

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

APRIL 5, 1954

FIVE CENTS

A Foreign Policy for the ADA

... page 3

Recession Rolls Over California

... page 7

Issues Before UAW Conference

... page 2

Washington's 2 Faces

Scorpion Pass Vs. Kibya

By AL FINDLEY

Last week Jordanian armed men ambushed a bus at Scorpion Pass in the Negev area of Israel and barbarically massacred eleven men, women and children. This attack is the most atrocious Arab act in the long series of border clashes between Israelis and Arabs.

Next to the Kibya scandal—in which an armed group of Israelis attacked Jordanian villages and in Kibya killed 46 people, including women and children—it is the most reprehensible event in the story.

As could be expected, Israel demanded an immediate condemnation of Jordan in the Mixed Armistice Committee and expected great-power denunciation of the dastardly act. Neither of these was forthcoming. Instead the U. S. State Department "regretted" the incident and said it would await "investigation."

The investigation took place and the U. S. representative voted that the case had not been proved. From a strict juridical point of view there can be no doubt that a court of law would not convict a person on the available evidence. To take such a legalistic point of view in political matters means in effect to make the work of the Mixed Armistice Commission impossible.

CONTRAST

The Israelis therefore walked out of the MAC. In these matters there is rarely sufficient evidence to convict if one goes by the rules of evidence followed in an Anglo-Saxon courtroom. There was no such evidence even in the Kibya case.

The contrast between American official reaction in the Scorpion Pass case and in the Kibya affair will be drawn both in the Near East and all over the world. Some Arab extremists may use the failure of the UN to assess the blame promptly to encourage new killings and new attacks. Some Israeli extremists may use it to urge repetitions of the Kibya retaliatory attacks. Some Jews all over the world may fall for the explanation offered by Ben-Gurion that "Jewish blood is cheaper than Arab blood."

Menachem Beigin, leader of the Heirut party in Israel and former commander of the terrorist Irgun, found it necessary

(Continued on page 7)

Between Two Hell-Bomb Blasts, Dulles Speech Threatens War

By BERNARD CRAMER

Secretary of State Dulles' speech on Indo-China and China on Tuesday was an answer to two problems: (1) to undercut the forthcoming Geneva Conference in order to make sure that it is as futile as Washington desires it to be; and (2) to allay the suspicion among the Republican right-wing critics of the Eisenhower policy that the U. S. representatives might make concessions in exchange for a Korean or Indo-Chinese settlement.

The one problem which it did not answer, and only exacerbated, is the problem of how to ease the Far East tension. That happens also to be the only problem the rest of the world is interested in.

In anticipation of a conference to which America's own allies look for some easement, Dulles came out with a statement which came the closest yet to threatening full-scale U. S. participation in extending the Indo-China war, and with a flat closing

of the door in advance to consideration of Peiping's recognition

To take the latter aspect first, there have been few examples of shiftier doubletalk. Now LABOR ACTION does not at all share the view of the strong "neutralist" currents of Europe that recognition of the de-facto Stalinist regime in China is desirable in order to appease or conciliate it. We think such an approach, which is rife from the Bevanites in England to the Stalinoids in France and Italy, is based on illusions about Stalinism, or illusions about the ability of that talking-shop, the UN, to cement peace if only China were added. All that is true, but something else is true too. As we have said:

"But while China's admission to the UN (or for that matter, its recognition by the U. S. government) would solve nothing by itself, the contrary policy of keeping out the Peiping regime by every species of threat and cajolery is quite another matter.

"This policy of exclusion is based four-square on Washington's continuing ties to Chiang; it has meaning only as part of the U. S. policy of relying on reactionaries everywhere for its allies; it gives the Russians a powerful and even legitimate lever of propaganda on its own behalf; it convinces all the peoples of the world that the U. S. is not interested in peace but in using the UN for its own devices and blocs."

ON RECOGNIZING DESPOTS

In his own way Dulles' speech confirmed this analysis of the China-recognition question. He started with some lip-service to the obvious idea that recognition would not imply any "moral approval" (thereby getting rid of all that talk), and that it was "useful" for diplomatic intercourse with de-facto governments (even with hostile ones, we might add). He even instanced the case of U. S. relations with "the expansionist and despotic system of Czarist Russia."

And having thus given up every popular demagogic argument, he wound up: "However, where that policy [of recognition] does not serve our interests, we are free to depart from it."

Very well, this is the truth: the U. S., for example, has never hesitated to recognize any gunmen's government of a Latin American dictatorship provided

(Turn to last page)

Next Week

THE ATOMIC DANGER—HERE IN THE U.S.—NOW

You've read about the Japanese fishermen who were showered with radioactive fall-out. Read what can happen in the U. S.—and what isn't being done about it.



Friction Squeaks in the Madrid-U. S. Axis—

Franco Ups the Price; U.S. Asks Open Door for Capital

Franco's minister of commerce, Manuel Arburua, is due in the U. S. next week to pass the hat for a bigger cut of American aid to his fascist regime. The Madrid government has never stopped pressing Washington for more and more money in exchange for its over-the-counter sale of bases in Spain to its American friends.

Franco is demanding an increase in aid, but the Foreign Operations Administration, it is reported, is planning to ask Congress for a smaller military donation in 1955 than in 1954—maybe \$50 million instead of \$85 million.

A recent editorial in the Falangist newspaper *Pueblo* expressed the regime's dissatisfaction with its deal, demanding from the U. S. "equality with other nations pledged to the defense of the free world." So speaks the hangman of the Spanish people, in his solicitude for

"freedom" and American dollars to build up his army.

This much information appeared in the American press on Monday. What the press has not been reporting is that this *Pueblo* editorial has not been the only open sign of mutual recriminations going on between the Francoists and the American representatives—in spite of the fact that on the surface Madrid has been encouraging friendly feelings about the U. S. (For example, a "North American Cultural Week" was recently celebrated by Falangist writers in Madrid, and Spanish-U.S. associations have been mushrooming, with U. S. Ambassador Dunn going around making speeches.)

The essence of the conflict is this: on his side Franco wants more money, and on the other side the U. S. has been putting on the pressure for the Spanish government to open the door of Spain to investments by U. S. capital.

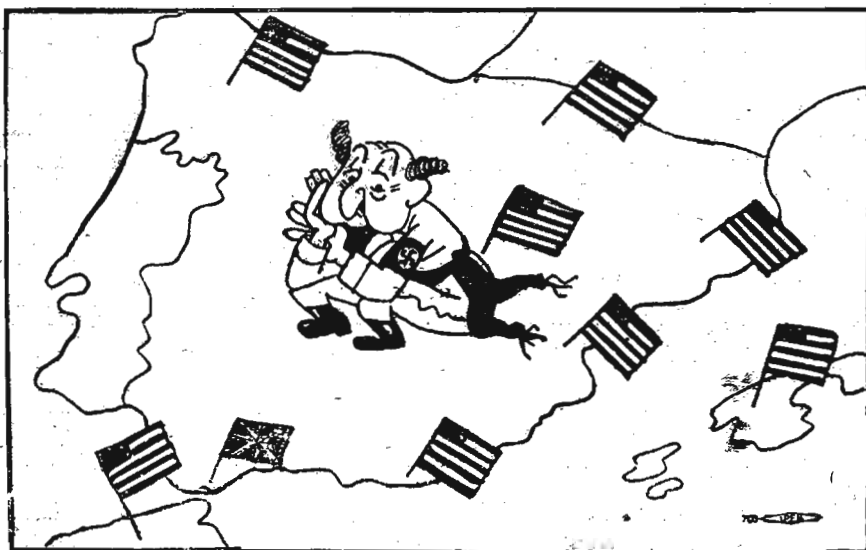
DUNN DOES IT

The conflict came out into the open unexpectedly on February 24 at a meeting organized in connection with "Spanish-North American Day" in Bilbao by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Spain. Ambassador Dunn was one of the speakers and his remarks led to an impromptu skirmish with Jaime Argüelles, sub-secretary for Foreign Trade.

Dunn, in his speech, after making clear that Spain was going to get less economic aid, went on to demand without much beating around the bush that Franco show more hospitality to U. S. investors. It has been an open secret that Franco has been leaning in the direction of those Falangist advisers who want to go in the direction of tighter economic controls and who take a dim view of an influx of "Yankee capital."

The U. S. wants private capital to take over as much as possible the role that

(Turn to last page)



DICTATOR OF SPAIN

(from La Batalla)

The Shorter Work-Week and Automation — Two Issues Before the UAW's Conference

By JACK WILSON

The recent publication of CIO President Walter P. Reuther's views on the economic situation and a trade-union attitude towards it serves as required background reading to the forthcoming public presentation of the UAW's guaranteed annual wage plan, which is expected to be unfolded at the union's annual educational conference early in April.

Without actually polemizing against the concept of a 30-hour week and 40-hour pay, the whole tenor of Reuther's remarks suggests continued opposition to that kind of approach in the current situation. As a matter of fact, Reuther raises many basic questions that must be answered, not only by himself but by anyone purporting to give a program for consideration of the labor movement.

"To formulate a demand for a shorter work-week out of the pressures of expediency instead of out of a sensible and realistic evaluation of these three factors, technological development, the economic

and employment situation that we face at that time, and the world situation which presently requires us to put \$50 billion a year in armaments, to make a demand for a shorter work-week in the absence of those factors would be unrealistic," Reuther states. The views, incidentally, were outlined in speech form at the unemployment conference in Washington, D. C. in December 1953.

SHORT WEEK IS HERE

Reuther adds, "We are prepared to say that while the guaranteed annual wage is our No. 1 job, that does not preclude an evaluation of these factors as it relates to other demands at the time of our conference."

"There is a two-step proposition here. We have to nail down the guaranteed annual wage and then we have to fight for the shorter work-week. If we fight for the shorter work-week without the guarantee, we will get the shorter work-week and the shorter pay check, because they will be able to manipulate the economy to give you more in money but the same amount in purchasing power."

