

LABOR ACTION

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Both Reuther and Stellato Stymied on Detroit Jobless

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Nov. 18 — The suit filed in federal court last week by Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers (CIO) against the Ford Motor Company for damages due to decentralization of operations and for a restraining order, is an eloquent testimonial to the drastic limitations of the real program of Carl Stellato, the local's president.

In this case, Stellato is no more, in fact much less, powerful than Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, on the issue agitating the rank and file.

Under the Ford contract, whose approval was recommended by both Stellato and Reuther, the company has precisely that right to which Local 600 officials now object.

The failure of Reuther to join in this legal action of Ford local officials is quite understandable: he knows the futility of such action as well as the next man.

As a matter of fact, both the Reuther faction and the Stellato forces are bound to be helpless before the real arguments of the Ford company in federal court. How can they answer this argument:

"Sure we are decentralizing. It's under the direction of the military officials. It's part of national-defense policy to disperse key war work. We are simply being patriotic in doing our duty. We hate to think of our workers all trapped in one location where they may be wiped out by one atom bomb. Our program actually takes the long-range interests of the workers at heart. We are not short-sighted like the union politicians. Etc."

This is the source of the acute dilemma of the UAW leaders, from Reuther down through Stellato. They don't have an effective answer to this kind of argument, given their support of the Truman administration and the war program.

Perhaps the sharpest expression of this dilemma is the cruel joke told in UAW circles concern-

(Continued on page 2)

On Atrocities

From a letter-to-the-editor in the N. Y. Post, by religious pacifist A. J. Muste:

It is sad the Chinese and Korean Communists should kill prisoners of war. But why does the Eighth Army release this "atrocities" story just now? And why do the newspapers blazon it in the headlines? There are other questions we ought to ask at this moment. For example, what would the figures be for the number of Korean civilians killed by bombs dropped by our airmen in what our own military leaders called "Operation Killer"? If we printed these figures side by side with the statistics of Chinese atrocities, how different the picture would seem to us and to the Chinese. Also it is well to recall that it was we who dropped the first atomic bomb. It was Edmond Taylor, head of the planning board of the OSS in World War II, who said that by that act we made ourselves the ancestor of the end of the world as Cain made himself the ancestor of all the murderers in history. But to reflect on this does not absolve the Chinese Communists. . . .

REV. A. J. MUSTE

Does Washington Want Cease-Fire In Korean War?

By GORDON HASKELL

It is now some four months since the truce negotiations started in Korea. During these four months fighting has continued on the land front and the air war has increased in intensity. Casualty rates on both sides have reached proportions exceeded only during major offensives.

And while the peoples of the world ardently desire an end to the slaughter of the young men at the front and the civilians in the rear, to the continued outpouring of wealth with its ever-present danger of an expansion of the war to world-wide proportions, the question keeps rising from all sides:

Do the governments involved really want to conclude a truce?

Although no one outside the cabinets and general staffs of the Chinese and American governments can answer this question categorically, a close study of the truce negotiations to date can yield a reasonable indication of their approach to the question. In a word the answer seems to be: Neither

(Continued on page 3)

Students Protest Ban on Max Shachtman At UC as Dean Establishes New Gag Rule

By ROBERT MAGNUS

BERKELEY, November 17—The banning of Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, from the University of California campus has brought vigorous protests from important sections of the university. The *Daily Californian*, one of the few really courageous college papers left in the country, jumped into the breach, gave the incident front page publicity, and thus forced Dean Stone and the university administration to make public their real reasons for the ban.

Stone's action attracted the attention of the *San Francisco Chronicle* and a few other Bay Area newspapers, appeared on local newscasts and even went out as an AP release.



MAX SHACHTMAN

This new assault on academic freedom at UC has come on the heels of the retreat of the witchhunters with regard to the notorious loyalty oath here, which has now been dropped. Now they have opened this new front. It is also noteworthy that it follows the recent case at Ohio State, which instituted a gag rule for "clearing" campus speakers.

The affair began with an attempt by the Forum Council (a subsection of the student government) to initiate a debate on the general ques-

tion of the British elections. According to the university's Rule 17 (a local gag regulation) such "controversial" subjects can be discussed only so long as both sides are represented.

The Forum Council invited Max Shachtman and Professor Francis H. Herrick of Mills College to participate in the debate and induced Robert A. Brady of the UC Economics Department to moderate. The International Board set the place and time and all the necessary arrangements had been completed when Dean Stone suddenly vetoed Shachtman's appearance.

Under the exigencies of public pressure and publicity the dean has been forced to change his position on the "reasons" for the refusal several times.

CAMPUS NEWSPAPER PRIES OUT THE TRUTH

At first they were purely procedural. Only those involved in local government politics can appreciate the jungle of bureaucratic devices placed in the way of free discussion by the administration. Needless to say the unfortunate at the head of Forum Council made a few minor errors in following the "correct" procedures, giving the dean an out.

The fact that Stone has never canceled any really important speech, debate or discussion on these grounds is understood; why he did not stick to these technical justifications is another matter.

On Monday the story broke. On Tuesday, November 13, the entire Senior Editorial Board of the *Daily Californian* signed an editorial entitled "Fuller Explanation Needed." This front-page blast at the dean took Rule 17 as its basis and demanded an official and public explanation of why it

(Turn to last page)

**UC Students—
See
SYL Editorial
on
Page 4**

New York

This Saturday
i.e., e.g., and viz.

November 24

is your night out
for the ISL's

**Thanksgiving
Social**

at Labor Action Hall
114 West 14 Street

It Took the New York Strike to Spotlight the Tieup Between—

Business and Crime on the Docks

By BEN HALL

Perhaps the New York waterfront rackets are due for a public airing. One of the demands of the longshore strikers was: get rid of the gangsters in the union. Now Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz has ordered a special grand-jury investigation into organized racketeering on the Brooklyn waterfront.

If the investigators investigate fearlessly and thoroughly they will undoubtedly uncover another scandal to take its place in the catalog of modern corruption along with the police-bookmaker tieups, the bribery of New York City officials, the RFC revelations, and till-dipping of federal income tax collectors.

What makes the waterfront inquiry of special significance is the close link between mobster rule and corrupt interference in the life of New York's waterfront unions. The longshore strikers made it possible to overlook this connection.

District Attorney Miles F. McDonald revealed that thefts of cargo from one Brooklyn pier alone reached the astonishing figure of \$300,000 in one year. At this rate, waterfront rackets in the whole New York harbor area must reach a phenomenal total, probably millions of dollars every year. This is no small-time pilfering but a grand industry.

THE COMPANY ANGLE

Obviously, a take of such proportions would be impossible without efficient organization. It is inconceivable that the Police Department should be unaware of the names, addresses, and exact occupation of the key figures. It is inconceivable that city officials are not aware that the Police Department possesses such fascinating information.

Yet, in the hustle and bustle of their routine affairs, they have never found time or energy to use the facts to enforce the simple criminal laws against organized grand larceny.

And all this is nothing new. It has been going on for years. We might expect a vociferous hue and cry from the shipping companies, anxious to protect their cargoes, if not outraged in their virtue. But a strange complacency allows them to look the other way while millions of dollars evaporate.

This somewhat unconventional mass industry may not enjoy the protection of the statute books but it does seem to blossom under the tolerance of police, politicians and bosses. It would not be difficult to understand that police and poli-

ticians can find powerful arguments to justify their apparent passivity to themselves. But why the shipping companies?

Undoubtedly the answer is this: They find their industry more profitable infected by racketeering than cleaned up. Mobster influence infiltrates into the union, makes it weak. The employers gain through wage increases which are never granted; improved working conditions never won. And these advantages far outweigh the losses from theft.

WHAT STRIKERS WON

The key to mobster control over the docks lies in mobster control over hiring. And control over hiring gives racketeers an inevitable influence in the union with the ability to influence elections, reinforcing administrations by ordinary terror when necessary. "Colossal criminal trusts, headed by kingpin mobsters," said Judge Leibowitz, were exploiting the in-

dustrial through graft, payroll-padding, extortion, loan-sharking, narcotics smuggling, wage-kick-backs, and systematic theft.

The shipping companies are perfectly satisfied with "labor relations" existing on the New York waterfront. They are pleased to deal with an understanding, pliable, and amenable officialdom. And they want nothing to upset such amicable dealings which have proved so profitable. If this means organized corruption, theft, even murder—then so be it.

Racketeering is not brought to the docks by the labor movement; the workers and their unions are the main victims. It is the venal money-grubbing of the companies, the tolerance, not without cause, of law-enforcement officials, that allows mobsterism to infect the union. The longshore strikers showed that they were determined to get rid of thugs and thieves. They did not win their demands; but this latest investigation is their achievement.

It's OK, Sheriff— There's Nobody Here But Us Boys

William Attwood, N. Y. Post foreign correspondent, easily dispenses of the myths about Western imperialism in the Middle-Eastern country of Lebanon:

"The only visible signs of Western imperialism hereabouts are the terminal points of three oil pipelines from Iraqian and Arabian fields—for which Lebanon gets a cut—and hotel lobbies full of vacationing American oilmen spending their dollars in Beirut." —Post, Nov. 19.

They Say In Harlan County . . .

September was designated as "No Accident Month" by the Kentucky Department of Mines.

The state agency now announces there were seven mining deaths in September, compared with only five in the same month a year ago. No figures on how many others suffered injuries.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY on the HOME FRONT

Ruth Reynolds Case—Rice vs. TV— Robeson Gagged—Lo, the Navajos

By MEL HACKER

Ruth Reynolds is a victim of persecution in the Puerto Rican struggle for independence from the United States. In Puerto Rico, where she went to investigate the university strike and to complete research on a book, she has been convicted under Insular Law No. 53, popularly referred to as the "gag law," in some respects worse than our infamous Smith Act. Miss Reynolds, a pacifist opposed to violence, was a member of Harlem Ashram, a group devoted to cooperative community living in a poor and congested Negro area. She also believes in Puerto Rican independence, although she does not support any Puerto Rican political group.

Miss Reynolds was found guilty of taking a Nationalist Party oath to overthrow the Puerto Rican government. She denies taking such an action. Strangely enough no one of the 500 persons who took the oath, not even Pedro Albizu Campos, the oath-giver, was indicted for this act. At her court of carrying bombs and firearms for the purposes of revolt was thrown out.

