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LABOR ACTION Independent Socialist Weekly

98

FIVE CENTS

Special May Day Issue:

12 Pages on the Principles and Program of Independent Socialism

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May Day, Mid-Century —

The Fight for Socialism Is the Hope of the World!

By L. G. SMITH

MAY 1, 1950

Sixty-four years ago the American labor movement established May First as a day of demonstration and struggle for the eight-hour day.

This year the leaders of the American labor movement, AFL, CIO and independent, have joined with the most reactionary and antilabor employers' organizations. the NAM and the United States Chamber of Commerce, to herd the workers into "Loyalty Day" parades on April 29.

The labor leaders justify this deed on the ground that May Day has been taken over by the Stalinists in the United States for demonstrations organized to further their own political ends. Yet next to the capitalists themselves the Stalinists will be the chief beneficiaries of the Loyalty Day parades organized by this unholy alliance.

Since 1886, when the predecessors of the AFL proclaimed May First as a day of national strikes and demonstrations for the eighthour day, May Day had become accepted by militant and socialist workers all over the world as THEIR chief day of mobilization for struggle.

To the demand for the eighthour day were added, as the years went by, the other chief slogans of the working-class and socialist movements. The third congress of the Second International, composed of the leading labor and socialist organizations of its time, passed a resolution in 1893 which read:

"The demonstration on May First for the eight-hour day must serve at the same time as a demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change and thus enter on the road, the only road leading to peace for all peoples, to international peace."

The workers' demonstrations on May Day were met in most countries by police violence. The employers and their governments did not want to see the workers mobilized in vast demonstrations which revealed to themselves and to all classes of society the potential power of the working class. And as the revolutionary socialist (Continued on page 10)

This We Believe: The ISL Program in Brief

day of demonstration and struggle for the eight-hour two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

other progressive policies.

YOU'LL WANT

copies of this issue, in the course of the next year and more, to give to friends, shopmates and other deserving persons. Get them now! Three cents a copy in bundles of 10 or more.



On this May Day of 1950, LABOR ACTION and the movement for which it speaks, the Independent Socialist League, celebrate a 10th anniversary. We were born as an independent socialist tendency at the beginning of the recent war, born in the struggle

recent war, born in the struggle against it, not only in opposition to capitalist imperialism but also in opposition to the imperialist expansion of Russia which first showed itself clearly in the joint invasion of Poland by Stalin and Hitler's troops.

In our very first issue on May Day 1940, we squarely took our stand for the building and strengthening of the Third Camp of world labor and real socialism against it, not only in opposition world. To this firm line we have adhered without wavering for a moment. The lessons of these past ten years have only reinforced our pride in this record, and reinforced our determination to keep the independent banner of socialist democracy high in the midst of an A-bomb world.

It has never been more necessary than now to state clearly and unambiguously where socialists—Marxist internationalists—stand on the basic issues of the world today. To this task, the present issue of LA is devoted.

In the columns to the left, a brief statement of views attempts to point up the leading ideas in capsule form. Naturally much is left out; the array of articles inside these 12 pages add much more; the literature of the Independent Socialist League, a regular reading of LABOR ACTION and our sister publication, the New International, offers a further treasure of the best socialist thinking of our day.

Next week, of course, LABOR ACTION returns to its usual offering of news interpretation, features and articles — all of which have been omitted from this special issue.

This week we highlight the fundamental views of the movement which offers labor the only road leading to peace and security: the democratic alternative to capitalism, the socialist alternative to Stalinism.

From the Old World of Capitalism

their labor power to the capitalist, who will allow them

to carry on production only because he seeks one dom-

inant objective: profits. He produces everything for

profits; he will produce anything for a profit: automo-

biles or tanks; comic books or bibles; coffins or cradles;

whiskey or books on temperance. If profits cease, he will

lock the factory gates and turn millions out of work. It

matters not that millions need the goods of life, starve,

or freeze. Only when profits are assured will he permit

expanding markets. For by creating profits it restricts

its own markets and its own ability to make more profits.

Enormous accumulations of money and wealth fall to the

lot of a few who could never spend all they possess in a

life of lifetimes; the purchasing power of the people is

limited. The capitalist seeks to invest his accumulation,

to build more factories to make more profits, to sell and

But the market under capitalism cannot keep up with

its ability to produce. Thousands of capitalists, producing

without knowledge or regard for one another and without

the desire or ability to coordinate their production with

the needs of society, periodically throw enormous quan-

tities of goods out for sale. Buyers cannot be found.

Soon, vast monopolies shunt aside small manufactur-

Profits cannot be made. Production stops. We are in the

ers and dominate wide sectors of the national economy.

Through monopoly controls they force prices upward and

skim off the richest profits for themselves. Knocking and

creaking and slipping, this capitalist machinery worked

for a long while. Each breakdown was followed by a new

divided all the world's markets among themselves, but

none were or could be satisfied. They were driven first

into one war and then into another, fighting, killing,

decimating, annihilating over the division, redivision and

further redivision of the world's resources, markets, and

fields of investment. From this merciless battle for

world-wide imperialist supremacy, the United States

finally emerged as the only really victorious capitalist

country. All the nations of Europe, the victors with the

vanquished, lay in ruins. In the birthplace of modern cap-

italism, industry was despoiled; people were starving;

On this pile of destruction the United States has

climbed as world capitalist master; and if thus far the American people have not felt the full impact of capitalist

decline, it is only because the rest of the capitalist world

is in ruins. While Russia rules over one half of the world,

the remaining half, still capitalist, is dominated by one

giant capitalist power: the United States. But if capitalism

still remains supreme in the United States, Europe shows

States in the crisis of the '30s. By destroying goods and

raising prices and creating artificial shortages, the New

Deal made production profitable once again for the cap-

italists and output rose. But only for a while,

Mortal illness struck at capitalism in the United

By 1914, the big capitalist countries had virtually

On Top of the Heap—of Ruins

And this capitalism must endlessly seek for ever-

the belts of production to turn.

produce more and more

throes of a crisis.

By BEN HALL

Brush the dust off the old Democratic Party election handbills and there in fading letters you read of happiness to come, of comfortable homes to rise out of slums, of higher standards of livina, of security from cradle to grave, of guaranteed incomes, of blissful peace and opportunity for all. A glorious vista opens before us, if only-if only we will choose liberals or "Fair Dealers" and give them a thumping majority in Congress on Election Day.

But something always goes wrong. As the celebrating echoes which greet the election of "liberal" majorities die away, we discover that we have been deceived and ask "who really won the elections?" So it was in '44 and so it was in '48. A little disappointed, we chase furiously after the elusive rainbow: Perhaps in '52-or '56... Meanwhile, the dangers of tomorrow seem more ominous; its promises, always just beyond our grasp.

Since the Democrats came to power in 1932, holding on for nearly a fifth of a century, a new generation has been born and raised under a "liberal" regime. Yet the problems remain. Achievements which seemed impressive for a moment fade into insignificance before the big uncertainties of life. Will war come? What about depression, unemployment, breadlines, misery, relief rolls? There is no peace, there is no security, there is less freedom.

Are liberal promises worth more than the air which carries their radio speeches? Mull over one simple fact.

Fair Deal Democrats, despite their hypocritical criticism of the Taft-Hartley Law, accept its basic spirit and insist that the government (their government) must and does have the right to order striking unions back to work in "emergencies" by wielding the injunction club. Truman just tried it against striking miners. If a liberalized capitalism headed by energetic "Fair Dealers" can really bring a steady rise in living standards, more food, more homes, more rights, then strikes would become rare and brief accidents. Why then do the "Fair Dealers" hold an injunction whip behind their back?

The truth is: they have no faith in their own promises. They know that their capitalist system cannot create the conditions of free, normal, peaceable, friendly relations among human beings. They expect always to face grumbling and dissatisfied workingmen and they must be ready to beat these dissenters back to work. For capitalism cannot and will not bring peace and plenty, security and freedom for the people

Liberty and security are inseparable. The people cannot be free in poverty nor secure in slavery. Where the majority is deprived of political and economic rights, a minority of rulers will steal the fruits of their labor to live in luxury while others toil. Those who hold the director's club will always be first in line when the goods of life are

How Can They Explain It?

And on the other hand, where the majority is relatively poor and wealth concentrates in the hands of a few, the rich will become rulers and the people will become subjects. In the words of Victor Reuther, who doesn't grasp the full import of what he himself says: "Through the large corporations, the big business community wields not only economic but political power, since the power to produce or not to produce, to employ or not to employ, has social consequences and therefore political consequences." And from an opposite source, T. K. Quinn, former vice-president of the General Electric Company, we hear: "The present third- and fourth-generation officials of monster corporations . . . have a power beyond that of political presidents or governors, without direct knowledge or human contact with their tens or hundreds of thousands of employees or elective responsibility to them." Old Deal or New Deal, the capitalists

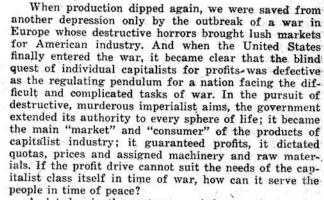
And if a liberalized capitalism can bring peace and plenty, how explain two world wars and a threatening third; how explain depressions, crises, recessions, which have repeatedly wracked our society, bringing starvation in the midst of plenty; how explain inflation, unemployment, race discrimination, imperialist oppression? How explain billions spent to pry out the secrets of atomic bombs and only pittances to explore the causes and seek the cure of cancer; how explain why we, with our marvelous machine civilization, tremble before insecurity in old age and sickness just like primitive man with his crude implements?



Liberal apologists for the capitalist system pick at each social sore. They ascribe all the agonies of society, separately, each to the selfishness or weakness of individuals, to an error of judgment here, an oversight there, a trifling lack of understanding. To such quackery belongs Fair Dealism, which may at times treat some of the lesser symptoms of social decay but which can never probe to its roots.

Regardless of how it is patched, treated, sprayed, or plated with liberalism, capitalism by its very nature will continue to push society downward. The choice before us is not whether we shall hold on to what we have, the good with the evil, or whether we shall reach out for something better. It is: shall we permit what we have, all the acquisitions of civilization, to slip away, or shall we make an advance to socialism? Socialism or barbarism, a monstrous

totalitarian barbarism—these are the alternatives. Under capitalism, a tiny minority owns the means of production- the factories, mines, railroads-but does no productive work. The vast majority, the working class, do not own them but must work at them. They must sell



LABOR ACTION

And today in the post-war period, we enjoy a relative prosperity only because industry finds blank spaces of war destruction to fill in, is primed by huge Marshall Plan expenditures, and is guaranteed future "preparedness" markets here and abroad. Even so five to seven million men look for work in vain.

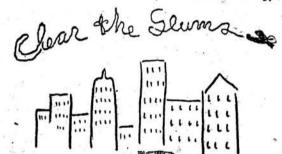
Results of Fair Deal Liberalism

Could the Mississippi be harnessed to turn fans for cooling the heated brow of an uncomfortable billionaire on a hot July afternoon? Could the auto assembly lines and mighty presses be redesigned to run off platinumlined ivory bath tubs to satisfy the caprice of a few luxury-loving magnates? A crazy thought? Of course. But on just such crazy principles does modern class society operate.

The powers of nature, science, and human industry, which can bring unprecedented abundance and comfort for all, are harnessed for small ruling groups, their luxuries and their wars-in Russia, a bureaucratic totalitarian class; in the United States, a privileged capitalist class. And each of these two classes stand as candidates for emperor of the world. If they remain in power they will "settle" the question with rockets and atom bombs, while the bloodstained victor, if any, holds court in a heap of rubbish and dust.