Implicit in this economic appraisal by Reuther is a belief in the present economy and its functioning that excludes a deepening recession. It lives in the hope that the social and economic climate in 1955 will be favorable for the struggle for a guaranteed annual wage.

Yet it is precisely this basic economic viewpoint that events are now calling in to question. For at least 100,000 auto workers, the concept of a shorter work-week is not a debatable economic abstraction. They have been working for weeks at a time for 32 hours or less, without 40-hour pay.

What is there in the economic outlook that suggests anything better in the coming period or in 1955? It will be interesting to see what answer the "experts" give at the UAW educational conference this coming week.

AUTOMATION

Besides the economic trend, there is another basic question that must soon be answered by the UAW. What is the short- and long-range effect of the development of "automation" in the auto industry on employment? This is likewise a major topic at the conference.

As a preliminary to the discussion, however, there is a disturbing report published in the *Wall Street Journal* of March 28 on the trend toward automation in the auto industry, under the impetus of competition. It suggests that in the next year, thousands of auto workers will be out of work permanently because of "automation," which is distinguished from mere "technological improvements" in that the complete elimination of manpower is the goal.

As example, the *Wall Street Journal* uses the new Ford plant in Cleveland, whose automation is a source of wonder in the UAW. It is just one of the plants where new machinery is replacing auto workers at the rate of ten to one!

Both General Motors and Chrysler are rushing plans to introduce and advance "automation," for the 1955 models.

In the context of these circumstances, a fight for a guaranteed annual wage for those auto workers remaining in the industry seems somewhat short-sighted and does not begin to solve the problem of the thousands of permanently unemployed.

CHALLENGE TO REUTHER

Not the least of the value of the educational conference of the UAW is that these basic issues confronting the union movement may be discussed in a relatively "non-factional" atmosphere.

Nor is this a matter of concern for the UAW only. The current issue of *Business Week* reports that David J. McDonald, steel workers' union president and bitter rival and opponent of President Reuther, is talking about coming out for a 30-hour week, if the steel industry does not begin to pick up. This would challenge the strategy of Reuther in a far more serious fashion that the UAW apparently is willing to admit.

The only satisfactory procedure, of course, is for the discussion on 1955 strategy to be done openly, fairly and in the basic manner in which Reuther posed the issues in his speech before the unemployment conference in Washington in December.

The NMU Opposition: Where Were They Till Now?

By BEN HALL

Charges of bureaucracy and dictatorship are now leveled against the Curran administration in the National Maritime Union by a minority group of union leaders. This opposition—headed by H. B. Warner, vice-president, Neal Hanley, secretary, and John Moriarty, Galveston port agent—began with misgivings about the rise of Jim Crow and racketeering tendencies in the leadership of which they were part. They sought in gingerly fashion to push Curran, NMU president, to act against these trends without starting a big fight.

But at the Feb 15-17 meeting of the National Council, ruling union body, they were compelled to open a public fight against the regime.

Warner most openly pins responsibility upon Curran himself; the other critics shy away from this touchy point. The NMU, they charge, is in the grip of an undemocratic machine; and they ought to know for they were part of it; they are appalled by what they helped bring to victory.

"There are some issues around which there can be no compromise," said Warner to the council. His speeches give a hint of the current state of internal democracy. "If a man expresses an opinion which is not the opinion of the administration," he said at one point, "but which may be the sort of thing that the members want to hear, well, he should not be insulted, he should not be intimidated, he should not be coerced."

BUSINESSMEN'S MACHINE

And he charged: "In the port of New York, the votes are stolen from the membership." Finally, "You haven't got a rank and file union any more, you have a businessmen's machine." And before elections, he insisted, "Men were being discussed on the basis of willingness to do what they were being told, to be part of the tail to the kite of the businessman's machine." And he cites names and places.

Sven Peterson, Boston port agent, siding with the opposition, sounded the same note: "I have a certain amount of fear because of the elimination of people who have the sincere honesty of getting up statements stating what they have in their minds. . . . The question in my mind is will this be a democratic organization in the future or will it be a vicious organization such as we have seen in other fields."

And Leo J. Kurmadas, Field Patrolman in the city of Corpus Christi, Texas: "I don't know what is going on myself, to a certain extent I don't know. But I do know who wants to preach democracy one way and interpret it in another. . . . If you have a different viewpoint, an honestly constructive viewpoint; as a trade-unionist, for the benefit of this organization and the majority of the membership, not for a small clique, either one side or the other, you are finished."

And council member Leo Stoute: "Our union is now in the hands of a dictator." As though he were anxious to give new

little bits of evidence, Curran has turned the union newspaper, the *NMU Pilot*, into his faction organ; his own weekly column has become a running tirade against his critics. When his opponents meet in simple caucus gatherings, he denounces this simple exercise of elementary democracy as union disruption.

At the council meeting, his majority put through a motion to deprive the opposition leaders of the right to collect money from union members to finance their fight. And he was given the power to remove the officers of the port of Galveston if they continued organized opposition. Galveston, headed by Moriarty, is an opposition stronghold.

When Warner speaks of stealing votes in New York, we are reminded of the internal NMU fight of 1949 where the Curran regime practised this art to the full. With the help of the current opposition, Curran crushed and expelled the leaders of an opposition who controlled the port of New York and were able to get resounding majorities against him. Curran won that fight with the help of the New York City Police Department, which patrolled mock meetings, lined up in front of the hall while Curran declared, to jeering and booing NMU members, that he had a majority.

FORMER ALLIES

Warner got his first lessons in vote-stealing. But at that time he was with Curran. In fact, he was the man chosen to take over the port from the opposition as a receiver, and he presided while they were cut down with clubs and fists.

To keep the record straight: the men whom Curran expelled in 1949 were on his side when they together wrested control of the union from the Stalinists. By 1949 the Stalinists had already been defeated but Curran wanted to expel them from the union. His former allies, including Vice-President Jack Lawrenson, began their fight against Curran on this issue; they insisted that Communists had a right to union membership. But to Warner, perhaps, this was all part of a catch-all "fight against communism." He was able to stomach the crushing of internal democracy when it was carried out in the name of anti-Communism.

But once crushed, democracy does not rise so easily. Now Warner learns that the machine which won its victory can be used for other purposes. It is wielded against him and his friends as they fight on simple union question.

Where were you in all these years? asks Curran. "In all the years they held

(Turn to last page)

ISL FUND DRIVE

Over Half — but Too Slow!

By ALBERT GATES
Fund Drive Director

Weekly contributions of \$842.50 have pushed the drive beyond the 50 per cent mark in the Fund Drive, but we are still running far behind the pace of the drive of a year ago and of what is necessary to complete the quota on the closing day. This should be a warning to the branches of the ISL that they have to step up their work in the next four weeks if we are going to make it.

We have never before failed in completing a Fund Drive and we don't want to start now! There is no reason why

we should if the branches get over the complacency which is apparent, forget about their old successes and think only of the present campaign.

A glance at the box score will show instantly where the drive has to be quickened. St. Louis is now ahead of the field with 200 per cent. Our grand old friend there has lifted the area way ahead of all others by doubling the quota. Reading, too, has reached the 100 per cent mark, while Streator and Chicago are within striking distance. What about it, Chicago? We thought you were going to make it 100 per cent and more when the campaign started? After a wonderful start, Chicago has been silent.

But beyond these branches, all others are way behind. New York is trying hard, but it has a long way to go since it has the largest quota in the campaign. Bay Area and Detroit are both having a tough time, but we're counting on them to come through.

We are still wondering about Los Angeles. The silence from that area is incomprehensible. We know that the fiesta season hasn't started yet and we are at a loss to explain it. Someone is letting the campaign down, and if word isn't in soon, we will have the bloodhounds out.

We have figured out that if each area sends in 25 per cent of its quota in the next week, we will increase the pace so that the drive can end successfully by May 1. Here is what it means concretely: Chicago \$300, Pittsburgh \$30, Cleveland \$30, New York \$1,000, Bay Area \$100, Philadelphia \$60, Detroit \$70, Seattle \$35, Los Angeles \$150, Indiana, Akron and Oregon \$15 each. That's what we need to set the drive going properly.

BOX SCORE

	Quota	Paid	%
TOTAL	\$10,200	\$5171.00	50.6
St. Louis	25	50	200
Reading	50	50	100
Streator	25	20	80
Chicago	1800	1435	79.7
Nat'l Office	1500	1023	68.2
Newark	400	238.50	59.6
Pittsburgh	150	81	54
Cleveland	150	75	50
New York	4000	1903.50	47.5
Buffalo	300	138	46
Bay Area	500	210	42
Philadelphia	250	57	22.8
Detroit	300	50	16.6
Seattle	150	10	6
Los Angeles	600	0	0
Indiana	50	0	0
Akron	50	0	0
Oregon	50	0	0

CONTRIBUTE to the ISL FUND DRIVE!

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Enclosed is \$..... as my contribution to the ISL's
1954 Fund Drive.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE.....

(Make checks payable to Albert Gates)

What the ADA Program Could Say: 'ONE CLEAR CALL' ON FOREIGN POLICY

By PHILIP COBEN

The convention of Americans for Democratic Action, the leading organized liberal body in the U. S., will be meeting next week in Chicago in the midst of another sharp international crisis, this time centering around Indo-China. Since its last convention, the Korean war has ended, without peace. The United States' chief European project, the European army, is on the rocks, its chief success to date being to throw France into turmoil. Nowhere has any part of the continuing world war crisis been resolved.

ADA thinking is sensitive to the fact that all over the non-Stalinist world, where the U. S. seeks its allies, even in deeply conservative sections of it, American policy is looked on with suspicion at the best and with bitter criticism (loud or muted) at the worst. One of the most bedeviling features of American life, in the eyes of masses of Europeans, Asians and Africans, is the absence of any loud voice in the U. S. which even partially reflects an approach to foreign policy different from that of the government. To too great an extent they look toward this country and, even when trying to convince themselves that McCarthyism or even Dullesism is not "America," they see a monolithic bloc as far as foreign policy is concerned.