Miss Reynolds has described the United States-supported governmental suppression of its opponents, in particular the wholesale dawn arrests of nationalists who reject the insular government as an agent of the United States. Miss Reynolds describes her own arrest:

"I was asleep in my bed at 2:00 a.m. on November 2, 1950 when more than 40 policemen and National Guards, armed with rifles, machine guns and revolvers, came to the house where I was living alone. I dressed and went outside to ask them what they wanted. They said they were going to search my house and I told them to show me their search warrant. They told me 'afterwards,' and I told them 'no, now.' However, with more machine guns pointed at me than I had ever before seen collected together in one place, I did not resist when they entered anyway. After stealing all my papers and books, they told me that they had no paper, but that they did have orders to arrest me. Without an order of arrest no one can be arrested legally unless he has been caught in an illegal act. Sleeping is seldom considered illegal, even in Puerto Rico. In the company of Paulino Castro, who owns my house and who lives with his family in another house on the same lot, and his son, Luis, I

was taken in darkness to police headquarters in San Juan. There my money was taken from me and has not yet been returned. I was held there for nine days before being investigated at all although 48 hours is the legal limit for detention without indictment.

Miss Reynolds was jailed, and not told of her charges (they had undoubtedly not been concocted yet) until two months after her arrest.

This abridgment of the civil liberties of Ruth Reynolds, and of 400 cases similar to hers, is being attacked by the Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee.

RICE VS. TV

Elmer Rice, Pulitzer prize playwright and member of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union, has announced the termination of his relations with the Celanese Theatre, one of television's major drama programs, on the grounds it employed a black list in selecting actors.

In a revival of the protracted dispute involving performers listed in "Red Channels," a reactionary anti-Communist booklet, Rice charged that artists appearing on the program had to be "cleared" by an attorney who considered only their political beliefs and not their abilities.

Jesse T. Ellington representing the Celanese Theatre expressed surprise at the writer's dissatisfaction. "We've tried to lean over backwards to live up to the best traditions of the theatre and to avoid any of that political thing in casting. But when you get somebody who may cause a lot of bad publicity for your program, you have to be a little careful. It's an ordinary business safeguard."

ROBESON CASE

The City College Student-Faculty Committee on Student Affairs has denied Paul Robeson permission to speak in the college's main auditorium. The college's Student Council has protested the committee's decision, calling it an "abridgment of academic freedom."

Professor Samuel Handell of the Government Department, chairman of the faculty Academic Freedom Committee, said that although he disagreed with Robeson's views, anyone who is asked by an authorized organization to speak at the college should be allowed to do so. "We should not imitate the totalitarian methods of eliminating

freedom of speech and education," he said.

RAY OF LIGHT IN D. C.

For the first time the National Theatre in Washington, D. C., one of the country's most important and historic playhouses, will present drama to both Negro and white theater-goers. For years the National Theatre, frequented by government officials, legislators and foreign diplomats, practiced the undemocratic policy of not admitting Negroes to its performances. In 1948, the National was converted to a movie house when its management refused to accede to the demands by actors, dramatists and producers that it abandon its Jim Crow policy of discrimination. The Actors Equity Association has been particularly active in the fight against such discrimination.

THE UNDERDOG

At a time when billions of dollars are being pumped into our war machine, one of the "forgotten peoples" of America, our Indian tribesmen, is suffering from a lack of federal funds for education, medical and housing programs.

A survey reveals that the Navajos live in arid range country under conditions that make their home little more than an outdoor slum. In the words of Glover Rawls, a Florida-born Negro teaching at the Chincle Navajo Boarding School: "I thought my people had problems till I arrived here. The Navajo is really the underdog."

Because of lack of school plant and personnel, 13,000 Navajo children are now completely denied even a rudimentary education in English, reading or writing. A single United States Public Health Service physician, Dr. Pearl Hackman, is attempting to cope with the medical problems of 7000 persons in a canyon-bisected region measuring 150 by 50 miles over some of the nation's worst roads.

This week, discovering several typhoid cases in hogans on the north rim of the Canyon de Chelly, Dr. Hackman had to give immunization shots to 46 Navajos in two hours, locate the suspected cause of the disease in a filthy water barrel, rush her patients to the Fort Defiance Hospital, some 80 miles distant, and then hurry to deliver a child at midnight "on the other side of the precinct." Clinics and hospitals are similarly understaffed.

THAKIN SOE'S MAIN SUPPORT

From his well-informed and vituperative pen, Thakin Soe then published a series of violent documents dealing with the nature of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the White Flag Stalinists and the private life of Thakin Than Tun. He put forward the necessity for remaining underground and organizing the proletariat and peasantry to oust Aung San as well as the "British and their lackeys." He stated further that by cooperating with a nationalist government the CP would be committing itself to that measure of exploitation which foreign investments would engender.

SOE'S GROUP

Thakin Soe's main support came from pre-war Communists, intellectuals, lumpen proletarians, ex-resistance fighters and left-wing Karennis. His information and intelligence service was extremely good, and although he was said to have had only 30 active members besides a few hundred supporters, they came from regions as far apart as Maubin, Pyapon, Hanthawaddy, Pakokku and the Lower Chindwin. He also had considerable influence and cadres in Mandalay and Rangoon. Thakin Soe himself is a man of considerable stature; he is a voluminous writer, an intemperate theoretician, an unbending sectarian and a forceful personality.

Although the Burmese government would have us believe that the differences between Thakin Soe and Thakin Than Tun are purely personal, this is doing considerable injustice to the former. Than Tun is a shrewd and opportunistic bureaucrat, who has made virtually no theoretical contributions. The theoretician of the White Flags (until his demotion) was H. N. Goshal, an Indian who had spent the war days in India.

FOLLOW CHINESE

In January 1948 Bogoyoke Aung San formed a provisional government. But the CP (then still in the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) did not consider that it had enough portfolios in the cabinet. Furthermore it felt that a show of strength would increase its influence, and so it fomented risings in Toungoo and Yamethin.

In Burma: An End to the Civil War

Obituary

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Nov. 14—It was recently announced that the Burmese government has offered partial autonomy and an amnesty to the Karennis. This news came after a number of government successes against this minority of 1,400,000 who have been fighting for an autonomous state since August 1948.

But this news was not so important in itself as it was symbolic of the collapse of the various armies which have been fighting the union government since independence day, January 4, 1948, after the Attlee-Na agreement.

The first and smallest of these was formed from a split-off from the Burmese Communist Party, by the "Red Flags" (to whom foreign correspondents have given the designation "Trotskyists"). All during the latter days of the Second World War, the Burmese CP had been divided. One group, the "White Flag" Stalinists under Thakin Than Tun, had maintained that they should cooperate officially with the Japanese, as had Sukarno in Indonesia; they were therefore given posts in the Japanese-sponsored governments.

The other view, held by Thakin Soe, the "Trotskyist," was that they should fight both Japanese and British imperialism, as had been Tan Malakka's view in Indonesia. In March 1946 at a meeting of the Burmese CP, Thakin Soe attacked Than Tun and Thakin Thein Pe, accusing them of "Browderism," cooperation with imperialists and other heinous crimes. Than Tun admitted guilt, but when it came to a vote outmaneuvered Thakin Soe, and the latter withdrew from the Burmese CP "White Flags" to form the "Fed Flags."

Meanwhile H. N. Goshal had returned from India with a document entitled "The Revolutionary Possibilities of 1948." This directive from the Indian CP was accepted by Thakin Thein Pe (later expelled) and Than Tun. The CP then went over to the offensive and was expelled from the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League.

When the Stalinists left this body, they claimed membership of 25,000 and constituted a grave threat. They put into effect a policy similar to and as brutal as that of the Chinese Stalinists; they formed "land committees" whose first job was sometimes to purge the previous ones. They forbade export of rice to government-held territory and when the price in their areas slumped, made profit selling it in government territory. However, like the Chinese Stalinists, they were clever enough to behave liberally toward the very small peasants and landowners at the beginning, to attract their support.

In July 1948 the People's Volunteer Army—a militia which Aung San had trained during the war with Japan—split; the larger group decided to fight the government, and it had initial successes in Bassein, Maubin, Prome and Pegu. To add to the government's

troubles, the Karennis resorted to insurrection in order to gain autonomy, which they thought they would most likely get when the government was weakest.

REVOLTS BROKEN

In September 1948 the bankrupt government had to fight—Red Flags, White Flags, People's Volunteer Army men and Karennis all at once. Most of these were well armed. (The Karennis, for instance, had a cache of 10,000 small arms which the British had dropped for them to fight the Japanese.) By July 1949 these forces, together, occupied most of central and southeast Burma.

The government, with strong British and American support, went over to the defensive early in 1950. On March 19 it captured Toungoo, the Karenni "capital." At the same time the People's Volunteer Army and the Stalinists broke a short-lived liaison and began fighting each other. When the government forces captured their common "Democratic Front" capital, Prome, the People's Volunteer Army organization began to disintegrate. The British government offered Burma a loan of 6 million pounds.

On September 12, 1950 Saw Ba U Gyi, the Karenni leader, was

troubles, the Karennis thus lost their principal organizer. The combined effects of these defeats and the strengthening of the government disheartened the CPers, many of whom deserted. The Karennis lost Eimmo, one of their best fortified towns, was taken in November, and the tide had turned.

The latest announcement about the Karennis offers them an opportunity both to save face and achieve something of that for which they were striving. They are the best organized and educated minority. They had a wide sector of support in east-central Burma and are an industrious group.

Their likely acceptance of the government's offers will solve many problems. The few People's Volunteer Army men left have joined the Stalinists, who only occasionally make sporadic raids. The Fed Flags have long been underground, and little has been heard from them except spectacular jailbreaks. Most of them have been killed either by the government or by the White Flags.

Soon Thakin Nu's socialist government will begin to rebuild a country which has been a battleground for 10 years.

Just because the Yugoslav leaders are ever more open in lining up with the Western bloc, the official-Trotskyists find that all their former hallelujahs about the "democratization" of the Tito regime, which was marching on from one great democratic measure after another only yesterday, have led to the following sad state of affairs:

"In reality the bureaucratic regime has never been as virulent in Yugoslavia as it is today; and never—at least not since the break with Moscow—have the police been more active than they are now against critics, dissidents and opponents of the new treacherous course of the Yugoslav leaders."—Michel Pablo, in *The Militant*, Nov. 12.

