eve-onener for many young Stalinists.

The LYL meeting was held in Manhattan and was attended by some students from other schools too. About 50 were present (of whom 10 were members of the New York Student Federation Against War).

The speaker of the evening was Marvin Reiss, editor of the CP's official magazine Political Affairs, who came clutching a copy of Olgin's old pamphlet on Trotskyism - Counter-revolution in Disguise. High point of his remarks dealt with the debate of the evening before.

Reiss informed his audience that "Shachtman mopped the floor with Browder." He repeated this without variation at least five times. He informed the audience that he himself had not been at the debate but that the "mopping up of Browder" had been reported to him in detail by another prominent CP hack,

According to Reiss, the reason for this outcome

The debate between Max Shachtman and Earl Brow- was simple: Browder is an anti-Soviet character, and how can Soviet-baiters defend the Soviet Union? When challenged later to show where Browder's speeches or writings have ever criticized Russia, Reiss

merely looked vacant (no difficult task) and gulped. But Reiss went on the offensive soon enough. He came up with a theory about the debate which must have been inspired by a sympathetic reading of the throwaway leaflet passed out at Webster Hall by the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonite), a piece of hysteria considered elsewhere in these pages. The theory: he warned his audience against being fooled by the pretended mutual animosity of Shachtman and Browder. "It is likely," he annunciated, looking simultaneously into his crystal ball and his dog-eared copy of Olgin's pamphlet, "that there will be a coalition between all Trotskyites and Browder, with Browder

playing a prominent role!" In the question period Reiss was asked by an LYLer what would be wrong with holding a debate between a Trotskvist and a CP member. The reply was that it was necessary only to "expose" Trotskyists but not to debate them. The answer failed to convince several young Stalinists present; they proceeded to press the CP lawgiver to the wall. When his shoulders were virtually pinned back, he made a compromise offer: "It would be all right for us to challenge Trotskyists to debate on local campuses," he said, but he quickly added, "they

[the Trotskyists] would not accept." How phony this last gasp is will shortly be well known on the campuses! Meanwhile we record the extorted promise for posterity, in the perhaps vain but blossoming hope that the Stalinist student generals will be forced to go through it under the pressure of LYL members who fail to understand that it is "anti-Soviet" to try to think for themselves.

Shachtman-Browder Debate

"No," replied the guide, "but what about the Negroes in the South?"

There was another effective way of answering Browder's method of glossing over Russia's crimes by attacking the Polish landlords, as if this was relevant to the debate, in addition to reminding Browder that Shachtman's criticism of Russia came not as a defense of the NAM, of the Polish colonels-or of Nazism. "My comrades," said Shachtman, "were murdered for supposedly supporting a pact with Hitler [referring to the liquidation of the old Bolsheviks in the Moscow purges]. There were no documents, nothing, to prove it. But there wasone document. It appeared in the Daily Worker. It was not my name that was signed to it. It was not Trotsky's, not Rakovsky's.... Whose signature was on it?"

This challenge on the notorious Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 was not taken up by Browder.

Quoting Lenin's statement that "socialism cannot retain its victory . . . unless it establishes complete democracy," Shachtman affirmed: "I stand on that more firmly

than ever before." He closed his last speech with a fervent and eloquent avowal of the basic role of democracy for socialism.

And what of Browder's own line, his political reason for being (or non-being)?

He still preaches the gospel of the wartime alliance of Russia and the Western Allies, that peace is the immediately necessary goal and that it can be achieved by an agreement between capitalism and Russian "socialcrusade of "socialism" (that is, Stalinist power) in other countries. Russia, on the other hand, "has no urge toward war, no profit in it." Russia, Browder insists, supports only "wars of liberation and not wars of reactionary invasion." Still the apologist for Russia, even in his

However, Browder still calls for peace, an agreement between the two world systems. He apparently thinks it can be arranged by some kind of UN agreement, not (he stressed) by preaching "socialism" to America now, "There is no peace until its terms in state relations have been defined and accepted," was the way he put it.

