

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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SPOT-LIGHT

Moscow Plays Its Austrian-Treaty Card—

A 'Peace' Finesse in Vienna: Gloom in Washington and Bonn

In Memoriam

Albert Einstein is dead and again all mankind is shorter by a head. We honor him not only as a great scientist, but as a wholehearted socialist, a courageous fighter for civil liberties, a man who was personally even prouder of his integrity as a non-conformist than of his scientific achievements.

On the one hand he urged defiance of the governmental authorities engaged in witchhunting; on the other hand he hated being waited on even at table; he would not serve and he would not be served; he wanted no lord over him and no serf underfoot. His mind roved further into the universe than any before him, and his interests touched everything human in life and politics. In philosophy he stands out as one of a comparative handful of modern theoretical physicists who had not capitulated before some form of obscurantism, his understanding of the scientific method remaining essentially naturalistic or materialist, though he continued to refer sometimes to a concept which he called God. In every field of political and social life—no matter how one may disagree with this or that view of his—his passion for justice and hatred of oppression made him a fearless spokesman for the causes he believed in, however unpopular they might be. He was a great man, and we all feel prouder as socialists just to know that he was, like us and in his own way, a fighter for socialism too.

Polio, Profits, and Vladimir Ilyitch Salk

Some footnotes on a great victory over disease:

(1) It is with a visible sense of shock that people have realized that the Salk vaccine, in short supply, is in the dis-

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By GORDON HASKELL

The Russian government has struck a heavy blow in its campaign against the rearmament of West Germany. The blow took the form of an agreement with the government of Austria to end the occupation of that country and grant it independence on terms which, it appears, will have to be accepted by the United States and its allies in the cold war.

Although all details of the agreement are not yet known, its general outlines seem to be clear enough. The Russians agree to withdraw their occupation forces upon formal conclusion of a treaty between Austria and all the occupying powers. They will give up the industries seized from Austria at the end of World War II in exchange for heavy reparation payments in kind from these industries.

In return for its independence, Austria will have to pledge itself not to join any military alliances, nor to permit other countries to have military bases on her territory. The Russians propose that the neutral status of Austria be guaranteed by all the present occupying powers.

The prospect of an end to the ten-year occupation of their country by foreign troops is of the greatest significance to the Austrian people. Although the "neutrality" provision of the treaty robs the Austrian government of one of the attributes of true national sovereignty—the right to decide its own foreign policy, including military alliances, without dictation from foreigners—the government and the people have little choice but to accept it as one of the penalties of being a small and weak nation caught in the crossfire of imperialist interests.

The "neutrality" proviso must be considered an imperialist infringement on Austrian sovereignty even though it is our own view, and that of many if not most Austrians, that the country should indeed stay out of either war bloc. In addition to the fact that this policy is

imposed by foreigners, it may also turn out that the proviso will be formulated so as to exclude international tie-ups other than joining any war camp.

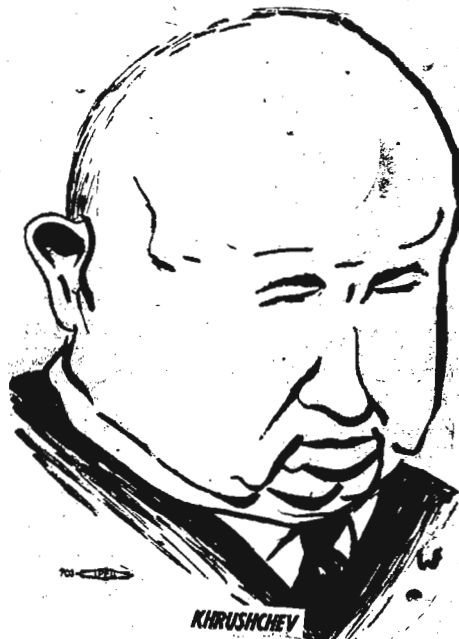
But over and beyond its significance for the Austrians, it is clear that the Russian Stalinists have made this move at this particular moment chiefly with a view to its effect on their world-wide campaign for "peaceful coexistence" in general, and its impact on the question of the rearmament of Western Germany in particular.

The reaction of Washington and its West European allies to the announcement of the result of the Austro-Russian negotiations is evidence enough for this. For years these governments have claimed that Russian refusal to meet their terms for an Austrian treaty has been a large source of cold-war friction. But instead of greeting the latest developments with joy, or at least gratification, their reactions have ranged from glum silence to gloomy mumbles about possible Russian trickery.

ADENAUER SHAKES

The darkest gloom of all has emanated from Adenauer's chancellery at Bonn. And well it might. Adenauer knows that what the German people want much more than rearmament and incorporation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the unification of their country and an end to its occupation. His major opponents, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), have

Softball Pitcher With a Change of Pace



maintained throughout the struggle over the Paris Agreements that the inclusion of West Germany in NATO will end the possibility of unification, and have urged instead a policy of demanding that the occupying powers negotiate the unification of the country.

The developments with regard to Austria now give the SPD program the additional weight of a living example at their own doorstep of the unification of a country which was divided by the same occupying powers who dominate Germany. There can be no question about the added popular appeal of their programs as contrasted with that of Adenauer.

That is just what the Russians intended. There is no propaganda like propaganda of the deed. The American government which has been calling for just such "deeds," and the Adenauer government which has been living in mortal fear of them, will find that the Russian Stalinists have once more seized the political initiative in Europe as a result of their willingness to take one step backward in Austria.

While the SPD's campaign against West German rearmament as a part of NATO will be helped by this move, there is no reason to believe that Russian willingness to get out of Austria implies their willingness to get out of East Germany.

In the first place, the neutralization of Austria is politically possible because of the smallness and weakness of the country. Austria is not essential to either camp in the cold war precisely because she could not be a decisive or even very important factor in a shooting war.

Germany's situation, is altogether different. Although the Russians have been

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May Day 1955: Courage and Perseverance!

The working class of the world has scored no great triumphs during the past year. None of its sections has engaged in the kind of dramatic struggles which electrify the political atmosphere, and remind both its enemies and its own many-millioned ranks of the vital, explosive political energies which are an inextinguishable function of its role in modern society.