In reality, there is no special evidence that the Tito regime is any more bureaucratic now than in the pre-Korea days. Pablo has merely donned another pair of glasses.

You're Invited

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

Cease-Fire in Korea

(Continued from page 1)

side feels itself compelled to stop the fighting. For both, a truce is desirable only if it can be made on terms which each side feels will be favorable from a military and political point of view, to itself.

Up till the breakoff of negotiations at Kaesong it appeared that the Stalinists were stalling. Since that time, however, they have shown a considerable readiness to meet the demands of the American negotiators. In fact, they agreed to what had seemed till then to be the chief bone of contention: the American demand that the line dividing the armies during the truce be established at the present battle lines, with some modifications. In agreeing to this, the Stalinists abandoned what had been one of their chief demands: that the truce be established at the 38th parallel.

But no sooner had they agreed than the Americans, it seems, shifted their position.

NEW PROPOSAL

They now insisted that the question of the exchange of prisoners and adequate guarantees against a military buildup under cover of the truce be settled before the fighting stopped. Further, they insisted that any changes in the battle line which might be brought about while these problems were being settled be incorporated in the final truce line.

At first the Stalinists balked at this and insisted that a cease-fire be established immediately, while negotiations on these other matters proceed. They then proposed a plan which would provide for changes in the battle lines during negotiations on

the other matters, but would give either side the right to veto any particular demand for a "readjustment" of the lines.

As we go to press, the American side has made another proposal which seems to bring the two sides closer together than they have ever been before. They have proposed that the present battle lines be maintained as a basis of negotiation for 30 days, during which the question of prisoners of war and guarantees against a military buildup be settled. If they should fail to be settled by the end of that time, the question of the truce line would be thrown open once more. Though refusing to commit themselves positively on this proposal, the Stalinist negotiators made it plain that it seemed to be in line with their thinking on the matter.

BEHIND THE STALL

The details of these negotiations have a meaning only if they are viewed in the context of the military and political position in which both sides find themselves.

First of all, it does not appear that either side now considers the complete defeat of the other possible. Yet American air and ground fire-power can inflict heavy losses on the Stalinists, both at the front and behind the lines. To the Americans, from a strictly military point of view, the ability to destroy Stalinist troops and supplies from the air and thus to prevent a major buildup behind the front is of primary importance. In fact, they appear to feel that this is their chief military bargaining point with the Stalinists. Thus they are not willing to give up this advantage unless they are convinced that a truce can be concluded on terms favorable to them.

Politically, the American government is under considerable pressure from its allies to conclude a truce. This became once more fully evident in the reaction of the other Western powers to the sudden announcement by Colonel James M. Hanley, judge advocate general of the Eighth Army, that the Chinese and North Korean Stalinists had killed over 6000 American prisoners of war since the fighting began. Although it is not altogether clear whether Hanley's announcement was just one of those frequent American

political blunders, or represented the desire of some military or political faction to disrupt the truce talks, it is quite plain that it has made the allies more nervous and dissatisfied than ever with the way in which the Americans have been handling the Korean war and the truce negotiations.

At the same time, it is quite probable that from the point of view of the American government, and especially from that of its military leaders, an immediate end to the fighting in Korea would not be an unmitigated blessing.

No one believes that a truce is likely to lead quickly to a general peace settlement in Korea which would convince Washington to withdraw its troops. Yet once the fighting has stopped, the desire of the troops to come home, and of their families to get them home, will present a serious morale and political problem. A long truce in Korea might even give added weight to the widespread desire in America to level off the armament expenditures in this country, to reduce the tax burden, and in general to slacken the pace of the whole rearmament drive.

It is naturally much more difficult, from here, to evaluate to what extent the Chinese Stalinists are concerned with the same kind of problems. From a propaganda point of view, it is clear that they have been getting the better of it throughout the truce negotiations. At the moment their apparent willingness to yield on specific American truce demands has put them in such a good position that American correspondents report that there is a widespread belief among the American troops that the Stalinists are for a truce and the American government is for continuing the fighting.

For the Stalinist, both Chinese and North Korean, a real truce is also no unmitigated blessing. They have not achieved the aims which prompted their attack on South Korea in the first place—the demagogic demands for "freedom and unity" of Korea. They are no longer even at the 38th parallel.

The stalemate in the Korean truce negotiations, when viewed in its broadest aspects, is part of the stalemate of the cold war on a world scale. The American government is nowhere able to launch a political offensive which can undermine and beat back the Stalinists. At best it is able to block their advance through economic subsidies to the wobbly capitalist governments of the world, while

it builds up the military strength which is its only effective weapon. In Korea that military strength is unable even to win a decisive victory. More important, no political strength has been found to supplement it. Thus, even though a truce may be preferable to the continued war of attrition (particularly since the tremendous increase in Stalinist air power in the area), it does not offer the possibility of achieving a peace which would be a victory for American policy. It likewise offers little if any hope of a progressive democratic place to the Korean people who are caught helplessly in the power struggle of the two great war camps. But at least a truce would stop the slaughter and destruction. For that alone it is ardently to be desired.

The fact is that the Korean advance is one of the most futile conflicts of our times, and it is this that has been reflected in the futility of the cease-fire negotiations up to now, whether the negotiators finally manage to extricate themselves with some formula or other or not.

It is the lack of any progressive political appeal behind the policy of Western imperialism which makes its war against Stalinist imperialism so meaningless, "victory" or no. The West has had nothing to offer the Koreans except death and destruction, with victory signifying (for the latter) the reimposed rule of Syngman Rhee.

It has no answer to the Stalinists' demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, which—however demagogic it may be in the mouths of the Stalinists—is also the obvious and clear wish of the Korean people, South and north. Unless they mean to squat indefinitely on the present battle lines, with finger on trigger, waiting for the third world war to break out, U. S. troops will have to get out.

If this leaves the road open to the political infiltration of the Stalinists, it is not the U. S. which has any answer to that—except to prolong the war in order to postpone this dilemma.

It is to be doubted, certainly, that Washington has any set policy to torpedo all possibility of a real cease-fire. But because of the blind alley that it is in, in Korea, and its lack of a political solution, it is not to be wondered that it weaves and wobbles in the truce negotiations like a divided soul.

Shachtman Tour in Chicago: Good Meetings on War, Britain

By JOHN NOVAK

CHICAGO, Nov. 14—Max Shachtman spoke today at the University of Chicago on "The Struggle for World Power." He pointed out the inability of the American bourgeoisie to attract any reliable allies in the struggle against Stalinism. Its present allies, Chiang, Bao Dai, Franco, Syngman Rhee, etc., represent regimes which scrap pile have been thrown on the scrap pile of history long ago. All these regimes are bent on the destruction of all progressive social forces and continuously come in conflict with its peoples, who at best only passively tolerate them. Since the U. S. appears as the supporter and ally of these regimes it is no wonder that the people struggling for emancipation are driven into the arms of Russian totalitarianism.

In this respect the failure of the American labor movement to make a break with the foreign policy of the state department is criminal. The existence of a strong movement in America which opposed both the policies of the State Department and the Kremlin would present to the peoples of the world a way out of the present two-power conflict and enable them to travel along the path of Third Camp socialism. And it is only through developing such a worldwide movement that we can hope to avoid the threatening third world war.

Fifty people were present at this lecture and several questions were directed to Shachtman after the speech. Many of the people present were new and were clearly favorably impressed.

CHICAGO, Nov. 12—Max Shachtman spoke at Roosevelt College today on the British Labor Party. The meeting was very successful: about 75 people were present and a good collection taken.

Shachtman outlined the increasing polarization of classes in Britain, and the rise in the class-consciousness of the workers. He pointed out that the defeat of the BLP was not due to the apathy of the working class, which was completely behind the Labor Party, and significantly enough in most cases supported the Bevanites. It was rather due to the support of the Tories by the Liberals and some sections of the middle class. Also the victory of the Tories is not a swing to the right as far as the sentiment of the British peoples goes, for the BLP received the largest amount of votes in its history and more popular votes than the Tories in this election.

Shachtman saw clear possibilities of a BLP victory in the near future and a BLP that would be more consistently socialist in policy. There were quite a few questions directed to the speaker after the lecture.

"I was asleep in my bed at 2:00 a.m. on November 2, 1950 when more than 40 policemen and National Guards, armed with rifles, machine guns and revolvers, came to the house where I was living alone. I dressed and went outside to ask them what they wanted. They said they were going to search my house and I told them to show me their search warrant. They told me 'afterwards,' and I told them 'no, now.' However, with more machine guns pointed at me than I had ever before seen collected together in one place, I did not resist when they entered anyway. After stealing all my papers and books, they told me that they had no paper, but that they did have orders to arrest me. Without an order of arrest no one can be arrested legally unless he has been caught in an illegal act. Sleeping is seldom considered illegal, even in Puerto Rico. In the company of Paulino Castro, who owns my house and who lives with his family in another house on the same lot, and his son, Luis, I

Reuther, Stellato —

(Continued from page 1)

ing Reuther's "fight" to get defense work in the Detroit plants. It's the slogan, "Detroit is No. 1 atom-bomb target, let's keep it that way!"

A SPECTER HAUNTS

At the recent CIO convention Reuther admitted to the delegates that his efforts to get more defense work in the Detroit area were blocked by the military, which controls the procurement department.

None of these moves makes much sense to the rank and file, who find their jobs disappearing daily. The prospect of 126,000 un-

employed auto workers all winter in Detroit is not a pleasant one. In local unions, agitation for some program of action to relieve their plight continues to grow. One local demanded that Reuther call a city-wide meeting of the unemployed to take up the problem.

To add to Reuther's difficulties, the announcement was made today in Flint, Michigan, that John L. Lewis has been invited to be a speaker at the 15th anniversary celebration of the General Motors strike of February 17, 1937! This move by the anti-Reutherites is loaded with political dynamite for all concerned, including the worried Reuther faction.

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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 other progressive policies.

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

INTERESTED?

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I want to join the ISL.

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An Editorial For the Socialist Youth League The Ban on Shachtman—What Can Be Done?

By BOB MARTINSON

The announcement by the dean of students at the University of California, in the case of Max Shachtman [see page 1], that the attorney general's so-called "subversive list" will now be used on campus as a criterion for clearing speakers came as a rude shock to many students.