The ADA foreign policy, therefore, to be adopted in Chicago, can mean something more than merely an expression of opinion for the members of that organization. It can tell the Western world that there are democratic voices raised in the U. S. that do not think that military supremacy is the answer to the world threat before us.

NEED BASIC CHANGE

We have a suggestion for an ADA foreign-policy program that could make a great stride in doing that. No, that suggestion is not, right now, that ADA adopt our own socialist program. In fact, what it proposes is that the ADA carry through some of the implications of the piecemeal criticism of U. S. policy that it makes now.

Scattered through ADA's draft program, to be presented at the convention, are a number of points with a common tendency. To be sure, they stand side by side with the ADA's endorsements of Washington's military measures — the imperialist character of which we shall not try to argue in this article—but these points also indicate an alternative.

This is ADA's insistence that Stalinist expansion and imperialism must be fought politically. And there is a plain aspiration in the program to outline ways in which this political struggle can organize the strength of the "free world" by releasing its democratic energies and hopes.

It is more or less on such grounds that ADA opposes aid to Franco, for in-

stance; that it calls for a people's plebiscite in Formosa; that it devotes so much attention to independence for the peoples of Asia and Africa; etc.

This can be seen in the draft resolution, as in last year's, but the resolution itself is too often diffuse, directionless, unintegrated, uncentered, petering out on important points in vague language. And above all the resolution is no clarion call for a new direction and a new approach in American foreign policy. It gives the impression, perhaps unjustly in ADAers' eyes, of saying "The going policy is all right, but we want to make it a little better. . . ."

This may indeed reflect the real thinking of most ADAers; we cannot say; but surely there are many people in the organization who feel that there is something more basically wrong with what the U. S. is doing, a more basic reason why it is failing to cement a democratic alliance and a counterpoise to the demagoguery of the Stalinists—even if they are not willing to go as far as we socialists do in our analysis of American imperialism.

DEMOCRATIC POLICY

The kind of program we have in mind, let us say first, is not the "neutralist" approach so common among European liberals. We too do not feel "neutral" about Stalinism, and more important, we disagree with the illusions about Stalinism which are commonly to be found as the basis for most types of "neutralism," even among many European conservatives: "peaceful coexistence," the fundamentally peaceful intentions of Moscow if only it could be freed from its "neurotic" fears of the West, and all the rest of that.

We too, without being partisans of Western capitalism or its wars, feel that Stalinism has to be fought to the death, not appeased or conciliated.

But we believe that it can be fought in a progressive manner only by means of a consistently and thoroughly DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY, and nothing short of that.

What is lacking in the ADA foreign-

policy statement is a program built around such a conception, and the carrying-through of such a program all the way down the line.

General statements about "support of democratic institutions" in Europe and elsewhere are fine, but hardly fill the bill. ADAers who are serious about crystallizing such a type of program for the movement will have no difficulty in getting concrete.

PLANKS

Take the plank on Indo-China, since that is in the news. The ADA draft says the U. S. "should call upon the French government" to implement the self-government concessions to the Indo-Chinese states already granted "and to give them full independence as soon as possible." There is a fine sentiment behind this, but surely the French imperialists are demonstrating that "calling upon" them to give up their imperialism is rather futile.

Would it be too "radical" to suggest that a truly democratic U. S. would have stopped "calling upon" the French by now, and—would call upon the Indo-Chinese nationalist-democrats of Vietnam, who are even now straining in the sight of the whole world against French domination, to declare an independent government and rally the people against the Stalinists in the name of real freedom?

But since there is no truly democratic government in Washington, it is up to the ADA to raise such questions and demands, loudly and firmly.

The ADA program demands a plebiscite in Formosa, but strangely it does not say anything about the reprehensible policy of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. Perhaps that is considered "diplomatic," but diplomacy of this sort makes impossible a program for a consistently democratic foreign policy which could strike a clear note.

CLARION CALL

The draft resolution condemns Nehru's "neutralist tendencies" but it does not say anything about that which gave rise to Nehru's recent bitter speeches: U. S. armament of Pakistan. It merely recommends patience in dealing with India. Much more than patience is needed: a truly democratic foreign policy is needed right across the board. And in Pakistan the U. S. characteristically showed that one military alliance the more was far more pleasurable to it than the political sympathy of the Indian people.

This only scratches the surface of the contents of a concrete democratic foreign policy in terms that have a meaning to the peoples of the world. There is Washington's maneuverings with the Arab states; its support or toleration of French suppression in Morocco and Tunisia; its support of German Chancellor Adenauer and his neo-Nazi bandwagon-riders; its arm-twisting of votes in the UN and the Inter-American Conference; its tie-up with any reactionary or dictator in the world who is willing to be sufficiently "anti-Communist"; its insistence on Japanese remilitarization at the cost of alienating large sections of the Japanese people as well as of the world; and a complete list could include a discussion of almost every situation in the world.

An ADA program which clearly and militantly counterposed such a democratic foreign policy to the going policy of Washington could be a clarion call to the world—doubly so because it would be issued by Americans, from the home of the colossus of the capitalist world.

CONSISTENT PROGRAM

Such a consistent program would be a thoroughly anti-imperialist program. It could not be carried through by an imperialist power. In our own view it could be carried through only by a working-class government in America which has broken with capitalism and its interests. But that is a distinctly socialist analysis with which most ADAers would disagree. We need not argue about that at the moment. There is only one question: *Is this the kind of program which alone can fight Stalinism and stop war?*—and it is therefore that we must fight for it. In the course of fighting for it, we will both find out whether capitalism stands in the way or not.

What does stand in the way right now is the simple fact that American liberals who talk in general terms of democratic policies abroad have not formulated any foreign policy which is clearly counterposed to the present disastrous one, even from a consistently liberal point of view. Too often they hasten to solidarize themselves with what Washington is doing, in the mistaken idea that they must not show divisions at home in the face of the enemy. (And so they give the impression of monolithism at home in the face of their friends.)

Yes, a basic change in U. S. foreign policy is needed. Are there people in America's leading liberal organization who are ready to fight for it?

Domestic Policy: The ADA Marks Time

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

The draft program drawn up by the Americans for Democratic Action National Board, to be submitted at the ADA Convention next week, contains no major change in policy from last year's statement. It is the same blend of genuine concern for civil liberties, *Realpolitik* and optimism about welfare capitalism.

In the area of civil liberties, ADA has taken a fairly forthright stand on some of the major issues. The section on "Loyalty Proceedings" attacks the elimination of review boards by the Eisenhower government and, only by implication, some of the policies of the Truman administration. It calls for fair hearings based on specific written charges, confrontation by accusers, the right to cross-examine witnesses and provisions for judicial review. Under "Legislative Investigations," the ADA draft opposes the Brownell proposal for changing the Constitution by trading immunity for enforced testimony.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

However, in one case of what is said, and in several of what is not said, ADA is something less than forthright. Under "Academic Freedom," the draft statement holds that "FORMER membership in a fascist or communist party . . . should not be automatic grounds to disqualify a teacher." (Emphasis added.) This, of course, evades the central issue, both in terms of principle and of the immediate danger confronting the American teaching profession, which is expulsion for PRESENT

membership in a Communist or fascist party.

One omission is particularly significant. After an introduction which views with alarm the "sinister forces, long held back, which endanger our civil liberties," the draft program fails to mention the attorney general's subversive list and confines its discussion of the Smith Act to one sentence which does not make any reference to the actual prosecution of Stalinists which is now taking place.

However, by and large, ADA has taken a firm stand on several major civil-liberties issues. It is to be hoped that these sections of the draft program will be passed, and that more will be done about them than sending copies of the resolutions to ADA members in Congress.

TENSE S CHANGED

With regard to the domestic economy, the draft program sticks to the liberal faith in Keynesian techniques—with one qualification of emphasis. In 1953, the domestic policy statement opened with the sentence: "We meet at a time when our domestic economy has demonstrated its power to reach ever higher levels of productivity and increasingly improved standards of living." A year later, with reductions in the armament sector of that economy causing a recession, the ADAers have switched from a present-tense affirmation to a future hope: ADA "believes" that "basic American principles . . . will produce advances in the social, cultural and economic aspects of our democratic way of life."

In terms of actual program, however, there is nothing in the current ADA version of Keynesian techniques which should disturb General Eisenhower. Actual concrete proposals for building the economy are limited to a consumer-oriented tax policy, liberal aid to farmers and anti-trust action to restore "competition." There is now significant discussion of public works; TVA and new river valley programs are discussed as developments of natural resources and not anti-depression techniques; and an extension of unemployment compensation is conceived of as an individual right rather than as pump-priming.

In short, shorn of all the liberal rhetoric, ADA's actual proposals for building the American economy are similar in orientation to those which Eisenhower has promised and differ chiefly in that the ADAers want more immediate government intervention.

The *Realpolitik* comes in the definition of ADA's relation to the realities of the present two-party system. The draft program describes the present situation as one in which "The liberals are an ineffectual minority in the Republican Party and the reactionaries the strategically placed minority of the Democratic Party." But the conclusion of this frank statement is not a call for political realignment, much less a new party. It is simply that "These basic conflicts within the two major parties enhance the need of an independent political organization

(Continued on page 4)

The Wrong Point

The chief of the U. S. Point Four mission to Iran made a speech the other day in which he contended that the technical-assistance program to that country was a crucial factor in preventing it from "slipping behind the Iron Curtain."

"It gave the anti-Communists that extra edge of influence that was decisive," he claimed.

We have the greatest admiration for the idea of a real foreign-assistance program that is democratically applied—in other words, one that has only a nodding acquaintance with Washington's—but Iran is an especially unfortunate choice to show the power of Point Four to stop Stalinism and encourage its foes.

Iran was "saved" for the West by the force and violence of a military coup carried off by the Shah, who is now keeping the country from slipping away by using the extra edge of gangsters at the polls and black-gray- and tan-shirted storm-troops. It would seem that if the technical-assistance mission there had really wanted to prepare the Shah for the supposedly effective means he has found of warding off Communism, then Chiang, Franco, Batista, or some other one of Washington's friends should have been called in to do the job.

Another case of the wrong man in the wrong place.

