

# LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MAY 17, 1954

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The Young Socialist Challenge

... FOUR-PAGE EDITION

## Un-Americaners Flop In 2nd Detroit Invasion

DETROIT, May 2—A public blast by the top officials of the United Auto Workers (CIO) against the forthcoming hearings of the Congressional Un-American Committee directed by Representative Kit Clardy, Republican of Michigan, has set the ambitions of this staunch McCarthyite back on its heels.

Walter Reuther, Emil Mazey, John Livingston and Richard Gosser united to make the public criticism of the hearings as a "political stunt," and thus the Clardy committee found itself facing a solid united front of the entire UAW-CIO.

Last Thursday many prominent Detroit clergymen, speaking through the Detroit chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced this committee and its procedures. On Sunday 75 prominent Detroit lawyers deplored the procedures and proceedings of the Clardy committee, and urged the people of this area to withhold judgment on persons accused.

Sunday night, the UAW TV program featured its chief counsel, Harold Cranfield, and General Secretary-Treasurer Mazey discussing the hearings.

Nor is the Clardy-directed committee getting TV or radio coverage this year.

The UAW-CIO issued a 9-page blast at the committee, and this made top headlines in the Detroit papers. It pointed out that the hearings are being held primarily for the convenience of Clardy's campaign for re-election. As a congressman who often criticizes Eisenhower as being too much under the influence of the "leftists," Clardy is going to have a difficult time getting re-elected.

The UAW reminded the public that the first time the committee came here was in 1948 and its purpose was to smear and defeat Governor Frank Murphy, who was accused of being a "Communist" sympathizer.

### ON THE 5TH AMENDMENT

The second visit was in 1952 and was manifestly timed to publicize the unknown and obscure Charles Potter, then congressman but a candidate for the United States Senate. (The failure of the union movement then to take the committee head-on enabled Potter to have a field day, and also to defeat Blair Moody for senator.)

The UAW leaders said they would sincerely urge all witnesses called before the committee to avoid invoking the Fifth Amendment if it is at all possible to do so, because both hoodlums and Communists have invoked the Fifth Amendment repeatedly and the emo-

tional climate is such that anyone who does so is prejudged guilty. This is a curious formula; for it implies that the Fifth Amendment is a mistake, and it does itself succumb to the emotional climate, rather than try to correct and change it.

Nor is the UAW statement clear on what course it would recommend for individuals called before the committee, but perhaps events of the week will clarify this issue.

The blow this statement gave to the committee was indicated by the mild report Clardy issued: "I'll give them credit for being sincere and honest in thinking as they are, but we'll show them they are wrong." He added, "Taken by and large, the statement amounts to a blessing on those who take refuge behind the Fifth Amendment, even though it says it doesn't."

### THREATENS ACTION

The UAW also warned employers against any discharge or disciplining of any union member on the sole grounds that he invoked the Fifth Amendment. It promised to resist "through our collective bargaining procedure" any such actions. It may be recalled that the UAW won back pay for some persons run out of the shop

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### PORTENT IN THE NAZARETH ELECTIONS—

## Israel's Arab Policy Shows Bitter Fruits

By AL FINDLEY

The results of the April 12 election in the city of Nazareth, Israel, have embarrassed the Israeli government and focused attention on government policy with respect to the Arab territory.

Nazareth is a city of 21,000 people and is almost 100 per cent Arab. The Arab population is divided religiously between Christians and Moslems. As can be expected from the importance Nazareth has in the Christian story, the various churches have concentrated many institutions in this area. The city itself has been under the rule of the Israeli military since the end of the fighting five years ago.

Many parties participated in the elections. Some were political arms of the religious bodies and others were bona-fide political groupings. The results of the elections showed the Communist Party to be the largest single party, capturing six out of the 15 municipal council seats and getting 38 per cent of the vote.

Why are the Stalinists so strong in this, the largest center of Israeli Arabs, in contrast to their weakness (4 per cent) among Israeli Jews? There are, of

### WASHINGTON'S DIENBIENPHU—

## The Rout at Geneva: 'Our Line's Been Changed Again'

By PHILIP COBEN

The picture which the Geneva Conference of the powers on the Indochinese question has so far presented to the world is that of a complete rout of U. S. policy, with Dulles fleeing from the scene in confusion.

This result was not due to any clever strategy on the part of the Stalinist representatives, who need scarcely have done a thing to bring about that result. American policy was shown up as simply having little point of contact with the realities of the world—even from the point of view of its allies, that is, even from the inter-imperialist standpoint, let alone from the standpoint of a solution of the conflict with progressive possibilities.

In shaking the dust of Geneva from his feet, Secretary of State Dulles was, of course, symbolically trying to say that the conference was of no account and thereby trying to minimize the impact of the ignominious situation. (Just as, after the fall of Dienbienphu, Washington has begun to crawl out of its former huffing-and-puffing about the crucial importance of the French Foreign Legion's stand in the fortress.)

U. S. policy had been blown up before the conference even started, when it could not line up even its closest allies for a reasonable facsimile of support to its line. That policy had had only one objective: to steer toward intervention under cover of a "Southeast Asian alliance," which would perform the same function of "legitimizing" interventionism as the UN label played in Korea. But France and England were thinking in terms of how to compromise the conflict, which could no longer be

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24 says: "Does this mean that the Arabs have suddenly become Communist? No. It only means that they do not shrink from making common cause with those opposed to Israel even if they be Communist." The lesson: "Help dispel American illusions that the Arabs may eventually become members of the democratic community." Conclusions for Israel: none!

### EMBARRASSED

The Israeli governments main reaction is one of acute embarrassment. Is it embarrassment because the election has revealed that it has failed to arouse any feelings of loyalty in the hearts of some members of its minority? No. They are interested only in what effect the election will have in the world capitals and how it will affect the flow of arms to Israel as against the Arab states, etc. They fear that since Nazareth was the only city having elections at this time, and the press spotlighted Nazareth in connection with Easter, the results may bring adverse reactions from the diplomats.

Their only solace is the fact that in the past national elections, the Arab Stalinists received 42 per cent of the Nazarene vote as compared with 38 per cent now.

What the government ignores is that all the Arab parties have now included in their platforms opposition to the Israeli treatment of its Arabs. The Nazareth Arabs chose between lesser and greater opposition. The Arab youth, labor and a sizable proportion of other groups voted for the most extreme critics of the government.

Is there any appreciation of the fact (Turn to last page)

## For the Psychosomatic Department

WASHINGTON, May 1 (UP)—Senator George A. Smathers, Democrat of Florida, asked the State Department today to urge Britain to cancel her plans for "germ warfare" maneuvers in the Caribbean area this year.

He wrote to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that residents of the Florida coast were concerned that prevailing winds might blow some of the germs their way.

Britain announced March 12 that she would conduct defensive tests against germ warfare in an uninhabited section of the British-owned Bahama Islands off the Florida coast. But it was emphasized that actual germs would not be used in the tests. The germ weapons would be simulated as, in other training maneuvers, high explosives are simulated.

Mr. Smathers said the State Department should invite Britain to transfer the tests to the United States hydrogen bomb testing grounds in the Pacific.

—N. Y. Times, May 2.

# Reuther Suspends Opposition Paper

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, May 10—The crackdown by the top leadership of the United Auto Workers (CIO) on the anti-administration Chevrolet Local 659 of Flint raises the possibility of a campaign in many local unions, based on the charges placed against the Flint local by the International Executive Board of the UAW.

In placing an administrator over the Chevrolet Local 659, the largest in the Flint area with 15,000 members, the UAW top leaders made three charges:

(1) That funds of the local had been dissipated in the payment of unnecessary expenses to members of the shop committee.

(2) That the local's biweekly newspaper had published material which did not conform to the policies of the international union.

(3) That the newspaper had failed to observe the mandate of the 1951 convention by continuing to publish "anti-union" material.

Will the UAW investigate pro-administration local unions also to eliminate the practice of "unnecessary expenses to members of the shop committee" and perhaps other committees? It is an open secret in many Detroit locals that there is a very strong inclination of administrations to call people out of the shop, especially just before elections, to do "union work," while actually the system amounts to political payoffs. Unquestionably the UAW leaders are acquainted with the facts in this situation.

The importance of this charge in the Local 659 case cannot be overemphasized, for the only hope the UAW leadership has of winning over the ranks is precisely on the financial issue.

That the leadership of Local 659 is

highly critical, in fact bitterly anti-Reuther, is well known in Flint. It was elected by the rank and file on that basis. That the newspaper *Searchlight* of the local union prints highly critical articles of the Reuther leadership is also old stuff.

Until the full charges are given and replies are made, judgment should be suspended on the political issues involved, including the question of the freedom or limitations of a local union newspaper. Certainly, the UAW leadership is on very delicate grounds on these issues.

## WHICH IS IT?

However, the UAW leadership is driving in the right direction when it begins a campaign against the way local union funds are being used in many cases, under the theory that unless the constitution or by-laws prohibits something, it is legal.

As the local unions become stronger financially, the large funds make an attractive temptation. Furthermore, the limitations of local union by-laws and the lack of detailed regulations on expenditures in other cases provide a field day for politicians interested in buying their way in re-elections. A new Chrysler local union was placed under administration on financial grounds last fall. The president of Hudson local resigned from office and didn't run again, when his records on lost-time were challenged by the UAW leadership.

The UAW move in Flint may be just inspired politically, as the local union president charges, or it may be the beginning of a long overdue campaign to make local union officials understand and carry out their financial responsibilities to the union, in many cases. Events will settle this question.

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Oil Union Merger...McCarthyite Retort... UAW Conference...Kohler Strike Battle

By PETE JARMS

CHICAGO, April 18—The oil union merger, which the press wrote off last week as dead, is far from dead at this point. Standard Oil has been working night and day to kill it, by working on their independent unions, but so far it has had only limited success.

The Oil Workers Union (CIO) is having a convention in June to approve of the new draft constitution and the merger is scheduled for August. The independent unions are having a full-fledged discussion on the subject in their press.