This list is recognized by the Senior Editorial Board of the Daily Californian, school newspaper, as "a dangerous, unreliable and unjust guide for the selection of university speakers." Even President Truman, inspirer of the list, has gone on the record against any attempt to extend the list beyond its present use as a guide to the "loyalty" check of federal employees. The Supreme Court recently declared that the procedure behind the list is unconstitutional. Finally, the very idea of such a list is completely contrary to the spirit of free speech so necessary to the defense of democratic rights.

Despite these facts, Dean Stone and the University of California administration have succumbed to the outside pressures of the witch-hunt. Against the advice of the American Civil Liberties Union they have extended the Iron Curtain which is already partly lowered in UC's "Rule 17." In the name of "patriotism" they are moving to choke off all real discussion of what is going on in America today. They are moving toward a system of thought control which has the odor and the taint of Stalinist-type totalitarianism itself.

The Socialist Youth League is the youth group of the Independent Socialist League, whose national chairman, Max Shachtman, was prevented from debating on campus because of the new ruling. It is well known that our organization is a mortal opponent of totalitarian Russia, as of all systems of exploitation and oppression. It is also well known that as a socialist organization we are opposed to capitalism and the present imperialist and anti-democratic foreign policy of the American ruling class.

Our ideas may be right or wrong, as far as the opinions of the students are concerned, but why has the university decided to prevent students from hearing them?

It is not for ourselves alone that we protest. The test of a consistent democrat is not whether he fights merely for his own right to free speech, but whether he goes out on the firing line to defend democratic rights also when the victim is one with whom he politically disagrees. That test the SYL has met many times. How will it be with the students of the University of California?

This Attack Can Be Defeated Too!

We are convinced that socialism and democracy are inseparable. We are convinced that the introduction of the attorney general's list into the American educational system will eat away at the very foundations of academic freedom. If students do not stand up and protest this violation of democracy, then not only free speech but, with it, real education can be throttled.

What can be done? Plenty! The first thing is to get the issue straight: The university's Rule 17 provides that "controversial" subjects can be discussed on campus so long as both sides are represented. To be sure, this rule is broken time and again by the university administration when it invites conservative political spokesmen to speak on campus, but even this reactionary rule has now become too liberal for the administration.

The dean has introduced a new criterion: both sides can be represented so long as one side has not been put on the arbitrary subversive list! It is this infamous criterion which is now the main enemy of democracy in our midst.

Even those who are for the use of the list in government loyalty checks are in duty bound to join in denouncing its use at the University of California.

All students opposed to the use of the list on campus should send representatives from their groups to a united-action committee. Such a committee can unite behind it all the resources of the opposition for a strong and persistent campaign against the list. Such a committee can carry the issue to the public, can invite speakers to real, live off-campus debates, can educate the students on the dangerous character of the dean's policy, and can thus oppose this latest attempt to kill free speech at the university.

Such united action is the need of the day.

What is INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM?

For information and literature about

the Independent Socialist League, write:

114 W. 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.



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READING from LEFT to RIGHT

A CRITICAL LOOK AT LABOR, by Kermit Eby.—Labor and Nation, Fall number.

An excellent article for this usually quite arid magazine, even though many of its themes were handled more brilliantly in C. Wright Mills' book *New Men of Power*. Professor Eby (University of Chicago), formerly CIO educational director, is in fact discussing the labor bureaucracy.

His criticisms are grouped under four charges:
(1) Lack of democratic organization: "... I doubt," he writes at one point, "that there can be real democratic trade-unionism... until these ideas and program find expression in caucus and in political opposition, and until there exists within each union a party in power and an opposition."

(2) "It is my contention that this leadership and this bureaucracy is often corrupted by the mores of the society it would reform.... The

same emphasis on success according to the American pattern dominates. The big leaders of labor move with men of power. They live in the same hotels.... They enjoy, in other words, all the external symbols of success.... They are, then, successful men, not because of that which they have renounced but because of that which they have achieved; and as time passes they are seduced by the mode of life which is so seductive in the circle they copy...."

(3) Their "failure to tolerate self-criticism."

(4) "The contemporary labor movement, moved by its own internal struggles with Communists and identification with the administration's foreign policy, has lost the opportunity of giving leadership to the American people in the choices they have to make today. The labor movement, like many of the economic pressure groups with which it contends, is the beneficiary of an economy stabilized by war and the preparations for war...."

WORLD POLITICS

YUGOSLAVS SLAP SELDES' WRIST FOR ATTACK ON U. S. PRESS

By RICHARD TROY

As we suggested in an article which appeared in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION, the United States receives a better press from the Yugoslav Tito government than from almost anywhere else outside the country. Some of our readers may have been a bit skeptical; and therefore of interest is a recent exchange of articles which appeared in the Yugoslav press.

In the August 15 issue of the *Review of International Affairs*, a fortnightly government magazine published in Yugoslavia in English and French, there appeared an article by the American George Selde, currently a Titoist, dealing with the treatment of Yugoslavia by the American press. The article was written in Selde's regular muckraking style: The American press was largely owned and controlled by, and served the interests of a small, wealthy minority; it distorted the news; kept crucial items from appearing; made up facts, etc. And then he pointed out a number of instances in which the Belgrade government had borne the brunt of the American press monopoly. And this was all well and good.

But apparently Belgrade was not too well pleased. The article might have gone over several years ago when Tito was trying a different course but today things were different. Was it, after all, very discreet for the Yugoslav press to print an article so uncompromisingly to the United States? To insult its Free Press? Certainly it was bad taste. And wasn't it true, too, that the American press had been, of late, rather solicitous to the handsome, debonaire ruler of Yugoslavia? Of course.

The problem was how to atone for this indiscretion and at the same time not offend Selde too much—an old friend, reliable chap. Consequently, in the October 24 issue of the same magazine the former ambassador to the United States, Sava Kosanovic, contributed a "few supplementary remarks" to Selde's article. In these "remarks" Kosanovic does not denounce Selde but he does task him to task for "exaggerating" his claims, "distorting" the picture, etc.

It is really an amazing piece of writing when one considers it in the political context; this is the Titoist line—three years after Kosanovic's immediate concern over Selde's piece is not its accuracy, which he doubts, but its unfortunate effect upon certain European circles which so often misinterpret American events. Selde has not taken into consideration their susceptibilities. He has not presented the full picture; America, in short, must be "understood." "This fault is a well-meaning one," Kosanovic admits, "an error of 'self-criticism,' and one into which progressive men in America are falling time and again... they lapse into exaggerations...."

And then Kosanovic proceeds to his main points: There is some truth to the old witticism that freedom of the press in capitalist countries means freedom for capitalists to publish but... there's more to it than that. Most publishers are rich but, after all, anyone at all can print up handbills, which are cheap, and distribute them. Moreover, the very fact that Selde could publish his own sheet in *Fact* shows... and Kosanovic himself has had many letters of his published in the *New York Times*!

And when the *Times* did not print his epistles there were always certain "small protestant magazines" which saw that they reached the public. So, Selde, don't give the wrong impression. It's not perfect but....

"What the average American citizen wants his press to do for him is to make him feel as being equally well informed on what both parties to an issue are thinking. Of course, it does not always work out that way, but any gaps ultimately reflect themselves upon the press itself!" Selde, you simply don't look closely enough!

A PAT FOR TITO'S DURANTY

And certainly, our Yugoslav analyst tells us, after the 1948 election experience, it is patently absurd to assert that the American press has much sway over the people. And then, if it does sway them... what about "good" reporters such as M. S. Handler of the *Times*?

"It would be unfair," he tells us, "... to overlook the articles of Mr. Handler, the Belgrade correspondent of the *Times*, who, from June 1948, made exceptionally great and conscientious efforts to probe as deeply as possible our problems and to provide the American and world public with fair accounts of the essence of our developments."

And it certainly is a fact that the *Times*' Handler has been to Tito what the *Times*' Walter Duranty once was to Stalin.

The American press is not perfect but, after all, what can one expect? Certainly, partisans of the Yugoslav cause can have little complaint at the increasingly favorable comment since June 1948. And anyone can have some handbills printed up....

Thus the familiar and hackneyed arguments in defense of the American press are trotted out by the Yugoslav government to repudiate one of its "radical" followers who has not changed his views quite rapidly enough to suit the ever-shifting realities of world politics.

There is, of course, another matter which both Selde and Kosanovic forgot to mention: namely, the possibility for any critic of the Yugoslav government to print up handbills and distribute them under the nose of the Titoist apologists for the American lords of the press.... You see, as western admirers of Titoist democracy will tell us, "It's not perfect but..."

N. Y. Socialist Youth League Class—Sunday Evenings at 8 p.m.

The Politics of Independent Socialism

November 25	THE WORLD WE DIDN'T MAKE	Anne Russell
December 2	LEVIATHAN IN CRISIS	Jack Maxwell
December 9	STALINISM: THE ROAD TO 1984	Gertrude Blackwell
December 16	THE WAY TO FREEDOM	Phyllis Hoffman
December 23	DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW SOCIETY	Hal Draper
December 30	THE WAR WE NEEDN'T HAVE	Julie Falk
January 6	WHERE TO BEGIN	Jack Maxwell

At LABOR ACTION HALL, 114 West 14 Street, New York City

Youth and Student Corner

The Independent Stalinists of MR and the Students

By GERTRUDE BLACKWELL and DON HARRIS

The *Monthly Review*, edited by Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman, leaves its reader little doubt as to its political character, even apart from the fact that both Sweezy and Huberman are well-known and long-standing Stalinist fellow traveling intellectuals. While it styles itself on the cover as "an independent socialist magazine," it does in truth mean by this "independent Stalinist." While independent of, and at odds with, the American Communist Party, it identifies Russia with socialism and whitewashes Moscow imperialism while it attacks that of Washington.

One of the things which sets it apart from the CP itself is its editors' wistful desire for, the good old days of the Popular Front line when Stalinists were still able to corral liberals and some socialists to lend authenticity to their fronts. In its wish to revive these halcyon times, it accuses the CP of "sectarianism," not at all understanding that the CP's policy (then as now) is completely determined not by "sectarian" leaders but by the "builders of [Sweezyite] socialism" in Russia.