YOU and SCIENCE

Dr. Condon on the Inquiring Mind of Science

By CARL DARTON

It particularly grates on the sensibilities of scientists worthy of the name that science, the very essence of which is free inquiry, must be perverted in its interpretation to the public by the thwarting political atmosphere of McCarthyism. Dr. E. U. Condon, past-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, had something to say about it at the last December meeting in Boston. His talk was printed in the February 19 *Science*, titled "The Duty of Dissent."

All too evident, said Dr. Condon, is "the kind of political misbehavior that is being overdignified these days by calling it anti-intellectualism, and which really represents Nazi-type pressure against independent thinking and toward conformity to authoritarian doctrines." Many accordingly fail to see that a "critical questioning attitude is the essential ingredient of the scientist's method of working." Rather, they consider that the "tendency of the scientists toward independent critical thought is just a kind of unruliness or bad-boyism which we perhaps have to tolerate in these eccentric fellows because they are the geese that lay the hydrogen bomb as well as many other great and good things."

RED-BAITING ATTACK

Dr. Condon went on to explain that many young Americans who in the mid-thirties showed some degree of interest in radicalism were merely exercising the qualities of an inquiring mind. It is considered by Dr. Condon that they are far more to be commended than the uncritical ex-Communists who are now the darlings of Congress and the press in their adherence to authoritarian anti-Communism.

Following the above talk, the speaker received front-page headlines in a Boston newspaper: "Condon Lauds Pro-

Reds." Dr. Condon countered by this statement:

"I was protesting against the un-American tendency in some quarters to accept almost as national heroes some ex-Communists who were ardent full-time professional devotees of the Communist conspiracy against American democracy in the thirties, while at the same time young scientists, whose only association with the same conspiracy was that of short-time participation in campus study groups in college, have been hounded and harassed from their jobs and their professional careers ruined."

DISLOYAL GOVT

Another instance which alarms scientists is that while the government speaks of the loyalty of its employees the hounding of scientists and technicians in the notorious Fort Monmouth case clearly indicates that the government does not recognize the need of loyalty to its own employees. Scientists have resented this lack of loyalty from the top "down" by leaving the government services in droves.

Likewise, while the government agencies make a fetish of security, everywhere the underlying insecurity of Washington manifests itself. This insecurity is evident in the continuing "atomic jitters" as national civil-defense policy wavers from one of "vague candor" to bureaucratic secrecy. It is evident in the lack of policy relative to mounting unemployment as industry continues its increased mechanization.

Thus while the government continues to seek surface "security" it is fighting a losing battle against the basic insecurities of society under its leadership. While it presses for "loyalty" through mechanical application of oaths, investigations and police-state methods, it neglects the loyalty normally demanded by the people in a democratic society from their elected representatives.

Symposium on Puerto Rico Gives Both Sides of Argument

SYMPOSIUM: IS PUERTO RICO FULLY SELF-GOVERNING? Ed. by Ralph T. Templin.—Published by Ralph Templin at R. R. 1, Cedarville, Ohio, 28 pages, 25 cents (10 copies for \$1.50).

This pamphlet is a reprint from the *Journal of Human Relations* of Autumn 1953, put together by Ralph Templin of Central State College, Ohio. It is a valuable source for liberals and socialists interested in the freedom of the United States' neglected colony.

"Here you will find edited," writes Professor Templin, "mainly from the materials submitted to the United Nations, the best possible case that could be found for each side in one of the most hotly contested issues which has come before the UN. The conclusion is an interpretive analysis of the international implications of the issue as it involves the problem of 'free association' in any kind of

union of nations, states, dependencies, etc."

The contents are divided into two parts: (I) The position taken by the present Puerto Rican government, together with excerpts from Governor Muñoz Marin's own statements, in support of the thesis that Puerto Rico is an "associated free state" and fully self-governing; (II) the position of those who argue that Puerto Rico is still a colony, for all of the autonomous rights that it has won.

AGAINST A MYTH

Part II consists of sections from (1) the brief Conrad Lynn as counsel for Americans for Puerto Rican Independence, submitted to the United Nations in September 1952; (2) an article by Rupert Emerson, "Puerto Rico and American Policy Toward Dependent Areas," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1953; (3) Ruth M. Reynolds' "Why Puerto Rico Cannot Be Removed from Classification as a Non-Self-Governing Territory by the U. S."; (4) a report by Ernest Bromley, Wallace Nelson and Ralph Templin to Peacemakers on "Visit to Puerto Rico."

Both of the above parts are followed by the "Conclusion" in which Professor Templin raises some challenging questions with regard to U. S. aims.

Much of the material in Part II deals with the government's myth that Puerto Rico's new constitution makes the island self-governing. Lynn and Reynolds particularly analyze how the constitution was adopted and how it retains decisive powers in the hands of the U. S. government. Lynn argues that Puerto Rico today is less self-governing than it was under Spain. Rupert Emerson discusses whether Puerto Rico's status meets the criteria laid down by the UN. Ruth Reynolds sketches the suppression of the independence movement by Muñoz's police power, and also touches on the economic problems involved, a subject which is also dealt with by the Bromley-Nelson-Templin report.

LONDON LETTER

Britain's Dilemma on EDC: Vive l'Entente Cordiale!

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Mar. 25—According to leaks originating in the Quai d'Orsay, the French foreign office, Britain has recently offered the European Defense Community greater cooperation. It seems that Eden is prepared to put certain British forces under European command, on condition that he can withdraw them after consultation with the European authority.

Ever since the conception of a European army arose, Britain has been in a dilemma. Its government has felt that the occupation of Europe by a hostile power would be of the deepest concern to her. The natural thing for it, then, would be to station some troops in France, or put those in Germany under European control.

Since the remarkable economic recovery of Germany in the last two years, and her freedom from participation in wars and rearmament, Germany has become the strongest economic power in Europe. It would therefore be expected that the influence and participation in a European army would be considerable.

After continuous pressure from America, France finally agreed to allow Germany into EDC, and on May 1952 the treaty creating it was signed. But French cooperation was made implicit on British participation, so that the combined power of Britain and France would counterbalance Germany. This was particularly insisted on by the French Socialist Party.

SKIRMISHES AHEAD

Between 1948 and 1950, Churchill's continuous flirtation with the Strasbourg Assembly and many pledges of cooperation gave Europeans reason to believe that his return to power would mean greater British cooperation in Europe.

Both Labor and Conservatives oppose any serious attempt to join Britain to Europe militarily, for reactionary reasons. Their main opposition, stated by Morrison, is that this country has too many "obligations" overseas, and these could not be discharged if the forces were deployed in Europe; he is afraid that if any large section of troops were tied up in Europe, they could not be manipulated easily for the various "important" assignments in the colonies.

In this the Tories are at one with him, but they have a further ax to grind. They don't like the idea of British troops serving under foreign commanders, especially Germans. Well do they remember the British Expeditionary Force under Weygand's command in 1940.

Herein lies the dilemma. Britain and France are not yet prepared to allow a German army to cooperate with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Their alternative then is to allow German formations in a European army. With Britain's and France's forces fighting colonial wars in Malaya, Indochina and Kenya, Germany would probably have the biggest contingent. Meanwhile, the Labor Party has agreed to German rearmament while still calling for cuts in the program here.

Even if the conditional British cooperation is accepted by France, Eden has still got to persuade first the Tories and then the Labor Party about its desirability. He will have strong skirmishes with many Tory die-hards.

After that the European army has got to get over the hurdles of the opposition of every Western European Social Democratic Party, as well as the Gaullists in France.

Vive l'Entente Cordiale!

FILM FIGHT

For some months now the Association of Ciné Technicians has been pressing for a \$4.25 a week increase in wages, which the British Film Producers Association recommended should go to arbitration. The ACT was acting on behalf of 2000 film-processing men who had been recommending a ban on overtime and "work-to-rule," in support of their claim.

Wilfred Neden, the Ministry of Labor's chief negotiator, got an undertaking from the employers, the Film Laboratory Association, that they would not sack the processing men concerned if they abandoned the go-slow rule, but that, if they didn't, the whole film industry in Britain would have to close down.

The employers have thus forced the union to go to arbitration. With the present mood of Sir Walter Monckton, the minister of labor, it is unlikely that they will get their full-claim, just as it is. The machinery of arbitration also involves negotiation.

SECRECY

Three weeks ago a report was published in the *Observer* of a private meeting of the Labor Party. The following week a violent letter appeared over the name of Herbert Morrison, attacking members of the party who disclose private business to the press. It also made a few minor corrections, showing that the substance of the original report was correct.

After a great deal of incrimination, the Labor Party this week passed a resolution condemning people who disclose differing views within the party, and threatening them with discipline.

I must say that the obviously accurate source which the *Observer* printed only illustrates the low standard of political debate in the Executive, which would be better exposed to public scrutiny.

BRITISH HONDURAS

This week Sir Reginald Sharpe will report to the government on what he has found about the relations between the People's United Party of Honduras and the government of Guatemala. He is going to publish the report before April 23, when the phony elections take place there.

Once again the government is batting on a sticky wicket. If a clear relation between the government of Guatemala and the PUP is demonstrated, the elections will be postponed. However, unless the party is illegalized, it is likely to get an overwhelming majority of votes in the election.

The constitution has been framed so that the elected members have hardly any executive power, and only slight legislative power, so that the Quixotic move of the government will only show the strength of the feeling against it.

ADA — —

(Continued from page 3)

... cooperation with, and encouragement of liberal forces everywhere."

'REALISM'

At this point, ADA meets the contradictions of its "realism" face to face. Within the past year, it has been made abundantly clear that the liberals within the two major parties are to be seen, but not heard, in party councils. Democratic Party Chairman Mitchell even suggested that ADA's "cooperation with, and encouragement of, liberal forces everywhere" is actually the kiss of death.

According to the inner logic of such realism, the ADAers, initially made their peace with the Democratic Party, not on principle, but as a matter of "practical" politics, i.e., an attempt to maintain influence within the centers of political power. But now, confronted with the quixotic nature of such an analysis, the ADA draft program can only repeat the old formula which, we suppose, is no longer a compromise but now a principle.