Despite the absence of dramatic struggles, this year has not been lacking in developments of the greatest significance to the labor and socialist movements, and hence to the fate of all humanity.

In Germany, the Social-Democrats and trade unions have broken the uneasy social and political peace with the ruling class, and have engaged in militant struggles on the economic and political field which embraced and activated large masses for the first time since Hitler crushed the labor movement in the '30s.

In England the development of a distinct left wing in

the Labor Party has created a political atmosphere favorable to the work and ideas of the consistent, revolutionary Third Camp partisans in that movement.

And here, even in these United States, the prospect of a united labor movement creates new possibilities for the most advanced sections of the working class to increase their influence in the movement as a whole. The prospect of some of the most extensive trade-union struggles since World War II lie immediately ahead.

May Day should not be a time for ritualistic phrases, but for a sober assessment of the condition in which the labor and socialist movements find themselves, and the prospects which lie before them. In a world torn by the greatest imperialist struggle of all time, and threatened with the catastrophe of nuclear warfare, there can be no question but that it is these movements, and only they, which contain in themselves the brightest hope for the human race.

Therefore, courage and perseverance in the struggle! Greetings to all fighters for socialist democracy!

May Day with the ISL & YSL: Buffet Dinner—Film Showing—Dance

SAT. EVE.—APRIL 30—At Women's Trade Union League Hall, 34th Street & Lexington Ave., New York City

AUTO WORKERS

UAW Wage Demand Opens Pandora's Box

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, Apr. 17—In contrast to the quiet, serious and almost cordial atmosphere in which the United Auto Workers (CIO) is now negotiating with General Motors and Ford on the issue of a form of guaranteed annual wage, the public press is dominated by acrimonious debate and virulent charges on this same question.

Pick up *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Business Week* or the trade journals, and one can always find articles warning about the pernicious effects of the UAW demand for a GAW: it will bring (a) socialism, or (b) economic disaster, and (c) it is utopian, unrealistic and positively subversive.

Interestingly enough, the Big Three of auto have not been saying so personally. Their apologists in the universities, their flunkie spokesmen in various trade associations, and their professional union—the National Association of Manufacturers—all shriek and shout and wail against the UAW program. But the Big Three are different. In fact, to read the nation-wide GM advertisement, this corporation has been more aggressive in the past in getting things for the workers than the UAW.

Why the sensitivity elsewhere? And in this connection the real impact of the UAW demand becomes clear. The main theme of all opponents' criticism of the GAW proposal is simply this: American capitalism can't operate in any way to provide a guaranteed living wage for the working people, and therefore the UAW ought to know better than to raise the question.

As socialists, we can only agree 100 per cent with the critics of a nation-wide GAW plan that capitalism can't really provide the working class with a decent guaranteed annual wage, though of course for us this is no argument against the GAW but rather an indictment of capitalism. The textile workers, fighting against a 10-cent wage-cut proposal to lower their already miserable \$1.35 cents an hour, are a case in point. The refusal of the Eisenhower administration to put a skimpy 90-cents-an-hour minimum-pay law onto the books of Congress is further testimony on this point.

Posing this basic class problem is the great service that the UAW is doing by its demand on the auto Big Three for a GAW plan for its employees. In this lies the social significance of the UAW contract negotiations in the year 1955.

FOOLPROOF PLAN

The cruel facts of life about the role and functioning of American capitalism as a whole are being exposed by this issue, as it is now being debated everywhere. Nor are the journalists and professors—who do have a form of guaranteed annual wage themselves—doing their reputation any good with the kind of arguments they use against the UAW's program.

What becomes especially painful is the realization by these gentlemen that, horror of horrors, the UAW is going to win some kind of GAW this year!

For Walter Reuther and his associates have worked up a foolproof plan that will work easily in the auto industry, the richest profitmaker in America.

Put in barest form, the idea of the UAW is this: They want the Big Three to put aside a sum of money, perhaps amounting to 10 cents per hour per man, (which, by the way, would be in lieu of a wage raise) and make this sum a special unemployment contingent reserve. When this fund is built up in 1955-56, the UAW expects the companies to pay a supplement to the unemployment compensation which workers get, whenever they are laid off. In this way, the auto workers covered would get close to their ordinary take-home pay, when they are

laid off during model changeover and other temporary shutdowns.

The plan would operate along the general lines that the UAW pension program now functions. By limiting the liability of the GAW fund to any given existing amount, the UAW takes care of the argument that such a plan would bankrupt industry. Since the Big Three are going to make fabulous profits this year, they aren't in a position to argue that they can't afford to build up such a fund.

Faced with intense competition—

Chrysler's Plymouth threatens to take third place from Buick; Ford and Chevrolet are neck to neck for first place—none of the Big Three can afford to make a fight "on principle" against the UAW proposal for a GAW for this particular industry. Every known factor in the situation favors the UAW, and the auto companies know it.

Nor is it easy to gang up on the UAW. The UAW can extend its present contract at GM, for example, and shut down Ford; and then Ford slips down in one month from No. 2 big company in the auto industry to No. 3, with Chrysler climbing up. Ford's particular vulnerability has made it No. 1 target for the UAW.

NOTHING SETTLED

Little wonder, then, that in Detroit a victory for the UAW seems inevitable, and the auto companies are fighting essentially to limit the size of the package,

**LONDON LETTER Bevanites and Right-Wingers Look Ahead—
The BLP Fight and the Coming Elections**

By OWEN ROBERTS

LONDON, Apr. 13—Now that the echoes of the explosions have died away and the dust has settled over the wreckage it is possible to survey the scene of the latest battle within the Labor Party. A rollcall indicates that the right wing undoubtedly suffered more casualties, and that it is they who were first to raise the white flag.

It must be understood, however, that the white flag does not mean that the right wing have unconditionally surrendered. They have merely taken advantage of a tactical withdrawal in order to lick their wounds and regroup their forces. While the over-all picture is one which gives great encouragement to the Left, it leaves little grounds for complacency.