And what do "Fair Dealers" propose? That the American flag and not the Russian wave over the graveyard of civilization. A new world war will blot out the sun of culture? Then let us prepare all the more carefully, they say. Atom bombs threaten all human life? Then quickly, they say, let us add to the growing pile. Hydrogen bombs could destroy all life? Hurry then and be the first to invent them. Meanwhile, reforms are pigeonholed. But war preparations continue without stint.

Worn-out liberalism, lukewarm reformism, confused progressivism, all the qualities which go to make up the feeble character of our "Fair Deal" can raise energy and



against civil liberties, invading strongholds long defended by genuine liberals as a sacred ground of liberty.

It has erected a huge secret police apparatus which pries into the private lives and peers into the minds of its citizens. It persecutes dissenters and radicals on the pretext of looking for "subversives" and spies. It fires government employees and teachers because of "thought crimes"- holding unpopular views; it burns magazines on science; it censors scientists; it reaches out into the factories to grab militants. By these "liberal" measures of defense of "democracy," it endorses in principle the barracks-bureaucratism of totalitarian Stalinism which-

Cold-war diplomacy pushes the political methods of the two contestants along parallel lines. Such are the results of "Fair Deal" liberalism seeking to preserve capitalist domination.

The fate of mankind, perhaps for centuries to come, now hinges on the ability of workingpeople to take control of the machinery to which they alone transmit the hum of life; to set aside all ruling classes; to open the floodgates of production not for destruction or privilege but for the needs of society. A government of workingpeople must end capitalism and take the road to socialism, to a society without classes, without exploitation, to a society of freedom, peace, and abundance for all.

A basic pamphlet— "SOCIALISM: THE HOPE OF HUMANITY" by Max Shachtman

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The Democratic Alternative to Capitalism

—To a New World of Socialism!

By GORDON HASKELL

The ideas of socialism are under attack from various sides. The Republican Party's main charge against the Fair Deal is that the Democrats are leading America "down the road to socialism." Austerity in Britain and all the economic difficulties of the British Labor Party government are blamed on "socialism." And finally, the totalitarian slave state in Russia and all its evils are pointed to as the fruits

In the face of this concentrated political and ideological attack, the Independent Socialist League proudly states that its chief aim is to spread the ideas of SOCIALISM among the workers and people generally. But because this word is being abused to describe and damn such completely different ideologies, programs and policies as are presided over by Truman, Attlee and Stalin, it is now more necessary than ever for those who call themselves socialists to state clearly what they mean by "socialism."

All organizations which have to abolish capitalism and usher in called themselves "socialist" for the past hundred years have shared one idea. This was that capitalism cannot by its very nature provide plenty, security and peace to the peoples of the world, and that it must be replaced by a system of society in which the basic industries are owned and controlled by the workers and the common people through their government. It was this idea that Karl Marx expressed in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 when he wrote that the Manifesto's program could be summed up in a single sentence: "Abolition of

private property." The experience of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and of the social - democratic movements of Europe has taught Independent Socialists that another side of the socialist idea must be stressed equally with that of the abolition of private property in the means of production. This is the idea of workers' control of production, of complete economic, political and social democracy as necessary characteristics of any socialist society.

Role of Labor

The Marxian socialists always stressed the role of the workers in establishing socialism. To them socialism was not just a fine ideal that was to come about because many enlightened people wanted it. They knew that the workers, organized and trained by modern industry, were the only social class capable of leading the fight

the new socialist society.

This idea is more important today than ever. The failure of the workers in the past thirty years to come to power in any country and to reorganize it along socialist lines is due primarily to the subversion and demoralization of the working-class movements by the social-democrats and the Sta-

Two Lion Tamers

These two movements operated in different ways and for different ends. The rightist social-democrats demoralized the workers' movements by leading them to subordinate their own interests to those of the "liberal" capitalists. To them "socialism" was something to be talked about in peaceful May Day rallies. But in every decisive situation they blunted the struggles of the workers. And through their bureaucratic control of the labor movements of Europe, they turned them into docile movements of social re-

The Stalinists, far more bureaucratic than the social-democrats in their organizational methods, taught the workers to rely on the Russian government for their liberation rather than on their own organized strength and everywhere subordinated the struggles of the workers to the interests of the totalitarian Rus-

The Independent Socialists insist that socialism can only be a product of a working-class move-



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can only be established by a working class which is itself democratically organized. It can only be established by a working class which, in the course of its own economic and political struggles, comes to UNDERSTAND its historic mission to reorganize society along socialist lines.

Side by side with the private ownership of the means of production, the capitalist class has established a political state which is organized for the main purpose of safeguarding and maintaining the rule of capital over the economic and social life of the nation. This state power, whether it be organized in the form of parliamentary government (as in the United States and Western Europe) or of fascist dictatorship, is the chief prop of the capitalist order.

Reform Won't Do

The workers cannot, therefore, hope to establish socialism by gradually reforming capitalism through the election of "friends of labor" to office. For socialism to be established the workers must understand that only a new form of government, organized along new principles, can serve their

The experience of the Russian Revolution and of the temporary and half-completed workers' revolutions in other countries teaches that the political form best adapted to a workers' government is that of local, regional and national councils elected democratically on an occupational basis. Through such councils the productive members of society can effectively and democratically organize all sides of social life. They can plan for production and distribution, for public health, schooling and such military forces as they may require to protect themselves from attack by capitalist or Stalinist classes inside or outside their own

Internationalism

The Independent Socialists do not attempt to prescribe to the workers the exact institutions and methods through which they should organize a socialist society. They insist only on two cardinal principles and seek to educate and fight for them within the labor movement and in society generally. They are for complete democracy and they believe that the emancipation of society from the rule of capitalist owners and Stalinist bureaucrats can only be achieved by a working class which is conscious of its goal and organ-

In addition to this insistence on

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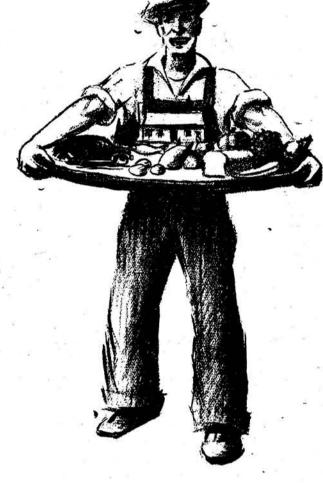
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the need for democracy and consciousness in the working class as one country. a necessary precondition for socialism, the Independent Socialists

We are internationalists because we believe in the brotherhood of the common people of all lands. That is, we believe that whatever differences of language and historical tradition and culture may separate them, all human beings have similar basic needs and hence similar desires.

But over and beyond this DEmodern society cannot solve its economic and social problems until the whole world is reorganized

Join Hands!

The most striking contemporary

attempted to build socialism in

stress the international character of the socialist idea.

SIRE for world brotherhood, the Independent Socialists insist that and united under socialism.

demonstration of the impossibility of restricting socialism to a single country is the condition of society in Great Britain today. It is true that Great Britain has not been organized on socialist lines. But the attempt to establish a form of nationalization of some of the major industries in Britain has by itself brought no real long-term ized independently of all other solution to the economic plight of the British people. Their economy is dependent on world economy, and the same would be true even if the workers had taken power and expropriated the capitalists completely. The same would be true of any working class which

Thus, for the Independent So-

cialists, internationalism is both an ideal and a necessity. They support the struggles of all workers everywhere against their capitalist and Stalinist masters, and the struggles for national liberation of all colonial and oppressed peoples. They urge the workers of all lands to join hands in their fight against their masters, and insist that a socialist society in which the exploitation and oppression of man by man has been abolished once and for all can only be achieved on an international basis.

To Independent Socialists, then, the following are prerequisites for the establishment of a socialist society: Abolition of the private ownership of the basic means of production; collective ownership under complete democracy in both the economy and in government; leadership of society by a conscious working class; internation-



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An Obstacle for Capitalism, a Necessity for Socialism

From This a New Man Shall Arise!

By HAL DRAPER

Now 'tis the spring, and weeds are shallow-rooted; Suffer them now, and they'll o'ergrow the garden, And choke the herbs for want of husbandry.

-Henry VI (Part 2)

Fear is the hallmark of totalitarianism. Fear is also the weapon of totalitarianism, even more than its slave camps and executioners which come in only as the last resort. Fear of being different from the official pattern, fear of standing out from the ruck, fear of being suspected of thinking dangerous thoughts, fear of being suspected of associating with people who are suspected of thinking dangerous thoughts. . . .

Such fear is growing like weeds in the United States today. The roots of democratic feeling are deep in the country; they have been nourished by our frontier past, by the lack of any feudal tradition such as

existed in Europe, by the fact that the country itself arose out of a mass rveolutionary struggle. But these traditions are fast being overgrown and choked.

The "typical American" is supposed to be the shirt-sleeved commoner who is as ready to speak his mind to a plushbottom tycoon as to his crony around the cracker barrel. There's a good deal to that stereotype-but just try to keep it in mind when you read of the "evidence" against "subversives" and "security risks" that is gathered by the FBI! Was your aunt's second cousin a member of an organization on the attorney general's subversive list? Did you sign a petition to put a radical on the ballot in 1936?

Fear! Not of being sent to a slave camp or a prison-no sir, this is still America! As yet just fear of losing a job, fear of being avoided by your friends, fear of bad publicity, fear of losing clients . . .

This was not started by the Truman administration's subversive list. After the First World War there was less democracy in this country than before it. The Fair Deal has intensified the trend in this post-war world. It has done it in its own way—not by passing repressive laws, but by bureaucratic state administrative decree operating through the Department of "Justice" and its FBI, through its loyalty boards, through its Army and Navy Intelligence gumshoes in the factories.

Compared with what it has done, Senator McCarthy's omnibus charges are a mere comedy. McCarthy's attacks have raised such a storm of indignation in liberal-labor circles because they are directed against the Fair Deal administration - the same administration which has shown the way to charges based on guilt-by-association and punishment for dangerous thoughts.

The capitalist government of the United States, in the name of the "defense of democracy against communism," is conducting the most insidious cold war against civil liberties and democracy that we have ever seen here.

In the face of this cold war, the liberal spokesmen and labor leaders have beat a full retreat. If there is one thing that has distinguished liberalism at its best, it has been its firmness in taking a determined stand in defense of all forms of freedom for the expression of ideas. Today its leaders (Americans for Democratic Action, for instance) are distinguishing themselves by keeping their mouths shut on what is happening here.

Can Democracy Work?

It is not that democracy is any less dear to their hearts than before. They are in a quandary. In the first place, this cold war against civil liberties is being conducted by the "liberal" Fair Deal whereas they are used o such attacks from the reactionary ri of capitalism. In the second place, they are political supporters of this Fair Deal administration, and-one must be "practical." In the third place, something has to be done to guard against Stalinist infiltration-they're agents of a foreign power, aren't they? Besides, sometimes it is necessary to fight an enemy with his own

This is the heart of the matter. The cold war against the Russian totalitarianism is at the heart of the cold war against democracy here. The fight against Stalinism is given as both the aim and the justification for giving up the outer bastions of democratic rights in this

Isn't there something to this "practical" argument? After all, we mustn't be whole-hog perfectionists!