It would be too much to suppose that any major change in terms of an advance will be made at the convention. Yet if there is any possibility of such happening, it should come in a greater precision and extension of ADA's genuine concern for civil liberties, a vigorous rethinking of the fuzzy welfare-capitalist concepts in the draft statement, and a realistic (without quotation marks) appraisal of the blunt facts of liberal ineffectiveness within the present two-party system.

As it is now, American liberalism as represented by ADA has not particularly retreated in this new statement as far as its written program is concerned. But that is hardly enough in these times. The implementation of a domestic-policy program can come only in political action, and in this field ADA is still tied to a Democratic Party which is in retreat.

Subscribe to LABOR ACTION —

\$2 a year does it!



LABOR ACTION

April 5, 1954 Vol. 18, No. 14

Published weekly by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York 11, N. Y.—Telephone: WATKINS 4-4222—Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874.—Subscriptions: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canadian and Foreign).—Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Editor: HAL DRAPER

Asst. Editors: GORDON HASKELL,

BEN HALL, MARY BELL

Business Mgr.: L. G. SMITH

Fear on the Campus: Four Case Studies

Meeting on 'Man's Right to Knowledge' At Columbia Bars Socialist Literature

By MEL HACKER and DAN BERGER.

Two students were forcibly prevented from distributing copies of the Young Socialist Challenge (issued jointly with Labor Action) at the Saturday session of Bicentennial Conference on the "Rights of Free Americans," held as part of the general Columbia University Bicentennial Conference "On Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." On Sunday students were likewise prevented from distributing a leaflet criticizing Saturday's incident. Both before and after the Sunday conference sessions, students were physically barred from speaking to Norman Thomas, appearing as one of the panel speakers.

Discussions within the Bicentennial Conference rooms, on the relative merits of national security as opposed to civil liberties and the curbing of dissident thought as opposed to the belief in a democratic, free expression of ideas, were unhesitatingly resolved outside these rooms in favor of the former categories—i.e., the students were forcibly prevented from distributing the newspapers by members of the conference planning committee ably assisted by a bevy of Columbia guards.

When asked why a distribution was not possible, the two conference spokesmen present admitted that the 28-member committee had not previously discussed the matter, and that "the executive committee [i.e., the chairman and the member of the committee who had first intercepted them] is meeting now and you can't distribute."

The students then agreed not to distribute their material and proceeded toward the elevator to attend the next session. Conference representatives ordered the operator not to take them to the session, and told them that they must check their literature in order to attend, despite assurances that it would not be distributed. Forced to use the stairs, they were informed at the meeting room that it was a closed session; although they reiterated several times that they had tickets, they were forced away from the door.

HARASSMENT

They finally managed to enter the session but when they emerged they were surrounded by committee members and a guard. While the conference members were detaining one distributor at the door of the next session and instructing the doorkeeper not to permit anyone carrying literature to enter, the other walked in quietly and sat down. She was shortly discovered; another guard was called and others attempting to enter were barred.

When it was noted that they were not Columbia students they were told that they were illegally there. The distributors replied that the announcement made no mention that the conference was restricted to Columbia students and asked that they check to make sure that everyone attending the conference was from Columbia. This was denied, there being representatives from many colleges in attendance, and, when the other committee members went out of the room to check on the registration, the member who had first apprehended them told them that they might attend the remainder of the conference on Sunday if they would check their literature—"We would look away in that case." (All this while

Attention, UCLA Students!

With the *Bruin* closed to controversial articles and letters, *Challenge* opens its pages to newsworthy items the *Bruin* refuses to print. Send your articles to *Challenge*, 3rd floor, 114 West 14 Street, New York City 11.

Next Week

Report on California student civil liberties meeting.

ON NYU:
SEE NEXT PAGE
FOR LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

the second guard was clenching his fists saying, "Let's heave them out," to which one of the committee members replied, "No, do you want a letter in the *New York Times*?"

The distributors finally left, it being finally observed that they were improperly using the cards of friends. One of them was escorted from the campus by a committee member while Columbia guards stood by observing the procedure.

'PROTECTING' THOMAS

Columbia guards not only were used to help evict students passing out the *Challenge* but were continually about with conference committeemen, pointing out to them Young Socialist League representatives and sympathizers.

Committee members time and again queried the socialists as to their names, their schools, whether they were actual members of the Young Socialist League and asked them to hand over a complimentary ticket in their possession, admittedly so that the committee members could trace the source of the ticket.

"Fingere'd" socialists were physically barred from speaking to Norman Thomas, appearing as one of the panelists, before or after the close of the sessions. Socialist representatives had been "good boys" at the Sunday early-afternoon session, not attempting to distribute literature or ask too embarrassing questions.

(Continued on page 6)

AT LOS ANGELES

(a) The administration compelled a weak student council to make amendments to the Associated Students constitution without submitting them to a student-body referendum. The amendments granted faculty and administration representatives on the council the right to vote.

(b) The administration compelled the same student council to appoint a paid faculty advisor to the *Daily Bruin*.

The articles which we print in this issue of *Young Socialist Challenge* all have an ominous similarity.

At Columbia, a bicentennial celebration under the motto of "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof" found it necessary to use physical force to prevent a minority group from peacefully distributing its press. At the University of California at Los Angeles, we see increasing administration intervention into student affairs. At New York University, we see an irresponsible libelous attack, based on dishonest use of the vicious attorney general's Subversive List. And at the Berkeley campus at California, among other signs, we see a campus "Red Squad" attending student meetings.

In all of these cases, we have major American universities which are afraid of ideas. Various liberals have often asked: "Show me a concrete case of damage to students or faculty today? Who has been hurt?"

Challenge is not happy that it must present the documentation; yet here it is, undeniable, written in every case by participants and eye-witnesses—four great American universities succumbing to the atmosphere of conformity. And tragically, in each of these cases, is it not only the administration which is involved but also the students themselves.

In other words, the values of the Garrison State have penetrated not only into the centers of academic officialdom (where we are accustomed to find timidity at least and reaction at worst), but into the minds and actions of the students. It was only 20 years ago that the American student was still going out on a mass anti-war strike every spring. It was only five years ago, at Brooklyn College, that the students demonstrated against administrative repression for three days.

And today? Students at NYU lead the witchhunters, students at Columbia call on the police to stop the distribution of a newspaper, students at UCLA cooperate in election-packing. The demonstration of the reality could not be more clear.

It would perhaps be too much, too hopeful, to expect that the student could live through ten years of Smith Act prosecutions and attorney general's lists and all the rest, and emerge untainted by the poisonous atmosphere. It would have been too hopeful, and this issue of *Challenge* is a living proof that we would have expected too much.

Yet we continue to hope. We still believe that the student, because of his special concern with ideas, will be able to see through all of the repressive measures of the Garrison State and recapture his lost freedom.

But one thing is plain today and that is this: if the student is to become a force for civil liberties and academic freedom again, he won't do it by mouthing vague phrases about freedom. He has to come down to the basic issue. He must see that what is happening on the campus is only one symptom of a general drift of our society. In mobilizing the fights on the campus for civil liberties, he is committed to fighting against the off-campus measures of the Garrison State.

We use the term Garrison State. Let us be quite specific. In the face of the political and military threat of Stalinism, American capitalism has either relied solely on military strength, or else countered with reactionary political moves that are not even dressed up in the rhetoric which the Stalinists use to hide their reality.

On the domestic front, the corollary was the whole development of anti-civil liberties legislation and practice, initiated by liberals and carried on by Republicans, with the new rogues gallery of heroes: the anonymous accuser, the stoolpigeon, the informer.

And if the American student wants to fight against the trend which we document in these pages, he cannot do it piecemeal. The attack is not piecemeal. To fight the reaction on the campus, the student must fight against domestic reaction and against the reaction of American foreign policy.

The Young Socialist League has been carrying on this fight, in this manner, in these first months of its existence. In a way, we are proud to have been the subject of these vicious charges, libels and suppressions. It shows us that we have been effective, effective enough in a month and a half of existence to draw the fire of powerful forces.

But this issue of *Challenge* confronts us with a problem which transcends the fortunes of any one organization. What is needed is a mass reawakening of the American student, a militant stand of the campus against the forces of reaction.

U. of Calif.: Restrictions Grow Steadily

By AL PRICE & SANDRA PESTOFF

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 22—This academic year on the campuses of the University of California has not seen the development of any great controversies over civil-liberties issues to compare with the oath fight of 1950. The state, the regents and the administration, however, continue to chip quietly away at the remnants of academic freedom and student rights. Only a few of these inroads are listed:

(c) Upon the recommendation of this advisor, the *Bruin* now refuses advertisements from political organizations not on the California ballot.

(d) The administration compelled student delegates to attend a "Model United Nations" to elect the chairman of the local Young Republicans chairman of the UCLA delegation.

(e) Anticipating administration criticism, the *Bruin* editor voluntarily suppressed an article on the Model UN manipulation.

(f) A representative of the university "security office" attends all off-campus student political meetings.

(g) University police have broadened their interpretation of Rule 17 (see below) so as to make newspaper or leaflet distribution even on the fringes of the university virtually impossible.

AT BERKELEY

(a) One professor was fired because the press reported him as deploring a spiritless student body which does not produce numbers of young Communists, socialists and anarchists.

(b) The agent of the Berkeley police

"Red Squad" who attends all off-campus student political meetings, or meetings where faculty members speak, has been supplemented by a photographer who takes pictures of everyone at street meetings.

(c) A "contact man" for the state legislature Un-American Activities Committee functions full-time on campus with the cooperation of the administration. (This is in addition to the chancellor of the university, who is the "official" contact man for the same committee.)

The university's notorious Rule 17 forbids "partisan political or sectarian religious" activity on campus. This applies to student organizations, meetings, literature, and use of the university name. (Chairman of the Young Republicans was placed on probation last year when the group put a sign on a bus they had chartered, "UCLans for IKE.")