Contrary to the opinions expressed by the bourgeois press in Britain, the recent struggle has not been one of rival personalities fighting for individual positions of power within the Labor Party. The right wing, urged by the leadership of the right-wing trade unions, had undoubtedly decided that the time had arrived when an attempt should be made to silence the Labor left.

The first step in this direction had to be the silencing or isolation of Aneurin Bevan; until this was done there could be no large-scale offensive against the left in general. So when Bevan presented the opportunity during the Parliamentary debate on the H-bomb they put the first stage of their plan into operation.

For the right wing it has now become a matter of some urgency to silence the left. The approach of a general election, which it is now rumored will take place on May 26 [this date is now official—Ed.], has placed the Labor right wing in the following position.

If the Labor Party wins and takes office, it will do so with a very strong and vocal left force constantly applying pressure for the Labor government to move further over to the left. This situation, as can be well imagined, would be intolerable to the more extreme elements of the right wing, who have no desire to be forced over to the left and to have to operate policies which would bring them into violent conflict with the bourgeoisie.

DIM OUTLOOK

This situation, should it arise, would be even more difficult for the right wing in view of the developing economic crisis. With the terms of trade turning against Britain, the gold and dollar reserves are already beginning to drain away. Any government holding office in Britain during the latter part of this year will thus be faced with the necessity of taking measures to counteract this. Which means either applying orthodox bourgeois solutions or else being quite ruthless with the capitalist class and introducing socialist measures. The right wing would be in favor of the former while the left would all the time be pressing for the adoption of the latter.

Thus if the right wing can silence and shatter the left wing now, before the election, it will be making life easier for itself in the future.

It is not, however, altogether certain that the Labor Party will in fact emerge the victor in the forthcoming election. In

fact, to be quite honest, the contrary appears most likely at this time. The opinion is widely held in the Labor Party that a defeat is likely in the election and that the Tory party will emerge with an even greater majority in the House of Commons. This opinion, while frequently voiced in private by members of the Labor Party, is not so very often given public expression, primarily for tactical reasons.

Thus, if a defeat does emerge from the election, the right wing is anxious to have a scapegoat ready to present at the inevitable post-mortem. What could be a better one than Aneurin Bevan and the left wing? The whole blame for the defeat could be laid at the feet of the left, who would be accused of disrupting the party and creating a lack of confidence in the party by the electorate.

For the past two years prominent members of the right wing have repeatedly said that the left was doing just this, thereby leaving no doubts concerning their intentions to throw the whole blame for an electoral defeat onto the left and thus dispense with any examination of more fundamental causes, such as the lack of a positive alternative policy.

IN BEVAN CAMP

The Bevanites are, of course, rejoicing in their recent defeat of the right-wing attempts to ax Bevan. But one cannot help but feel that a little of their energy should be used for the purpose of taking the opportunity to thrash out some constructive policies to put before the party.

The current line of the Bevanites, as expressed in *Tribune*, is to call for an offensive against the Tories based on "a new drive for socialism at home" and "an assault on the dithering inadequacy of Sir Anthony Eden's diplomacy abroad." *Tribune* does not expand on what it envisages as the new drive for socialism at home but it does enlarge on what it considers is the "greatest task which the British Labor movement ever had to undertake."

This consists of demanding negotiations now to end the cold war, to break down the Iron Curtain and to "work patiently and imaginatively for a genuine peace." This demand for four-power negotiations has been the dominant theme of *Tribune* and the Bevanites for some time and the one upon which they base their whole approach to foreign affairs.

It may be remembered that, as reported in previous articles to *LA*, there was much confusion in the Bevanite camp concerning the H-bomb. Bevan himself agreed with its manufacture by Britain but it had certain reservations concerning its use; Crossman agreed to its manufacture as a possible means of strengthening Britain's position within NATO and the use of NATO as an instrument of peaceful coexistence; and finally, Robert Edwards, editor of *Tribune*,

rather than take on the union in a direct clash.

But nothing will be settled by a UAW victory, for Walter Reuther has opened a veritable Pandora's box with his GAW idea. What happens to the complacency of other union leaders? What happens to the increasing unrest that will take place in lesser industries, like textile, where even now the UAW wage scale of \$2 an hour must seem like rich man's pay to the vast bulk of the working people who are so grossly underpaid?

And in the UAW itself, the rush to put automation into effect before the UAW wins its GAW is creating a permanent group of young unemployed workers, who can scarcely be expected to remain a "locked-out generation," as only seniority employees get the full benefit of the GAW plan.

In recognition of this, the UAW already has proclaimed that it can only sign two-year contracts because the next vital fight must be for a 30-hour week and higher pay in 1957!

Thus a whole new and different period of struggles and developments lies ahead for the union movement. And the central point of issues will be the auto industry contracts in 1955 and subsequently.

stated that he was definitely against the manufacture of the H-bomb by Britain—although, because of his confusion on foreign policy, he was forced to confess that he was being quite "illogical" about it.

For a while it seemed that at last the Bevanites were going to develop a theoretical discussion which, while starting around the H-bomb, would eventually encompass the whole field of foreign affairs. Alas, these expectations do not now seem likely to reach fulfillment and there has been little or no further discussion of the matter—at least in the columns of the left-wing press.

There was, however, one extremely interesting contribution made by John Freeman, a Bevanite MP who resigned a junior government position when Bevan left the Labor cabinet. Writing in the *New Statesman and Nation* on March 12, Freeman makes one of the most serious attempts to come to grips with the problem of foreign affairs which has come from a leading Bevanite for some time. His conclusions are not all that a Third Camp Socialist would demand; they still display fuzzy neutralism; but they are a welcome sign.

A STEP BY FREEMAN

Freeman states that he finds unacceptable, "on political as well as strategic grounds," the statement by Crossman that Britain should remain a member of NATO. Freeman considers that the task is to secure American participation in talks with Russia for the unification of Germany which—if successful—would reduce tension in Europe and reduce the danger of war. But he realizes that this would not end all the problems (even if it worked), so he explores further problems and comes to the conclusion that Britain could choose a position similar to that of India's without the "abdication" of responsibility.