There is a great deal to it—more than its liberal practitioners realize! Behind it is the concept, the admission, that while democracy is a very good thing, it cannot effectively defend us against Stalinism. Democracy can't get things done, said the fascist propagandists -you need a Leader, Authority, Discipline, Gleichschalt-



of a state to be left in the hands of a fickle mob, torn by opinions, swayed by demagogues, paralyzed by endless discussions, weakened by dissension? When we need a strong hand, we can't afford the luxury of democratic trappings . . .

With this we Independent Socialists violently disagree. Democracy is a weapon stronger than planes and tanks, yes, stronger than the A-bomb. It is real democracy we are talking about, complete democracy, not merely the formal political democracy of capitalist parliamentarismthe real democracy which comes only when the people can really feel that they are defending a country which

Today this country is "ours"—the people's—only in a very limited sense. Its factories and shops, in which we spend the greater part of our waking hours, are not ours:



in them we are the subjects of an autocratic despot, the boss, whose dictatorship is tempered only by the power of the trade unions. He owns; he has the power to give us the means to live or to deprive us of it: we have only the choice of working for him or starving. We have no say in our economic lives.

In the war the people were told they had to shoulder a gun in order to avoid conquest by a worse enemy than their own capitalists. They did so, because they saw no third alternative. But what happens when people work and fight, not to avoid something worse, but because they are fired by the fact that they are defending themselves and their own? We saw it in America in the Revolutionary War when a handful of straggling colonies defeated the greatest power of its day. We saw it in revolutionary Russia when a nation whose army had collapsed turned back the interventionist troops of Europe and America, inspired by the revolution they had just made and were

Vicious Spiral—Down

Democracy is a weapon not only because it inspires its defenders but because it disintegrates its enemy's forces. Americans look at the way the masses of East Europe tolerate the despotism of Stalinism and evolve theories about "totalitarian man" and the desire for the Father-Tyrant. There is a clearer reason nearer home. These masses were drawn to Stalinism by its anticapitalist demagogy in the first place because they have had their bellyful of the system they have known and hated. They find out the truth about Stalinism too, soon enough, under the latter's rule; they find out that it too means oppression, poverty and class rule-but is that enough to turn them back fired with enthusiasm for the result is confusion, even hope that Stalinism may reform its worst features (as our own liberals hope this for capitalism), passivity and retreat from political thought. for those who do not have the guts to fight when others

The dynamite under the Stalinist system—which is shaken by its own contradictions, the most spectacular of which is Titoism-could be touched off only by the offering of an alternative to both exploitive systems which could set the oppressed masses in motion. Capitalism cannot do this. It can do this even less today than yesterday, now that it is adopting more and more the visage of its enemy

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weapons"). As the capitalist West strips for action by shedding its democratic "luxuries," the hold of Stalinish over its own people is reinforced. Further sacrifices are thereupon demanded in the West. This is not a vicious circle. It is a spiral-down-down to the new barbarism threatened by the atomic war between the world rivals.

LABOR ACTION

There is another admission hidden in the Fair Deal's cold war against liberty. It is the admission that the capitalists and their government have no confidence in the attractive power of their own system and their own declining democracy. Consider the enormous confession contained in the theory of "once a Communist, always a Communist" which is in effect written into the law which set up the Marshall Plan and which is the operating principle of much of the government's witchhunt (the main exceptions made in the latter are ex-CPers who are obliging enough to spill their guts before the FBI or a judge). A man who has even associated with Stalinists is tagged a "poor security risk"—he has opened himself to taint by the enemy, and to be on the safe side we must assume he is in fact tainted.

What lack of confidence in the attractive power of U. S. democracy! The men in Washington talk about selling the glories of free-enterprise capitalisms to Europe, but they cannot really even convince themselves. An operation so extensive as the government purge and FBI witchhunt cannot be based on the existence of one or two men who are so misguided as to prefer hell to heaven. It can be justified only on the basis of the existence of the danger on a mass scale.

This lack of confidence in the ability of the U. S. system to keep its own citizens' loyalty is indeed justified, but not because of the superiority of Stalinism. It is the crying evils of capitalism which give Stalinism its victims. They cannot be eliminated without eliminating capitalism. The capitalists naturally prefer to eliminate democratic rights.

Toward the Remaking of Man

This is why democracy is a weapon but not a weapon which the capitalist system can use against the Russian enemy. The edge cuts its hand too. It is the weapon of the democratic socialist alternative to both systems.

Under capitalism, real democracy was never possible, not while the men of money also owned the press, the radio, the meeting halls, and controlled the schools and governments through their economic power. Today it is not simply a matter of wanting something better than the incomplete democracy of capitalist politics. It is a question of the fate of the most elementary democratic rights. These cannot be preserved except by going forward and beyond them, to the full economic and political democracy of a social system in which the people own their own livelihood for the first time.

For capitalism today, democratic processes are a nuisance, an impediment, an obstacle to its needs. For socialism, democracy is a necessity.

It is an economic necessity, first of all, because it is false to believe that a really planned economy can be blueprinted by ukase from above, by bureaucrats (no matter how smart or how much statistics are at their disposal) whose plans and goals cannot be checked by give-and-take from below. In totalitarian Russia, for example, this cannot take place: a mistake is a state crime, and a harassed factory manager cannot tell a government minister that his plan is unrealizable, a mistake. He must demonstrate that he can fulfill the Plan, even if the machinery he produces breaks down. Initiative from below is insubordination, responsibility is a danger, decisions can be a life-and-death matter: it is better to do what one is told.

Democracy is a political necessity for socialism. Without it, the private capitalist owners may be eliminated, but their place will be taken by a new ruling class, the state bureaucrats who own the means of production because they own and control the state which is the only legal owner.

Democracy is a cultural necessity for socialism. For the end goal of socialism is not merely abundance, security, peace and freedom. These, precious as they are and great goals of man that they are, are themselves only means to an end. The end of socialism is not merely the remaking of the social system and of the world—it is the remaking of man himself.

Today and during all our yesterdays of class society, man has been an animal sharing with all other animals one common need: the necessity of spending the greatest portion of his days and thought and energy on the job of filling his stomach so that he might be able to live to work another day. Man still works to eat and eats in order to work in an endless chain. Directly and indirectly, and not only during the hours of direct labor, we still live on the animal level for all our refrigerators and science and autos and television.

In a socialist world of plenty, man is at long last freed of the dominance of economics, the tyranny of

economics. He will for the first time be free to develop the full potentialities and capacities of the human individual, and see the full flowering of man's spirit.

This is the only goal worth fighting for today. It is the real freedom.



WAR The Imperialist War Blocs Clash — the Third Camp Waits to Be Born

Neither Washington nor Moscow!

We live in the epoch of the COLD WAR, that is to say, in that period in the decline of world society in which the preparations for war have become a permanent and major determinant of the domestic and foreign policy of every nation of any consequence.

It is a period unique in the history of mankind, for it can be terminated, science assures us, by the extinction of all human life. What the wrath of God was seemingly not provoked to do throughout the centuries, the wrath of men can now easily achieve.

Nobody wants the war.

Everybody expects it. How is it that we all find ourselves participants of one sort or another in such a living nightmare?

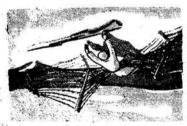
We are witness of the decline of a great system. It began in small Italian seaport towns in the fifteenth century and reached its full amplitude in the nineteenth and its name was capitalism.

Already in the nineteenth century, however, Marx and Engels, two of the most brilliant men of a brilliant century, were able to indicate the internal contradictions which were to arrest and reverse the orderly development of the historically fated system.

World War I was the first great manifestation of the social exhaustion of capitalism. The major capitalist countries, having divided up the entire globe into spheres of exploitation, and unable to develop their internal market because of the dependence of continuing production upon profits, fell upon each other. Armaments production and the rehabilitation of world economy following World War I gave capitalism a temporary

Basic to Capitalism

The immanent contradictions of world capitalism having remainedunresolved, however, the stage was once more set for a new conflict. Germany, Italy and Japan, latecomers in the international market-Germany a defeated power and Italy and Japan nominal victors in World War I-found themselves in a loose alliance. Opposed to them were the major elements of the 1914 coalition - England, France and the United States. Once again the world was ravaged by a war of unprecedented destruction and bestiality.



In both World War I and World war 11 Marxists gave no political support to either side. Why? Marxists locate the origin of

DRIVES of capitalism. Only world socialism, which will destroy the democratic) campaign now being economic and political roots of war, can make of war a historical curiosity. It is not a question of a peace-loving capitalism pitted 'against an aggressive one. Today's plus products. Rather does she sated peace-loving capitalism is need areas whose industrial proand World War II were therefore be appropriated for her own use. not the product of an aggressive German imperialism. These wars were fought to decide who was to have the right to exploit the colo- sive military preparations extendnial areas and the small nations of the globe.

The seizure of German territory following both World War I and tries of the world by the Moscow-World War II sufficiently exposed the real, and very material, issues strated during his consolidation of aims are both reactionary.

Europe in 1940-42.

In 1914 czarist despotism was a partner in the projected reformation of German militarism. In 1941 the most finished totalitarianism the world has ever endured. Russia, was cast in the same role.

It was not a question of a twisted Wilhelm or a paranoid Hitler. The SOCIAL forces behind them were plain for all informed persons to see. Over twenty years before World War I Engels had predicted the exact lineups-long before the INDIVIDUAL protagonists had emerged. Hitler himself clearly enough posed the struggle of World War II as system against system long before war broke out:

Out of World War II, which was to have destroyed the aggressor nations and ensure peace, have emerged two monster aggressive imperialisms, the United States and Russia, both of which are preparing for a gigantic military showdown.

Motivating United States policy in the first instance is the fear for the disappearance of the capitalist market in colonial countries and of the engulfing of West European capitalism by Stalinism. Painful as such an eventuality could be under current domestic conditions, it would have catastrophic repercussions upon the United States economy under conditions of overproduction in the home market. The United States needs not a contracting market but an expanding

No Support

From this follow all the measures which come under the heading of the COLD War: the economic rehabilitation of Europe through the Marshall Plan, the arming of Western Europe under the provisions of the Atlantic Pact, the ideological campaign conductwar in the existence of the BASIC ed via the Viice of America, and the "anti-communist" (and antiwaged by the government against

all significantly dissident opinion. Russia does not need markets upon which she can dispose of suryesterday's hungry, aggressive one duction, technically skilled perdigesting its spoils. World War I sonnel and military facilities can From this follows her economic coordination of the countries behind the Iron Curtain, the masing from the China coast to Eastern Germany, and the interminable propaganda waged in all councontrolled Communist Parties.

The Independent Socialist at stake. German aims were not a League gives no political support whit superior, as Hitler demon- to either of these regimes, for their

A foretaste of what the world German fascism in World War II. ests of the war against Russia the of such "socialism" is.

CESSIONS to peoples and to classes. Germany and Japan, two major powers, do not have the right of self-determinations. They are in all essential respects under the control of the United States, a control exercised through conservative and even reactionary semi-quisling types.

Classic imperialist powers such as France maintain their colonial empires thanks almost solely to United States money, arms and political support. Even major victor powers such as England exist on sufferance. All Western Europe, in short, lives in the shadow of United States economic and military might. As capitalist powers their star has all but set.

Russia's current record, thanks to the solicitude of the United States press, is well known. It is a frightful compound of economic exploitation, police rule, national oppression and cultural barbarism.

World Overlord?