He suggested that the United States could get the markets it requires by peaceful cooperation with "socialism" (Russia). He was not even hopeless about the prospect, even though he placed the blame for the cold war solely on the U.S. Making an analogy with the Sherman anti-trust laws, which did not bust the trusts, he felt that perhaps the warlike attitude of the American bourgeoisie (yes, he retains the phrase) might signify a 'move into peace backward, its usual method." And, with an attempt at a profound phrase, he intoned: "Backing into the future is possible only by a powerful ruling

For his heretical views on peace, Browder has been separated from the Communist Party. In all other respects, he is the apologist for Russia. In his final, agitated sur-rebuttal, he cried: "If democracy means the power of the people to determine their own destiny, there must be a thousand times more democracy in Russia than anywhere on earth. The people are constantly determining the system under which they live."

And, for the party that ousted him, ostracized him, branded him traitor, would not permit his mild difference within its ranks, Browder had only a gentle slap on the wrist. One had difficulty catching it, for he did not even call the party by name.

"Only political idiots," he said, "believe socialism can be smuggled into America. Socialism will come only when a Marxist party has won the confidence of the working class and can convince the working class that socialism is necessary also in America." One must remember again, in Browder's vocabulary, "socialism" equals Statinism, "Marxist party" equals "Communist Party." He condemned the CP (in anonymous terms) for trying to combine both the struggle for peace and the struggle for "socialism" inta

This identification of Stalinism with socialism, as Shachtman charged repeatedly, is the greatest blow that Stalinists, and some who are not Stalinists, have delivered against the movement for socialism. "The Stalinist movement has done more than any other single force in the world to give weapons against socialism into the hands of capitalist reaction."

If the debate accomplished no more than distinguishing the world of difference that lies between the Stalinist ideology and the ideals of genuine socialism, it served its purpose brilliantly.

ISL Challenges CP to Debate

The debate between Max Shachtman and Earl Browder constituted such a stunning ideological defeat of Stalinism that it brought consternation into the ranks of those Stalinist sympathizers (especially students from Brooklyn College) who attended.

The story on page 6 about the Labor Youth League meeting on "Trotskyism" tells the story. The Stalinists have been trying to repair the damage by claiming that Browder can't adequately defend their views, and even by implying that there was some sort of "collusion" between the debaters.

The Independent Socialist League last week pulled the props from under this shaky "explanation" of Browder's defeat when it issued a public challenge to the Communist Party to debate the same or a similar question (see box).

Spokesmen of the ISL state that they are well aware of the fact that the Stalinists have an official policy against debating "Trotskyists." However, they point out, it is just possible that sufficient pressure may be generated in the ranks and periphery of the Stalinist movement to force the CP leadership to debate the ISL.

"Should they refuse to debate us," said Albert Gates, secretary of the ISL, "it will prove that they share our conviction that they can't successfully maintain their position in fair and open

> MAY DAY Celebration of "TEN YEARS" OF INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM"

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Sunday, 8 p.m. APRIL 30

Auspices Independent Socialist League Socialist Youth League

Letter to Communist Party

April 3, 1950

General Secretary Communist Party of the U.S.A. 35 East 12th Street New York, New York

To the General Secretary:

On March 30 of this year, Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, debated Earl Browder on the question "Is Russia a Socialist Community?" at Webster Hall under the auspices of the Eugene V. Debs Society of Brooklyn College. Considerable public interest was aroused by this debate held in the presence of over a thousand people.

It has been brought to our attention that at a meeting last week held under the auspices of the Labor Youth League of Brooklyn College, on the subject of "Trotskyism," Marvin Reiss, editor of Political Affairs, your theoretical magazine, said that Mr. Browder did not adequately defend the view that Russia is a socialist community, and that this task can only be accomplished with success by a member of the Communist Party.

In view of the widespread interest in the Shachtman-Browder debate, we think a debate on the same topic, or some similar one, between Max Shachtman and a representative spokesman of your organization would be a political event of first-class interest to the American public. We therefore propose to you such a debate, the time, place, auspices and exact subject to be worked out jointly.

We await your early reply.