Thus Freeman has been able to break out of the artificial limits with which the Bevanites have hitherto surrounded themselves. He has thereby presented a wide new field of possibilities for discussion. Freeman's final point in his article is also a very welcome one; he states that if an effective non-Communist left wing is to survive within the Labor Party it must now accept the responsibility of synthesizing its varying views and agreeing on a coherent (and collective) answer.

This is the important task of the left at this moment of time and it is a welcome sign that at last someone in the Bevanite leadership has recognized the fact. For too long the Bevanites have failed to face up to their responsibility to thrash out a common and agreed policy for the left of British labor, a policy which can be posed as an alternative to that of the right-wing leadership.

The Third Camp forces in Britain have long advocated such a step and have consistently pointed out that Bevanism will remain as merely a vague rebellion against something, instead of a positive alternative to something, for so long as the leading Bevanites are content to rub along in an empirical fashion. The Third Camp has pointed out also that any policy on foreign affairs must face realistically things as they are, not as some politicians wish they were.

MAY DAY GREETINGS
FROM THE NEW
CLEVELAND AREA YSL

Don't let the world
go to hell—
Join the YSL!

Bandung Is Symbol Of the Great Change

By BERNARD CRAMER

By the second day of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung (Indonesia), as this is written, "nothing important has happened." Yet the conference is big news, indeed historic. What this means, of course, is that the importance of Bandung lies not in what it may do but in the fact that it is. The big news has already happened.

The big news represented by Bandung is the news of what has taken place in the colonial world since World War II, its tearing itself away from the ties of capitalist imperialism. It's clear how fresh that news is!

Now for the first time the ex-colonial slaves of the white masters band formally together in some organized separate form, apart from the white world of the imperialists. And the latter look on with apprehension and some dismay, like the defeated slavers of the old South under Reconstruction as the Negro freed men met to set up government.

The hate that they exuded in a couple of centuries of exploitation they expect to see in the deliberations of the conference. Hence the open fears of anti-white chauvinism, etc.; for these guilty fears about the Asians' chauvinism are the reverse-side-of-the-coin of the white imperialists' chauvinism.

Formally the Bandung conference is a regional UN, roughly like the Pan-American Conferences. But the region is such as inevitably to give the conference a political cast, especially since all the white-dominated governments (Russia-in-Asia, Israel, South Africa) have been excluded. These three "white" governments are also governments which have no "ex-colonial" consciousness. It is this "ex-colonial" consciousness which gives the conference make-up its flavor.

True, there is present also a group of stooges of the U. S. war camp, as well as a couple of members in good standing of the Stalinist war camp (China, North Vietnam). These do not share the same fear of colonialism as pervades the Asian and African people because they are the creatures of colonialism. When the Iraqis get up to denounce "communism" with oily tongue, the assemblage knows full well who pays for the oil; though, to be sure, the Iraqis also got in a lick on their own account by bracketing Israel with the devil, after having succeeded in barring Israel from its indicated place in the conference by joint blackmail of the Arab states.

But the majority tone at the conference is being given by the Colombo powers who organized the conference—so called after the five states (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia) that first organized at the Colombo conference. That tone is not pro-Stalinist but "neutralist." The Bandung conference shows quite well how

this type of neutralism can be used to advantage by the Stalinists. Insofar as the Asians lack any concept of a revolutionary opposition to both war camps, this type must play into the hands of the Stalinists, however unwillingly.

Burma has been the best example of this. The Burmese government is led by socialists who think of themselves as standing outside both blocs, even using the term Third Camp. Yet Premier U Nu is willing to sign a joint manifesto with Chou proclaiming five points for the guidance of foreign policy, filled with the rights of self-determination, peace and other good things. On other occasions U Nu and his party has not been behindhand in statements that they know full well the demagoguery and cynicism of the Stalinists' protestations in favor of democracy, freedom and peace. Yet U Nu signs his name to a valuable piece of propaganda which presents the Chinese Stalinists as guardians of the same values which he holds himself. Chou comes to Bandung with this behind him as a great victory.

PUNISHMENT

If this plays into the hands of the Stalinists, as it does, it is the punishment which history has visited on the other war camp for its crimes, past and present. What Asian would have any respect for Burma if it signed such a joint statement with the men who, up to yesterday, were the white oppressors? Yet even those who themselves know the caliber of the Stalinists are not equally outraged when Burma signs with Chou. For the crimes of the latter have not (yet) been impressed upon the backs of the people, and therefore on their minds, with the whiplashes of a couple of centuries.

And at Bandung the seeming alternative to this kind of politics is represented by the U. S. stooges, and an unpalatable alternative it is. These, like Iran or Iraq or the Philippines, do not "play into" the hands of the old imperialists; they "feed out" of them.

In this sense, in the absence of a genuine socialist independent line from any of the participants, including the socialist participants, it is the very setup which gives the Stalinists the opportunity to make hay. But this setup was not engineered by the Stalinists; it was determined by the European exploiters themselves.

Asian Socialists Keep Europeans at Arm's Length

By MAX MARTIN

Recent discussions between leaders of the Asian Socialist Conference and the Socialist International, over the question of fusing the two organizations into a unified international organization, focus attention once again on the progressive development in the international socialist movement represented by the rise of mass socialist parties in Asia and their creation of the Asian Socialist Conference.

It was on the call of the Asian Socialist Conference that International Freedom Day for dependent, colonial and enslaved peoples was observed throughout the world last year.

Julius Braunthal, secretary of the Socialist International and its fraternal delegate to the meeting in Tokyo in November 1954 of the Bureau of the Asian Socialist Parties, proposed to the socialists of Asia the unification of the two bodies. The Bureau referred the matter to the conference of the Asian parties scheduled to be held in November of this year. Preliminary reaction of Asian socialists so far has been lukewarm, to say the least.

The growth of socialist parties in Asia on a mass scale is a phenomenon of the post-war years, one which occurred in intimate association with the revolutionary struggles of the Asian nations for their national independence. The recent, and in some cases still continuing, connection of these parties with revolutionary national movements, together with the absence of an "aristocracy of labor" and the general extreme poverty of the masses in the colonial countries which result from their economic backwardness accounts for the greater militancy and more progressive politics to be found in the parties of Asian socialism as compared with the petty-bourgeois leaderships of the European social-democratic parties.