## TALE OUT OF SCHOOL

Patrick Gorman, head of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (AFL), was an invited guest to the First District Packinghouse Workers (CIO) conference held in Chicago, April 11. The most interesting part of his speech was an attack on the hypocrisy of the Democratic Party with respect to the race question.

He revealed that at the Stevenson meeting (\$100-a-plate dinner) three Negroes who had raised quite a sum for the party were politely told to absent themselves from the affair in the best interests of the party.

Gorman, whose union recently carried an editorial in its paper endorsing Joe McCarthy, now feels it safe to attack him. Consistency is not their virtue. But the remarks on the Democratic Party are true and should be said more often.

## MCCARTHYITE RETORT

John Dougherty, Steelworkers Union representative in Chicago and a member

of the Chicago Board of Education, has been involved in a fight on the question of the application of seniority to school principals' jobs. He took the correct position, even though it was unpopular.

However, when attacked by Ex-Superintendent of Schools Hunt, who now teaches at Harvard, his only comeback was to the effect that Hunt ought to spend more time routing out the pinks and reds from Harvard than mixing in internal affairs in Chicago.

Is this CIO policy?—right after the UAW Educational Conference, too, where everyone went out after McCarthyite methods. Is this a proper method of educating the rank and file to root out the poison of name-calling, etc.?

## UAW CONFERENCE

Some sidelights on the Educational Conference of the UAW-CIO:

The new technique of utilizing a white screen backdrop with a huge slide of the topic of the day was very effective; it has tremendous possibilities.

The conference was a success in terms of numbers in attendance, interest and participation. The entire Morrison Hotel of 40 floors was the UAW's during the four days. Other hotels had to be used too. The large Civic Opera House built by Samuel Insull (the shark who fleeced hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans out of their savings in the early '30s) was a bit too large for the mass sessions.

It seemed that the technique was a good one-way street for UAW policy at this time. But the bull sessions revealed that many of the rank-and-file delegates and secondary leaders have a long way to go to understand the problems of the day even in Reutherite terms. Even now, such expressions as "Let's drop the apple now," "Wire-tapping ain't so bad," etc. were among the reactions of some. However, the mere fact that workers got together and were allowed to discuss the vital problems of the day is quite an advance over anything else done in the labor movement today.

The newspaper reporters did a much better job for Reuther than his special Illinois candidate, Paul Douglas. On wire-tapping: Douglas was for its "limited" use but the reporters were all against.

## KOHLER'S FORTRESS

One of the most important strikes in UAW history is taking place at the Kohler Manufacturing Company in Kohler, Wisconsin. Kohler was involved in the massacre of several strikers in 1936 when the AFL had bargaining rights. They were defeated and the UAW succeeded in cracking that fortress only a few years ago.

Since the first contract the company has concentrated on wiping the union out of any participation in plant life. They wrote a contract that does away with the union.

The strike is now in its third week. Emil Mazey is more or less responsible charge, and already has been arrested on the picket line. It will be quite a battle and bears watching by the labor movement.

## After Radulovich: Now It's the Lupa Story

# New Detroit 'Risk' Case Ominous for UAW

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, May 2—Once again this automotive center has come up with a "security risk" case whose impact is affecting the United Auto Workers leaders and membership with even greater concern than the recent Radulovich case.

Not only does the case involve one very well-known UAW activist and another union man, but the implications of this situation are enormous and easily recognized.

Unless John Walter Lupa, a veteran with an excellent record, an active Catholic and skilled mechanic, wins reinstatement at the Detroit Arsenal, it must be said that literally hundreds of UAW secondary leaders and members know they are marked "poor security risks."

And even if Lupa does win his individual case, a continuation of the present totalitarian concepts of "security," which the Eisenhower administration has refined out of its inheritance from the Truman regime, means that these UAW people each face that kind of fight individually.

## THE CHARGES

Thanks to an excellent Page One story, with a thorough coverage, in the Detroit *Free Press* today, Lupa's fight for his reputation has become public knowledge.

Lupa, a man with a brace on his back from physical disability suffered in PT boat work, and a veteran also of the Korean war, was dismissed one month ago by the army security officer at the Detroit Arsenal at Centerline. When his wife and family, including three children, recovered from the shock, he decided to fight. He has an appeal coming up soon.

The six charges are, in full:

1—"Reportedly, in 1942, when asked by another individual whether you were a Communist, you replied that you were a Communist and were proud of it."

2—"In 1949, and also . . . from 1933 to 1940 inclusive, you were a close associate of Ernest Mazey, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive and Communist."

3—"On January 9, 1949, you were attending a meeting of the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party."

4—"In 1944, your name appeared on a

list of contacts of the Socialist Workers Party."

5—"You held subscriptions, which expired in 1942 and were not renewed, to 'The Militant' and the 'Fourth International,' publications of the Socialist Workers Party."

6—"In 1947, your name appeared in a listing of names maintained in the Detroit Socialist Workers Party branch files. This list was considered to reflect contacts of the Socialist Workers Party or subscribers to 'The Militant.'"

Ernest Mazey, it should be added, at the present time is the leading figure in the Michigan Committee to Repeal the Trucks Act, and is very well known in labor, church, and liberal circles for his organization work in the civil liberties field.

Mazey's association with literally hundreds of UAW leaders in various caucuses and conventions in the past 15 years are well known. As one of the Mazey brothers, he has long been active in the affairs of Briggs Local 212 for a long time.

But more on that later. What is of first concern is the Lupa story. John Lupa became a soldier in 1931 during the depression and left the army in 1936. He did not arrive in Detroit until March 1937, four years after the army said he was associating with Ernest Mazey.

Lupa enlisted in the navy in 1942, a fact which speaks for itself. He came back from Guadalcanal with back injuries, but refused a disability pension. Shortly afterwards, he worked first at Packard and then obtained a job at the Detroit Arsenal.

When the Korean war broke out Lupa volunteered for active duty and he was called up in October 1951. He served as a naval transport officer in Hawaii until last fall. Upon release, he went back to his job at the Arsenal.

## SYMBOL FOR UAW

What was his relationship to Ernest Mazey? When they were both delegates to the Wayne County CIO Council, they met in 1941. The two families exchanged dinner dates once. "Mazey never told me he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party," Lupa declared. He never was a Communist nor associated with Communists, he added.

In 1949 Mazey invited him to attend a movie on Leon Trotsky's life held at

the SWP headquarters. Lupa paid 25 cents to see the movie, and that was the last time he saw Ernest Mazey.

Lupa says he once subscribed to the newspaper *The Militant*, because he was curious about the outfit. How he got on the "contact" list of the SWP he doesn't know, and he's irritated about it.

He said he received a couple of phone calls, inviting him to meetings, but he never attended any.

As the details of his own life and the charges against him unfold, Lupa becomes a symbol of hundreds of similar situations in the UAW and other unions.

And this is why the Lupa case has such direct, personal impact in the union movement. Obviously, anyone active in the left-wing caucus in the past 15 years is by that admission "a security risk," for the role of the Stalinists in it is public knowledge.

And for hundreds of others, the same criterion condemns them. There was a time when the SWP was in the Reuther caucus. During the past fifteen years, the accumulative sales and subs of the *Militant* number thousands.

## NO ONE IS SAFE

There isn't a corporal's guard of UAW activists in Detroit who haven't associated at one time or another with Ernest Mazey.

What about him? He's never had a hearing, a charge, a trial, or anything. Yet association with him is used as prima-facie evidence against an individual.

Ernest Mazey is publicly a victim of the police-state methods and rules that have been going largely unchallenged since instituted by Truman. Mazey is condemned without a trial, and then those who have associated with him are condemned because Mazey has been condemned. Shades of the Moscow Trials!

It may sound far-fetched, but the point must be made. By the army's standards of "security risk," as set up by the Eisenhower administration, the entire UAW and the CIO is a "poor security" risk.

No one is safe, and everyone in Detroit active in the UAW knows it, as long as the police-state mentality dominates the Washington and national scene.

It appears that in the Detroit area, at least, a point of no return has been reached in the struggle for civil liberties.



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## INDOCHINA AND THE WAR CRISIS — III

## HOW HO CHI MINH CONSOLIDATED POWER

By A. STEIN

The August 1945 revolution, which followed hard on the heels of Japan's defeat, presented an opportunity as well as a danger to the Stalinist leadership of the Vietminh provisional government.

The opportunity lay in the fact that the other parties were either not present in the North (like Vietminh's most dangerous rival, the authentic bourgeois-nationalist party, the VNQDD), or else were in the process of reorganizing their forces and gathering support after long years of illegality, while the Vietminh had already set in motion its compact and well-disciplined organization.

The Vietminh had seized the initiative, set up a regime and proclaimed an independent Vietnam Republic on September 2. Thereby it had placed the precious stamp of legitimacy on its claims to represent the revolutionary will of the whole people. And because in appearance the Vietminh seemed to be a broad, all-embracing coalition of mass organizations and parties, in which the Indochinese played a leading but not exclusive role, it could claim to have a national, representative and democratic character.

A further argument advanced by the Vietminh to justify its right to power was the claim that it had the support and backing of the victorious Allied powers, who would prevent the return of the French and guarantee Indochinese independence under the Atlantic Charter of 1942. The anti-colonial tradition of the United States, seemingly confirmed by the sympathetic attitudes of the American OSS mission in Hanoi on the one hand, and the fact that Nationalist China had sheltered and financed the Vietminh during the Japanese occupation on the other, gave credence to this propaganda.

## Rallying Around Ho

All groups, parties and political personalities in Central Indochina (Annam) and Northern Indochina (Tonkin) who stood for independence, even the most conservative, gave their support to the Vietminh regime. The Hanoi representative of Emperor Bao Dai willingly surrendered his authority to the new revolutionary power. And in the imperial city of Hué, the emperor himself voluntarily renounced his throne in favor of the new government, becoming private citizen Vinh Thuy, and as such was soon appointed supreme political adviser to the republican government, providing it with the aura of tradition and historical continuity.