Each power center is seeking the absorption of the other. This can, in the not-so-long run, result onlf in a war, the probable results. of which will render the question of who will be the victor of something less than decisive importance. For the United States to win such a war (if such a victory is possible at aft) will mean such an expenditure of lives, human energy and material wealth as to force the regimentation of United States society far beyond the point envisaged by most people who are presently thinking on the prob-

A victory for the United States would mean the domination of the world by a single capitalist power: that is, the rest of the world would be reduced to economic and, as a corollary, political subjection. The United States would become an aspirant for the role of world's oppressor-"aspirant" because it is guaranteed in advance that a humanity which strives toward freedom will resist.

Such a victory would mean a stultification of the world's productive apparatus and, the economic laws of capitalism as exposed by Marx remaining in effect, the world would slowly sink into a new barbarism based upon the highest level of machine technique in which a capitalist elite and their dependents would, with more or less success, rule over a debased majority.

Were Russia to win, much the same conditions would ensue, with the probable exception that the degeneration would begin on a

For Third Camp!

Only the introduction of socialism in the United States, in Russia and in the rest of the world can save mankind from the impasse into which it is daily plunging deeper and deeper. The Independent Socialist League still stands committed to the principle of the third camp, which formed the axis of its program ten years ago when our tendency was formally organized six months before Pearl Harbor. Today, as then, we support the cause of the world working class against both Russian and United States imperialism.

To profess support of Russian

imperialism, no matter how critically (as does the Socialist Workers Party), not only spreads the illusion that such support somehow, somewhere, sometime facilitates the transition to socialism. but it plays into the hands of the totalitarian Stalinist bureaucrats, who cover their reactionary regime with socialist demagogy, and into the hands of the spokesmen It was not, therefore, simply a might be like were the United for United States imperialism, question of a struggle of democ- States to win is afforded by cur- who experience no difficulty, even racy against Prussian militarism rent policy-that is policy oper- while being scrupulously truthful, in 1914, nor of democracy against ative at a time when in the inter- in depicting just what the nature



the Stalinists the opportunity of

offering their demagogic alterna-

tive program, especially among

the European and Asiatic work-

ers, who see not at all unclearly

the real intentions of the United

"But"-it may be interposed by

those whose thinking has been

disoriented by the smallness of the

socialist movement and the all-

enveloping pressure of capitalist

propaganda-"would it not be bet-

ter for United States imperialism,

however bad it may be-and it IS

bad!-to win? After all, though

the government may curb civil

liberties it does not utterly destroy

them as do the Stalinists when

they take power. And we need a

basic minimum of elbow room in

order to propagate our doctrine,

simple to develop-and is self-de-

structive. If it is desirable for the

United States to win, then it is

desirable for it to win as quickly

and as cheaply as possible in terms

of human lives and material

wealth. That means an atomic pre-

ventive war as soon as possible.

are not won so easily - a long,

large-scale land operation would

still be necessary. The economic

and political necessities of such a

war would have a disastrous effect

upon socialist formations, since

democratic rights could hardly

hope to survive in their present

form. Further, such a preventive

The logic of this statement is

Two Propositions

States abroad.

don't we?"

To profess support of democratwar, with all its attendant horrors, would furnish immense capital to United States imperialism against Russian imperialism, as do the Stalinists and hopelessly commost liberal-labor leaders and the promise any socialist who bore any part of the blame for it. Socialist Party, is also to aid the reactionary aims of the United The task is to preserve the socialist tradition and to extend its States government and to provide

influence. To tie one's fate to United States imperialism is to lose one's identity-and therefore to lose one's reason for existence. The basis for the Third Camp position fortunately exists. All of Western Europe chafes uneasily at the prospect of being the battleground for two imperialisms with neither of whose interests they can identify themselves. The time is ripe for a Western Union independent of the two major combatants as the first early step toward a socialist regroupment.

For us the correct position upon the war which threatens can be summed up in two propositions:

- · Opposition to all war preparations of all countries in all countries in all spheres of life.
- Support of all socially progressive forces throughout the world which find themselves in opposition to the two major im-

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THE ISL A Decade of Independent Socialism, 1940-1950

Ten Years: the ISL Story

By ALBERT GATES Secretary of the ISL

The Independent Socialist League (originally formed as the Workers Party) is now celebrating its tenth anniversary, having been formed in April of 1940, following its split with the Socialist Workers Party.

At that time, it was difficult to foretell what future course our movement would take, for it was born in the midst of the Second World War, a circumstance in which the conditions for life and growth of a new political organization did not seem promising. The forecasts made about our future, both by friends and opponents, were not optimistic; few believed we could survive the world war and the political and moral disintegration of society that had already appeared during the first years

But we did not merely survive the war, if one measures by ideological factors rather than the often illusory yardstick of numbers alone. We grew politically and ideologically stronger as we applied our Marxist theory to the extremely difficult problems of our time.

It was not only that we were born during the war. It was that we came into independent existence during the most critical period in the history of international socialism, a period of its decline, of the consolidation and strengthening of totalitarian Stalinism, this new form of state power and social rule-bureaucratic collectivism in Russia.

The 1940 split in the Socialist Workers Party was the culmination of a long struggle inside that organization which had deeper roots than appeared in the dispute over the "defense of the Soviet Union." For no sooner had the differences over Russia made themselves felt during the SWP's public proclamations on the invasion of Finland and Poland, and the partition of the latter between Hitler Germany and Stalinist Russia, than the "organizational question" necessarily intruded itself into the discussion.

As a matter of history, the factional struggle had broken out earlier over the "organizational question" at a time when no serious dispute on Russia had yet started.

"Defense of Soviet Union" the Issue

At the regular convention held in July of 1939, the dispute between the bureaucratically entrenched Cannonite leadership and the then assembling, inchoate and confused opposition, while foreshadowing the future, was serious enough to paralyze the convention repeatedly when there was as yet no formal, conscious or deep political differences. Then, an enormous section of the party membership was seriously disturbed, dissatisfied with and disaffected by the bureaucratic Cannonite majority which stymied the movement ideologically and or-

If that fight ended in defeat for the opposition bloc, composed of a variety of forces in the SWP, the struggle over the Russian question which ensued shortly afterward was destined to take the most serious proportions, and in its worldwide importance transcended anything before experienced by the Trotskyist movement anywhere.

The new Minority, for the first time since the birth of Trotsky's Russian Opposition in 1924, questioned the theoretical basis of the movement, namely, the view that Russia is a "degenerated workers' state" and that the world strategy of the Marxist movement had to be to defend that state under conditions where it was threatened by war or intervention. This theory, the Minority held, was untenable. Stalinist Russia, it asserted, had demonstrated by its politics, policies and activities, by its internal structure and its world strategy, that it was not a workers' state, degenerated or any other kind, but that it was the mortal enemy of socialism and the working class.

The party was electrified by the rise of this opposition, for it acted as a unifying center in the SWP against the deadening influence of the bureaucratically conservative leadership of James P. Cannon and his group, an influence which was felt in the fields of theory, politics and organization. Utterly helpless in this situation, the majority could do little else but call upon Leon Trotsky, the founder of the Fourth International, to assist them in the fight. Had it not been for his immense authority and influence, the Cannonite leadership would have been dealt a mortal blow.

It was no easy matter for the Minority to break with Trotsky on ferences with him on the nature of the Stalinist state and on Stalin- clysmic internal social crisis. ism must lead to a parting of the ways with him who taught us so much in the years gone by. But we went into that struggle with confidence in the rightness of our views and in the certainty that time would compel the great revolutionary leader to discard his catastrophic theory of the "degenerated workers' state"—as indeed appeared to be the case at the time when he was suddenly struck down by an

Theoretical Basis of Anti-Stalinism

The Minority did not have a complete program during this struggle nor a fully-developed theory of Russia and Stalinism. These were to come only after the split and as the clarification process asserted itself with the unfolding of the war. No sooner was our Workers Party formed than the responsible leadership and membership proceeded to deal with the Russian question in a new way under conditions which permitted the maximum of experimental thought, free discussion and the solution of ideological difficulties without the menacing shadow of bureaucratic ultimatism hanging over its head.

Out of the discussion in the WP came the theory that Russia was a bureoucratic-collectivistic state, characterized by a new ruling class and a new economic exploitation and slavery for the masses. The rise of this new nationalist ruling class produced a new type of international movement and a new type of party. Stalinism entered the world scene-so the developed views of the Workers Party said—as an anti-capitalist, antisocialist force, operating inside the ranks of the working masses with the slogans, language, trappings and the venerable traditions of the decades-old world socialist movement, betraying the working class of the world at the same time that it sought the destruction of world capitalism in its own bureaucratic-collectivist interests.

It is true that we did not initiate anti-Stalinism, but we gave the struggle against Stalinism a theoretically unassailable basis and a political program that rested on international socialism, and we remain the only force of this kind in the world: an internationalist, socialist, Marxist, anti-Stalinist movement. It is this which enables us

to hold aloft the banner of socialism in a world divided into two camps of imperialism, Stalinist and capitalist, to which all other movements with few exceptions subordinate themselves to one degree or another.

As the Workers Party established itself, it did many things for which it can be justly proud. Despite the war and its social-patriotic pressures, the party maintained its loyalty to the working class of United States to the utmost of its abilities and resources. The war took from it its best cadres. Literally half of our experienced and devoted comrades were lost to us for years. Yet the organization continued to function at a high level. The decimated leadership was strengthened by the unexpected (though it should have been expected) source of power which came from the women comrades, who filled the breach admirably and many times in superior fashion.

The party maintained its theoretical magazine, The New International, on a high level. It appeared regularly and this-under conditions of war-was an achievement in itself. But even more, The New International is a veritable repository of discussion and information material on the most important theoretical and political questions which arose in the movement during the war years, and is therefore an indispensable record for that period.

But perhaps the greatest achievement of the party was its weekly paper, LABOR ACTION. The paper was frankly experimental and an investment for the future. Apearing for the first time during the war, it tested the party's idea that what was needed was a powerful agitational newspaper reflecting not merely the organization's political and theoretical views on the war and other social questions of the day, but a paper that would fight for the essential interests of the working class precisely during the war when the ruling class would seek to wipe out the considerable gains of decades of struggle.

Spoke Labor's Language in Wartime

With this perspective, LABOR ACTION was an innovation in revolutionary socialist journalism and enjoyed an enormous success among the workers during the war. Space does not permit the citation of many examples of this statement. Suffice to say, it appeared in tens of thousands of copies weekly, was distributed widely from coast to coast, appeared on shop bulletin boards, was the subject of discussion of many workers, and many of its ideas and slogans spoke the feelings and language of the best militants and progressives in the labor movement. Coupled with the industrialization and unionization of the party's war membership, the press gave the Workers Party, properly understood, a considerable pub-

The party regarded its activities as a preparation for any possibilities that might be produced by the war to advance the interests of socialism and it counted upon a revival of the world movement for socialism. Aware as it was that no rebirth of world socialism was possible without the leadership of conscious socialists acting as the catalytic agent for this socialist revival, the party expected, and not without reason, that these cadres were present in unknown numbers throughout the country. What it did underestimate was the power of Stalinism on the one hand, and the sustaining power of capitalist imperialism on the other.

The post-war period did not produce what the Workers Party had hoped for and looked for: the revival of international socialism. Instead, the end of the war brought with it a more distinct division between the former Allies in the war, a division between capitalism and its remnant democracy, and Stalinism. The rebirth of the socialist movement was either aborted by this division or has yet to germinate. In any case, there is today no world socialist organization in existence and not a single powerful, determined, cohesive socialist party which rests upon the international socialist principles of Marxism.