The administration violates Rule 17 at will. When the incredibly reactionary Cardinal McIntyre spoke on campus this February, the library, the cafeteria, and most academic buildings were locked to force students to attend the address. Once inside, students were locked in until the end of the speech.

Two Student Papers Feud over Smear Charges —

NYU: Young Socialist Case Is Campus Issue

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Last Friday, the Washington Square Bulletin, student newspaper at New York University, published a news article and a columnist's comment on the libel against the Young Socialist League by another NYU paper, the Commerce Bulletin.

As of this writing, it is not yet known whether the Commerce Bulletin will provide space for a YSL reply. The editor had made such a promise to YSL National Committee member Sam Taylor, and a reply has been submitted by YSL National Chairman Max Martin.

The Washington Square Bulletin news story gave a fairly accurate presentation of some of the YSL objections to the vicious article in the Commerce Bulletin. Once more the Young Socialist League made it clear that it was not listed by the attorney general as well as its opposition to all such listings.

form an organization independent of adult groups. There was no attempt to get off the attorney general's list."

The second story in the Commerce Bulletin probably stooped to a new low in irresponsible journalism. The article was headed by a photomontage of Labor Youth League material, including their New Challenge, in an obvious attempt to tie up the YSL and the Young Socialist Challenge with the Stalinists.

In line with the use of this vicious technique was Commerce Bulletin Editor-in-Chief Bernard Eisman's comment when asked by the Square Bulletin whether he thought the Young Socialist League had been unfairly characterized in the two articles which he had printed.

MENDEL'S LAW

In a feature column in the same issue of the Square Bulletin, Krauss wrote a brilliant—and sobering—comment on the whole chain of events. After pointing out that the YSL resulted from a merger of the Socialist Youth League (listed by the attorney general) and the Young People's Socialist League (unlisted), Krauss went on to comment on the Commerce Bulletin's reasoning:

"By some sort of crude analogy to Mendel's Law of Dominance, the Commerceites have constructed their own law; i.e., when a subversive organization mates with a non-subversive one, the offspring is subversive. It would seem, by this formulation, that totalitarianism is a dominant trait and democracy a recessive one. In fact, I do not believe this to be so. . . ."

"Now I personally do not know if this organization is subversive or not. And although I oppose socialism as a form of government, I am not ready to characterize every socialist as subversive. Nor,

for that matter, is the U. S. attorney general. . . ."

YSL is obviously in disagreement with some of Krauss' premises. We feel that he misses the heart of the matter, which is opposition to all listing of "subversive" organizations. Yet within the context of a more or less liberal empiricism, Krauss at least saw through the wild reasoning of the Commerce Bulletin—because the Commerceites not only used the List, but managed to use it wrongly!

WARNS OF FEAR

This flaw in Krauss' article comes in again when he takes at face value the Commerce charge that the YSL had met three of four criteria of the attorney general as a Communist group. The right approach, we believe, is to have asked, What if the YSL did meet this requirement (and it does not)—for these criteria were set up without hearings, with anonymous accusers, according to the regular ritual of the garrison state.

Krauss' comment is sobering when he places the entire incident within the larger context of journalistic responsibility. He points out that the possibility of more administrative restrictions on student newspapers is a very real one at NYU. He then comments, "But what sort of arguments can one advance if a college administration can point to specific cases of this sort of irresponsibility? If, in fact, a paper has confused liberty with license? If there have been grievous violations of truth and justice?"

"To sum up, I submit that Commerce Bulletin—and here Mr. Bernard Eisman, its editor, must take his full share of the credit—has done more to bring about the very conditions it, and we, fear, than any committee or group of faculty members could ever do. And further that this harm has been significant and irreparable. The prosecution rests."

Krauss, we feel, is mistaken in his implicit ratification of the list; yet he does himself, and his paper, great credit

in having realized the extent and the nature of this particular injustice.

In addition to the support received from the Square Bulletin, the New York unit of the Young Socialist League has been bringing the YSL side of the story to the campus by means of leaflets and Challenge distributions. Last week there were three distributions, two of leaflets branding the charges as false and correctly identifying the YSL as a democratic socialist Third Camp organization, and one of the last issue of Challenge which featured a story on the NYU situation.

THEY MUST RETRACT

The New York YSL is now attempting to arrange some kind of meeting at NYU to bring its side of the story to even more students. YSLers at the university have not been able to start a recognized club because of the brief span of the League's existence, and this kind of arrangement will have to be made through some other organization already on campus. Otherwise, the possibility of an open-air demonstration in Washington Square is being discussed as an alternative method.

However, the major question in the struggle will be answered late this week after Challenge has gone to press. These questions relate to the Commerce Bulletin.

Will this newspaper print a retraction of its untrue statements? Will it provide space for a YSL reply to attempt to right some of the irreparable harm already done? In short, will the paper live up to any kind of responsible journalistic standard? If it does not, then a real victory for the forces of civil liberties will not yet have been attained at Washington Square.

Without these questions answered in the right way, no matter how much the YSL can bring its own case to the NYU students, there is a setback; for then irresponsible journalism, working toward conformity and the reinforcement of fear within the Garrison State, has won its right to go on and attack our freedoms more and more.

YSL Asks for Major Effort In Fund Drive

By MAX MARTIN National Chairman, YSL

The Young Socialist League opens its Fund Drive on April 1 with a determination to succeed in reaching its goal of raising \$1,500. The drive will last for three months, ending on June 30.

The following are the quotas for YSL units.

Table with 2 columns: City and Quota. At Large \$170, Berkeley 100, Boston 70, Chicago 200, Los Angeles 200, New Haven 35, New York 675, Newark 50.

With the exceptions of Boston and New Haven, whose quotas are tentative ones, all of the units have accepted their quotas and these are, therefore, final.

The importance of the drive to the organization cannot be overestimated. Socialist and radical organizations in general have to depend on their own members and friends for their financial support, since they lack the financial backing available to capitalist parties and organizations. In our case, however, there is an added urgency which stems from the fact that the YSL is a new organization, less than two months old. We need financial help to enable us to get started and carry out the program of activity which is being planned.

The publication of our organ, the Young Socialist Challenge, the conducting of national tours such as the one Comrades Denitch and Arden are now engaged in, and the day-to-day functioning of the National Office depend upon our success in meeting our \$1500 quota.

The units and unit Fund Drive directors should remember that the success or failure of a drive very frequently depends upon whether or not the branches make a real effort to collect (and send to the N. O.) the major share of their quotas in the first few weeks of the drive. We want therefore to urge all Fund Drive directors to make such an effort; a reasonable goal might be the reaching of the 50 per cent mark by May 1.

All friends and sympathizers of the YSL, as well as all readers of Challenge, should avail themselves of the opportunity of aiding the socialist cause by contributing their help to the drive. Make all checks and money orders payable to Max Martin and send all communications to YSL, 3rd floor, 114 West 14 Street, New York City.

(Continued from page 5)

tions of the panelists. The faces of the conference members, which had hardened with apprehension when socialists hove into sight, were now softening with even faint traces of smiles.

But when socialists entered the closing session, after being compelled to check their literature at the door, they committed the ultimate indiscretion of attempting to speak to Norman Thomas. A united front of the entire committee rose up in wrath to bar the way: "You cannot go there."

"Why not?"—"Knowing Mr. Thomas' feelings, we don't want him to be annoyed."—"But we wouldn't do that; we respect Mr. Thomas as a firm believer in civil liberties."—"Don't say that," was the enlightened reply, "we know how Mr. Thomas feels about the Young Socialist League."—"That's precisely the point, that though he strongly disagrees with our point of view, he would yet defend our right to be heard." It was evident that this democratic kind of thinking couldn't penetrate to this conference member.

BUSY-BEE GUARDS

Meanwhile, one of the committee members was violently summoning a man in uniform whom he believed to be a guard. He was frustrated by the fact that the uniform turned out to be that of a custodian.

After the session, committee members disagreed on the advisability of the socialists' seeing Thomas. Guards again barred the way. ("Do you want us to throw them out?") and it was deemed advisable that they see Thomas "later."

As the socialists were leaving a smiling guard sidled over to them: "Do you fellows want to give me your names?"—"Why?"—"Well, you seem to be protesting a lot. I could give your names to the Columbia Spectator and tell them of your protest." The somewhat disappointed guard was assured that there would indeed be a letter to the Spectator but that it would come directly from the individuals concerned. The guard then merely accompanied the students to the door.

The planning committee members noted

Meeting at Columbia Bars —

Next Week

A full report on the speeches and discussions at the panels of the Columbia Bicentennial Conference.

that they had worked very hard preparing this conference and that "you" were spoiling it. Socialist representatives insisted that they didn't wish to be spoilsports but indeed that they felt that on the contrary, a presentation of fresh and minority ideas added to the meaning of the conference. The conference chairman shouted, "Stop all this."

Committee members noted that the Young Socialist League had not formally applied for permission to distribute literature but admitted they would have been against it then and certainly were now.

'THE FREE USE THEREOF'

Committee members argued that the conference was on private property, that the socialists were trying to "steal" the conference! They used the term "steal" as if they "owned" the minds of the conference delegates and someone was trying to steal these minds from them. These "liberals" were so unsure of the

soundness and persuasiveness of their viewpoint in an open marketplace of ideas that they found themselves obliged to suppress dissident views (in literary form), by force if necessary.

This thinking is similar to the very trends which, one might have assumed, it was the very aim of the Bicentennial Conference on "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof" to counter. McCarthyism, loyalty oaths, subversive lists and Smith Acts revealed official America's ideological bankruptcy by resorting to the suppression of competing social ideas. It is an unhappy matter that these conference planners had to use precisely these methods at precisely this conference.

A leaflet distributed by the Young Socialist League at Columbia notes, "It is inconceivable to us why in these times, when all dissident thought is subject to violent repression, that the conference committee should do anything but encourage the presentation and distribution of the greatest number and variety of ideas at the conference."

Get The Challenge

every week — by subscribing to Labor Action. A student sub is only \$1 a year.

JOIN THE YSL NOW!

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (Temporary address) 114 West 14 Street New York 11, New York

- I want more information about the Young Socialist League. I want to join the Young Socialist League.