Only two of these organizations, the Mapai of Israel and the Japanese Social-Democratic Party, joined the Socialist International. These, together with seven other Asian socialist parties who had remained aloof from European social-democracy, headed by those of India and Burma, met in Rangoon in January 1953 to create a center for Asian socialists, in order to strengthen mutual relations and to coordinate their political attitudes and policies.

COMMON TENDENCY

While making it clear that they were not establishing a rival international, and after making the customary bows in the direction of the idea of fraternal relations with all socialist parties in general and the Socialist International in particular, they nevertheless clearly indicated that certain distinctive views made necessary their separate organization on a regional basis, and proceeded to found the Asian Socialist Conference. Not that the Asian parties are politically homogeneous, either taken separately or together. The Mapai and the Social-Democratic Party (Right) of Japan (the Japanese SPD split in 1952 and reunification talks are now going on) are conciliatory toward American imperialism. In the Indian Socialist Party, the Japanese Social-Democrats (Left) and others there can be found elements which are pro-Stalinist or have illusions about Stalinism.

However, the Asian parties are bound together by a common basic tendency in the direction of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and also anti-Stalinist international orientation. They are influenced by neutralism of the Nehru variety as a "solution" to the cold war, this being one of their less laudable features. Above all they are hostile to capitalist imperialism, colonialism and racialism, and are determined to struggle for their abolition.

The Asian socialist leaders gave abundant evidence of the paramount place of this consideration for them in their reaction to Braunthal's proposal at the Tokyo meeting of the Bureau and in the exchanges which have taken place since then. They assure the Socialist International that they favor continuing the cooperation between the two bodies and that they look forward to eventual unification. But such a unity, they point out, must be based on a considerable period of joint work and "on an integrated approach to the problems of freedom, poverty and totalitarian Communism" and cannot be created artificially.

After the Tokyo meeting, Braunthal raised the question publicly in an article,

"The Need for A Universal International," which appeared in the bulletin of the Second International. His article radiated sentiments of internationalism as the motivation for unification, without once mentioning the daily betrayals of internationalism which the European social-democracies perpetrate in relation to the colonies of "their" countries. He "recognized" the need for an Asian socialist center, but suggested its functioning as a department of a united international.

Madhav Gokhale, Joint Secretary of the Asian Socialist Conference, replied in its bulletin, *Socialist Asia*. After saying that the issue of the desirability of unity is not in dispute, but rather that the question of its basis creates the snag, Gokhale points out that they differ considerably over "the problem of colonialism and freedom for the dependent peoples, their ideas on socialist action for peace and their views on world reconstruction."

He writes: "the Socialist International is primarily concerned with Soviet imperialism." The Asian Socialists on the other hand are "primarily concerned with Western colonialism, while not unmindful of the dangers of Communism."

This question represents the major line of division between the Asian and European SPs. It is responsible for the non-affiliation of seven out of the nine Asian parties to the Socialist International and their emphasis on the need for an Asian regional socialist center apart from, rather than as part of the international social-democracy.

UNANSWERABLE CHARGE

Braunthal's reply to Gokhale consisted of statements to the effect that there was room for all kinds of views in the international and that a reconciliation of divergent views could best take place in a unified body. The indignation which this will arouse among militant Asian socialists who are anti-imperialist can be best imagined after reading two very restrained paragraphs from an article on this question by one of the delegates to the Tokyo Bureau meeting which appeared in *Socialist Asia*:

"On the other hand, why should it have been necessary to disappoint the Asian Socialist Conference when it appealed to the Socialist International urging it to send a telegram to the United Nations General Assembly merely to express its hope for a speedy solution of the problems of Morocco, Tunisia and West Guinea? No proper reply came from London on that occasion.

"The greatest difficulty lies in the fundamental difference between the origin and character of the Asian Socialist movements and those of the Western countries, and the most acute obstacle is the Asian parties' lack of confidence in the socialist consistency of some of the European patries in view of their and their countries' record of colonial administration."

The restraint of the writer of the above words is clearly a superhuman feat. But in their own mild, conciliatory way they express the feelings of Asian socialist militants, and thereby of all that is healthy and progressive in Asian Socialism, as does also, for that matter, the over-all reluctance of the Asians to enter into a unity with that social-democracy of Europe which is the Socialist International.

ISL FUND DRIVE

Time to Sound the Alarm!

By ALBERT GATES
Fund Drive Director

This is the danger point in the drive. Contributions received this week totaled only \$680, which raised the over-all mark to \$7407.25 or 73.7 per cent.

It was a week in which only five cities did anything at all to make a showing. That means that thirteen areas sent nothing in, and explains why we are dragging at this point and still have to raise \$2600 to achieve our goal.

Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles are now within striking distance of 100 per cent and can very possibly do it within the next week.

New York, too, is in a good position to finish its campaign strongly. Reading and Pittsburgh can do it easily too, with a little push.

But further down the list, a lot more work is needed. That is where the drag is, as you can easily see by glancing at the box score.

Newark, which did so outstandingly in last year's drive, is way down at the bottom of the list at this point. So is Buffalo and Philadelphia. And these cities have quotas which if reached can change the standings considerably and make it easy to go over the top.

The next two weeks will tell the story.

FUND DRIVE BOX SCORE

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IN LABOR ACTION ISSUE AFTER NEXT

Our 6th Annual Special Pamphlet-Issue:

Socialism and the Working Class

In Political Theory & Trade-Union Practice

PRO & CON DISCUSSION

Negro Candidates and Jim Crow

To the Editor:

Permit me to take issue, since the editor hasn't, with the views expressed by Scott Arden on certain race questions in recent issues of *LA*. In the issue of March 28, Arden deplores the plan to reduce Chicago's city council from 50 to 35 members, with 25 to be elected from wards and ten at large, on the ground that this will reduce Negro representation on the Council.

It will also, he fails to mention, reduce the representation of the West Side wards known to be controlled by the underworld syndicate, and it is designed to accomplish that objective. These wards happen to be populated by Italians, but this is only an incidental fact. Although few Negroes are likely to be among the ten alderman at large, this reform is not directed against them. It will also reduce the representation of all groups habituated to voting as national or racial blocs.