This single fact was bound to have and did have its influence upon the socialist prospects in the United States. The working class here, highly organized and militant on a trade-union level, remains ideologically backward, still for the most part bourgeois-minded, content to follow their backward labor officialdom. An independent political party of the American working class, a labor party, has yet to be built. And it is essentially this kind of development which can provide the arena for the growth of a revolutionary socialist party in a country which has no deep socialist or Marxist tradition. Obviously, a revolutionary upsurge in Europe might have created the premises for a swifter development of the American working class. But it did not come, and the American working class continues its slow development based upon the Russian question, for it understood that a deepening of the dif- its own national experiences and traditions, not yet rocked by a cata-

For this reason, the Workers Party, certain of its course, decided at its last convention to cease calling itself a party, and to alter its organizational character as well as its national perspectives. In assuming the name of Independent Socialist League, it endeavored to have its name and organizational character conform to its real activities and perspectives: to act as a socialist ideological force in the labor movement, to assist in the development of a militant and progressive union movement, and to continue indefatigably in the struggle for a labor party, or independent political action of the American working class. Thus, the ISL, by its action, recognizes the great pioneer work that still remains

The task is at once simple and complex. It is to build up a new socialist cadre of people, educated in the theories of Marxism, convinced that no social good can come of the continued existence of capitalism or Stalinism, and ready to dedicate their lives to the emancipation of all humanity from exploitation and the fetters of modern exploitive society and its tendencies toward totalitarianism; ready to fight against the destruction of mankind by atomic or hydrogen bomb warfare and to wage the endless battle for peace and genuine democ-

If the Independent Socialist League is small today and enjoys far less influence than it should like or deserves, it is a commentary on our times. But to believe that the socialist future is hopeless is to believe that modern society and its inhabitants can go on endlessly on a crisis level of existence, threatened permanently by economic chaos and war. We do not believe this for a moment. We believe firmly in the capacity and will of all those who suffer the ravages of a decadent society, whether capitalist or Stalinist, who must in their infinite suffering reach the day when they will say: We have had enough! Away with the old social rubbish! Give us the new day of socialist freedom, peace and security!

It is to this future that the ISL dedicates itself.

THE



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The Future Belongs to the Youth

By MAX MARTIN

American youth occupy a singular position at this juncture of history, a position different from that of European youth and from the depression-matured generation of the Thirties. Most of them were depression babies and it is, of course, impossible to measure the unconscious effects that this crisis-filled and insecure era had on them. Their conscious social and political experience, however, crystallized during the Forties, during World War II and its aftermath.

Despite this they have for the most part little experience with war and fascism. The lack of roots and tradition makes them by and large ill-prepared to cope effectively with these problems which are today fast becoming part of social reality.

The issues which face the young person of today are less sharply posed than those of the depression period. The terrible individual reality of joblessness brought forth a fighting spirit which pervaded the consciousness of a locked-out gen-

eration, and enabled it, equally cut off from an awareness of a past, to create movements and a tradition which formed the spirit of that period.

The relations between abstract political truth and personal existtence are today-May Day 1950 -just beginning to emerge. For this reason those youth movements which have developed or which continue to exist in the post-war period have remained, except in rare instances, isolated from the main stream of youth and student life. They have appealed mainly to those who come to politics for primarily intellectual reasons. Politics has yet to reach out and tap the vast reservoirs of energy residing in the multi-millioned mass of students and young working people.

The youth movement traditionally struggled around two focal points: militarism and joblessness. It is in precisely these two areas that young people are beginning to be affected. For the first few years after the war campus life was relatively immune from the pressures of American imperialism. But now the direct influence of the cold war is being felt in many schools.

ROTC and Jobs

The recent aftempts of the army and navy to establish ROTC units at Brooklyn College and Harvard have been met with student resistance. The full momentum of the war drive has yet to be felt on the American campus. When this point is reached, it is to be expected that the resistance will take on a more organized and politically oriented character. The establishment of ROTC courses as part of the curriculum will be resented by all progressive students for exactly what it is—the invasion by the military of educational institutions, a province to which they have no conceivable relationship, either in aims or in atmosphere, except an antithetical one.

The easing off of the post-war boom has hit young people more sharply than other sections of the hopeful aspect. Its lack of con-

even to graduates with college training has created a situation which has become particularly tense in the past year. Although employment has risen, the real prospects for young people are mirrored in the current unemployment statistics which have reached a little less than five million. Coupled with growing economic insecurity is a sense of psychological insecurity which is a constant in the consciousness of the Forties. And it is now increasing in pervasiveness as the tensions of the A-and-H-bombs

Academic Freedom

These two central problems, militarism and unemployment, which shaped the youth movements of the Thirties are beginning to take on concrete significance today. Yet important as they are they do not constitute the political problems on campus. The struggle between capitalism and Stalinism reflects itself very vividly in college life today in attacks against academic freedom. It is around this issue that political energy finds its point of expres-

The attacks upon academic freedom are part of the more general attacks on civil liberties in the United States today. They represent part of the larger tendency to force conformity on all sections of American life. Corresponding to the loyalty oaths in the government have been the loyalty oaths on several campuses, and the extension of the-Fineberg Law mentality to faculty members themselves.

The development of an antiwar student movement has as a corollary the existence of a socialist youth organization. Many students will not be satisfied with a struggle which is merely antiwar and is not more clearly formulated in terms of a permanent solution to war. In this sense the political isolation of the contemporary student generation has a population. Graduates report in- nection with other political movecreasing difficulty in finding jobs. ments and traditions signifies al-The closing up of many fields so a freedom from the corruption



and prejudices of Stalinist and social-democratic influence.

American youth are truly youth this respect-uncorroded and untainted by the past. They are free to follow independent roads and it is to these youth that Independent Socialism, the program of the Socialist Youth League, offers the dynamism of its ideas. Stalinism for years channelized

the militant anti-war spirit of thousands of students. The full measure of cynicism and apathy which enveloped an entire generation of ex-Stalinists has yet to be taken. It must be remembered also that during the Thirties the whole socialist movement was in one way or another sympathetic Russia. Today, however, the facts about Russia are so obvious to all but the totalitarian-minded that a recurrence of this development is not likely.

"Anvil" Appears

The most significant development on the campus recently was the organization of the New York Student Federation Against War. The federation, which is celebrating its first birthday this May Day, is composed of nine socialist. and anti-war clubs on the campuses of New York City. The primary activity of the federation to date has been the publication of Anvil. The first issue was a 2,000-edition mimeograph job which the federation published with hesitancy. The response of the student body was overwhelmingly enthusiastic. This resulted in the printing of the second issue and in two runs of three thousand and two thousand copies respectively. The response was again gratifyingly favorable, and the issue was a sellout.

Anvil has just been merged with Student Partisan, published by t Politics Club of the University Chicago. The result of the merg Anvil and Student Partisan, 1 just put its first issue off the pres For the first time since the Thirti there is a national anti-war st dent publication in existence. T publication is receiving a respeful and attentive hearing from large body of students. As the o jective situation ripens-or rath decays further-its audience w grow. And with it will develop meaningful student anti-war mov ment.

The sad truth, of course, is the by and large the federation isolated from the masses of students. The increasing violations

of academic freedom and the attacks against civil liberties generally will provide the handle which the miltiant students can use to spread anti-war sentiment.

Anti-CP Fight

The primary target of the attacks on acadamic freedom and civil liberties today are the Stalinists. This has two results. On the one hand it enables the Stalinists to pose as being the champions of democracy; and thus here and there they undoubtedly attract supporters on this basis, although with decreasing effectiveness. On the other hand the bulk of the campus correctly recognizes the Stalinists to be what they are-reactionaries and totalitarians. It furthermore knows that the Stalinists try to use all broad united-front organizations as instruments for the transmission of pro-Kremlin propaganda no matter what the ostensible and often legitimate purpose of the organization is.

This, however, often has a reactionary result. Many progressive students have the attitude that the consequent thing to do is to stay out of all struggles. The job which the more militant students must do-and which the did with no small success at the recently held New York Conference for Democracy in Education -is to convince the liberal and progressive students that their attitude is wrong.

If the anti-Staliinst and progressive students do not struggle for one and the same time. The witch- cates itself this May Day.

clear field in which to transform America into a police state and the Stalinists have a clear field in which to pretend to be democrats. The drive to destroy bourgeois

political democracy in America is intimately connected with the cold war and with the preparations for the hot one. This will become increasingly clearer in the period that lies ahead. It will be the task of the anti-war forces to point out this connection, to link up the struggle for academic rights with the struggle against the military preparations of Russian and American imperialismwith the struggle for the Third

Join the SYL!

There are many students and young workers who have already been able to generalize beyond this. These youths recognize that the fight to prevent war must lead to a fight against the two exploitive systems-capitalism and Stalinism—of whose very fabric war is an inherent and inevitable part. These young people, organized in the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE. know that only a socialist world of "plenty for all" and freedom can be the answer to wars and depressions.

Marxists today pose the slogan "Socialism or Barbarism" before the masses of the world. This slogan can be stated in another way. Either the workers of the world will convert the means of production from their present status of being privately owned and used for the production of profit to a status of democratic collective ownership and use to create a world of plenty and freedom-or the powers that be, in a dying effort to hold on to their profits and privileges, will turn them into the means of destruction and will put an end to civilization. These and only these are the alternatives for mankind. All young people who wish to take their stand on the side of those who are struggling to prevent catastrophe should take their place in the ranks of the SYL.

On this May Day, 1950, conditions may look pessimistic. The two monster imperialisms are carrying on their cold war over the backs of and against the masses of the world, primarily the international working class. Nowhere has a real and effective challenge to the powers of darkness yet appeared. Yet the pressures are increasing and the chips are falling - with growing rapidity. The masses everywhere on the campus as well as in the factory-are again and again encur task to be with them, to connect up all the experiences. We can link up the struggles for academic freedom and civil liberties, the fight for an Independent Labor Party, and the struggle against war, into the all-embracing fight for socialism. It is to civil liberties, capitalist reaction help accomplish this task that the and Stalinist reaction are aided at Socialist Youth League rededi-

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Moscow: Arch-Enemy of Socialism

By MARY BELL

If all the propaganda of all the defenders of what has now been popularly simplified into two antagonistic world forces could be boiled down to two lines of dialogue, they might read like this:

THE "EAST" (boasting): We are building socialism. THE "WEST" (with contempt): Yes, that's socialism!

Face-value acceptance of Russian proclamations that Russia is a socialist society and her rulers the inheritors of the Russian Revolution is common both to those who follow the Stalinists and to those who support the governing powers of capitalism. The theory that Russia is a socialist state is at once a weapon utilized by both of the two major ruling powers in their ideological contest to capture the allegiance of the hearts and minds of men.

The propagandists for the Moscow Politburo take advantage of the disaffection of the peoples in the weak extremities of capitalism (Eastern Europe, China, the colonies) and to a lesser degree, but still importantly, in the major centers, to extol the virtues of their system. They can make out an effective case against the ills of capitalism and then hold out the lure of a self-proclaimed socialist society which can replace the chaos and poverty of declining capitalism. (Their effectiveness would be redoubled in the United States if unemployment became more severe here and a depression ensued.) Many nations and individuals are caught in this net.

The spokesmen for capitalismwhich has really only one vital center left, the United Statesmake political capital against the Stalinists by pointing to its totalitarian features and the economic backwardness of Russia and her satellites. Washington and Wall Street plead an effective case too If this totalitarianism can be represented as socialism-and one has only to take the Stalinists at their word-then it is only natural to conclude that, whatever one wants to do to better the world, one does not want socialism. It would be much Better to stick with "a gradually improving" capitalism.