Ho Chi Minh was quick to exploit the upsurge of popular approval and support. The original Committee of Liberation which had taken the title of a provisional

government on assuming power, was now expanded to include five non-Vietminh political figures, among them a Catholic representative.

The general attitude toward the Vietminh regime can best be exemplified by the reaction of the Catholics of Tonkin, where heavy concentrations of the country's two million Catholics are located. The possibility had existed that their political and religious leaders might take a neutral or outright hostile position toward the new regime. There was, after all, the question of the Stalinist attitude toward religion and suspicion of their general social program, their attitude toward private property.

## The Catholics Join In

However, in the enthusiasm of the hour, the Catholics gave their passionate and enthusiastic support to the new government and the danger of a challenge to the authority of the regime did not materialize. And since the Catholics of Tonkin were intensely nationalistic and relatively better organized than other segments of the population, their adherence represented an important conquest for the Vietminh.

On September 23, the Catholic peasants, town population and militantly nationalistic youth movement marched through Hanoi, with their priests and teachers leading the parade in a tremendous demonstration of loyalty to the new regime and confidence in President Ho Chi Minh. On October 8, in the Vinh region, 30,000 Catholics repeated the Hanoi demonstration. And on September 28, the first Vietnamese bishop, writing in the name of the entire episcopate of the country, sent a letter to the pope, asking for his blessings and prayers for Vietnamese independence!

The final proof of political support was given when the leader of the Catholic youth, Nguyen Manh Ha, universally respected for his devotion to the cause of national independence, entered the cabinet of the provisional government.

The August revolution had opened the road to power for Ho Chi Minh and his followers, but it also presented real and great dangers. Other parties and groups existed who were bound to challenge both the domination and program of the Stalinist party.

## Holdouts—Left and Right

On the left stood the two Trotskyist groups, the "International" group with its main strength in Hanoi, and the more important "Struggle" group, centered in Saigon. In the pre-war period, in the period of the Popular Front when the Stalinists had preached class collaboration and cooperation with the French colonialists, the "Struggle" group had wrested leadership of the entire national struggle in Cochinchina from the Stalinists.

On the right stood the VNQDD, with a genuine tradition of struggle against the French to give it real authority and prestige. Even more important and dangerous, it had the support of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, whose armies would soon be entering Tonkin to supervise the disarming of the Japanese above the 16th parallel.

In addition, there existed the politico-religious groups, the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao, with their own militias. These groups were nationalistic, and rabid in their antipathy to the French. They would not willingly submit to any centralized power if it showed any tendency to compromise with the French.

In public statements, Ho Chi Minh and his cohorts might point to the all-inclusive character of the provisional government and invite all classes and groups to share the power. But the reality was something else again, as the deliberations of the Indochinese Communist Party, and later its actions, were to show.

## LONDON LETTER

## Morrison Has a Bad May Day

By ALLAN VAUGHAN

LONDON, May 5—The May Day demonstrations here went off very successfully—despite the inevitable rain. The various constituency Labor Party branches, trade unions, cooperative societies and Leagues of Youth gathered on the Victoria Embankment, near Westminster Bridge, beside the River Thames, at about 2 o'clock. Many cooperative societies and even borough councils (Labor-controlled, of course), as well as the Transport Unions, contributed their share to the long train of lorries and vehicles, gaily decorated and full of posters, which joined in the procession.

The Transport Workers Union had its own band to liven up the proceedings. Literally thousands upon thousands of Londoners lined the pavement all the way from Victoria Embankment through Holborn, along Oxford Street to Marble Arch and Hyde Park.

## HECKLED

The speakers included Herbert Morrison, Charles Brandon (a Transport Union official, chairman of the London Labor Party) and Malcolm Rees (for the London Federation of the League of Youth). Many Labor Party branches carried banners such as "Bar the H-Bomb" and "Down with German Rearmament"—and these were considered very provocative by the party bureaucrats who told some of the men holding the banners that they were contravening party policy. This, of course, worried no one.

Herbert Morrison, looking very tired and a bit on the decrepit side, had a rough time. He was heckled throughout his speech in a manner usually reserved for Arthur Deakin, the arch-reactionary of the trade-union movement. Some party members shouted, "We want Bevan!" and again, "Down with German rearmament!"

The Stalinists also infiltrated into the meeting and from carefully selected spots shouted "No guns for the Nazis" and other current CP slogans. However, it would be quite wrong to assume that the Stalinists were responsible for the

anti-Morrison demonstration. They were not. The rank and file of the party, solidly Bevanite, were just making it quite clear to Herbert Morrison that they were Bevanite.

## HERBERT'S PUTSCH

Speaking of Herbert Morrison, his latest vicious attack on Bevan in that deservedly obscure Transport House "theoretical" organ, *Socialist Commentary*, has hit the headlines of the capitalist press. Despite the party NEC's clear statement that personal attacks should cease, Morrison has seen fit to launch a vitriolic attack on Bevan just when it appears that a section of the Bevanites have decided to heal the breach in the Parliamentary Labor Party by allowing Harold Wilson to fill Bevan's vacant place on the Front Bench.

It can only mean that Morrison is making an all-out bid to seize the leadership of the party before it is too late. It seems to be rather a move of desperation than a move that has been very carefully planned.

It will play right into the hands of the party left wing, which rightly or wrongly has decided to make a gesture for unity of the party. Morrison's attack can only be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to open up the great controversies which rocked the government after the Morecambe party conference in 1952.

The only interesting sidelight on Morrison's outburst is this: Why didn't he choose the official organ of the party and the Trade Union Congress for his forthright onslaught? Why the unread and unreadable *Socialist Commentary*?

Is it possible that he has not got the support of the party leadership as a whole? Even more significant is the fact that the *Daily Herald* version of his article was pushed into a corner of the second page, and the anti-Bevanite tirade was completely ignored.

It would seem clear that Morrison has not got the necessary support for this latest offensive. And this augurs well for Nye Bevan.

## Stalinists Claim Monopoly of Power

A resolution adopted on September 11, 1945 by a convention of the ICP defined its relations to all other groups and parties, stating simply that: "The party alone assumes leadership of the Vietminh Front." The Vietminh dominated the government and the Stalinists dominated the Vietminh. This resolution proclaimed in essence the right of the Stalinists to a monopoly of the real power, control over the mass organizations, the secret police, and the armed forces. The methods the Stalinists were soon to use to eliminate groups and individuals they considered serious threats to their domination revealed the totalitarian aim. Those methods were: liquidation of entire political groups, assassination of individuals and physical and moral intimidation.

However, the time to employ these methods of annihilating the opposition of both left and right had not yet arrived, even though in Cochinchina the Stalinists were confronted by their first crucial challenge. When the Stalinist emissaries of the Vietminh arrived in Saigon in late August, they discovered that a revolutionary government already existed in the form of a coalition of groups and parties known as the United National Front. The first task of the Stalinists was to claim power in the name of the Hanoi regime.

## Vietminh's Trump Cards

Accordingly, they entered into negotiations with the leaders of the United National Front on August 22 and succeeded in having the former acknowledge the authority of the Vietminh and hand over power to its representatives. The Stalinists immediately set up a government known as the Committee of the South, which assumed full powers and consisted of nine members, seven of whom were Communist Party leaders.

How had the Vietminh Stalinists been able to triumph so peacefully in Cochinchina?

In the first place, the Vietminh had become the symbol of the national struggle through its initiative and had thereby won a degree of popular support that far surpassed the strength of any other group. This was shown in a monster parade on August 25, that lasted from nine in the morning to nine at night. The red banners of the Vietminh engulfed the yellow flags of the nationalists.

In the second place, the Stalinist representatives of the Vietminh argued persuasively that the unity of all revolutionary forces was necessary to win recognition of Vietnam independence from the victorious Allies. And finally, the Hanoi regime claimed that it had the recognition of the Allies as the genuine resistance movement of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the Japanese. On the strength of these arguments the Vietminh was able peacefully to dislodge its rivals in the South and take the power.

The Vietminh now governed throughout all of Vietnam.

(Continued next week)

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- No. 3—The Fair Deal: A Socialist Analysis
- No. 4—Socialism and Democracy
- No. 5—What is Stalinism?

# Israel's Arab Policy — —

(Continued from page 1)

that the well-being of Israel depends on its relations with the Arabs both internally and externally? The effect the Nazareth results will have on such basic considerations are heard only on holiday or ceremonial occasions.

For years Zionists used to say: "We have no quarrel with the Arab people and they have none with us; the Arab worker and peasant will gain from our efforts, and in fact are on our side; it is only the feudal effendis who are against us; some ordinary Arabs may have been misled by hostile propaganda but the bulk are either actively or passively on our side."

Now, after six years of Israel's existence, the truth can be seen in Nazareth. There are no effendis there. There is no free field for hostile propaganda. The country's Arabs have seen the might of Israeli arms. Why have the ordinary Arabs turned against the government? Why is it that "progressive" and "socialist" Israel has failed to win the loyalty of even a section of the Arab masses?

## HITTING THE ARABS

The answer is quite simple. They have been alienated by the harsh policies of the government. They live under military rule; they need passports to go from town to town. In many cases they need passports to go from their homes to their fields. Passports to go to town to get work are given to only a handful and are very restrictive as to the area in which the employment seeker is allowed to move. One result is contribution to the widespread unemployment.

Until this year Arab land had been seized and confiscated without legal procedures. Now Arab land can be requisitioned legally. The Arab peasant cannot contest the seizure; the only legal right he has is to haggle about compensation. Arab land can be seized not only for military and public uses but also can be requisitioned to be given to Jewish settlers.

The government recently took Arab land and gave it to the Bar-Am, a Hashomer kibbutz. What a field day Sneh and the Stalinists had in their press!

While the citizenship of Israeli Jews, even of recent immigrants, is guaranteed, the citizenship of Arabs born and raised in the villages where they live can be easily challenged on a number of technicalities.