Voting for or against anyone for nationality or racial reasons are both equally reactionary. This is the root strength of the worst corruption in big city political machines. How any radical can take the position that people should be represented along racial or national lines in a city council is something I cannot comprehend. It flies in the face of everything we try to teach about the class nature of society, and the obvious truth that class divisions cross all boundaries of race and nationality.

It is a resurrection of the long-discredited attempt of American Stalinism to create a Negro nationalism in the United States. It is akin to the reactionary efforts of the Stalinists to elect union officials along similar lines, which all radical groups correctly branded as sheer demagoguery. Arden's views read exactly like the "Negro republic" chauvinism which was advanced in the Stalinist press by John Pepper and James Allen over twenty years ago. It was spawned from Stalin's attempt to artificially graft onto the United States, where they were not applicable, the views of himself and his predecessors on the national question in the Soviet Union. It was thoroughly opportunist and unscientific from the start.

Does Comrade Arden recognize that the spread of Negroes into white neighborhoods might also reduce Negro representation? Does he therefore urge retention of the ghetto, as some Negroes have, for political and business reasons? Negro rights will not be advanced by bloc voting, but by inter-racial solidarity, along class lines.

In the issue of March 14, Arden took the position that it was incorrect to attack Rep. William A. Dawson of Chicago, because that was equivalent to embracing anti-Negro chauvinism. This reminds me of the late thirties, when Stalinoid liberals held that one could not criticize the Stalinists, no matter how base they were, because this constituted "red-baiting," and put one in the same class as Martin Dies and Col. McCormick. The left rejected such a line of reasoning, by which Stalinists alone, of all political tendencies, were exempted from criticism. The same logic applies here.

The fact is that Dawson does no credit to the Negro people. His attendance record in the house is the worst of any member of the Illinois delegation. He grows wealthy from the policy rackets, and from slum housing, through which he squeezes blood out of his own people.

A few principled, though not radical, Negro leaders, such as Archibald Carey, have the courage to attack Dawson. They realize that he is nothing but a cheap opportunist and tool of the local Democratic machine.

If we are obliged to hold our fire in the face of the obvious harm this man does his people, for fear of being considered race-baiters, we might as well get out of politics. Our job is to enlighten, not follow in the wake of ignorance and darkness.

Finally, on a different matter, I should like to take issue with the editor. A few weeks ago, there was some discussion in *LA* on civil liberties for fascists, in which the editor declared in a note that it had been "for many years" the policy of *LA* that fascists were entitled to civil liberties. This is not so. A few years ago the paper was all in favor of silencing G. L. K. Smith by any means. I know this is no longer your policy, and you deserve credit for the change, but there is no need to reinterpret the past, in the style of Big Brother.

In conclusion, I think *LABOR ACTION* is the best left-wing paper published in the United States today.

Victor HOWARD

Chicago, March 30.

REPLY

Two Misunderstandings

Comrade Howard's letter ascribes to me two opinions neither of which I hold and neither of which I expressed in *LABOR ACTION*.

(1) I did not take the position that it was incorrect to attack Dawson, or Dawson's crookedness. If I had, then Howard's remarks would be relevant.

What I reported was a *particular* attack on Dawson—namely, Kennelly's attempt to win support on an *anti-Negro basis* by using the vulnerable Dawson as his main campaign issue. Now we, as socialists, will expose Dawson, but in a *different way, in a different context and for different reasons*. Kennelly's anti-Dawsonism is *reactionary* in terms of purpose and effect and therefore his attack is one which socialists must denounce rather than support.

To help Comrade Howard to see my point (even if he disagrees with it): It is as if a political faker or reactionary were to denounce racketeering and corruption in unions in order to appeal to anti-labor sentiments. We too are against racketeering and corruption in the unions, but *not* on the same basis or for the same reasons; and not only do we distinguish our criticisms from his, we denounce his attack for what it is, as reactionary. That is, in analyzing cases of this kind, we must take into consideration: who is making what attack, why he is doing so, and what the effects will be.

Kennelly, to return to the specific case, was using the Dawson corruption problem to appeal to anti-Negro sentiment. So, at least, I reported. Perhaps Comrade Howard disagrees with this analysis of Kennelly (not Dawson), but that is something quite different from what he discusses in his letter.

(2) I do not believe in voting "for nationality or racial reasons" and I am not for the notion that "people should be represented along racial or national lines in a city council." Again Comrade Howard makes the error of oversimplifying the question.

If the opinion which I briefly expressed in the March 28 issue was unclear, then I am grateful to Comrade Howard for giving me the opportunity to clarify my views, though I believe that if he will *carefully* reread the article in question he will find that he is swinging wild when he characterizes my viewpoint as "exactly like" that of the Stalinist Negro-republic line.

The problem I discussed was not the easy one of whether one should vote for a Negro simply because he is a Negro. The answer to that would be no. I was reporting a proposed electoral reorganization in Chicago which would restrict the opportunity of the city's Negro population to express their desires. And so I wrote, "it's this writer's opinion that we should recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the Negro community to make its voice heard in its own way." I also referred to "the right of the Negro community to representation if it so desires." (Italics added now.)

What I had in mind was the type of distinction, well known to socialists, between (a) what we propose as socialists, and (b) the right of an oppressed group to defend their interests in the way they

ITALY

CP Hold on Labor Weakening

By A. GIACOMETTI

PARIS, Apr. 14—Since the end of March elections are being held in the Italian factories to decide which unions are to represent the workers in the factory councils.

The unions in the field are, in decreasing order of importance: the CGIL with a Stalinist and PSI leadership; the Catholic-led CISL and the social-democratic and republican UIL. The two latter are much weaker than their French counterparts CFTC and FO, and their class-collaborationist orientation is consequently stronger. For the sake of completeness, let us also mention the fascist CISNAL and the anarchist USI (Unione Sindacale Italiana), both without importance on the national level.