It is this which is also behind its recent article on "A New Road for Student Socialism," by James Webster in the October issue. The MR tendency has managed to attract to itself a small following of students, especially since the collapse of the various official Stalinist youth groups (the former Wallaceite Young Progressives of America in particular). Most of the elements who now follow MR on campus are ex-supporters of the YPA who now find themselves isolated from other campus tendencies and alienated by the rigid and adventurist line of the Labor Youth League, the official CP youth organization.

Webster calls for a new student unity group which will include "all socialists regardless of their individual political commitments or affiliations." The essence of this is that he wants to see unity between socialists and Stalinists.

To Him It's "Squabbling"!

Webster cites as the obstacle to the building of a socialist student movement the students' fear for their job security in the midst of "anti-red" hysteria. This is certainly true to an important extent, as we have made clear before.

One of the things he does not add is the effect of the relative war-economy prosperity of the country. The "lost generation" of the '30s was faced with economic destitution. They listened eagerly to the solutions proposed by radical groups. Apathy in politics today is at least conditioned by the promise of security and status in a war economy provided one keeps one's mouth shut and one's clean.

More to the point, another circumstance which the MR pro-Stalinists are unable or unwilling to analyze is the effect of Stalinism in destroying the American student movement. Innumerable potential student leaders joined the "progressive movement" and left in disgust and disillusionment when they saw the Stalinists in action. Many were too demoralized by their experience with Stalinism to draw conclusions about changing their politics, but rather dropped political activity.

For Webster, the big devil behind student apathy is "sectarianism." Besides the "sectarianism" of the CP, this is evidenced for him by the existence of several student organizations "squabbling among themselves." The nature of this "squabbling" is not discussed, but its "obvious solution" for Webster is the formation of the proposed unity group.

What he does not discuss is that the "squabbling" is the reflection in the student movement of the division of the world into three camps: capitalism, Stalinism, and that tendency which rejects both imperialist blocs, the Third Camp of socialism and democracy.

It is simply ludicrous to minimize the differences which exist today among (1) Students for Democratic Action, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Young People's Socialist League—SP youth group—all of which to one degree or another support the Western imperialist bloc; (2) the Labor Youth League, YPA and other Stalinist fronts which support the Stalinist camp; and (3) the Socialist Youth League and other anti-war groups which support the Third Camp view.

The gulf which divides these tendencies is based on the most crucial issues of our time. To refer to it in Webster's winged word as "squabbling" manifests at best an unwillingness to deal with the realities of present-day politics, and at worst a scissorbill attitude toward basic political questions.

They Frankly Do Not Understand...

MR's perpetuation of the myth of Stalinist "socialism" has as its corollary its misunderstanding of the American Communist Party. It states: "We find completely unrealistic the view of those who call themselves socialists, yet imagine that socialism can be built on an international scale by fighting it where it already exists. This is the road to war, not to socialism. On the other hand, we do not accept the view that the USSR is above criticism, simply because it is socialist."

This statement called down a stream of invective from the CP hack Alexander Bittelman in the Stalinist organ *Political Affairs*. He characterized it as "the fraudulent and warmongering 'criticize Russia' slogan of the imperialists and of their Trotskyite and Titoite agents." He fulminated: "as to real and honest criticism of shortcomings, who can do it better, who in fact is doing it better, than the peoples, and their leaders, of the Soviet Union itself."

With characteristic humility in the face of this dump-load of filth from the GPU mentality of Bittelman, the MR mildly replied: "We frankly do not understand... Mr. Bittelman's bitter, name-calling attack on MR." It said: "We have no intention of answering Mr. Bittelman in kind. We want no quarrels with opponents of current American ruling-class policies, and least of all those who are in the front line of the struggle."

That, unfortunately, is the kind of thing that MR frankly does not understand, indeed. It does not understand that unconditional defense of the policies of the Kremlin is the first principle of Stalinist politics,

and that any such criticism, however mild, is a violation of the fundamental tenets which are the reason for existence of the CP.

If MR does not comprehend the realities of Stalinist politics, it is equally unaware of the nature of socialist politics. Our own very basic difference with the MR tendency—as with any Stalinist tendency, no matter how "independent" of the local CP bosses—is our view that Russia is not a socialist society, that it is no "kind" of socialist society at all; it is a totalitarian state based upon a reactionary social system and ruling class which has nothing in common with socialism. The nationalization of the means of production in this "bureaucratic collectivism" does not make it socialist. It merely means that the state owns all industry, but who "owns" that state?

The Stalinist parties likewise are not "socialist." A socialist-Stalinist "unity" group could not but falsely represent itself to the student body. This is at bottom also the reason why such a group could not possibly last in practise, since it could not reconcile the cleavage within it which is also the central question of all world politics today.

A Grim Reflection

That is, it could not possibly last unless the hapless non-Stalinists inveigled into it simply capitulating to the Stalinists—in the same way that MR does. And even its basic ideological capitulation does not quite save the MR people from the CP's hatchet. We wonder, in fact, whether Webster thinks the CP's notorious rule-or-ruin policy is an invention of the warmongers....

According to Webster, one of the shortcomings of the student movement of the '30s was its failure to provide young people with a world view, with a socialist outlook. He is clearly quite ignorant of what the student movement of the '30s was really like; but in any case, what world view does MR provide? One which represents a bureaucratic totalitarianism as "socialism," and tries to cover its silence on the Kremlin's slave camps with one-sided attacks on the imperialist rivals of the slave-masters!

A valid interest in socialist theory should at least stimulate a discussion in MR circles as to the disparity between Stalinist reality and the democratic conception of socialism put forward in the Marxist classics. By a serious and honest discussion of these problems MR readers would render a far more profound service to the student movement than by its vague proposals for unity between socialists and totalitarians.

MR characterizes the situation in America today as "grim." Its politics, however, will not serve to alleviate this situation but to strengthen it by providing confusion and demoralization wherever its "solutions" are attempted. The maintenance of the passionate adherence of the MR pseudo-sophisticates to Stalinist Russia is itself a reflection of the grimness of the contemporary political situation.

How much more isolated MR would feel if they had to give up their illusions! The Third Camp cannot offer them the power of the Stalinist state. The only weapons they would have would be the power of the ideas of social emancipation. For MR, however, it is much more comfortable to believe that behind Stalin's prison walls, "socialism" is being built.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

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The Suppression of Marx's Works

It Is Stalin Himself Who Destroys the Legend that Russia Is the

By MAXIMILIEN RUBEL

A tragic fatality seems to hang over the work of Karl Marx; nearly 70 years after his death, more than 50 years after Engels', there still does not exist any complete edition of his writings, though millions of men look forward to it.

As an author who was at first unknown, then toward the end of his career feared and slandered, during his lifetime it was not easy for Marx to find a publisher with enough courage and understanding to print him. Engels, who survived his friend by 12 years, spent the better part of his time in deciphering and organizing the numerous manuscripts which Marx left, in order to put together Volumes II and III of *Capital*, but it was not given him to realize his dearest desire: to publish the complete works of Marx and write his biography.

After Engels' death, this role seemed to devolve upon Eleanor Marx Aveling, Marx's youngest daughter; she had already published some of her father's English writings when her suicide interrupted the task she had begun.

Neither did the German Social-Democratic Party, which had inherited Marx and Engels' papers, carry out the wish which the latter had expressed before he died; Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein, who had been intimate with Engels, were set at loggerheads by the dispute over revisionism, and this prevented their association for the joint task. It was through fragments and individual initiatives, in the period from the death of Engels (1895) to the First World War, that some of Marx's many important manuscripts were rescued from oblivion.

When the Russian Revolution of 1917 came, the question rose: Was it finally going to bring out the posthumous work of the two founders of scientific socialism? Was flesh and blood finally going to clothe the idea of a complete and definitive edition, so long and so ardently awaited by the socialists of the whole world?

The Fate of Riazanov

It was D. Riazanov who assumed this task in the new Russia; and he was brilliantly qualified for it by his past work and experience as a researcher. That which Western socialism had neglected to do, although it possessed all the necessary means for such an enterprise, Bolshevism henceforth considered to be its duty to achieve.

Here is the biographical notice under Riazanov in the name-index of Volume 7 of Lenin's *Complete Works*, in the French translation of 1928:

"RIAZANOV, D. B. (Born 1870). One of the oldest Russian Social-Democrats. A little after 1890, took part in the organization of the first workers' circles of Odessa. Five years of prison; three years of close surveillance; then emigrated. Tried to conciliate the tendency of the first *Iskra* with economicism; was one of the founders of the *Borba* (Struggle) group. During the 1905 revolution, devoted himself to trade-union organization in Odessa and St. Petersburg. Had to emigrate again, and actively worked in the socialist movement of the West. Was assigned by the German Social-Democracy to study the literary heritage of Marx and Engels and the history of the First International; internationalist (centrist) during the war. Returned to Russia in 1917, joined the Bolshevik Party, took part in the preparations for the October insurrection. One of the organizers of the Communist Academy of Moscow, and of the Marx-Engels Institute; he is at present the director of the latter. Member of the Soviet Executive Committee."

Alas! Three years after the appearance of this notice, Riazanov was thrown out of his post as director of the Marx-Engels Institute, which he had founded in 1922. Without anything being divulged as to the reasons for this fall into disgrace, without any public trial or judgment, Riazanov had been arrested and deported. There are only unclear indications of how he met his end. (It would seem that he lived at Saratov for a while and died on the eve of the Second World War. Boris Souvarine reports that Riazanov was implicated in the so-called "Menshevik affair" but was kept out of the trial, where he doubtless would have defended himself instead of confessing.)

"The Greatest Marxist Scholar"

In 1930, one year before his dismissal, Riazanov had been officially feted on the occasion of his 60th birthday and proclaimed the greatest Marxist scholar of the epoch. The Socialist Academy had celebrated this event fittingly by publishing a 650-page volume to pay homage to the eminent Marxist scholar. The German-Russian magazine *Under the Banner of Marxism* had devoted an enthusiastic article to him, beginning:

"Initiator of a large number of studies on the genesis, development and spread of Marxism; author of the best known of the biographical sketches of Marx and Engels; discoverer and publisher of several hundred writings by

(1) In 1902 Franz Mehring published, in three volumes, some of the forgotten or unpublished works and writings of Marx and Engels dating from the years 1841-1850: *Aus dem Literarischen Nachlass* (From the Literary Remains); Kautsky published Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* from the manuscripts; Bernstein and Bebel put out the four volumes of the *Marx Engels Correspondence*; in 1917 D. Riazanov issued Marx and Engels' *Political Works* of 1852-1855 (articles in American, English and German periodicals). There was also the publication of the *Letters of Marx and Engels* to F. A. Sorge (1906).