Political Committee Independent Socialist League By ALBERT GATES

A Footnote on Judge Medina: Put Himself Out Defending Nazi

NEW YORK, April 2-The Herald \$100,000 to act as court-assigned continually harassed the defense lawyers (who made his antagonistic attitude easy by their stupidly provocative tactics) and finally soaked them with contempt-ofcourt charges at the end in a vindictive move.

thony Cramer, an active pre-war six years in jail." member of the German-American treason on the charge of being in oath and the judge in the case as- if I didn't get a nickel." signed Medina to act as his counsel without fee. This, of course, is

the usual procedure.

Tribune today reports a "disclo- attorney." This figure represents, sure...made the other day by he said, what he would have Judge Harold R. Medina" which earned with his time spent. Over sheds a curious light on the man the three-year period, Medina dewho, from his bench, presided voted one-third of his time to the over the trial of the eleven Com- Cramer case. In addition, he permunist Party leaders in Foley sonally laid out almost \$1,000 for Square. In that trial, as judge he expenses in appealing the case, preparing briefs, using his own office help and paying for trips to Washington. "His arduous services," writes the Herald Tribune. "were rewarded in April 1945 when the high court set the treason conviction aside. Later that The interesting "disclosure" con- year Cramer pleaded guilty to the cerns Medina's role in 1942 in act- much lesser charge of trading with ing as defense attorney for An- the enemy and was sentenced to

Medina is now quoted: "I cer-[Nazi] Bund who was on trial for tainly had my hands full in that case. People cussed me out for deleague with two of the eight Nazi fending Cramer. I didn't think of saboteurs who landed by subma- it as a sacrifice. It was an opporrine. Cramer then took a pauper's tunity to serve my country, even

"The Cramer case," remarks the newspaper article, "was an outstanding instance where a pauper The case lasted over three years got the best legal defense for noth- in hurling the book at the latter's lin and therefore opposed to the and, revealed Medina, "it cost me ing." It tells the story in connec- defense attorneys.



ON THE PLATFORM: Max Shachtman speaking, Earl Browder sitting at table, Prof. C. Wright Mills, moderator on the right.

(Continued from page 1)

overwhelmingly to go with the CIO and to reject the Stalinist UE. The Stalinists had previously dominated the local from its inception.

Accompanying the discovery was a series of episodes which should put all opponents of the CP on guard. working-class opposition if they

When the IUE-CIO took over the local it had no way of knowcal, Joe Mrak, who had previously groups revealed. held the same position in Local keeping.

tion with a recent action by Medina in assigning three lawyers to defend former Army Sergeant John David Provoo, who is under indictment for treason.

ices" as counsel for the Nazi Bundist and his behavior on the bench as judge in the Smith Act case

feel that such violence will aid ing with the local's funds. But it . It was after the invasion of was already known that something Mrak's home and the assult on strange was brewing. Mysterious Mrs. Mrak that the UE records phone calls had been received by were carefully combed and the the recording secretary of the lo- incriminating checks to Stalinist The disclosure is of particular

complicity in the attack. But even

before the recent revelation, its

denials convinced few that this

act of gangsterism was not up its

street. It was plain for all to see

that only the Stalinists wanted the

records so desperately-and now

one knows why. It is equally plain

that the Stalinists do not shrink

from any acts of violence against

. 441, UE. The phone calls demand- interest to the workers at the ed the local's records. Then one Singer plant in Elizabeth, who night, while Mrak was away from were on strike for six months last home, his house was broken into, summer under the leadership of and the assailants knocked his the UE Stalinist heads. In this wife, who was pregnant, uncon-plant the IUE-CIO is now battling scious. They searched the house the Stalinists in a drawn-out. thoroughly but were disappointed: struggle for control. UE Local 401, the UE records were not there, which is involved, has so far rehaving been removed for safe- fused to issue an itemized financial report of all funds collected The UE violently denied any during the Singer strike. It does not take much imagination to picture the Stalinists licking their lips at the sight of the more than \$600,000 which poured into the Singer strike.

After this experience anybody The contrast which many people who had any illusions that the CP will make is between Medina's and its trade-union forces reprepersonally-financed "arduous serv- sent any "legitimate" part of the labor movement should have shed them. The CP trade-union groups against the Stalinist leaders, as can be seen for what they are: well as his subsequent behavior first and last, agents of the Krembest interests of labor.