NAME ADDRESS CITY ZONE STATE SCHOOL IF ANY

You Won't Read It in the Papers but That Rolling Recession Is Hitting California

By B. ARNOLD

OAKLAND, Calif., March 23—Official figures on California's rising unemployment, along with other important data just made available, definitely indicate that an economic downturn is under way in this state too.

Contrary to the propaganda of the professional optimists of the press and Chambers of Commerce, the increasing unemployment, declining retail sales and growing number of business bankruptcies furnish clear proof that California is no exception to the national slump.

No longer is it possible to hide the extent of the growing mass unemployment in the state. In spite of the welter of confusing and often deliberately distorted statistics on unemployment in the local press, the following official figures speak for themselves: Unemployment at the end of February on a state-wide level rose to over 300,000.

So reports the California Department of Employment in its latest monthly tally released this week. This report states that unemployment increased over 50,000 from the previous month and at last count was 5.8 per cent of the total estimated labor force.

DARK TREND

These same official statistics reveal that the number of unemployed in Los Angeles has now surpassed 115,000, with another 56,000 jobless in the San Francisco Bay Area; both figures represent significant increases over the previous month.

In addition, the smaller cities of the state show a similar trend of rising unemployment and the problem is becoming acute throughout the vast Central Valley area. On the basis of preliminary reports for the first half of March, there is every

indication that this month will show another sizable increase in unemployment totals.

There have been few publicized mass layoffs of workers; yet with the exception of the aircraft industry, employment levels are declining in all non-farm activities in the state, according to the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.

In one of the rare objective accounts of the situation, this bank goes on to report that the current decline is considerably more than seasonal in scope. In addition to the reduction in employment, the average number of hours worked per week by those still on the job in manufacturing is at the lowest level since the outbreak of the Korean war. Overtime pay has become a thing of the past in California as elsewhere in the country.

The one notable exception to this declining trend is the aircraft industry in Southern California which has actually shown an increase in number of workers employed, rising in January to an estimated 176,000, the highest level since the close of World War II. The vast number that continue to be employed in this industry, despite the declines in all other fields, indicates once again how important war preparations have become to the economy as a whole.

IN SMALL TOWNS

While the employment data is the most comprehensive measure of over-all economic activity available for the state, other recently released figures conclusively support the point that a recession is under way. These facts clearly indicate that the pattern of economic decline in California seems to be paralleling, in broad outline, the over-all national pattern. The downward trend of the economy from an all-time peak began at approximately the same time, and the extent of the decline has been similar.

With respect to some economic indicators, such as department store sales and residential building, the reduction

has been somewhat greater in California than nationally. The latest Federal Reserve Board figures show that for both the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, department store sales are off 10 per cent as compared to last year. For the year to date, sales are running approximately 7 per cent lower than in the previous year.

The decline in retail sales is not confined to the major metropolitan areas, but is widespread throughout the state. Decreasing farm income, off 11.2 per cent in 1953 from 1952, despite a 4 per cent greater crop yield, has resulted in a general slackening of business conditions in the small towns so dependent upon agricultural prosperity.

Building construction, which has been one of the major civilian props to the post-war boom in this state, is now definitely showing signs of faltering. Latest figures on new building reveal a considerable drop from last year, a drop greater than the national average. At a time when there is normally a seasonal pickup in construction, the reports so far for the month of March show instead a continuation of the decline.

THE BOOM IS OVER

For the first time in the post-war period, there is beginning to be apparent in Los Angeles County, the scene of the greatest residential building and most frenzied real-estate speculation of the entire country, a growing number of foreclosures on delinquent mortgages. While still on a very small scale, comparatively speaking, this item is, nevertheless, a chilling reminder of a common enough occurrence of the depression of the 1930s.

It is no wonder in view of the above that the authoritative *Monthly Summary of Business Conditions*, put out by the Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles, states bluntly that in Los Angeles the real-estate boom is over.

Increasing business failures, a customary symptom of the pathology of capitalism during a period of slump, are beginning to cause anxieties among California's banks and credit institutions. Both in number of failures and in liabilities involved, this significant index is now at its highest since early 1950, and has risen 35 per cent in the last month alone.

While it would be highly premature to claim on the basis of the facts and figures cited above that a major depression

is in the offing, nevertheless all signs indicate that an economic decline is under way, the extent or severity of which is still difficult to determine.

It is the growing unemployment in California which more than any other indicator belies those politicians and business leaders who claim that only a "rolling adjustment" is occurring, or that the current situation is primarily seasonal in character.

No amount of political doubletalk or statistical juggling can now conceal the ugly facts of life as they actually exist. The long lines of men and women at the unemployment insurance offices in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Richmond and Berkeley are in themselves living proof of the slumping economy.

UNIONS QUIET

The rapid increase in county welfare and relief applications (up by 2,000 families in Alameda County alone last month), indicates that, for some of the unemployed, a depression is already here. The San Francisco *Chronicle* of March 22 quotes the welfare director of Alameda County (which includes the cities of Oakland and Berkeley) as predicting that another sharp increase in relief rolls is likely in May and June as workers who lost their jobs last fall exhaust their 26 weeks of unemployment benefits and are forced on relief.

A similar trend of rising relief rolls is also reported from agricultural counties as well as from the other major industrial areas of the state.

Despite the growing number of union members who are unemployed, the state leaders of the California trade unions have so far refrained from any major activities which would indicate an immediate concern with the problem.

The California state AFL did request Governor Knight to increase unemployment-insurance benefits, as did the CIO, but in general the union leaders are waiting to see if the promised spring upturn actually occurs. However, some of the AFL Building Construction locals, already hard-hit by the slump in building, are becoming restive and have called upon the governor to increase state public works construction.

KNIGHT WAKES UP

Governor Knight, the man who succeeded Earl Warren when the latter was appointed to the U. S. Supreme Court, and who is the Republican candidate for governor in the coming elections, has asked the state legislature to approve a bill increasing unemployment insurance benefits to \$30 from the present \$25 maximum.

This is the same Knight, in essence a reactionary mediocrity, who a few short weeks ago decreed talk of recession as "subversive." Seeking labor support, he now finds it politically feasible to admit that unemployment is increasing and that California workers in this, the state with the highest cost of living in the entire country, cannot live on the paltry \$25 that the present law provides. Knight still maintains, however, that the current slump is entirely seasonal in character.

While it may be true that a certain percentage of unemployment is due to seasonal factors (especially in a state like California where agriculture and food-processing play a vital role in the economy) the fact remains that the number of jobless is rapidly approaching the level reached in early 1950.

Then it was the Korean war which came along and quickly absorbed the hundreds of thousands of idle workers. The question on people's minds today is: What will it be in 1954?

Scorpion Pass — —

(Continued from page 1)

to come out against another Kibya but urged an attack against the Arab Legion, the army of Jordan—an act that would virtually mean full-scale war.

While even the Israelis, let alone world public opinion, have a right to express indignation and disappointment at the one-sided attitude of the great powers (including Russia) and of the U. S. in particular, they would do well to remember that answering one barbaric deed by another will only drag down the level of conflict and make it more horrible and gruesome.

Israeli statements themselves have described the Scorpion Pass massacre as the worst committed. Until now the Arabs have contented themselves with individual murders and robberies. The Kibya affair gave them the excuse they had been waiting for, to resort to mass slaughter at Scorpion Pass.

U. S. MANEUVER

The real explanation for the difference in attitude by the U. S. with regard to the barbaric killings at Kibya and at Scorpion Pass is that while the U. S. desires stability in the area, it does not give a tinker's damn for either Jewish or Arab blood. The Kibya events took place at the same time that the U. S. had ordered the Israeli government to stop work on a canal. The condemnation of Israel for the attack was only a punishment for refusal to obey U. S. orders, as we explained at the time in an article in these columns.

From a long-term point of view, it is, however, less important to establish responsibility for specific acts than to come to grips with the dangerous state of belligerency that exists in the Near East. The plain facts are that the Arab states have refused to concede that Israel is here to stay as a nation in the world. Other nations do not have the will—and even with the best will, could not do it alone—to convince them of the desirability of accepting this fact. That is a job for the Arab labor movement, the Israeli labor movement and the government it controls. The first steps have to be taken to create popular demand for peace before diplomatic activity can be expected to have any results.

The Grapes of Wrath: Edition of 1954

Out of the farmlands of California comes a 1954 edition of *The Grapes of Wrath*.

A dispatch to the San Francisco *Chronicle* of March 19, from San Luis Obispo, reports that in the Nipomo area scores of families of migratory farm workers are existing at "near-starvation levels." These families traveled to the pea-picking farms of the area for the six-week season ("They come all the way from Arizona for it," said the county welfare director) but steady rain, keeping them out of the fields, has been sufficient to reduce them to a critical state of hunger.

The plight of the 75 families hit the papers when children came to school faint and ill with hunger. "It is hard to tell, however," said the principal of the Nipomo migratory workers' school. "Children can hold up pretty well. When they do feel hungry, we send them out for a drink of water. That helps them for a half-hour. Then they must go out again. You see, many of the families are living on a diet of flour and water from which they make a kind of gravy. Some of them do not even have that."

A campaign started to get help by the county Welfare Agency, the Red Cross and the PTA. The Welfare Agency said it had no funds for relief of the families. "We have been running about \$5000 in the red each month just trying to take care of the people out of work who live in the county," he said. "To do anything for the agricultural workers would be impossible without special funds from

the Board of Supervisors."

While things like the rain itself are classified as an "act of God" in certain legal documents like insurance policies, there are a couple less spiritual factors in this situation. As the picture indicates, the farm owners get the advantage of cheap migratory labor without any responsibility on their part for caring for their "hands" whenever pea-picking is made impossible by the weather. Pay is 60 cents for picking a basket of peas. During the rainy spell, the men have been able to work only from one to three hours in the wet fields, picking an average of one basket an hour. The farm owners depend on and invite such migratory labor but let them starve in the rain if their peas cannot be picked.