Translated from *Preuves* (Paris), September and October issues.

them from the manuscripts; editor of the great Russian edition of their works and of the complete international edition; director of the Marx-Engels Institute; editor of three scientific journals devoted to the study of Marxism; finally, the inspirer of a still growing number of research specialists, Riazanov fixed the objective, the course and the methods of Marxist scholarship and at the same time created the conditions for a systematic and methodical organization of Marxist scholarship and its development."

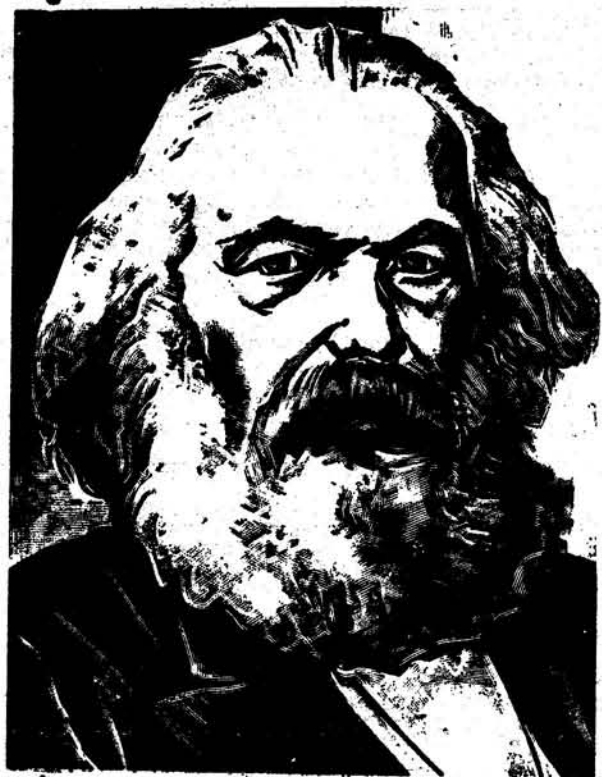
To understand the full extent of the work which Riazanov accomplished in the course of his eight years of activity at the Marx-Engels Institute, we can say—weighing every word carefully—that it was thanks to the efforts and competence of this scholar that Russia today possesses, to the exclusion of all other countries, the totality of the materials, documents and manuscripts indispensable to the realization of an historical and critical edition of the works of Marx and Engels.

Roundup in Europe

In 1922 Riazanov submitted the plan for this edition to the Soviet government. The latter approved the project and granted the funds necessary to execute it. From 1923 to 1925 Riazanov, surrounded by a team of carefully chosen research men, threw himself with extraordinary energy into the research for all the materials to be used in realizing the projected edition.

In the course of his many trips to the Western European countries, he proceeded to acquire several private libraries containing extremely rare books and collections, bearing upon the history of the working-class and socialist movement—notably, all the first editions of the works of Marx and Engels. Thus, at the institute which he directed, he set up the "Marx-Engels Room," the only one of its kind. But it was above all the archives of the institute which made up its principal treasure: they were the basis for the definitive edition which he had conceived.

The German Social-Democratic Party, which held Marx and Engels' literary heritage, was Riazanov's principal source: It opened its archives to the Russian Marxist scholar and authorized him to make any photo-



KARL MARX

copies he wished. In this way the Moscow institute was able to come into possession of the whole of this heritage.

The same facilities were accorded him by several other institutions and libraries, public and private; he was able to make photo-copies at the British Museum, the New York Public Library, the Prussian State Library, the Historical Archives of Cologne, etc., of letters and manuscripts by Marx and Engels relating to their career. Eduard Bernstein, who still had important manuscripts by Marx, welcomed Riazanov's projects in the best way by giving up his own plans for publication. (Bernstein had the manuscript for *The German Ideology*.)

In 1925 Riazanov concluded an agreement in the

(2) In his *Memoirs* Gustav Mayer reports that he learned in October 1931 that Riazanov had been kicked out of his post for having chosen his collaborators on the basis of their scientific competence, without worrying about their political opinions.

(3) The publications plan established by Riazanov included, among other things, the complete works of Karl Kautsky in 21 volumes.

name of the Moscow institute with the leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party and with the Sociology Society directed at Frankfurt by Professor Karl Grünberg. From this resulted the establishment of a publication association which immediately put out the first work of the Marx-Engels Archive: it was a volume of more than 500 pages containing important philosophical and historical contributions by Russian scholars (Deborin, Volgin), as well as the beginning of a *History of the First International* from the pen of Riazanov. Among the unpublished documents figured the first part of the manuscript of *The German Ideology* and the exchange of letters between Marx and Vera Zasulich.

The MEGA Project

Here, too, one can find the detailed plan for the definitive edition of the works of Marx and Engels, the famous MEGA, the *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (Collected Works).

It was to comprise 42 volumes, 8vo, divided into four sections: (I) Philosophical, economic, historical and political works, with the exception of *Capital*—17 volumes. (II) *Capital*, after an entirely new plan, based on the numerous and voluminous manuscripts of Marx's which remained unpublished—13 volumes. (III) All the correspondence of Marx and Engels, reproduced word for word in full—10 volumes. (IV) General index—2 volumes.

Each section was entrusted to specialized editors, assisted by several experts who had long experience with Marx and Engels' handwriting, a necessary preparation in order to decipher the rough drafts and letters.

Of these projected 42 volumes, Riazanov was able to publish only five between 1926 and 1930, three of them containing the correspondence between Marx and Engels. But the introductions, the critical and historical notes which enriched these volumes testified to the extent of his erudition and the wealth of his experience, built by 30 years of work in the service of Marxist scholarship.

One cannot say as much of his successor, V. Adoratsky, director of the State Archives, who had no qualifications to carry through the project. But it was under his "editorship" that there were published, from 1931 to 1935, six more volumes of the MEGA, whose texts had already been established and prepared by Riazanov and his collaborators. It was this man who took over the directorship of the institute founded by Riazanov, which was then rebranded the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.

We have already spoken of the death of Riazanov. As for the fate of the publications put out by him, we need unfortunately cherish no illusions, knowing the system of posthumous obliteration practised by the inquisitors who obey Stalin's orders.

Liquidation of the MEGA

As to the fate of the volumes which appeared during the ephemeral reign of Adoratsky, we can also only speculate. In any case, after Riazanov's liquidation in 1931 and the stoppage of his project in 1935, the indications become more and more plentiful of the definite abandonment, in "Marxist" Russia, of the definitive edition of the works of Marx and Engels.

The liquidation of the past was carried through in several stages, and here again one recognizes the characteristic style of the Stalinist methods: expulsion of Riazanov and his best collaborators; progressive elimination of every trace of their names and activities from subsequent publications; then a complete halt in the publication of the MEGA, involving the destruction of the volumes already printed; disappearance of these volumes from Russian and foreign libraries; finally, the purging of the works of Marx and Engels, by means of so-called "popular" editions which eliminate every scholarly characteristic. This purge is visible in the original-language editions as well as in the texts put out in a Russian version, as we shall see below.

Thus, little by little, the MEGA, a scientific and complete work, is replaced by a series of isolated publications, sometimes put out in periodicals, without any over-all plan. At the same time Marx and Engels' works are "Russified"—the unpublished manuscripts are put out exclusively in Russian. The way in which these various publications are issued (commentaries are sometimes lacking, sometimes so laconic as to be almost ridiculous) shows how upset and scared are the men charged with this task. That is because, most often, every page of a Marx or Engels text contains, as if by anticipation, a

(4) From 1940 on, his name disappeared from all the publications of the Marx-Engels Institute. He died in 1945.

(5) The public or private libraries which own the entire series of volumes of the MEGA can be counted on the fingers of one hand. To study these 41 volumes, for example in Paris, the researcher must go to several libraries and resort to the good will of private lenders. This note must include an urgent appeal to all scientific institutions in the West to inventory and reproduce (by photocopies or microfilming) the works and documents put out in Russia, and now put on the forbidden index by the Russian police—a first and necessary step toward the publication of a MEGA worthy of Marx's genius.

(6) Thus the *Marx-Engels Correspondence* (4 vols., Ring-Verlag, Zurich, 1936); the *Letters to Bebel, Liebknecht, Kautsky, etc.* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1933); for the 40th anniversary of Engels' death in 1935, a volume in the MEGA series but as a "separate publication," with *Anti-Dühring*, the *Dialectics of Nature*, and various unpublished works. In 1940 two volumes with the economic manuscripts of Marx from 1857-58—volumes which have a rather gloomy existence, since they cannot be found in any of the great libraries of Europe.

Works in Stalinist Russia

'Land of Marxism' and Stalin Is the Political Heir of Karl Marx

condemnation of the police-and-slave regime installed by Stalin in the name of "Marxism."

There in brief is the tragic fate of the project undertaken so brilliantly by Riazanov, and under the auspices of the "Marxist state" liquidated by Stalin, the "genial disciple of Marx." Riazanov, who was so severe in his judgments upon the way in which the leadership of the German Social-Democracy had taken care of the literary heritage of Marx and Engels, could never have foreseen how his dream of a definitive edition of their works had even less chance of being realized in Stalin's "land of socialism" than in any capitalist country.

The Definitive Break

Unfortunately, the end of Riazanov's project has a still more serious side, with incalculable consequences for any future attempt of this kind.

At the time of the triumph of Nazism in Germany, the archives of the Social-Democratic Party could only be partially saved and put away in a safe place. The principal place of deposit today is the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam; when the latter publishes an inventory of its archives, its importance will be appreciated. But as of now, it is likely that this institute does not have all of the materials photocopied or acquired by Riazanov for the Moscow institute. The latter, then, is the only one which at present possesses the posthumous work of Marx and Engels; and thus Stalin has the key to any project aiming at recommencing or continuing Riazanov's enterprise.

Doubtless it would be possible to bring together the materials and documents still accessible in the great cultural centers of Western Europe and the U. S.; but it is to be feared that the definitive edition of the writings of Marx and Engels, like any organization of scientific research in the field of Marxist scholarship and socialist and working-class history, can never be completed as long as the archives of the Moscow institute remain inaccessible.