What Socialism Is

The theory that Russia equals socialism, held by both Stalinists and bourgeois apologists, is not merely a total falsehood but a weapon in the struggle against genuine socialism. It is a political truism that the identification of Russia with socialism is the strongest barrier to the reconstitution of the socialist movement. Thus the problem of defining Russian society is not one of narrow semantic interest, nor the mere concern of historiographers, but one which is essential for understanding the politically polarized world we live in Its solution is paramount in the building a new socialist movement. It is no less important for the orientation of

To settle whether or not Russia is socialist, one must define socialism. For this we first turn to the classic thinkers of socialism, who believed that socialism will be achieved when it is possible for society to apply the Marxian rule, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." The prerequisites for such a society are the abolition of private property and the establishment of nationalized, or social, property. This implies, at least in the first

By LEON TROTSKY Marxism in the United **States**

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ridding the world forever of dependence upon blind economic forces, to replace insecurity and poverty with abundance, backwardness with advanced technique, competition with cooperation, ignorance with consciousness.

These were the concepts of the founders of scientific socialism about the future social order. Their ideas were held and translated into practice by Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian Revolution of 1917. They initiated the first

socialism, neither does it have the distinctive features of capitalism. It is a new social mutation.

Property is collectivized in Russia. The state owns the property: it is not owned by private individuals who have the right to sell, buy and transmit to their heirs. is characteristic of capitalism. But it is not the nationalized, democratically controlled collectivization of socialism. The collectivized property is managed by a state which is in the hands of bureaucrats who have wrested all con-

trol from the workers and popu-

name which has been applied to

this phenomenon by the Indepen-

dent Socialist League: bureau-

A kind of planning is possible,

with bureaucratic distortions, in

this new society. For the bureau-

cratic control is a collective con-

trol, and not a private ownership.

Hence, the profitability of any

force of production, as it must be

under the capitalist system. It is

naturally not planning for society

as a whole, but planning in the

interests and preservation of the

Marxism determines the classes

in any society by their relation to

property or the means of produc-

tion. In a social order of private

se is not the

cratic collectivism.

owns the property and who are the dispossessed. In a collectivized economy, where the means of production are organized and controlled by the state, it is necessary to examine the intermediary of the state to determine the classes. And an examination of Russian society reveals the emergence of a vast bureaucracy which has constituted itself as the new exploiting class in Stalinist society.

They Own the State One of the Russian opposition-

ists described the situation in the following manner:

"Under our very eyes there has been formed, and is still being formed, a large class of rulers which has its own interior groupings, multiplied by means of premeditated cooptation, direct or indirect (bureaucratic promotion, fictitious system of elections). The basic support of this original class is a sort, an original sort, of private property, namely, the possession of state power. The bureaucracy 'possesses the state as private property, wrote Marx (Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law.')) - The New International, April 1947.

It is only by understanding Russia as a new exploitive society, with a new ruling class, that one can understand the role of Russia in world politics and the motive force of its expansion. This motive force is not, as the adherents of "Russia is socialist" would have us believe, the urge to extend the world revolution, even if, because of its historic origin, the Russian bureaucracy so proclaims its mission. The motive force is the power and privilege of the bureaucratic ruling class, which in turn determines the pattern of expansion. They overturn capitalism, to be sure, in all the countries they overrun; but they remake their empire in their own image and likeness. So it has been in Eastern

Fight Goes On

But it is in this expansive drive that a fundamental weakness of Stalinism has shown itself. The first crack in the Iron Curtain appeared in one of the satellites when Tito staged his rebellion against the Cominform. The fissures appear in all the Iron Curtain countries. The United States s freely counting on some kind of Titoist upsurge in China.

Far from creating any kind of international society, the Russian bureaucratic - collectivist empire creates new national antagonisms as its victims attempt to throw off the voke. It is as unsuccessful of stable world society. This remains the task of socialism.

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stages, state ownership of property, but it is a state which in the words of Engels is in the process of "withering away."

Nationalized property also implies the democratic management of property by the working class through their class institutions. The workers, by virtue of electing their representatives in government, control the state. Socialism, by ending private property, by nationalizing industry, thereby ends the exploitation of man by man.

Socialism also means elimination of the "scarcity that stems from abundance," in the phrase of Fourier, a predecessor of Marx, and the establishment of a society of plenty for all. It is the economy of scarcity that makes the big stick necessary to keep the "haves" and "have-nots" from tearing so-

The Marxist View

Socialism is internationalist to the core. Never, prior to the Stalinist enunciation of the theory of "socialism in one country," had any socialist ever entertained the notion that socialism was possible on any but a world scale. Internationalism is as necessary to achieve abundance through the world division of labor as it is to eliminate the competitive drive of nations toward wars of plunder and annihilation.

The motivation for the socialist reorganization of society is the struggle of mankind to lift itself from the "prehistoric stage of hu- to complete itself and developed man society," into which Marx and (degenerated) in national isolation Engels relegated all previous so- and became transformed into a

wrote the Russian general, Zales- lar organizations. Hence the new sky, in indignation at the facts, that the janitor or watchman of the court building would suddenly become chief justice of the Court of Appeals? Or the hospital orderly, manager of the hospital: the barber a big functionary; yesterday's ensign, the commander-inchief; yesterday's lackey or common laborer, burgomaster; yesterday's train oiler, chief of division or station superintendent; yester-

cialist basis. "Who would believe,"

Revolution Isolated

day's locksmith, head of the fac-

But Lenin and Trotsky and all the Bolshevik leaders, including Stalin at the time, knew that the revolution would be defeated if it remained in isolation. Thus Lenin: "The proletariat is already struggling to preserve the democratic conquests for the sake of the socialist revolution. This struggle would be almost hopeless for the Russian proletariat alone, and its defeat would be inevitable ... if the European socialist proletariat did not come to the help of the Russian proletariat. . . .

Help did not come. The revolution turned back upon itself. The pattern of the socialist theorists fits Russia no more today than does that of the early workers's government established by the revolution.

Russian society is therefore the result of a revolution which failed cial forms up to socialism. Its aim new type of society. If it does not

property, whether in slaves, land or factories, the class is easily de-The FIGHT for SOCIALISM

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STALINISM It Feeds on Capitalism's Evils — to Enslave the Working Class

The Communist Party: Labor's Foe

By EMANUEL GARRETT

May 1, 1950

No worker can afford to be uneducated about the meaning of Stalinism. Of the enemies against whom the working class must guard, there is none more insidious and destructive than Stalinism. For it lives inside the working-class movement and nourishes itself on subverting labor's struggle agains) capitalism in the interests of the Russian slave society which is described elsewhere in this issue.

Who are the Stalinists? They call themselves "Communists," and as members or fellow travellers, open or conceoled, present the line of the Communist Party. Why then do we call them Stalinists? Because they derive their purpose and policy from the Russian despotism. And why they use the word Communism is very important to an understanding of Stalinism.

Unlike other totalitarian, anti-working class movements, Stalinism bases itself primarily on workingclass support. It seeks to attract such support by appearing as the advocate of specific and immediate working-class aims, and more generally as the champion of a society in which men and women will be freed of exploitation by capitalist owners of industry. To the extent that it is able to convince people that this is so, it is the sinister bearer of a slavery the like of which the world has never before seen.

Stalinist parties exist in virtually every country of the world. The success of Stalinism-that is, its mass strength is in direct proportion to the degree to which the peoples of these different lands are fed up with their exploiters, and the degree to which Stalinism can appear as spokesman for the exploited.

But whether in Johannesburg or Joplin, whether counted in millions or in tens, the primary aim of the Stalinist parties is the same: to advance the interests of the Russian despotism. If these interests seem to correspond at any moment with the interests of the people in the given land, there is still nothing in the relationship that will benefit the working class. Whatever the policy of the Stalinist parties, it is dictated by the needs of Russian foreign policy.

If we remember back ten years, back to the days when Hitler and Stalin were united in war alliance, we will recall how the Stalinists organized peace fronts, led demonstrations promising that "the Yanks are not coming." And we will also recall how they denounced interventionism as imperialist, called Roosevelt a warmonger. And we will also recall how all this automatically changed on June 21, 1941. Hitler attacked Russia. The peace fronts were demobilized so quickly that many who had taken them seriously never did regain their breath. Picketers sloganeering peace before the White House vanished as if swallowed by the earth, and were replaced by the most ardent warmongers in the country. The imperialist war overnight (it took



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hallowed crusade for democracy. During the years of the war, no more rapacious flagwayers stalked the land than the Stalinists They were loud in endorsement of the no-strike pledge, and sought to bluageon militants who opposed that terrible invasion of labor's rights. Stalinist union leaders like Harry Bridges offered to make the no-strike pledge just about permanent. (And that came quite naturally, for the right to strike does not exist in Stalinland.) They touted incentive pay and every other iniquity so long as it benefited Russia, in this case by benefiting the war-no matter at what expense to labor.

Made in the Kremlin

The end of World War II was followed by the cold war. Blinking an eye only to the extent of shuffling leaders around a bit, the Stalinist parties embarked on a campaign of "militancy." were ready to seize upon the legitimate grievances of the working class, and offered themselves as leaders in struggle.

They will, if they can, intrude themselves into every situation in the guise of militants; but their militancy is manufactured in the councils of the Kremlin, not in grievances of labor. It is therefore suspect and untrustworthy, for it can be bent to any use. Militancy may be the directive today, its opposite the directive tomorrow.

Sometimes, for special reasons, both lines are promoted simultaneously. They can be fire-eaters in one union, satisfied only by the best possible contract—generally a union where they are in disreion at any cost.

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opponents (particularly socialist, militant opponents!) - this and much else is part of their record. They have played ball with the labor bureaucracy when it suited their purpose, and opposed them when that was ordered. They have split unions when Kremlin' policy made it expedient. They have opposed new party movements and organized them (the Progressive Party) - whichever suited the Kremlin foreign office. And even in the moment of organizing a third party; they have not hesitated to make deals with the dirtiest elements in the old parties—as Congressman Marcantonio has done with Tammany. (Similarly they have gone to any lengths to hold control of a union.) In every country, and in every case, their policy is tailored to the Kremlin's

Key to Question

In the United States their influ-

ence is relatively small, though even here it cannot be discounted In other countries their influence has been and is enormous in a country like France, for example How is it possible with their record of duplicity? It is possible, basically, because they are able to appear in the guise of enemies of capitalism. The French worker may be aware, to one degree or another, of the shameful twists and turns in Stalinist policy, but he still sees them as enemies of capitalism-enemies of the institution which daily oppresses him.

United States, or any other country, who ally themselves with the Stalinists. And the Stalinists are pute, as in the UAW-and craven really enemies of capitalism-even scoundrels willing to settle for any when they are friendly with capikind of contract—as in certain UE talism, or allied with it! This is situations where they want to hold what is most important, for it is on to a contract for their split un- the key to understanding the

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Hitler could not create movements of support in other lands. Riffraff was the best he could collect, and only in tiny bands. His system was clearly identified with the capitalism and imperialism that peoples all over the world hate. But Stalinism is genuinely anti-capitalist, and it is indeed difficult to perceive that here is a movement that is antiworking-class as well.

No such movement ever existed before. This aspect of Stalinism has not pierced the consciousness of many workers who therefore join the Stalinists for the most commendable reasons - because they desire to end capitalist rule. and because the end of capitalist rule means socialism to them.