Secondly, it is also clear that the migratory families' predicament is superimposed on the developing unemployment situation for the regular residents of the area. The welfare director said that the situation was "complicated" by unemployment caused by the shutdown of two army camps. Camp Roberts and Camp San Luis Obispo. A war-economy prop has been taken away.

One mother of 8 listed as her total food supply one head of cabbage, one head of cauliflower, 3 pounds of flour, 2 pounds of lard and three-fourths of a can of milk. The milk is for her nursing child. "What are we going to do?" asked one father. "Our children are asking for food and we don't have it to give them."

"Something's got to be done right away," said the welfare director.

SUBSCRIBERS — ATTENTION!

Check your NAME—ADDRESS—CITY—ZONE—STATE appearing on the wrapper.

If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.

18-14

If the above number appears at the bottom of your address, your subscription expires with this issue.

RENEW NOW!

Dulles Threatens — —

(Continued from page 1)

only that the new gunmen are pro-U. S. and suitably pliable to imperialist domination. But what is "our interest" which forbids recognition of the de-facto (though despotic) government of China today?

Whereupon Dulles shifts to complaints that the Chinese leaders foster hatred of the U. S. and that they helped the North Korean regime and help Ho in Indo-China now. But he does manage to make perfectly clear that his continued recognition of the Chiang government in Formosa as the National government of China is the bar.

IMPLIED THREAT

It has been publicly stated in the press by pro-Eisenhower commentators that the U. S. wants *nothing* to happen in Geneva; it just wants to live through it and get it over with, as with the past Berlin conference. In this speech, excluding any recognition of China in advance, some of the hopes of the French are blasted.

Dulles' section on China explains what the U. S. does not have to offer at Geneva. American statesmen are very handy at explaining that, or at least have been getting a lot of practice. What DOES it have

to propose?—not to make the Stalinists happy, to be sure, but to rally that "free world" they talk about against the Stalinist threat?

Just one thing, and the only thing Washington knows how to do: an implied threat of extension of the Indo-Chinese war. For surely the "measured" tones that Dulles used in reading his speech at this point were not simply an elocutionary device.

The imposition of a Communist system on "Southwest Asia," he intoned, "by whatever means" (including, therefore, non-military means) would be a "grave threat" and "should not be passively accepted but should be met by united action." The diplomatic vagueness of these words was then clarified by continued reference to the "risks" of fighting for "peace."

The words resound louder after two Hell-bomb blasts in the Pacific.

INDO-CHINA IS DIFFERENT

But this constitutional inability of American capitalism to embrace any political program for a non-military fight against Stalinist expansion bids fair to lead to an even greater catastrophe in Indo-China than in Korea. In Korea the U. S. took its stand with Syngman Rhee.

In China the U. S. still clasps the hand of Chiang Kai-shek, and Dulles still talks about the "free Chinese" under that experienced butcher. In Indo-China the U. S. comes to the aid, not merely of a native dictator, but of the foreign imperialist master, France.

Yet the cases are not the same. There is a big difference between the situation in Indo-China and that in the other two hapless countries. The difference only underlines the reactionary nature of American policy.

In Korea and in China, when the crisis was sharpest, there was no longer any democratic anti-Stalinist force within the country of any sizable proportions. In Indo-China such a force exists.

In Indo-China, therefore, a truly democratic foreign policy already has a base in the country.

A THIRD CAMP

That base is the semi-organized forces within Vietnam, with sympathetic elements even behind Ho's lines, who both want to fight the Stalinists and are also fighting against French control and the French puppets. These are the nationalists who are even now giving Bai Dai a rough time, from the left, and who are vociferously demanding independence from France in order to release the country's full energies for a democratic, free, united Indo-China. It is even reported that there is a "free zone" in Indo-China under the control of such forces. They are influential even in the ranks of the colonial setup. Socialist and Marxist elements play an important role, but by no means are the exclusive components of this tendency.

Here is a real Third Camp force in terms of the Indo-Chinese situation. Here are the forces who speak of turning Ho Chi Minh's "left flank," by aiming to split his supporters on the basis of an anti-imperialist policy directed against both Paris and Moscow.

In Indo-China apologists for the U. S. line do not even have a shadow of a pretext for pretending that there is only a choice between Stalinism and reaction. Here, if American policy were half of what some liberal defenders of it claim it to be, there is a tailor-made situation for the implementation of an anti-imperialist fight against Stalinism.

That fight is being pushed by strong elements in Indo-China but it is anathema to Washington no less than it was in Korea. While Dulles makes speeches between two H-bomb detonations, the hope of the world lies outside both the Washington camp and the Moscow camp.

Franco Ups Price — —

(Continued from page 1)

the government has been playing in economic aid abroad, Dunn told the audience, and "to this end, it is necessary that there be established in the world the kind of conditions which will encourage private capital." American enterprises already established in Spain, he told them, have been studying the possibilities of further investment and he went on to express the polite "hope" that this would be made possible.

A HUMBLE NAY

After Dunn sat down, Argüelles felt called on to answer him (or rather to answer the implied pressure felt behind his diplomatic words). He began by begging for more dollars like a clerk explaining to the boss why he needs a raise, detailing the various things the regime wants to do. Then he came to the point about opening up Spain to investment.

Humbly, but firmly he explained why the Franco regime had taken measures to limit the investment of foreign capital in an enterprise to 25 per cent (with certain exceptions). Yes, he told Dunn, your proposal would be a solution, though only a partial one, to our industrialization problem; but (he went on) foreign capital has to be paid—it will take profits out of the country, he implied—and our delicately adjusted balance of payments would be upset, so we're very sorry about it, Mr. Ambassador. . . .

In an editorial, the paper ABC supported Argüelles' stand.

This is the main source of friction—the demand for more dollars versus the demand for the open door for capital—but there have also been some others. There was a clash over the use of German firms in constructing U. S. bases in Spain, for example.

One of the pressures on Franco, outside of his own desire to grab off whatever he can anyway, has been widespread feeling—not confined to oppositionists—that in his deal to let the U. S. plant its bases around Spain, Franco compromised Spanish sovereignty in exchange for cash in the pocket, and not too much of the latter. So for one thing it would ease such critics somewhat if Franco could up the blood-money; and for another thing, concessions to Yankee investors would increase the feeling that Uncle Sam was colonizing their country.

QUALMS

It is in answer to these qualms that the paper ABC wrote the following editorial, in which the lady perhaps protested too much:

"Not a foot of Spanish territory will

escape our sovereignty. Our flag will wave over all the bases. Nothing will be taken away from the jurisdiction of our government. The United States of North America will get no monopoly either on any land or any installations. The 'status' which our delegates obtained for the joint bases, in the course of cordial negotiations which no third powers could thwart, is indisputably one of the greatest diplomatic successes for Spain."

And of course that has a great measure of truth in it, especially with regard to the effect of the deal in strengthening Franco's internal position. It was a "success" most especially scored by Franco over his own people who hate him. But it has not been without its troublesome side for Franco, and the grumblings about U. S. colonization can well become more serious, especially if Washington refuses to throw dimes around like Rockefeller.

Hence the situation underlines the continued necessity for fighting against U. S. aid to Franco—the battle was not ended when the deal was made.

NMU Opposition —

(Continued from page 2)

office," writes Curran in the *Pilot* (March 18), "they not only never complained, about dictatorship or anything like that, but were happy to follow Curran in the fight against Trotskyites and Communists. They voted for all the policies that now exist."

They protest that the membership-book sale scandal was mishandled? Why didn't they speak up? They protest that lawyers and officials are dipping into union funds for high fees, salaries and expenses; why didn't they speak up? The book scandal first broke in 1950; why didn't they demand the election of a rank and file investigating committee then?

DEAD WEIGHT

The opposition has not tried to reply to these questions. The answer is very simple, although embarrassing:

They feared the very machine with which they rode into office. They knew from experience that it could not be challenged on a single important issue without unleashing an all-out struggle. They sought at first to make changes and adjustments through conferences with Curran without involving the rank and file. But that proved impossible. Finally, in order to press for action on the questions important to them, Jim-Crow and racketeering, they had to risk all.

Union bureaucracy sometimes appears the quickest and most effective road; that is how it might have seemed in 1949. But suddenly it is revealed as a dead weight on the union, standing in the way of desperately needed reforms.

We can well understand the intense feelings of the NMU opposition, which has seen the ILA degenerate into a gangster outfit and now feels that their

own union officialdom is at least complacent before the same threat.

"I have a feeling that some people will be convicted. I am not saying whether they will be members or not, or officials, but whoever is guilty will be convicted." This is Curran on the book racket. The opposition demands that the union do something; it cannot sit by while its officials are under suspicion. But Curran refuses to act.

WINKING AT GANGSTERS

One explanation jumps to the eye. In order to begin an investigation, he must at the outset subject his own close followers—for they are accused—to questioning and probing. But his regime is so closely tied to them that he will not take such initiative. It would be a violation of one of the most basic laws of bureaucratic procedure: the practice of mutual protection.

Let the police handle it, says Curran, thus avoiding responsibility and shunning a conflict with his own men. Nor can he allow a rank-and-file investigating committee, for that would subject them to the membership, another violation of the bureaucratic code. And he concludes correctly that the adoption of a motion for the election of such a committee, under these circumstances, "tells me I am a failure, that is, I, as the president of this union, am not carrying out my duty."

Not every bureaucratic machine gives rise to racketeering. Some unions, like many other organizations, are honest, clean AND undemocratic. But that cannot efface this fact: bureaucratism facilitates its growth; bureaucratism turns the problem of the removal of this disease from a minor surgical operation into a mortal crisis.

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 worldwide 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!

Get Acquainted!

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, N. Y.

- I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.
- I want to join the ISL.

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

The Handy Way to Subscribe!

LABOR ACTION
Independent Socialist Weekly
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

- Please enter my subscription:
- 1 year at \$2. New
 - 6 months at \$1. Renewal
 - Payment enclosed. Bill me.

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
114 West 14 Street, New York City
specializes in books and pamphlets on the Labor and Socialist movement, Marxism, etc., and can supply books of all publishers.
Send for our free book list.