Arab villages are subject to arbitrary search and their inhabitants are subject to seizure and expulsion at the whim of military authorities. Even villages loyal to Israel during the fighting are not exempt.

## HORRIBLE EXAMPLE

The village of Abu Gush is one horrible example. The police suspected that a few "infiltrators" were hiding there. In true Gestapo style, all the men of the village were lined up, and, since the military were not able to pick out the culprits, they simply expelled every tenth man across the border to Jordan. Abu Gush fought for Israel in the war.

The Israeli government makes no real attempt to win the loyalty of its Arab subjects. Arabs are not drafted or permitted to volunteer for the army, despite popular Arab agitation that they be taken into the army. There is not one single company of Arab soldiers in the Israeli army, not even for window-dressing purposes.

Given such an Arab policy, is it any wonder that the Arabs turn to anti-Israeli parties and feel that the bitterer the opposition the better?

The Nazareth elections have given some impetus to the official talk about modification of policy toward the Arabs. But more than a modification or liberalization is needed: a completely new emphasis and new policy is needed.

The prosperity, peace and security of Israel depends in the long run not so much on its relations to Washington or Moscow, but on its relationship to the Arabs both in Israel and in the neighboring Arab countries. This central fact cannot be over-emphasized. All policies must flow from it and must make this an important consideration.

If the rulers of the Arab states place difficulties in the path of the peaceful and fraternal relations of Arabs and Jews, should the self-styled "socialist" leaders of Israel do the same and pour oil on the fires? The present policy of Israel does exactly that, and heightens the conflagration. It gives real and useful tools into the hands of those who want no peace.

Such a policy is not only alien to socialist policy and disastrous from any moral point of view; it is also against the self-interest of both the Arabs and the Jews in general and of Israel in particular.

For a small country with exposed borders living in an Arab area, everything depends on its Arab policy. The prosperity of Israel depends on reducing its military budgets; and the re-establishment of normal area trade and trade routes depends on creating a popular feeling for peace. The Israelis cannot rely on Washington or London to force the Arabs to make peace. Peace will come not from outside diplomatic pressure but by popular feeling. For Israeli, taking the first step means decent treatment of its Arab minority.

**To treat all Arab residents of Israel as an undifferentiated enemy mass is to ape (and justify) the Arab feudal rulers in their treatment of Jews, and it is subversive of the needs of Israel. There is absolutely no excuse for the present policy. It is wrong from a long-term view and has**

# Un-Americanneers —

(Continued from page 1)

or sent home by employers during the hysteria aroused the last time the committee was here.

Clardy says he has subpoenaed 90 persons in Detroit, mainly among the professional groups. Prominent unionists called include William Johnson, recording secretary of Ford Local 600, who is backed by the Local Union, and the president of Cadillac Local 22.

Unlike the UAW members, the university and high school teachers called will have no protection from their organizations or institutions, if they invoke the Fifth Amendment. Wayne, Michigan, Michigan State and the Detroit Board of Education have made this clear.

Recently, quite a stir resulted on the U. of M. campus when a 19-year-old student testified she had been asked by the FBI and a university official to spy on a prominent Stalinist. The Stalinists told everyone, "Just come to me, I'll tell you what I think. Why turn a student into a stoolpigeon?"

Various persons in educational circles here have already announced in the daily press that they had been subpoenaed, and they expected to refuse to cooperate with the committee in any way whatsoever, standing on their constitutional rights. One woman teacher blasted the committee, declaring she never was a Communist, but also she refused to become a stoolpigeon and inform on others, or help break down the Constitution of the United States.

## NEW CLIMATE

DETROIT, May 8—So far the hearings of the Un-American Committee, which is now invading this city, have shown that the witchhunt does not find good soil in an industrial center which has 140,000 unemployed and which is suffering from a serious case of depression jitters.

Especially when the labor movement takes a cold view of the shenanigans. And if school teachers had the kind of protection furnished by the UAW-CIO to its members this time, there would not even have been six suspensions of alleged and real Stalinists.

The Detroit hearings provided a deep contrast to the wave of hysteria which featured the hearings two years ago, in which many persons named were literally run out of shops.

Actually, the men in the shops remained far more preoccupied with the

brought no short-term results.

Let the "practical" people who justify the policy on the basis of "security" point to the security it has brought! It has meant not security but heightened insecurity from both within and without. Its results have been not loyalty from the Arab Israelis but the Nazareth election, which displays the Arabs' hostility to the world.

As for those who argue that the Arabs are "Orientals" who are impressed by might and will be loyal subjects and followers of the strong, let them show one place or area where the present "strong" Arab policy has brought loyalty or friendship—or even subservience!

What the present policy has accomplished is to tighten the tension, diminish security, heighten fear, increase hatred, and destroy whatever elements of friendship had existed before the creation of the state. The Israeli policy is more than wrong; it is downright stupid.

The ominous warning of the Nazareth election must be heard before it is too late for an effective change in policy.

rumors of cutbacks, layoffs, etc., than with the listing of what even Detroit's papers called "small-fry Communists." For the public at large, there was more fascination and repulsion in the McCarthy-army circus in Washington. And there was general concern over possible and not very popular involvement in the Indochina mess.

Furthermore one Detroit paper, the *Free Press*, carried an excellent article on the use of the Fifth Amendment, provided for it by a top Michigan lawyer. Its main point was that individuals should use the Fifth Amendment for otherwise they can be tricked into perjury or contempt with ease by a smart congressional questioner.

The feature story gave some good examples of this, and then made the point that the whole basis of Anglo-American jurisprudence was involved in the retention of the Fifth Amendment in the Constitution. This was a far cry from the usual "Fifth Amendment Communist" stories, and it must have bothered Mr. Clardy quite a bit.

The Detroit *News* carried a three-quarter page ad by 75 distinguished Michigan attorneys which blasted the abuse of Congress' investigating powers and their subversion by publicity-seeking committees. The essence of the ad was a speech by William T. Gossett, counsel of the Ford Motor Company, who has repeatedly criticized the congressional and senatorial committees and whose defense of the Fifth Amendment and the theory of innocence until proven guilty by court has been a noteworthy event at various legal gatherings in the Middle West.

## LESSON FROM LABOR

Outside of the mock heroics by a young Stalinist who undoubtedly imagines himself another Thaelman defying Hitler's court, the hearings proceeded fairly quietly, and with such little impact that Clardy found it smarter politics to adjourn the session for Thursday and rush back to Washington to vote for the seaway bill. On Friday he couldn't get a quorum of his colleagues, and only a friendly witness, Mrs. Bernice Baldwin, testified, listing 200 names which no newspaper bothered to print.

This coming week, the Clardy committee is holding hearings in Lansing and Ann Arbor. Their main effect may be to demonstrate that this is an age of cowardice in university circles, alleged citadels of academic freedom and the free and unhampered pursuit of the truth.

It is reported that two University of Michigan teachers have been subpoenaed, as well as someone at Lansing, home of Michigan State University. At Wayne University, two young professors were suspended, and a grade school music teacher with an excellent record for 17 years was also suspended in Detroit.

It should be noted that when the UAW-CIO informed all Detroit employers that it would resist any penalties imposed on any of its members who used the Fifth Amendment to protect themselves, nothing happened in the shops.

Would it be expecting too much from the various university associations and professorial conclaves to have these self-proclaimed bulwarks of American democracy do at least as much as the "backward" and "ignorant" union movement has done, once it caught its breath?

# The Rout At Geneva —

(Continued from page 1)

won by military means. The U. S. was thinking solely in terms of how to extend the war to wider circles.

Back in Washington, Dulles has now proclaimed that the grapes were sour anyway—i.e., that the fall of Indochina to the Stalinists is not as important as Eisenhower had clearly said it was in the period when the administration was steering full-sail for getting into the war. There is no doubt that the administration is still aching to throw U. S. troops in, if it can still work up anything it could even call a "Southeast Asian alliance," but its whole perspective has turned out to be an imperialist utopia even in its own terms. Washington is simply not living in the same world with Paris, London, or even Saigon.

## FRENCH SCHEME

The new line enunciated by Dulles has torpedoed even the last slim hope of the French of being able to use U. S. pressure for their own purposes. Never happy about U. S. intervention in the first place, since being muscled out of Indochina by its ally sits no easier on its pocketbook than being ousted by the Stalinists, the French at least looked on Washington's hard blowing about intervention as a bargaining point in its own prospects of making the best possible deal with the Stalinists.

The plan of partition proposed by the French was their attempt to see how much they could salvage from the ruins of imperialism in Indochina. Taken literally, their scheme—confining the Vietnam to the Northern mountains, without even the fertile Red River area—is a diplomatic absurdity; it could have been seriously proposed only to an enemy that was staggering, not by a power that had just been defeated in Dienbienphu and that made no bones about its hopelessness in continuing the war. Pham Van Dong, for the Vietnam, could treat it with scorn; and could make hay when, in contrast, he proposed a settlement which openly hinted at economic and political concessions to the French interests in Indochina.

But this was, on both sides, the maneuvers of rival aspirants to the right of oppressing the Indochinese people. What the Indochinese people want is no partition of their country but a united, independent and democratic Vietnam.

## SMITH LIES

The noteworthy fact about the French plan, therefore, is that there was not a mention in it of any real independence (or steps toward independence) for the Indochinese. On Monday, May 10, Dulles' stand-in at the conference, General Smith, made a speech which was not that callous. He did mention the question of independence. He mentioned it in order actually to claim that the Indochinese states were already independent! Such effrontery and lying arrogance was not shown even by the French.

Smith had the gall to speak of "the opportunity for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to enjoy their independence," in the present tense. He spoke of "safeguarding" the independence which does not exist. In another passage, he cautiously referred only to "perfecting" this mythical independence. In comparison with this lying speech, the Stalinists—the world's greatest liars themselves—appeared as truthful gentlemen, since they could make use of the truth.