The Stalinist parties are the agents of a new system of class exploitation - a system which at one and the same time destroys the hated capitalism, and strips the people of every freedom. That it opposes capitalism can be seen in any country. That it fixes a concentration - camp servitude on those whom it dominates can only be seen in the lands it has con-

GPU Machine

It is, of course, evidenced in the brutally bureaucratic operation of the Stalinist parties themselves. where policy is handed down from above, where lines and leaders shift without the slightest appeal to the will of the membership, where disagreement is an invitation to expulsion. The one is the complement of the other.

The GPU, Stalin's secret police runs the Stalinist parties of the world as surely as it staffs the slave-labor camps in Russia. So. too, the violence against socialist opponents by Stalinists in this and other countries is a small reflection of the world-wide GPU murder machine.

Ultimately it is the aim of Stalinism to duplicate internationally the system of totalitarian rule which we have described as bureaucratic collectivism. And to duplicate it under the strictest allegiance to the Kremlin; it will not tolerate such independent devia-

tions as Yugoslavia under Tito. Stalinist imperialism is expanonist. It represents a system basically antagonistic to capitalism (as well as to socialism) and the issue between them must eventually be settled. How it is settled is of the utmost concern to every one of us, for the solution can subject us to the horror of atomic war

lead us toward the emancipation of mankind through socialist victory over both Stalinist bureau-

cratic collectivism and capitalism. Stalinism has expanded by outright conquest or by infiltration. Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania were subjected by direct force: Czechoslovakia was seized with the help of popular support. It is spreading over China. In all cases the penalty for the victims is the sameas it is in Poland, as it is in Russia, as it would be in Italy, or in France: terror for the people,

power for the bureaucracy. Russia and its satellites are the territorial bases of Stalinism. Its ideological and activist agents are the Stalinist parties in the other countries. However strong the Stalinist party may be in France. it cannot yet take power and replace French capitalism by Stalinist collectivism: moreover, the attempt, were it otherwise practical. would immediately and prematurely precipitate a war.

In the United States the Stalinists are yet so weak that it is preposterous (attorney generals and judges notwithstanding) to think that they envisage the conquest of power at any time in the near future. But, whether in France or the United States, with greater or lesser degree of success, they can serve the Kremlin. And that they

Stalinism is a mortal enemy of

The HOW of It

the labor movement-both in an immediate and in an ultimate sense. To fight it, to give it no quarter even where it pretends to champion a worthwhile cause, is an elementary act of self-defense The HOW of fighting Stalinism, however, is quite as important as the WHY of it. It cannot be done by bureaucratic means that are self-defeating for labor. It cannot be done by the employment and imposition of principles which are inimical to labor. A Curran using methods he learned from the Stalinists to fight the Stalinists in the seamen's union is injuring labor. A Murray solving the problem by bureaucratic decrees is injuring

The influence of Stalinism has to be exterminated. But to do the job effectively it has to be done democratically, consciously, in open and damning argument. Best of all, it needs to be done socialistically-for Stalinism feeds upon the crimes of capitalism, and there is no stronger repudiation of Stalinism than socialist understand-



White Labor Cannot Be Free While Black Labor Is Branded! DISCRIMINATION

Freedom Draws No Color Line

The Independent Socialist League is unalterably opposed to all racial, national and religious discrimination. It stands for the full social, political and economic equality of Negroes and all other minority national, racial and religious

Jim Crow is still the shame of America; and while anti-Semitism does not play as obvious a role as anti-Negro discrimination, there are numerous signs that it is on the increase. The men of Rankin's stripe are as anti-Jewish as they are anti-Negro and have to be fought wherever their foul ideas arise. Whether it be Negroes who are discriminated against, or the Jewish people, or Mexican-American workers in our Southwest, or Catholics, anything which is used to set worker against worker weakens labor and helps to keep ALL workers in subjection.

In the midst of the general decay of American society which accompanies the preparation for World War III, one of the few bright spots is the TENDENCY to lessen the legal discrimination against and loosen up on the segregation of the Negro people. In order to widen the domestic market, and to make more believable the claim that America is engaged in a world-wide struggle for democracy, the courts, government departments, and even a few capitalists have been talking about and putting into partial effect a greater degree of equal rights for Negroes.

There has been as yet much more talk than action in this field. In fact, the repeated cynical sellouts on the civil-rights program by both major parties in Congress indicate that they are much more interested in keeping civil rights as a campaign issue than in giving any rights to the

Yet progress has been made. More Negroes are registering and voting in the South than ever before. More of them are daring to move into white districts in the North, and are entering the major sports and

Labor Must Clean House

All these gains, to be sure, have been made within the framework of a general Jim Crow policy and practice both in the North and the South. The gains only point up how far the Negro people have to go before they really achieve equality of status in America. But every gain eases the road for the next one. Every gain gives the Negroes courage and self-confidence, and lessens the powers of resistance of the Jim-Crow-minded whites.

The Negroes, or at least a section of them, have always struggled for equality in America. But for some years now they have had a powerful ally. Since the rise of the CIO in the mass production industries with its official anti-discrimination policy, tens of thousands of Negroes have found their way into industry and into the organized life of the unions. They have struggled on the picket lines side by side with the white workers. They have thus become more integrated into the major industries, and have gained a new status both in the Negro community itself and in the nation as a whole.

Much remains to be desired in the practice of even the most advanced CIO unions with regard to the Negroes, and many AFL and independent unions still disgrace the American labor movement by blatant Jim Crow policies. Independent Socialists have as one of their chief tasks inside the labor movement to educate and struggle for complete living equality for Negroes.

The integration of the Negroes into industry has been a product of

"Loyalty Day" - -

(Continued from page 1)

ideas of Marx and Engels gained acceptance among the workers, the conservative labor leaders themselves grew fearful of the mobilization of the rank and file on May Day, and therefore either made it into a harmless "holiday" with games and festivals, or turned against it altogether, as in the present instance.

But especially in Europe, May Day had become deeply embedded in the consciousness of the workers. Stalin and Hitler, each in his own way, paid tribute to this fact by turning May First into a day proclaim: "See! Either you march for vast military and storm-troop demonstrations. The workers were forced to march in these parades. but not under their own banners, not in parades organized by themselves, for their own demands. To prevent them from marching for freedom and in defiance of their exploiters and oppressors, they were and are dragooned to march under banners proclaiming their loyalty to Hitler and the Third Reich, to Stalin and his totalitarian slave order.

Here in America no dictator forces the labor movement to parade in joint demonstrations of tration of the H-bomb and the struggle for socialism.

witchhunt, to the system of profits and unemployment, are voluntary

and hence doubly degrading. The bankers and manufacturers will not waddle down the streets in these parades under their own of the dollar, for that would expose to all how few of them control the destinies of millions.

And all over the world the Stalinist hacks will grin also. For they know that despite their misleaders the workers feel no loyalty to the millionaires. And to the workers of the world they will with us, or you march with those who exploit you, who seek to break your organizations, who denounce your every demand and every claim as 'subversive.' "

But the choice before the workers of America and the world is not between "loyalty" to capitalism and "loyalty" to Stalinism. The workers can still be loval to themselves, to their own interest, to their own class. That is the message of Independent Socialism on this May Day of 1950.

And even though on this day the movement of Independent Socialism is too small to take to "loyalty" with the NAM and the the streets, the gatherings of the Chamber of Commerce. These ISL will represent the glorious demonstrations of loyalty to the tradition of the workers' May Day capitalist system, to the adminis- and the liberating ideas of the is against a policy of "super-seniority" for Negroes, as a harmful policy which tends to divide the labor movement, it seeks to do all in its power to prevent discriminatory layoffs and downgrading of Negroes when industry slackens its pace.

The ISL stands for the right of all Negroes and other minorities to live and work without discrimination, whether they be workers, professionals, or even capitalists. But as socialists we are particularly concerned with the great mass of Negroes who are workers.

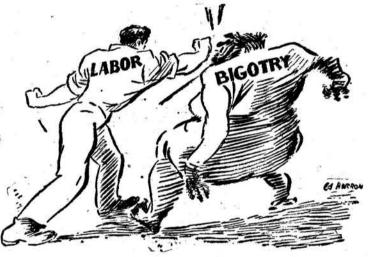
A Part of the Socialist Struggle

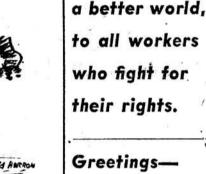
In the political and social conflicts which lie ahead, the struggle against discrimination and the struggle for the political and economic emancipation of the working class will form part of the same fight against a decaying capitalism. In this situation the upper-class Negroes will pursue, as usual, a policy of keeping the Negro masses tied to capitalist politics.

The ISL advocates the independence of all workers from capitalist parties and capitalist politics. We also urge upon the Negro trademionists that they start to contest the political leadership now wielded in the Negro community by the rich. Only thus can they lead the Negroes away from their futile alliance with and dependence on the capitalist parties, and toward alliance with the working class as

Independent Socialists rejoice in every gain made by every member of the minority groups in America. They seek everywhere to educate and struggle for complete equality and against all forms of discrimination. In the legislative field, the fight for the civil-rights program is today the front line of battle for equality. Every kind of mass pressure must be applied to force the betrayers of the Negro people in both capitalist parties to fulfill their cynically given campaign promises.

As revolutionary socialists we believe that the complete emancipation of the minority groups in America will come only when all workers, regardless of color or creed, have united and achieved real political and economic power as the first step towards socialism. But such unity and such power can only be achieved if we struggle today for equality, for democracy, for full employment and a rising standard of living for all. The struggle for full social, political and economic equality now is for the ISL an indispensable part of the struggle for





Greetings-**Leon Steinmetz** Sarah Truman

The Editors of

LABOR ACTION

extend greetings

on this May Day

to our readers

and subscribers,

to our comrades

in the fight for

10 years Socialist

Congratulations

ST. LOUIS SYL

May Day Greetings!

A SALUTE TO LABOR ACTION ON ITS TENTH BIRTHDAY

Queens Branch (N. Y.) Independent Socialist League

For Socialism, Freedom and Peace

MANHATTAN (WEDNESDAY) BRANCH-ISL



May 1, 1950

in the fight for freedom

—Los Angeles Branch, ISL West Virginia Branch

Buffalo Branch, ISL

LABOR! Let's put workingmen on the ballot line Lucy and Joe as we do on the picket line-Organize an Independent Labor Party!

Build the **Independent Socialist League!**

> **Cleveland Branch** ISL

Our Goal: A Socialist Democracy!

-Brooklyn Branch, ISL

Socialist Greetings to LABOR ACTION

We're

there

digging

PLENTY FOR ALL

Greetings

FOR THE

THIRD

CAMP

OF

LABOR

AND

SOCIALISM

May Day Greetings from

New York Unit

SYL

St. Louis Branch ISL

from the

GREETINGS

from the

ISL '

Newark Branch

May Day 1949--May Day 1950:

SYL camp · Over the top in two fund drives-

June 1949 quota exceeded by 100% April 1950 quota exceeded by 200%

the fastest growing unit of the Socialist Youth League

Greetings

to the striking Chrysler workers! **DETROIT BRANCH** Independent Socialist League

Greetings on your 10th anniversary. We'll be with you on your 20th.

Florence and Margaret

MAY DAY GREETINGS-

Pittsburgh Branch

GREETINGS for a **NEW WORLD** of SOCIALISM Akron Branch

ISL

MAY DAY

ISL

From a Group of West Coast Workers.

In Memory of MARTIN ABERN

"The proletarian revolution, in the very requirements f the revolution, in addition to transforming fundamentally the former relations of classes, changes even the organizational forms of government, that is, turning toward industrial foundations, aiming for the passage of government from the administration of men to the administration of things." -Martin Abern, Organizational Principles.