More than any other development in Russia since the triumph of Stalin, the destruction of Riazanov's work marks the definitive break between the regime installed by the "Marxist" dictator and the genuinely Marxist sources, which were respected during Lenin's lifetime. . . .

The Posthumous Purge Of Karl Marx

A significant fact must be recognized before beginning any inquiry into the Russian-language edition of the works of Marx and Engels: none of the great libraries of Western Europe can boast of possessing all the volumes of this edition—which comprised 29 volumes, in 1947 according to an official Russian source. The researcher or reader, stopped by the Iron Curtain, despairs of satisfying his curiosity either in the libraries of his own country or by way of purchase. He must become a pilgrim and explore the intellectual capitals of several Western countries; in this way he will finally succeed in bringing together 27 volumes, including those which were published under Riazanov.

What is the reason for this state of affairs, shown by the inaccessibility of the Russian edition of the works of Marx and Engels?

Like the definitive German edition projected by Riazanov, the Russian edition has its tragic history. . . .

After Riazanov was cashiered and expelled from the Marx-Engels Institute of Moscow, it was under the editorship of V. Adoratsky that the volumes of the Russian edition were published, as were those of the German edition, beginning with 1932. The new editor's timid introductions, lacking in all scientific interest and value, are due for oblivion; as for their author, neither his prudence nor his ritualistic genuflections before Lenin and Stalin saved him from disgrace. Let us remember besides that in spite of their mediocre presentation, the volumes which we can consult often surpass in interest the analogous editions produced outside of Russia, thanks to the wealth of the archives amassed by Riazanov in the course of his work at the Marx-Engels Institute. But, has this wealth been divulged without dissimulation or reservation?

Marx vs. Stalin

To answer this question, let us open Volume XI, Book I, which appeared in 1933. Its title page says: *Articles and Correspondence from 1856 to 1859.*

A close examination shows that all of the known writings of Marx and Engels of these dates do indeed appear in the volume, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE WORK FROM KARL MARX'S PEN.

(7) The libraries which we visited in the course of this inquiry were: all the public libraries of Paris, including of course the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine; the British Museum in London; and the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam. We would be very grateful to anyone who can tell us of the existence of these volumes in any other libraries, public or private, accessible to a researcher on this side of the Iron Curtain.

It is his *Disclosures on the History of Diplomacy in the 18th Century*, which he published in the form of 11 articles in the London *Free Press*, from August 16, 1856 to April 5, 1857, reprinted in 1899 (by Eleanor Marx Aveling under the title of *The Secret Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*).

This crying omission can be attributed neither to the ignorance nor carelessness of the editors, but is evidently by deliberate intent.

If we seek an explanation in the introduction by V. Adoratsky, we find that no mention is made of Marx's 11 articles. In other words, no reason is given for the pure-and-simple suppression of the most important work which the author of *Capital* ever devoted to the political history of Russia.

The heavy silence which surrounds this work of Marx's amounts to a confession. In fact, the analysis which Marx gives of Russian politics and diplomacy, from Ivan "Kolita" to the Romanovs, is diametrically opposed to all of the self-styled "Marxist" historiography of Russia. In particular, it annihilates the national mystique set up under Stalin's ukase, from 1931 on, after the physical and moral liquidation of the historical school of Pokrovsky.

To grasp the whole bearing of this dispute, it would be necessary to devote a comparative study to present the salient chapters of Russian history as put forward



FREDERICK ENGELS

in the official textbooks and place them side by side with the words of Marx on the same subjects. The result would be striking, for it is no exaggeration to say that almost every sentence of Marx is a verdict of condemnation against the Stalinist historiography which is today imposed on Russia by lies and assassination.

Reduced to its simplest expression, Stalinist historiography tends toward the glorification of the annexationist and expansionist politics of czarism, either as a partner or a rival of Western powers, and invests it with full historical title as laying the groundwork for socialism, as in the case of "bourgeois democracy." Czarist autocracy and bourgeois democracy appear thenceforth, in this conception of history, as two equivalent political forms in their relationship to the socialist revolution, on the same "plane" of social evolution.

Better still: In Russian historiography, it is the East, most particularly Russia, which appears in retrospect in the brightest colors, as if charged with the mission of emancipating humanity.

Distort or Repudiate?

It can immediately be seen that this way of conceiving the process of historical development is antipodally opposed to all the historical, sociological and political conceptions of Marx. And so we can easily understand the reason for the suppression in the Russian edition of a text by Marx which, if it had been published in 1933 at the same time that Stalin's decree had inaugurated a cult of the national grandeur of czarism, would have been like a voice from the tomb rising above the patriotic clamor of the glorious past of the fatherland.

The 1933 turn took place one year after the appearance of the volume, in the Russian edition, which still contained (it would have been difficult to do otherwise) hundreds of letters and articles written by Marx and

(8) To anticipate a legitimate objection: There is no question here of saying that Marx's historical views are immune to criticism. Correct or incorrect, they must be made available for the consideration of any historian concerned with objective judgment. . . . Riazanov had no difficulty in submitting the *Disclosures* to a critical examination and rejecting certain of Marx's ideas, in his pamphlet *Karl Marx über den Ursprung der Vorherrschaft Russlands in Europa, 1800*. . . .

Engels on the Eastern question in the 1850s, on the Russo-Turkish war and on the Crimean war. In these numerous pages, czarist Russia was denounced and furiously scourged as the principal enemy of democracy and of the revolution in the West, as a "barbaric and Asiatic" power menacing civilization.

In truth, until then Stalinist historiography had not been specifically formed; it was still seeking its road. Thenceforth, two roads opened before it: either purge Marx and Engels as if they were historians in Russia, or else proceed to the open refutation of their teachings. They began at first with the first method, and this was the reason for the sleight of hand with Marx's *Disclosures*. But inevitably it was embarrassing, for historians like Stalin and the editors of Marx and Engels' works, when they continually bumped into new texts pillorying the Russian autocracy and its expansionist policies!

Then came the Second World War. The line followed by Stalin, who had been up to yesterday the irreconcilable enemy of Hitler, corresponded dismally to the worst traditions of czarism; the invasion of Poland and the attack on Finland by the "red" armies was like an exact reproduction of the crimes of the czarist autocracy which Marx and Engels had so indefatigably denounced.

It was then that Stalin saw himself compelled to break his silence and undertake a move which none of his lackeys had dared, for fear of being stricken off the lists of the living: this was the open disavowal of the conceptions which Marx and Engels had invariably put forward on the foreign policy of czarism!

Engels on Czarism

This "historic" step was taken by Stalin in May 1941 (a few weeks before Hitler's "betrayal" of his ally in invading Russia). It took the form of a "Letter" published in *Bolshevik*, the theoretical organ of the CP, especially directed toward the education of the cadres.

Stalin's "Letter" on the "Foreign Policy of Czarism" used as its particular butt an article written by Engels in 1890 for the Russian Marxists. This text of Engels' was a regular indictment of Muscovite diplomacy, the "modern Jesuit order" which recruited its members among foreign adventurers and which stopped at nothing—perjury, corruption, assassination—to achieve its ends.

"This secret society," wrote Engels, "lacking all scruples but full of talent," contributed more than all the Russian armies to the expansion of the frontiers of Russia from the Dnieper and the Dvina up to the Vistula, and from the Prut, the Danube and the Black Sea up to the Don and the Volga. . . . It had succeeded in "making Russia an immense country, powerful and formidable, and opening up for it a road toward the domination of the world." Engels' piece was at the same time a bitter polemic against Western diplomacy (particularly against Gladstone) which he charged with being the constant dupe of Russian diplomacy. Finally, in concluding, the author maintained that unless there were a complete overthrow of the system of government in Russia—specifically, a bourgeois revolution with the aim of a constituent assembly—the socialist revolution could not triumph in the West. The existence of the Russian autocracy made inevitable a world war of unheard-of violence, thus blocking the road to social progress.

Death of a Legend

It was these statements by Engels which Stalin, at a decisive moment of his political career, denied in what he modestly called a "Letter."

As a corrective to the official ideology, the Genial Boss simultaneously presented and imposed a view which, if it did not apotheosize czarism, at least apologized for it and its imperialist diplomacy. He derided Engels' "naïveté," his foolishness in confusing morals with politics; he reproached him for ignoring British imperialism and its role in the events which subsequently ended in the First World War. Against the West, Stalin defended the politics of the czarist conquests, "which were not at all the czars' monopoly."

Pretending to direct his criticism only against Engels, Stalin in reality was attacking Marx himself, who (as Engels said in the same article) continually struggled against the Russian autocracy. For the first time the master of Russia cited the sacred texts not to utilize them or exploit them but openly to contradict them!

It is, then, Stalin himself who undertook to destroy the legend which the Communist Parties in the Western countries are compelled to believe—the legend that today's Russia is "the land of Marxism" and its dictator the spiritual heir of Karl Marx.

(9) Ten years later, we see the attack on Engels renewed: this time by F. I. Kozhevnikov, who went so far as to justify all the annexations accomplished by czarism over the centuries. This article appeared in the magazine *Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo* for December 12, 1950, and it is entitled "Engels on Russian Diplomacy in the 18th Century." The czarist annexations, including those of the peoples of the Caucasus, were "progressive" since they meant the union of these peoples with the Russian people and not with czarism!—We can point to another typical example of an expurgation of Marxism: In the article by E. Tarlé on the history of Anglo-Russian relations (in the *Karl Marx über den Ursprung der Vorherrschaft Russlands in Europa, 1800*), the name of Marx is never mentioned—author of *Capital*.

ISL Letter to UC Denounces Use of Subversive List

Dean Stone
University of California

Our attention has been called to the fact that Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, was barred from speaking on the campus of the University of California in a debate with Francis Herrick, Mills College professor of recent British history, on the British elections. While Mr. Herrick was approved as a speaker in this debate, we learn that your office vetoed Mr. Shachtman as his opponent.

According to the *Daily Californian*, student campus paper, you based your veto on the ground that the Students Forum Council did not follow Rule 17 of the school in arranging this debate. We understand that Rule 17 requires that "persons speaking on highly controversial issues may not speak on campus unless two or more sides of the issue are presented and unless the chairman of some university department agrees to sponsor the event" (*Daily Californian*).

The editorial board of this student paper denied your allegation and asserted that all the necessary procedures were followed to the letter. The board further states that any investigation of Shachtman's qualifications was taken out of the hands of the Students Forum Council by you on the ground that you would make such an investigation yourself.