The defeat of Stalinism in Indochina and the assurance of the freedom of the people requires a third road which was not represented in the imperialist tug-of-war at Geneva. Only as independent nationalist and democratic forces in Indochina mobilize against both Western and Stalinist intervention and domination can a progressive way out be seen.

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## Are We MAD?

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. . ."

Are we mad? It would seem sometimes that there lies the only answer to the political scene in America today.

Slowly the freedoms long familiar to the American people are being strangled by a witchhunt against all dissenting thought. The crassest expression of cave-man politics, McCarthyism, is on "trial"—and we see the secretary of the army of the largest and most powerful capitalist regime in the world squirming like a chicken thief on the stand because he antagonized the senator from Wisconsin.

We see the headlines of the papers across the continent discussing the fate of an army private—the son of a rich hotel owner—whose fate in the army was so harsh (so much like the fate of the hundreds of thousands of other youth) that the most powerful senatorial committee, in this year of witchhunts, interceded for him.

### GRISLY JOKE

But the capitalist world is falling apart! While the circus on TV holds the nation in a fascinated grip the Indo-Chinese Stalinists continue sweeping the French into the sea. The world of the old imperialisms is falling apart and the new Stalinist imperialism is winning political victory after political victory.

After years of Marshall Plan, NATO and all the other elaborate structures of U. S. foreign policy, America discovers that even the Conservative regime of Britain will not support it in its attempt to create another Korea; and the French—remember this is the pro-Western French regime—are trying to wiggle out of the Indochinese war. In a less serious context the whole business would look like a farce—humor.

And the point of the joke is that you—the students and the youth that end up in the armed forces of U. S. imperialism—will have to fight and die for that "program," for those "principles." And the grisliest joke of all is that you, the students who are about to die in any one of the hopeless little wars trying to defend the last vestiges of a dying colonialism, remain silent. You remain afraid in the face of the witchhunt because to speak out might (for example) mean that nice little government job.

### HOW ABOUT YOU?

But if you don't speak out? If you don't resist the drift toward a war of atomic annihilation, what will be your future then?

You live in a social system that is driving the world into a third world war, in a social system whose economy is so war-oriented that the possibility of a Korean peace and a slight cutback in armaments meant serious unemployment. It is a social system which can organize for war but not for peace. And you refuse to do anything about it?

We of the YSL don't want to die in an imperialist war. To be sure, no one wants to die in an imperialist war. But we try to do what little can be done today. Why don't you?

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# Resistance to Witchhunt Grows: Where Do We Go from Here?



By BOGDAN DENITCH

A thaw is beginning to appear on the campuses. This issue of *Challenge* can point to a number of signs—the Green Feather movement in the Mid-West, the increasing resistance of the students to the atmosphere of repression and apathy, the genuine indignation of the student community when the recent case of stool-pigeonry for the FBI came up at the University of Michigan. Even, in a perverted way, the very fact that the Stalinists in the student world now find it easier to find dupes shows that to a certain extent the witch-hunt is beginning to lose its momentum.

There are many reasons for this development. To begin with, the American student has not yet lost his liberal illusions; thus, when the present repression began under the "liberal" Fair Deal administration—with which many political students identified—it was more difficult to attempt to arouse protest against suppression of academic freedom and civil liberties, except in local cases. But the Republican administration is not "their" administration and they do not feel the need to defend it.

For another thing, we now have a new student who never experienced the mass student movements, was never exposed to radical ideas, and who has grown to accept the fear on the campus as the normal situation. But if the witchhunt is the "normal situation," students begin to adjust to it. The devil you know is never as terrible as the one you don't.

But what is the nature of this adjustment, the nature of the "normalcy" which includes spies, stoolpigeons and political suppression? While the student does not resist through organized channels, through the existing campus organizations, neither is it possible for him to accept the ideals and the ideology of the witchhunters. The result is a cynical disbelief in that brand of "Americanism" which tells him that he must be isolated from ideas; and this removal of illusions about the existing society is replaced by . . . nothing. Not even by the sometimes misplaced naive idealism of the thirties and mid-forties.

### Cynicism Is the Price

They adjust. But they adjust without accepting the liberal rhetoric or the illusion that this is necessary to defend democracy against totalitarianism. Most of them are quite frank about it: they want that job, they want that bit of comfort before the world as they know it goes to pieces.

This cynicism is the price we have paid for the witchhunt. It is in the fact that no one, not even the future cannonfodder of American imperialism, shares any illusions about what they will be asked to die for that one hope for a radical rebirth lies on the campus.

After all what is the meaning of the type of resistance we find on the campus today?—like the unorganized, semi-cynical type of phenomenon like the Green Feather campaign or its predecessor in Chicago "The Committee to Build the Ark" (The floods are coming and all sensible people prepare . . .). The very mass base of such an ephemeral movement shows that the student has no illusions and very little hope. Certainly no hope for a "Brave New World."

### The Basic Idea

In short: the students have lost many illusions about the American Way of Life, they are groping for new ideas. We socialists have ideas; as a matter of fact our political ideas are all we have.

And the most basic idea of all is the idea that for the first time in human history that "blind mass" which has always been the instrument of various ruling classes and cliques can and must now make its own history. It must make history by taking its destiny in its own hands or face as a penalty that third world war to which the ruling classes of Russian and American imperialism are leading the world. Today more than at any other time we can say that the alternatives are Socialism or Barbarism.

## Robin Hood vs. McCarthy

By GEORGE RAWLINGS

Encouragingly democratic political organizations, "opposed to McCarthyism," have appeared on a large number of university campuses—the Robin Hood Clubs. Faced with the attempt to eliminate the tale of Robin Hood and his Merry Men from Indiana schoolbooks, because Indiana witchhunters were sure that Robin Hood was a "subversive" because he "stole from the rich to give to the poor," a group of students connected with the Baptist Student Center at the Bloomington campus of the University of Indiana organized the Robin Hood Club to protest against "McCarthyism."

As a symbol of their protest, Robin Hood's Merry Men distributed and sold several thousand pins carrying the symbol of the club, a Green Feather. The idea, seemingly without any national or regional coordination, has spread to a number of other campuses, including the University of Wisconsin, the University of Michigan, Michigan State, Roosevelt College, the University of Chicago and Wayne.

The importance of this movement lies in the fact that it appears to have developed without conscious leadership or direction from any of the organized campus political tendencies. For most of the students who have been active in these clubs, it has been their first important political experience. The fact that such an almost spontaneous movement could even develop at this time is an indication that this generation of American students is not in reality the Silent Generation that it has been called, and that it is seeking, in an admittedly almost incoherent fashion, for some means of viable political action and protest.

### GROPING

But due to this quality of incoherent groping, political immaturity, and the lack of anything like a consistent ideological position, the Robin Hood Clubs have spent much time defining three important problems: the attitude of the clubs toward Stalinism and Stalinists, the extent of the clubs' activities, and the definition of McCarthyism.

Most clubs have met the problem of Stalinism by including in their constitutions some provision to the effect that they oppose totalitarianism whether "from the right or the left," erroneously considering Stalinism to be a "left" tendency. At both Indiana and Wisconsin the groups further resolved the issue of Stalinism by adopting a resolution attacking both McCarthyism and "Communism." Nevertheless, individual Stalinists have not been excluded from membership in most of these groups, although there is little indication that the Stalinists, in a new and somewhat strange "Popular Front" period, have made any real effort to gain control of or to influence the Robin Hood clubs.

The problem of determining the extent of the club's activities and of defining McCarthyism and its causes are closely related. The various campus clubs contain the complete range of positions opposed to McCarthyism—from those who are only opposed to the individual Joseph McCarthy, because he has attacked the United States army, to those who recognize McCarthyism to be an integral part of the politics of the Garrison State.

Consequently, in most cases, the decision has been that, since the members could not agree as to precisely what it was they were fighting, the activities of the Clubs should be limited to distributing the Green Feather buttons. (One campus wit suggested that all that some wanted to do was to organize a huge, all-campus game of "Button-button, who has the button?") And "each wearer determines its meaning for himself." The clubs are also to act as a general clearinghouse for forums, debates, and information concerning McCarthyism.

### HIGH SCHOOLS TOO

Thus, for example, on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison, the group has distributed buttons, is sponsoring a forum on McCarthyism in which a number of tendencies will present their analyses of McCarthyism, and have voted to support the activities of the "Joe-Must-Go-Club," the organization in Wisconsin collecting signatures for the McCarthy recall petition.

It is interesting to note that in a number of cases high school students have appeared at the Robin Hood Club meetings with offers of their services. Students in at least four high schools in Chicago and two in Madison have been wearing and distributing the Robin Hood buttons.

These organizations should be supported by socialists who, by working openly and democratically in them, can offer direction and can attempt to improve their programs, thus both helping the specific fight for civil liberties which must be one of the primary tasks of socialists, and gaining for socialists and socialism a hearing and the respect of students struggling for political action and political maturity.

# THE FACE OF STALINISM

## What the CP Youth Really Stand For

By MAX MARTIN

The term "left" and "right" as applied to political ideologies and movements have traditionally been as clear in their meanings on the campus as in society as a whole. By "right," the student understood those groups which were reactionary, which were for the maintenance of the status quo down to the last benighted detail; "left" he associated with socialist and radical (and sometimes liberal) opponents of the prevailing political situation who sought liberating changes in the social order.

**To discover what political characterizations are apt for the student Stalinists, we have to leave the campus for a moment and consider Stalinism in general. The Stalinist social system, bureaucratic collectivism, is a reactionary exploitive order of society wherever it holds sway. A new ruling class, the Stalinist bureaucracy, exploits and oppresses the workers and reaps wealth and privilege and power from so doing. Such societies have nothing in common with socialism; they can in no sense be regarded as "left."**

In those countries in which it is not in power, Stalinism has a dual nature. On the one hand, it is an agent of the Russian foreign office, hindering or aiding the ruling class of the country in relation to the international position of Russia. It thus sometimes appears to be "left" and sometimes "right."

At the same time Stalinism is a contender for social power, in some countries in an immediate sense and in others in a long-range sense. Thus the aim of the Stalinist movements consists in the creation of totalitarian states in their countries; the Stalinists are prospective ruling bureaucracies.