Revolutionary Greetings

from the

CHICAGO SYL

• Formation of a U. of C. chapter

• Organization of the first national

• Substantial increase in membership

• Well over a hundred forums, classes, socials, etc.

• Extensive political activity on several campuses and considerable neighborhood work

"We're the Best in the West"

of our

fellow workers!

Socialist

Greetings

May Day

this

to all

Philadelphia Branch ISL

For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples!

MANHATTAN (THURSDAY) BRANCH INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Greetings!

THE THREE "JOCKS"

Lenz

Greetings on May Day!

A Friend

Two Young Old-Timers A Comradely Couple

May Day Greetings!

J. L. S. (Streator) Jennie (Boston)

Charlie Steward (N. Y.)

Arouse, Educate. Organize, Unite

for Socialist Democracy!

Chicago Branch

ISL

For a Socialist World!

SAN FRANCISCO Bay Area Branch

Independent Socialist League

Bureaucracy Threatens — an Independent Labor Party Beckons

Let's Harness Labor's Power!

By WALTER JASON

In an epoch that demands great decisions and bold actions to solve the urgent world problems pressing on humanity, the strategic role of the American labor movement assumes increasing importance, since it constitutes the largest free working-class force in the world at its peak of strength. Yet its tragic impotence is remarkable.

The contrast between the potential role of the American unions with aggressive socialist leadership and the actual facts of life constitutes a gap the like of which has never been seen before in modern capitalist society. Even a cursory glance at the record of defeats and so-called victories of the trade unions since May 1949 illustrates the point quite

clearly. Furthermore, a review of the previous year's labor history does give a clue to the coming events and the part which the labor movement may play during the next immediate period.

It is customary in union circles to confine any review primarily to a statistical report: Last year the unions had X number of contracts, this year X plus 100 contracts. This is called progress. Last year the unions collected X millions in dues, this year they took in X plus A millions in dues: more evidence of progress.

The mentality of the tradeunion officialdom confines itself within the limits of a static world which, while only fictitious, does lend support to the statistical approach which they find so comforting. The trick of the tradeunion officials consists not in relating the evolution of the union movement to the social problems of the day and to the new tasks created by turbulent national and international events.

Disillusioned

The vast post-war unrest and search for economic security finally reflected itself in the labor movement by demands for pensions for the workers "too old to work and too young to die." John for a \$125 a month pension plan L. Lewis grasped the sentiment and won the first industryfinanced pension plan. In 1949 the CIO leadership made pensions the major economic demand for the coming year, and Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, as usual, eloquently outlined the significance of this blueprint to labor and the country.

In 1950 the results of the CIO campaign are almost in, and they have proved to be quite disillusioning to most workers whose unions won industry-financed pension plans. In the case of other workers-as, for example, the Chrysler strikers now out of work nearly four months in a pension strike - the disillusionment has set in before the "triumph." The whole pension drive of the labor movement has served any assurance of security.

Nor has there been any period posed it, confined themselves primarily to consolidating previously won contracts and winning minor economic concessions.

Shall We "Demand"?

defeat. This is the sorry past to will not pass that bill in the com- took a more dramatic and brutal

which the American labor leadership has come in the last year.

The significance of the successful tactics of the coal miners and John L. Lewis has been completely missed by the rest of the labor bureaucracy. They shudder at the very thought of "taking on the whole world" as the United Mine Workers union was forced to do. Another aspect of

the coal miners' strike which should not be lost is that with all its splendid militancy it was essentially a defensive battle, which did not solve any of the basic problems but only gave the coal miners a brief respite before other harsher battles

The effect of the conservative policies carried out by frightened bureaucrats may best be seen as they affect the most progressive union in America, the United Automobile Workers (CIO). Before the auto workers'

union could make its major 1950 struggle against General Motors and greater union security, it found itself engaged in a costly, devastating, and almost demoralizing strike against Chrysler, the outcome of which, no matter how successful in terms of immediate demands, can never make up for the great sacrifices of the ranks.

Yet in the middle of this kind of class struggle one finds the national CIO announcing that it is dropping the word "demand" from its lexicon. Hereafter its demands will be referred to as "proposals." After all, the word "demand" may be found in the Communist Manifesto; it sounds radical; it may, you know, be un-American, and it implies that labor needs something so badly in this capitalist paradise that it must insist upon

Timid Bureaucrats

modern society rather than give this announcement is the whole cringing and defeatist mentality of a timid bureaucracy frightin which the union movement ened by the blows of a changing seemed to sacrifice so much in world. Another reflection of this terms of struggle for such minor is the positive hatred with which gains. The pension pattern has many CIO bureaucrats view Walturned out to be very disappoint- ter Reuther, who, although he ing to labor. In addition, in other does not act one whit different strike struggles like Bell Aircraft from the others, still insists on and Singer Sewing Machine, the making a speech now and then unions suffered big defeats. The that suggests that perhaps this is AFL unions which, by and large, not the best of all possible worlds, skirted the pension issue or op- and his speeches are always referred to as "pie in the sky."

Turning to the field of political action, it could hardly be expected that any trade-union bureaucracy as timid as the CIO and AFL are on the economic field, which Until the coal miners' strike is the heart of unionism, could victory temporarily halted the be expected to act differently in anti-labor drive, the entire Amer- terms of national politics. Almost ican labor movement seemed everyone, including these same headed for a period of more re- bureaucrats, will admit that the treats and defeats. Not the least activities of the labor movement important aspect of the coal on the national political scene Just one little illustration of the miners' success against the Tru- have resulted in one fiasco after AFL trend: Recently a teamman administration's strikebreak- another. The best way to keep an sters' local union with 6,000 meming, the coal operators and fed- index on Congressional action bers published its yearly finaneral injunctions was the fact that these days is to list any impor- cial report. The executive direcno labor leader except John L. tant CIO or AFL legislative pro- tor of this union alone received Lewis thought the coal miners gram, and one can safely assume \$55,000 a year in salary. could do anything except suffer that Congress did not pass and In the CIO bureaucratization

ing of civil rights legislation are two cases in point.

It is thus that in sheer self-defense the bureaucracies are beginning to move closer together, and this explains the recent CIO, AFL and UMW maneuvers on not a feeling of strength, is driving them together.

What lessons should be learned from the dumping of the Fair Deal program into the Congressional ashcan, from the political fiascos of the labor movement and from the costly and debilitating strike struggles which bring such relatively small results? CIO President Philip Murray informed the world, including his cohort Walter Reuther, in a recent issue of the New Republic, what conclusion he drew. Murray said he simply could not conceive of the

HEADS I.



Democratic Party not doing its job (all the facts of life to the contrary) and therefore any sugcestion of a third party based on labor was simply a trick playing into the hands of general reac-

Labor's "Me Too"

Thus we find, with the 1950 elections before us, not one important section of the official labor movement speaking in terms of any independent political action which might turn the reactionary tide. Few others than the Independent Socialists and other political groups are keeping alive the idea of a labor party.

In the face of this political bankruptcy, is it a wonder that the "hopelessly inadequate" (to use Walter Reuther's phrase) Harry Truman feels more confident these days? Why not? The more he disregards labor leaders the more servile they become. The American labor bureaucracy simply keeps the interests of the rank and file because they fear to jeopardize their relationship with Truman. The fantastic and costly military budget is an example. As for foreign policy, what can one find? At a time when the world labor movement looks for aid against Stalinist totalitarianism, all they get from American labor leaders is a "me too" to every Wall Street imperi-

alist policy.

The whole spectacle would be pitiful if it were not so tragic, for it is the rank and file that suffers from the blunders and mistakes of the leadership.

There is only one field in which the top leaders may honestly state that they are achieving real success, and that is in consolidating their bureaucratic grip over the rank and file. The AFL today has an aristocracy of labor bureaucrats undreamed of before.

Taft-Hartley Law and the shelv- Stalinism. The expulsion of the Stalinist-controlled unions was prepared by revising the CIO constitution into a bureaucratic structure which gives it a discipline that only monolithic political parties have thus far insisted upon. Official policy in the the question of labor unity. Fear, CIO now tends to have the same general significance that "party line" has been to the Stalinists and for which they were ridiculed by these same CIO bureaucrats and for which unions under their control were expelled.

Leadership Lacking

Three illustrations of the crude bureaucratization that is engulfing the CIO come to mind, besides the wholesale expulsions resulting from the 1949 CIO convention in Cleveland. Joseph Curran's combined police regime and strong-arm methods have struck nearly fatal blows to the splendid tradition of democracy in the National Maritime Union. The devastating biographical sketch of Michael Quill that recently appeared in the N.Y. Times Magazine speaks for itself as a commentary on the fate of union democracy in the Transport Workers Union.

A third illustration indicates how difficult it is to stop the trend once it begins. By the time this article appears George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the Textile Workers Union, will be fighting desperately to remain in his union. Why? Is he a Stalinist or perhaps a socialist or an independent radical who disagrees with "CIO policy"? Nothing as serious as that. Emil Rieve, president and boss of the textile union, proposes to expel Baldanzi "because we don't get along and can't work together."

And there is evidently not a single public protest from one single CIO leader against this enervating trend. How safe is the struggle for democracy in the hands of a union bureaucracy which includes Currans, Quills and Rieves and is dominated by a Murray?

Nothing better suggests the power and almost limitless vitality of the American working class than its demonstrations at every possible opportunity of its willingness to fight and to sacrifice for a better world. The steel workers struck for six weeks. The saga of the coal miners' struggle tells itself. At Chrysler, in spite of a policy of no picket lines and of confusion and blundering at the top, the auto workers stand solidly together for nearly four months!

What is lacking, what is needed, what is wrong is the leader. ship, Labor's record for 1949-50 stands as a wholesale indictment of the bureaucracy. And candon compels us to state bluntly that in the coming period no effective new leadership to challenge the old appears likely to arise. It is at this point, of course, that many socialists, understanding the rea situation, become ex-socialists; ex-socialists become Democrats; and the Walter Reuthers are privately grateful that they chose to play it safe and keep their

The very urgency of the problems, the failure of the present labor leadership, and the need for a new force in the union movement giving direction to the ceaseless struggle of the workers dic-



dent Socialist League!

To exist, to be an example of a different set of ideas, of a different way out than the old hopeless and futile methods, are reasons alone that justify the functioning of the Independent Socialists in the union movement as well as in society in general.

Where can labor find the idea for its own political and organizational independence from the capitalist parties and their society except from the Independent Socialists? What other hope exists - outside of the terrible Stalinist totalitarian anti-capitalism-for the anti-capitalist feelings of the workers?

For a Labor Party!

The main stress of the union

work of Independent Socialists in

this period is political. The dayto-day tasks remain important but are not decisive in the kind of period in which the labor unions find themselves today. Of course there will be many different forms of revolt within the unions against the growing bureaucratization and the impotence of the top leaders to "bring home the bacon." The ranks will not act in shrewd, clever fashion, with assurances of success in the struggle against the bureaucrats. But in all instances, the Independent Socialists have an important role to play, not as trade-union leaders primarily, but above all, as socialist educators, who tie together the struggle for union democracy with labor's general political independence and its historic place in a new society.

No struggle for socialism has any meaning without being a struggle for democracy, and no struggle for democracy is significant and lasting unless it combines with it the long-range struggle for socialism, the only form of workers' democracy compatible with the industrialized world in which we live today.

As protagonists for this basic concept, the Independent Socialists in day-to-day struggle and by all their activities, as well as the organization which symbolizes the fight for socialism, the Independent Socialist League, take on their most important job.

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