As was widely reported in the press, the elections at the important FIAT auto and aircraft works in Turin showed a significant shift of allegiance from the CGIL to the unions of right and center. Whereas last year's elections produced an absolute majority for the CGIL (CGIL 130 seats; CISL 45 seats; UIL 13 seats.), this year's distribution shows above all a victory of the Catholic union: CGIL 50 seats; CISL 93 seats; UIL 40 seats. This shift was confirmed a few days later by a similar defeat of the CGIL in the Werner works in Bologna.

This collapse of the CGIL is the dramatic outcome of a steady decline in strength. In the FIAT works, one of its traditional strongholds, it has fallen from 69.4 per cent in 1951 to 65 per cent in 1952, 64.4 per cent in 1953, 63.2 per cent in 1954, and 38 per cent this year.

CP RESPONSIBLE

The Stalinist explanation for this decline has been the anti-labor repression (or "fascist terror," according to *L'Unità*) which the administration of the FIAT works exerted throughout the last year and especially on the eve of the election. However, the brutality of the FIAT administration cannot account alone for the collapse of the strongest and most militant union in the place; the reasons must be sought above all in the policies of its leadership.

Under the title "Lessons of the FIAT Elections," the Cucchi-Magnani indepen-

dent socialist *Risorgimento Socialista* writes the following:

dent socialist *Risorgimento Socialista* writes the following:

"What has been feared for a long time has finally occurred: the united front of the workers affiliated to the most representative union has suddenly caved in, at a critical time politically and in a place where it seemed most solid and best prepared for the struggle... It would be entirely useless to hide the importance of the defeat: it will have repercussions in the working class throughout the country and it will not fail to make itself felt in future political developments. To try to minimize the 'stampede to the right' of an imposing number of votes in the citadel of the Italian proletariat does not solve any problems. On the contrary, any smokescreens can only favor the extension of this ominous phenomenon to the political level."

After describing the methods of repression used by the FIAT administration, and analyzing the role they played in influencing the vote, the article goes on to say:

"All this has influenced the elections to the factory councils to a significant degree: but to deny or to keep silence around other profound reasons of discontent, as the CP does, reasons which have decisively influenced the choice of Turin workers, would be to close one's eyes to reality."

"For some time now, the independent socialists, while advising the workers to stay in the united federation, have called upon them to undertake a struggle from within against a leadership which persists in identifying the CGIL with the CP, and its aims and tactics with the aims and tactics of the Cominformist party. The Italian working class is now drawing up the balance sheet of the mistakes committed by the CP and by the trade-unionists tied to its cart since 1945. If solidity and confidence are draining from the major organizations of the working class, the main responsibility lies with those who, after promising for years a revolution imported on the top of foreign bayonets, are today incapable of finding, within the limits of their subjection to Soviet foreign policy, an aim for trade-union action which would enable the parties of the working class to assume effectively its defense."

think best, however mistakenly in our opinion, and however we may attempt to turn their struggle into more fruitful channels.

In the Chicago case, as in similar situations, I believe that the Negro population should not be artificially deprived, by gerrymander or any other electoral maneuver, of the possibility of electing Negroes to the City Council. To many Negroes anxious to struggle against Jim Crow, the election of Negroes to the council represents a method of carrying on this struggle. And so it is, to a degree—though not in our socialist view the best method.

Here Comrade Howard makes the mistake of tossing the Negro aspiration for representation into the same bag with all other cases of "national or race voting." He is mistaken, because behind the widespread desire of American Negroes for Negro councilmen, congressmen, etc., stands a *real political* issue, not merely a national or racial one: this political issue is the fight against Jim Crow. If a political machine nominates a Riley, Rosenthal or Romano to cajole the Irish, Jewish or Italian vote, that cannot be equated with the Negro's justified desire to see men in the government who, he thinks, will be reliable on the question of Jim Crow.

Now we socialists work to convince Negroes that such reliable men must be chosen not by the color of their skin but by their politics, and we push the necessity of an alliance of Negro and white workers in a labor party, in the struggle for socialism, etc. But here's the point: *until we do convince them, or while trying, we must be utterly opposed to any*

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FIVE CENTS

May Day

May Day 1955 sees the world in a state over which socialists can find little to rejoice. The threat of World War III hovers over mankind as the two camps of imperialist reaction strive to polarize the world more thoroughly, as they strive to bring more peoples and nations under their reactionary sway. There is, to be sure, a slight let-up in the cold war, but the basic tendency remains in full force, without a full-fledged movement of the peoples of the world in opposition to Stalinism and capitalism.

Here in the United States the bleak trend toward gray conformity continues to blanket the nation, although a slight slowdown of the witchhunt has manifested itself in recent months. Students continue to feel its deadening effects on their campuses and are confronted also by the possibility of being subjected to UMT, whose introduction into America looms as a realistic threat for the first time in the country's history. And the economic situation in the country, despite its apparent health, shows constant portents of a possible breakdown, which would take its toll among young workers as well as the working class.

Despite the gloomy picture there is no reason for socialists to despair. For everywhere there is evidence of the desire of masses of people to break out of the squeeze which humanity is in. The struggles of the peoples of Asia and Africa for their independence, the unceasing and ever-recurring fight of the proletariat against the conditions of its existence, even the resistance of students to the attacks on Academic Freedom: these are some of the roads which lead to the emancipation of mankind.

It is to the deepening and widening and lengthening of these roads that all revolutionary socialists and the young socialists of the YSL, dedicate themselves on this May Day.

U. OF CHICAGO

Cold-War Debate Hits Campus

By DEBBIE MEIER

Politics has erupted at the University of Chicago—unfortunately in a manner not altogether conducive to the advancement of a civil-libertarian and principled defense of democracy.

This spring the so-called left-wing, libertarian campus political party, the Student Representative Party (SRP), is making its major campaign issue one that no civil-libertarian can support. And the more conservative Independent Students League has been able to make use of this issue to put forth some clear-cut and excellently stated opposition to the reactionary SRP view. At stake are the elections to the National Student Association.

The key issues are two: student exchange with Russia, and a special scholarship fund for refugees from Iron Curtain countries (known as the Kucheman Bill). What is pertinent and revealing is not so much the particular conclusions of these two groups on these two key issues, but rather their line of reasoning.