The labor movement is, except for backward countries, the main arena in which the Stalinists operate. While in the labor movement, the Stalinists are not of it. They never fight for the interests of the workers—neither militantly nor conservatively. They fight always for the interests of Russia and for their own reactionary prospects. Thus neither the term "left" nor the term "right" is relevant for Stalinism.

**Just as the line of the Communist Party itself has coincided with the needs of Russian foreign policy, so has the line of the CP youth. The fact that thousands of students and young workers have followed the Communist Party youth organizations and their fronts out of socialist motives and convictions does not alter our characterization of these movements; it merely testifies to the attractive power of Stalinism because of its anti-status-quo appeal.**

### Following the Line

In the early thirties, during Stalinism's so-called "Third Period," the CP youth, like its adult counterpart, appeared to be very radical. This "leftism" of the Stalinists corresponded to the diplomatic needs of Russia which was then in a period of extreme isolation.

The Stalin-Laval pact of 1935 and the subsequent "People's Front" years put an end to this period. The Stalinists swung to the "right": "collective security"

and "defense of democracy" became the CP's watchwords. On the campus, the Stalinists soft-pedaled the anti-war moods and struggles which the militant students of the thirties engaged in. This period lasted until the Hitler-Stalin pact, when the Stalinists shifted again.

Russia and Germany now being friends, the war against Germany was denounced as an imperialist war for the benefit of capitalism. In the labor movement, the Stalinists organized "militant" strikes; on the campus the Communist Party youth organized demonstrations against war and imperialism. Members of the Young Communist League and its front organizations marched in front of the White House with placards proclaiming, "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

**When the German invasion of Russia occurred in June 1941, the Stalinists found that the old placards did not have to be discarded. Explaining that the war of the Allied powers against Germany had become transformed from a reactionary one to a "war of liberation," the Stalinists pasted the additional words, "Too Late" on to the old 1939-1941 placards and jumped into a frenzy of pro-war activity and held demonstrations for the Second Front.**

### The Current Mask

In 1943 the YCL was dissolved and in its place the Stalinists organized the jocularly named American Youth for Democracy. The Stalinists devoted themselves to collecting scrap metal for the war, campaigning for Roosevelt, explaining to students why workers should not strike and why the "March on Washington" movement for Negro rights should be attacked. "National Unity" was the Stalinist slogan of the hour.

When the war ended, the Grand Alliance broke up, and the cold war began, the Stalinists quickly made the turn and once again served Russian policy in a new way. Since then the Stalinist youth and student movements have passed through many different phases; the AYD passed quietly away; the Wallace movement and the YPA clubs had their day; and finally the Stalinists organized the Labor Youth League, the current Stalinist youth organization. Affected by the melting away of much support among students, and by the repressive blows of the anti-democratic witchhunt, Stalinism on the campus today is extremely weak, isolated and quiet.

**In the last year or so, the student Stalinists seem to have undergone another turn, a turn to greater "respectability," to playing down any aspects which might seem "radical," to operating quietly in other organizations, etc. In part this turn may be induced by the difficulties which they face in the schools and colleges, but primarily it is**

**a result of the policy of the Communist Party reflecting the desires of Moscow.**

The CP youth pretend to be the best defenders of academic freedom, fighters against McCarthyism and for peace. In some places they give the appearance of being willing to participate in student struggles in a responsible fashion, calling for student unity against the witchhunt. Their current tactics create the possibility that many student liberals as well as larger sections of the student body, whose experience with and understanding of Stalinism is limited, may be taken in. Indeed there is evidence that this has already occurred in one or two local campus situations.

### Cooperate with Stalinists?

**While being militant defenders of the rights of Stalinists, socialist and liberal students have to oppose cooperation with the CP youth. This is so for several reasons.**

To begin with, the Stalinists are not themselves defenders of freedom; they are concerned only with the defense of their own rights. A principled defense of academic freedom requires a defense by democrats. Socialists and liberals should indeed call for student unity in opposition to the witchhunt, but this unity must be a unity of all democratic groups, organizations and individuals. The totalitarian Stalinists cannot defend democracy. Moreover, long years of experience with Stalinism has shown that the Stalinists must either control united front organizations or they will do their best to wreck them.

To be a genuine fight for civil liberties, a student struggle must be imbued with the spirit of opposition to all repression and all totalitarianism. This means that fighters for democracy have to be also unequivocally opposed to the Russian Stalinist slave society and to the domestic totalitarian agents of Moscow.

Furthermore, should international political relationships change, should their masters in the Kremlin require different services from them, should they experience a small revival of strength, they could tomorrow revert at a moment's notice to their "rule or ruin" policy of yesterday.

**Students should therefore stay out of Stalinist-front academic freedom organizations and should refrain from cooperation with the Stalinists. To the demagogic Stalinist line of "student unity," socialists and liberals should counter-pose the unity of all democratic students, the unity of those who genuinely are for academic freedom. In such student movements the Stalinists have no place.**

Where there are broad student united fronts in which the Stalinists are already participating, the socialist and liberal student groups may, depending on the local situation, find it advisable to enter. But then they have to exercise vigilance to see to it that the Stalinists do not control the organizations but that the democratic students instead be the leadership. They should direct their efforts toward isolating the Stalinist reactionaries and toward exposing the phoniness of their "defense" of student rights so that the student struggles for democracy can be genuine ones in the interests of the students and of freedom.

## A Discussion: The Third-Camp Socialist as 'Witness'

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

In the Princeton study of American socialism, Daniel Bell credited the failure of the movement in this country to an impossible tension between ultimate vision and immediate problems. The socialist, argued Bell, was "in the capitalist world, but not of it." If he insisted on his principled program, he could not cope with the actual issues confronting him—and if he dealt with practical issues he betrayed his principles.

Aside from the fact that Bell's argument is weak as an explanation of the failure of the American socialist movement (such movements win or lose for reasons other than the logic of their program), it raises an interesting and pertinent question.

As Third Camp socialists, we are able to point out the anti-democratic nature of both Stalinism and capitalism. We can show that in Korea the armies of Stalinism, and not of national liberation, invaded the South before Rhee had a chance to invade the North. We can show that the sum-total of years of war, as far as the Korean people were concerned, is destruction, death, and tragedy without any real political gain.

### ADMISSION

**Are we then simply disinterested? Or worse, is our hostility to both camps from within the United States objectively working for one camp since our main effort is concentrated on attacking the war drive of our own nation? Can we offer anything more concrete than a large, over-all theoretical analysis which posts the necessity for, but not the concrete existence of, a Third Camp?**

I think that the first step in discussing this problem is to make a serious admission: that at times there are not viable alternatives in a given situation. But the conclusion of the admission is equally important: that the recognition of this does not mean that one supports one or the other side of an impossible reality.

On the morning of December 7, 1941, there was no socialist or pacifist who could have offered a program to stop war between Japan and the United States. All that could be done was to point out that the stopping of this war was something which had to have begun before December 7, that the war itself was not a surprise, an act of God, but a logical, almost inevitable conclusion to previous policies. But at the same time, it was also possible, perhaps necessary, to point out that the concrete reality of the war which was beginning then was not a "war for democracy," since, to cite but one fact, it was a coalition of the United States, Britain, etc., and Stalinist Russia.

In his book on American foreign policy, George Kennan does make precisely this kind of political analysis of World War II. The world, he wrote, was faced with the existence of three major totalitarian regimes: Germany, Russia and Japan. All three could defeat the entire rest of the world. In order for the "democracies" to defeat any two of three, it was necessary to ally with one—an alliance which vitiated any claim that there was a war for democracy, or for the Four Freedoms, or for any of the other rhetorical catch-phrases.

**Given such a situation, one could support the United Nations, but only on the basis of a war of survival, reactionary in**

**political character. And by doing this, one would have also to accept the possibility of what did happen: the imperialist division after World War II, the tremendous increase in the power of the Russian state, the replacement of one totalitarian threat by another. Or, on the basis of such a political content, one could have decided to oppose the war, either on political grounds, i.e., working to change its political nature, or on moral grounds, i.e., refusing to participate in it. The fact that one does not have a concrete alternative does not commit one to support a reality which is equally impossible.**

In simpler terms, one can argue that death by poisoning is more comfortable than death by drowning. One may also point out that both means involve death, and do this without any real alternative.

### FORMS OF CRITICISM

Let us particularize this with respect to the situation mentioned before: Korea.

There was no Third Camp in Korea. Neither was there any hope that a victory, or stalemate, of the two power blocs engaged there would have any good effect for the Korean people, or that it would have a politically progressive effect on the international scene. The first thing a socialist had to do was to admit this frankly. The second was to point out why this had happened and what change was required so that it would not happen again.

**But there was yet another form of socialist criticism which could meet the immediate problem. Without supporting the impossible political basis of the war, a socialist could point out that it would be better not to have American troops cross**

**the 38th Parallel. Or that it was good to fire a general like MacArthur.**

More generally, at every point in the war, a socialist could point out the more progressive action, even though he disagreed with the political framework in which any action would take place. Take an analogy to this kind of analysis. While being on principle opposed to conscription, one can argue that if there is conscription, it should be democratically administered, e.g., the government should not give special treatment to "orthodox" religious objectors over the humanist.

### NEXT STEP

If any one of these steps were taken, it would then be necessary to point out the next step: if the American troops did halt at the parallel, one would then show that the removal of American troops, coupled with a certain kind of political program, should be the new policy.

**The more general point is this: that we do not expect the capitalist ruling class of the United States to adopt a socialist, Third Camp program, but that even within the limitations of bourgeois democracy, far more democratic steps can be taken.**

Yet, even though this kind of activity is possible, it is still necessary to return to the general analysis. A view of history must include the possibility that situations arise in which there are no viable alternatives, where a rejection of an impossible reality is necessary rather than an attempt to discover how to discover a liberal method, as against a reactionary method, for dropping a

(Continued on page 4-C)

# Fear on the Campus, Or: Love vs. FBI

By TED BARRY

One of the politically most somnolent campuses in the U. S., of any reasonable size, is the University of Pittsburgh. The social life of the campus is dominated by frats. There are no political or social-action organizations on the campus. Once every four years—around the time of the presidential elections—the university administration permits the Young Democrats and Republicans to organize—for the duration of the election campaign.