Yet on the following day of November 13, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in reporting your refusal to permit Mr. Shachtman to participate in the aforementioned debate, at which time he would have spoken in defense of the British Labor Party, quotes you as saying:

"The student organizations vio-

lated university rules in that they invited the speakers before the required university approval for a speaker on the campus.

"Shachtman is national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, which is listed as subversive by the attorney general. Aside from whatever Mr. Shachtman's personal qualifications may be, we would not knowingly invite any officer of an organization declared to be subversive by official government sources to speak on the campus."

We protest and challenge your right to employ the attorney general's discredited list of subversive organizations as a means of deciding whether or not a person may speak on campus of the University of California after a duly recognized student organization has followed the rules of the school in arranging any kind of meeting for such a person.

The attorney general's list has no legal standing in any court of the United States. It has already been ruled out as evidence in court on several occasions on the ground that it is a self-serving list, prepared by the attorney general on the basis of an executive order which did not follow proper legal and democratic procedures.

LIST DISCREDITED

The Supreme Court of the United States has directed the Department of Justice to alter its procedures and stated that it had no right to put organizations on such a proscribed list without granting such organizations the right of a hearing, the opportunity to examine alleged evidence presented against them, and the opportunity to legally challenge the attorney general's action.

In the construction of such a list, the attorney general violated

every precept of democracy. The list was drawn up in secret. None of the organizations listed, most of them Communist Party or affiliated to it and with whom we have not the slightest thing in common, was ever advised that the attorney general's office was investigating them. No evidence was ever presented to them. No hearings were ever held, and none permitted, on the specious ground that the executive order under which the list was drawn did not provide for hearings! In other words, no organization has the right to challenge the attorney general's Index based upon hearsay evidence, informers' reports and self-serving declarations of sundry unknown individuals.

Yet it is this monstrous procedure and this hideous edifice which you endorse and support in accepting the attorney general's list as an Index in determining who shall or shall not speak on the campus of the University of California.

SPURIOUS EXCUSE

It may interest you to know that the Independent Socialist League has repeatedly requested the attorney general's office to hold a hearing of its case, but without success. Thus, we have been deprived of the opportunity to challenge his action in an effort to remove our name from the list, and to show that the attorney general erred in his decision.

The spurious excuses, given by the attorney general for his conduct are many, but none so miserable as the one which declares that the list was drawn up solely and exclusively for governmental use, and that his office could not be held responsible for the way in which private industry, private or public institutions and organi-

zations at large might misuse this list. Your own action is only additional evidence of the reactionary and harmful results of the attorney general's action.

You say you will "not knowingly invite any officer of an organization declared to be subversive by official government sources to speak on the campus." We understand this to mean that you accept as true and correct anything that emanates from government sources, just because it is a government source. If that is true, then it is an entirely new concept of democracy and one which we find it hard to believe you and your associates take seriously. If the government has erred in an anti-democratic and bureaucratic way then it is your task as an official of a university not to endorse it but to fight against it.

TO TEACH DEMOCRACY

As dean of a state university which claims as one of its goals the teaching of the real meaning of democracy, it is incumbent upon you to act in accordance with those precepts, particularly when your own Rule 17 says: "The university recognizes a responsibility to invite or approve the inviting of qualified outside speakers on important public problems, including religious and political problems, for the purpose of promoting the intellectual development of its students and preparing them for intelligent participation in society."

Do you, Mr. Stone, believe that your action in barring Mr. Shachtman from participating in a debate on the British elections conforms to the above-quoted statement of your school's aims?

The Independent Socialist League is exactly what its name implies—an independent, socialist,

educational organization, disseminating the ideas of socialism wherever possible. Though its views are not popularly accepted today, it is known throughout the labor movement as the most consistent and principled opponent of Stalinism and Stalinist Russia, on the grounds of its Marxian socialist views. Its spokesman in the present case, Max Shachtman, is regarded in the labor movement as an authority on Marxian theory, socialist politics and history. He is an outstanding publicist and speaker and widely known as such, here and abroad. Therefore, as to his qualifications, there can be no doubt whatever.

Under the circumstances, we regard your decision to prevent our national chairman from speaking on campus of the University of California in defense of the British Labor Party as an anti-democratic action, inconsistent with your own expressed views. We believe it to be a part of the reactionary hysteria which is now rampant in the educational institutions of the country, and a totally unwarranted use of the attorney general's list of alleged subversive organizations.

The gravest aspect of your action is that it fortifies the drive against free inquiry and objective thinking on the part of students and enforces the demand for conformity—the road to intellectual sterility. It takes away from the student the right and opportunity to judge for himself on the basis of hearing many sides of a question.

We therefore ask that you rescind your action in the matter and permit Max Shachtman to speak in the debate on the British elections with Professor Herrick.

Yours very truly,
Albert GATES
Secretary

Students Protest Ban on Max Shachtman—

(Continued from page 1)
had not been carried out in the case of Shachtman. The answer was not long in coming. . . .

In the meantime, opposition to the dean's arbitrary action grew and letters of protest from many sections of the student body appeared in the paper. The students sensed the heavy hand of the political censor in the administration building and they didn't like it.

The general attitude was: "He must be all right, Stone has banned him!" Few knew who Shachtman was but everyone opposed, almost automatically, this bureaucratic intervention into the democratic life of the university community.

As examples of student opinion might be cited Dave Birenbaum, ex-managing editor of the *Daily Californian*, who submitted that "it is certainly a relief to discover that I won't be subjected to the excruciating horror to having both sides of a question laid bare before me," or the ex-president of the student body, Peter Goldschmidt, who demanded "Let there be light." Two students wrote in: "Is the dean attempting to act as a Father-Censor?"

STALINISTS ON SPOT

Other remarks of a more unprintable character went the rounds but the sum and substance of the student reaction to the notorious dean of students (that "unhappy" man), is perhaps indicated in this gem submitted by an unknown genius: "All Dean Stone ever proves is that if he understood the proper function of education in general, and a uni-

versity education in particular, he would be much more bitterly opposed to them than he is."

The pro-Shachtman feeling at the university is partly due to the political position of the Socialist Youth League. Almost all of the advanced political students know the politics of independent socialism through LABOR ACTION, the *Student Socialist* and the many Sather Gate meetings held by the Socialist Youth League.

The Students for Democratic Action jumped into the affair immediately. The local Young Peoples' Socialist League, despite its "third camp" politics, hung back and did nothing.

The Stalinist Labor Youth League, after gnawing its knuckles for a few days, was obliged to bend the party line on Trotskyists (aren't they still agents of fascism?) by coming to the defense of "the clearly anti-Communist Shachtman." The LYL discovered that "students have been indicating that no matter what they may think of Shachtman's views, they want him to speak on campus." And "a stand for his right to speak on campus is a direct fight against the 'subversive' criteria of rejecting speakers."

The contemptuous attitude of most students toward the decrepit functionary Stone is only matched by the dean's cynical indifference to all the burning problems of student life. On Wednesday night, before the ASUC executive committee meeting, Dean Stone passed out typewritten copies of his decision and the reasons therefor. Then, turning to the student members of the government, he stated "not-so-sweetly" that he didn't "want to be submitted to cross-examination or debate on this question."

This after he had given to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the previous day, a statement which annulled all rules set up by the administration up to that time concerning the criteria for admitting speakers on campus!

The student representatives merely wish to find out what the rules are? Never mind—no discussion! The political philosophy of the university administration, having become progressively more reactionary ever since the loyalty-oath defeat, can finally be summed up in one brief word: *Verboten!* No better figure could be found to propound it than the unctuous, provincial bureaucrat who occupies the high office of dean of students.

INVENTING A RULE

The headlines in Thursday's *Daily Californian* indicated that the dean's action was well understood: "Stone Verifies Subversive List Use." Here was the new criterion for selecting speakers! No discussion had proceeded its adoption. No one even knew of its existence. In the high-handed and arbitrary manner of a Stalinist functionary, the dean of students, forced into a quick decision by the protest to the Shachtman ban, heads down the "line" from the brass above: the subversive list of the attorney general.

That "little list" had come a long way since President Truman submitted an executive order to his attorney general. "The president is 'merely' interested in cleansing the government apparatus of 'disloyal' elements," sang even liberals. The list was defended by all the well-meaning democrats on the grounds of expediency in the face of the "threat" of spies, saboteurs, etc. Despite everything politics takes its own revenge. The liberals stand face to face, finally, with the Frankenstein monster which they themselves helped to create. The subversive list is to become an officially recognized criterion of "the world's largest university."

In the meantime the question of Max Shachtman's debate had continued to excite comment. Various living groups asked that the debate take place under their sponsorship.

Finally Friday's *Daily Californian* appeared with a front-page announcement that the Shachtman-Herrick debate would go on under the auspices of the university YMCA, Wesley Foundation, Barrington Hall and Cloyne Court. Robert A. Brady had accepted the job of moderator.

This was a scarcely concealed slap in the face for the administration. Four neutral but important off-campus student groups had decided that the debate must be presented. In the interests of democracy they wished to give students the right to decide for themselves on the merits of the British question. Stone's arbitrary and stupid maneuver will give Shachtman a larger audience than he would have received otherwise.

The issue created by the dean's ban will continue to haunt the university long after Shachtman has left. The prospect is clear: the second round of the battle begun with the introduction of the loyalty oath opens with the announcement of the use of the subversive list as a criterion for admission of on-campus speakers. The dean is more careful than the president of the University of Ohio—he insists on a criterion!

The Senior Editorial Board of the *Daily Californian* recognized the crucial character of this issue by coming out boldly on Friday with a front-page editorial denouncing the use of the list. This editorial reads in part:

"The newly announced university policy decision to keep officers and members of organizations listed by the attorney general from speaking on campus indicates to us complete disregard of the proper function of a university."

It goes on to indict the list as "a dangerous, unreliable and unjust guide for the selection of university speakers," and ends by warning "university policy makers to bear in mind the fact that this is still the University of California—not the Uniformity of California."

Thus opens the second great battle for freedom of speech and academic freedom at the University of California. The first round ended in a defeat for the faculty; if Dean Stone is to go unchallenged the second round will end in defeat for the students. The case of Max Shachtman will be the opening gun in the struggle to introduce the subversive list as an official criterion into the American educational system.

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