It is this character of the University of Pittsburgh that makes a recent article in the school paper, dated April 21, of particular interest. The article is entitled "Fear on the Campus." It contains a discussion of the April issue of Redbook (the name of this publication does not imply any resemblance to . . .) containing an article with the same title.

The Redbook article concludes: "Our colleges are being invaded by an atmosphere of fear and suppression, created by irresponsible investigators, hysterical community leaders, and other self-appointed 'thought police' who have succeeded in intimidating both our students and faculties."

## CHAUVINISM, FEAR AND THE RIGHT TO THINK

The U. of Pittsburgh columnist comments on this, as follows:

"They [students] fear for their future in the world after graduation because they know that friends and relatives who have preceded them have been refused jobs, snubbed in society, and rejected for commissions in the services because they joined or contributed to some cause or supported an unpopular viewpoint or merely attended a meeting of some organization. . . .

"The outrageously chauvinistic investigators, the misguided flag-wavers and publicity hounds who seek to be known as fighters for democracy, are doing an excellent job of suppressing fine minds, shrewd thinking and the free exchange of ideas. They pay a fortune to send their sons and daughters to college and literally damn them for putting their education to use to think for themselves."

Even so at the University of Pittsburgh—the university where the proto-fascist Students for America practically convinced the student government not to remain affiliated to the National Student Association on the ground that the NSA was "Communist-dominated." (The NSA is run by a bloc of conservative SDAers and the small Catholic colleges, practically as an arm of the State Department in its dealings with the Student Unions abroad—but then you know about the State Department. . . .)

Indeed the campus is beginning to thaw out, a little.

The Redbook article in question, incidentally also mentions that at Contra Costa Junior College in California, tape recordings were made of students' reactions and opinions when they discussed the Communist Manifesto in a Great Book course!

Somewhat grandiloquently the columnist adds that the investigators are "in effect burning the minds of the students now. If they succeed, the oblivion of a hydrogen bomb war might be better than a life of thought suppression and pre-directed thinking." Overstated perhaps, but. . . .

And yet, there are few traces of organized resistance to the witchhunt. Students are stirring, joining all kinds of local groups, building up the "Green Feather" movement (the Society of the Merry Men of Robin Hood) as an expression of protest, but they are avoiding nation-wide organizations—as yet.

## AN INFORMER INFORMS ON THE FBI

But the nightmarish effect of the witchhunt has not been fully understood, cannot be fully understood, unless the role that students are sometimes forced to play in it is grasped. The talk about spies, stoolpigeons and informers is very vague—but once in a while it becomes specific.

Take the case of the University of Michigan co-ed who recently submitted a sworn affidavit that she spied on her boy friend for the FBI.

It turns out that the co-ed in question—an alien, it so happened—became alarmed at the opinions her boy friend expressed in private conversations; she feared how her association with him would affect her parents' becoming naturalized American citizens, she went to a member of the university staff for advice. The staff member, an assistant counselor of the International Center, strongly urged her, according to her affidavit, to go to the FBI.

The FBI hinted that she had jeopardized her position by her association and showed her the way out of the predicament. The way out, of course, was to inform on his activities and friends. For four months she spied for the FBI, turning over the names and conversations of her boy friend's friends and associates.

However, even in America in the year of the witchhunt and the petty informer, the role of a stoolpigeon is hard to endure. She told her boy friend about the whole matter and he, getting her statement notarized, submitted it to the campus paper.

The story had a sensational effect. It was carried not only in the campus press but also in the Detroit and Pittsburgh papers. Result: a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee is now investigating the boy friend, who is "suspected" of being a member of the LYL.

Perhaps those who mourn the fact that the students are not intensely interested in politics and social-issues, who attack today's students as the "Silent Generation," can begin to understand why they have been silent. But understanding is not enough. Nor is it enough to point out that these incidents are the "exceptions"—because the incidents are exceptional only because many campuses have been so dead that even the stoolpigeons could find nothing to inform about, no names to turn in.

What is necessary is the mobilization of the genuine, spontaneous and democratic indignation that is beginning to spread on the campus, into a strong movement against the witchhunt. The campus is beginning to stir, but where will the leadership for the nascent student movement come from? The effect of the witchhunt has been to decimate the ranks of the civil-libertarian and liberal student organizations—or to make them capitulate to the political program of the witchhunters. Will they begin to stir or will they remain silent?

### 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 .....

# With the League

A major national tour undertaken by Scott Arden and Bogdan Denitch, through the Mid-West, has been successfully concluded. Campuses covered by the tour include: Haverford (Pa.), Swarthmore (Pa.), Oberlin (Ohio), Roosevelt College (Chicago), University of Chicago, University of Wisconsin, Ohio Northern University, Ohio State University, Central State College (Wilberforce, Ohio) and Antioch College (Ohio). City meetings were held in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and contracting work was done in Cleveland and Detroit.

The YSL representatives were generally very well received and hundreds of students had a chance to hear the independent socialist view. On most of the campuses mentioned above, there are now Challenge bundle agents and several have initiated socialist discussion groups. The press coverage by the campus papers was generally excellent (as a matter of fact we would appreciate it if our members and friends took the trouble of sending us any clippings in the local papers on the YSL and its activities).

6:15 on Capital, given by Abe Kimbay; the other is on Social Revolutions, on the same day at 8:30. In addition there is a myriad of local and campus activities. New York has just finished its participation in the Academic Freedom week and is launching a campaign on Indochina this week.

In addition to the major national tour, two other tours were undertaken: one by Harrington to the Philadelphia area, highlighted by a meeting at Bryn Mawr, the other by Taylor to Oberlin, where he addressed the newly formed Debs Club on Indochina.

Our Los Angeles unit is participating together with the pacifists and the SP youth in a joint demonstration against militarism and war. Most of the units of the YSL are currently engaged in a campaign on Indochina, which is to be followed up with an intensive Anvil sales campaign.

## OTHER WORK

The National Action Committee of the YSL has called for a national Educational Summer Conference, to be held in New York on June 28 and 29. All comrades and friends are cordially invited to attend. For more information write in to the YSL National Office.

There will also be a YSL Summer School in the later part of the summer, to be held someplace in the Mid-West. The school will be a wonderful place for social activities and a solid socialist education. A full announcement on the summer school will appear in the near future.

Anvil, the student anti-war magazine published jointly by the YSL and a number of other anti-war groups, is expected to be out very shortly. All units will engage in a very heavy Anvil sales campaign. Comrades and friends should order their bundles now, since this is an excellent issue calculated to sell like hot cakes.

The first issue of the Young Socialist Review, the information and discussion bulletin of the YSL, will be in the mail this week. This issue will contain the convention documents. The first discussion issue will be out late next week. YSR is free to members and sells for 10 cents a copy to others. The deadline for articles for the third issue is May 30. Write that article now.

## UNIT ACTIVITIES

Berkeley: The final exam period is beginning to hurt but this unit's activities are continuing as planned. Working with Los Angeles unit on academic freedom continues to be a high point of the unit's active work, in addition to the regular forums.

Los Angeles: This unit holds both forums and study classes on a regular basis. The unit is planning to establish a YSL headquarters in Los Angeles as a general social and political center.

Chicago is still "collecting" as a result of the tour. The unit has almost doubled in size and its educational activities will extend through the summer period. The regular campus work and distributions are going on as usual.

Newark: Our "industrial" unit is preparing to supplement its contacting and distribution work with public outdoor meetings.

New York: There is almost too much to begin reporting. Large Friday night forums are held every Friday at 8:15 at 114 West 14 Street. At the same address two regular study classes are also taking place—one beginning on Wednesday at

## YSL FUND DRIVE

# Keep Those \$\$ Rolling

By SCOTT ARDEN  
National Secretary, YSL

At the time this article goes to press the Young Socialist League's first national Fund Drive is almost at the half-way mark. As the score below indicates, the drive has not yet picked up the necessary momentum if the total quote of \$1500 is to be reached by June 30, the end of the drive.

It would be premature to sound the danger signal now, but only a serious response within the next few weeks will make it possible to avoid doing so. It should be pointed out that this means giving, and giving now.

A very real part of the drive is based on the "At Large" category. Friends of the YSL should now demonstrate their friendliness. Frankly, we can think of no more tangible way of doing so than by reaching for a wallet or checkbook (preferably one's own, in both cases).

If it is physically impossible to give

more than five or ten dollars, then give that. For those who are starving and homeless a donation of no more than a few dollars, or even one dollar, would be appropriate. In any case give. And do so now. Send contributions to YSL, 114 West 14 Street, New York 11, N. Y.

## What's the Score?

	Quota	Paid-in	%
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$1500</b>	<b>\$651.50</b>	<b>43</b>
Chicago .....	200	159.50	80
New York .....	675	3 66	54
At Large .....	170	78	45
Los Angeles .....	200	43	22
Newark .....	50	5	10
Berkeley .....	100	0	0
Boston .....	70	0	0
New Haven .....	35	0	0

# GIVE TO OUR FUND DRIVE!

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

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

NAME .....  
ADDRESS .....  
CITY ..... STATE.....  
(Make checks payable to Scott Arden)

## Student Parties At the U. of Chi.

By DEBBIE MEIER

CHICAGO—The recent National Student Association elections at the University of Chicago are an occasion for a certain amount of rejoicing by socialists and other left-wingers, in a day and age when such occasions for rejoicing, of even a qualified nature, are not too plentiful. The reason: the recent upset victory of the Students Representative Party (SRP), the more militant of the two campus electoral parties.

The SRP gained 52 per cent of the votes and 13 of the 20 NSA positions. It defeated the once militant and progressive Independent Students League.

The latter has weathered the last four or five years in typical liberal fashion—i.e., it has watered itself down to the point where it has an almost principled position against doing anything (although on paper it is, for today's climate, still relatively liberal—for example, it is opposed to the firing of teachers for CP membership!).

The SRP, on the other hand, has attracted to itself all the more enthusiastic and politically open-minded students. But while it does not therefore lack in enthusiasm and energy, it is rife with the kind of naïveté so harmful in a long-run struggle for civil liberties.

Part of the blame for this can be laid to the times as a whole, part to the role of the Stalinist and "Stalinoid" activists within SRP, and part to the failure of the experienced non-Stalinists to play an educational role within the party. They have passively given in, or even been taken in, by the idea that it is "red-baiting" to differentiate oneself in any way from Stalinism.

This failure has not only resulted in an uneasy alliance with Stalinists, but—much worse—has led to a crisis situation within SRP on a more specific issue: the continued existence of SRP as a progressive student party.

### STALINIST NEW LINE

For while the Stalinists were militant left-wingers, the situation ran smoothly. But suddenly the "line" has changed and respectability is the keynote of the day. This new emphasis (so reminiscent of Independent Students Party language) meets acceptance from many young eager student politicians who are anxious to run for office with any "winning party."

But it has met with opposition and suspicion by some of the more militant old-timers. It was brought dramatically home a few weeks ago when it resulted in a full-blast attack on an old-time SRPer for "irresponsibility," and was followed by cries of "Out with the irresponsibles," and "There is no place for them in SRP." The general orientation for two heated and bitter sessions was that "times are difficult," we must appeal to "broader elements on the campus than we have in the past," and we cannot afford rash acts that may get us into "trouble."

It resulted in the temporary resignation of some of the more militant SRPer. But its final history has yet to be written. For while many of these left-wingers decided to form another group, the PAC, this was not to replace or substitute for SRP, but only to provide another avenue for their left-wing political views on broader issues of world and student affairs.

### PROBLEMS AVOIDED

In terms of the NSA elections the new orientation meant one thing. The SRP slate was composed of an unusually large number of non-SRP members, i.e., campus "bigwigs" and "respectables." While its program was fairly militant, this was partly the result of the persistent efforts of the left-wingers. (It also, of course, had the usual pat references to improving the international situation through student exchanges, mentioning in especially glowing terms the recent tour of USSR by a number of student editors.)

Unfortunately, in the area of civil liberties, where most of the energy of SRP members and their periphery is spent, thinking rarely goes beyond mere anti-McCarthyism or anti-Valdeism. In fact, "thinking" is rarely done on the issue at all—the preference always being for merely big noise. (While noise is needed, thinking is never a handicap.) A real educational program on civil liberties has generally been avoided.

While on one hand the fear of mentioning Stalinism has always been one block toward a full discussion of civil liberties, a new block has now been erected. How can one point the accusing finger at the

## JOB PROSPECTS FOR YOUTH IN 1954

# Guns AND Butter—Not for Us

By CHARLES MARSHALL

An important question of immediate interest to students and to youth in general is the question of the employment situation in the months ahead. The problem is of particular interest at the present time because of the imminence of graduation and the addition thereby to the labor market of some 350,000 college graduates. This is in addition to some 1,250,000 who will graduate from high school this spring and those who, for one reason or another, will leave school not to return.

What do graduates from school this semester have to look forward to in the way of employment opportunities? How do their chances compare to those of the graduates of previous years? What is being done about the situation and what is there that can be done?

Much is being written in the press and in the popular magazines to give the impression that the outlook for those seeking employment is good. However, by carefully examining certain of the phrases used and noting the categories of work mentioned and those omitted we may come to somewhat different conclusions.

### OUTLOOK FOR JOBS

One of the most frequently used expressions is that "panic hiring" is over, a phrase which tries to convey the impression that until now employers have been frantically seeking workers but now the "panic" is over. It's a good way of saying that jobs are harder to find, if you want to conceal that fact.

Another of the stock paragraphs explains about "normalcy." We are asked to accept the fact that in "normal" times it is necessary for some unemployment to exist. It's good for business! But is it good for us—seeking jobs?

To begin with, we have the problem of working-class youth. In a period when serious unemployment reigns in industrial centers like Detroit, when the CIO calls for unemployment parleys, when large sections of the basic industries are working on a short week—in such a period the opportunities for youth to enter basic industries are obviously seriously curtailed.

Factories are laying off workers with years of seniority—and until they are re-hired high school youth will have tough sledding. The trend therefore will be for youth to go into (a) ununionized "cheap" jobs, and (b) to begin to offer competition to the older workers who need a higher income in order to support their families. One aspect of this problem is the fact that the new young workers can tend to be very responsive to anti-union propaganda on the part of the employers since wherever unions have established seniority provisions the younger workers are at a disadvantage.

As to different categories of job-seekers in the professions the outlook is varied but indicates a very definite trend. For engineers, scientists and teachers the chances of employment are about the same as in 1953. However, for accountants and business majors the opportunities for employment are not as good as

liberal movement, at the Democratic Party, the originator of the witchhunt, when one's electoral slate includes the chairman of the campus Young Democrats—a good middle-of-the-road Democrat? This is a problem which must be faced by the genuine civil-libertarians in the party.

The situation is still in flux. If the civil-libertarian wing is going to win, if they believe that SRP can be maintained as a real liberal voice on the campus, they cannot afford illusions that they can "ride out" the "popular front." They must be prepared to face it and fight it. They must first understand it and have a better program and better answers than it has; and they must be willing to stand by their program even if it is at times unpopular.

The civil-libertarian today cannot afford to be overly worried about popularity—he will leave the campus soon and face the fact that even his limited popularity on a radical U. of Chicago campus is far more than he will find in the "cold cruel world" if he sticks to his principles. The old excuses about avoiding a fight and maintaining unity at all costs because "after all we agree on all domestic issues," will not even be true in the coming period.

The answer? An independent program and a continuous and wide-awake effort within SRP to keep the party militant and internally democratic.

last year. Interestingly the openings for salesmen are quite a bit greater in number.

This last fact is quite indicative of the present situation. Sometimes it is used to hint that the employment picture is good. This is a distortion of the truth. To hire salesmen costs nothing since in the long run all salesmen are paid on the basis of the revenue they bring in, and the hiring of additional ones only increases the competition and decreases individual salaries. It is indicative of the business recession that there is a need to really push products—hence the additional sales force.

The fact that opportunities for engineers and scientists are about the same reflects the dependence of the economy on government spending and war preparations.

### WHAT'S BEING DONE?

We can see that the chances for those seeking jobs in 1954 are not too good. Jobs are not as available, and aside from those already out of work we are faced with a large immediate addition to the labor force.

What steps are being taken to alleviate the situation? What are the additional suggestions being made with the idea in mind of providing more job openings?

The biggest thing hanging over the heads of graduates is the draft. Fortunately for the job situation a good number of those being graduated (one-half of college graduates) will be taken into the army for two years either as draftees or as reserve officers. This will "help" ease the squeeze somewhat. (A nice idea—start your career in the army.)

As to other and positive suggestions—we have the "trickle down" theory of the

Eisenhower administration. This doesn't seem to be working very well—it never has worked in the past either. We also have the liberal opposition yelling for the use of "Keynesian techniques"—the very techniques that failed to work during the Roosevelt administration. What's the use of yelling for them now?

### THERE IS A SOLUTION

Of course, there is the "unofficial" solution to the problem of unemployment: the time-honored approach of increasing war production and thus in effect making work. This type of "solution" solved the depression of the thirties in a way that the New Deal could not. However, it does not take much insight to realize (a) that the political measures necessary to stimulate larger war spending in the already tense world situation are those calculated to drive us closer to war, and (b) that removing a larger section of our production from the consumer market is bound to have an inflationary effect (particularly with the current taxation policy) which in the long run involves a drop in living standards.

The question really is: why seek a solution within the framework of a social system which can provide full employment for war and not for peace? Why seek a solution within the framework of a social system which has proved itself incapable of solving, democratically, the needs of the working people?

We socialists believe, of course, that there is a solution. We believe that an economy capable of performing such miracles of production for war can be organized for the benefit of the working people as a whole. But such a solution is not to be sought from those who have most to gain from the preservation of the present economic system. It can only come from the labor movement—when that movement awakens politically and enters the political arena in its own interests.

But when the labor movement does break with the two capitalist parties it will need the help of educated, principled and devoted socialist youth. It is to fill that need that the YSL exists—to train and recruit educated socialists for the labor movement.

## A Discussion — —

(Continued from page 2-C)

hydrogen bomb and destroying several hundred thousand people.

### THE "WITNESS"

But given such an analysis, what is the political relevance of such a rejection?

Here I think one must turn to a concept which has been primarily worked out in the pacifist movement—that of the "witness." Such a position is one which is willing to recognize that a certain attitude may have no immediate relevance, but that it may well have a long-term meaning. Precisely because they had kept to their principles, those German socialists who were opposed to World War I were able to have a tremendous eventual effect, one which could not have been foreseen in the late summer of 1914 when "practicality"—socialism proceeding on German bayonets—ruled the day.

This is not to say that the holding of such a position will inevitably lead to the eventual good result. It does seize upon the possibility as worth while.

### Young Socialist CHALLENGE

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Editor: Bogdan Denitch

Editorial Board:

Denitch, Henry Gale, Michael Harrington

Daniel Bell's problem is an agonizing one. The main thing to point out about it is that when the socialist is "not of the world," i.e., sees no practical alternative, that this does not mean that the non-socialist position is worth supporting. If the choice for the modern world is between socialism and barbarism (and I think it is), the answer is not to support barbarism because it is on the ascendants, but to continue to struggle for socialism. This is often, in immediate terms, impractical. Yet in larger terms, it is the only practicality.

## The YSL's Aim

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

—From the Constitution of the YSL

To Fight for Socialist Democracy,  
Join the Young Socialist League!