Briefly stated, SRP's line of reasoning goes like this: Student exchange with Russia is important because of the cold war and the necessity for coexistence. A major cause of the cold war is misunderstanding between Russia and the United States; this would be eased by such an exchange of students. Any proposal to give special attention and funds to students who have escaped from the Russian or satellite countries will make such an exchange program with Russia more difficult. Besides, given the imminent visit of a group of Russian "student" editors to this country and this campus, such an act will appear as an insult to them.

Some subsidiary arguments raised by SRP are interesting to note in passing.

Says one major candidate: "To set up a special fund for those who have denied their countries is to render student exchange with the people of these countries meaningless."

Seldom has a statement with so many vicious lies appeared. Those escaping from Stalinist totalitarianism are not therefore *per se* "denying" their countries, but rather they are denying any support to the present undemocratic tyrannous regimes and ruling classes. Secondly, no student exchange program between the U. S. and Russia is really an exchange "with the people of these countries" but rather, most obviously in the case of Russia, an exchange between the official representatives of the two social systems—capitalism and Stalinism.

Says another vigorous "civil libertarian" about the Kucheman Bill: "World power lines are too definitely drawn for this fragmentary aid to the unfortunate victims of the cold war to be appreciably helpful or important."

While the maker of this argument shows more awareness of the political realities of the world, his lack of devotion to principle is even more callous. Helpless victims are only to be aided when such an act will be "appreciably helpful or important" in lessening world tension.

Amusingly enough, he proceeds to

argue that "World communication lines, however, are not so definitely drawn that we should slam shut the door of intellectual understanding in the faces of the Soviet universities. NSA's adoption of this scholarship plan would do just that."

For the sake of brevity, let us assume that the proponents of the SRP position are really as naive and uninformed as they appear to be. Certainly an education on the realities of politics would therefore be badly needed. It is amazing to hear intelligent university students arguing that world tension is caused by misunderstanding and wars caused by insults. But such naiveté is not a crime, just a tragedy.

What is a crime, in a moral sense, is the callousness of this whole line of reasoning. For the meat of the argument is a complete denial of the principles upon which any kind of decent program can be built.

It is the same as the argument used by the most vicious apologists for American foreign policy, and unfortunately the same as the argument used by some of the better-meaning liberal apologists. It is similar to the argument that we cannot protest French colonial policy in Tunisia or Morocco, or British brutality in Kenya or Cyprus, or American brutality in Guatemala, because it would weaken the Western alliance, etc., etc. The position of SRP is merely the other side of the coin; it stems from the same kind of hypocritical and amoral political thinking.

IMMORAL EXCUSE

If the members of SRP feel that those students who have escaped from Eastern Europe should be invited to the university, then they should state so. That stating so "insults" the Russian editors should not concern them. It should rather only teach them something about the nature of these Russian "students." For democracy itself is an insult to them, and our concern is not to placate such hypocrites.

The apologists for the cold war have used foreign policy as an excuse for their own type of immoral and undemocratic proposals for a long time. Now we see how equally capable the apologists for "coexistence" are of the same tactics. Surely we are not going to gain peace and justice by placating totalitarianism or totalitarians—either here in the U. S., in Spain, or in Russia.

For this reason the Anderson amendment to the Kucheman bill, which would have expanded the program to refugees from other totalitarian countries, was a very worthy one. And it is good to hear that SRP favored it and interesting to note that the Independent Students League, the more conservative group, opposed it.

Yet SRP has never publicly made an issue of this, never denounced the Kucheman bill because it did not go far enough! Only a careful reading of the details of the Student Government meeting brings this fact to light. And, by the way, on the basis of SRP's line of reasoning we cannot see how they could have favored the Anderson amendment either. Would it make the Russian editors happier to be put in the same class with Franco Spain, or Peron's Argentina, or Chiang's Formosa? And are not the refugees from these countries "denying their countries" and such drivel?

Unfortunately this kind of thinking has been part and parcel of SRP for a long time and was reflected in their arguments on student exchange. Surely everyone not paralyzed in his thinking apparatus favors student exchange. Why not? But to be for it only if it lessens international tension in some specified way is either stupid or disgraceful.

Perhaps it would have such a result, perhaps it would not. Would SRP oppose student exchange if it meant that Russian students who came here left more

(Turn to last page)

UNIV. OF CALIF. • LOS ANGELES

Authoritarianism Marches On at UCLA

By JACK WALKER

In an accidentally disclosed bit of "internal correspondence," the Dean of Students of the University of California in Los Angeles, Milton Hahn, disclosed his plans to extend university jurisdiction to all off-campus groups that use the "university name and/or facilities."

Specifically this would permit the UCLA administration to veto any speaker at the YWCA, fraternities, the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, and the University Housing Cooperative Association, whenever the dean fears he might "damage UCLA from inside."

An inter-racial fraternity, Beta Sigma Tau, and the United Nations group were singled out as "questionable organizations." This fraternity protested against such a classification, and received the crushing reply that it had not been attacked since this attack was supposed to remain "internal correspondence." One might still ask; so what? Why single out the group even in "internal correspondence"?

Two student co-ops were also singled out—Robison Hall and Landfair Co-op—as possible "troublemakers," according to the *Daily Californian* on April 11, and the *Observer*, April 6.

The Assistant Dean of Students, Byron Atkinson, defended his chief's policy by claiming that it would not have an important effect on UCLA policy, and also that he further intended to obtain "a consistent policy for all campuses of the university (i.e., Berkeley, etc.)."

Temporarily the Berkeley Dean of Students, H. E. Stone—the long-time whip in curbing student democracy from before the 1949 oath fight to today—has denied any intent to push for such a measure on the Berkeley campus. However, both he and Chancellor Clark Kerr at Berkeley have declined to take any principled

stand against such a procedure, which would be of great importance in helping to defeat the measure at UCLA.

It has been argued by some people that Kerr cannot criticize his colleagues at UCLA despite his own opinions, but this kind of stand vitiates the liberal halo that has been constructed around him. Such a criticism need not be aimed directly at the UCLA administration, but only at the general merits or demerits of the proposition as it might apply to the northern Division of the University of California. To recognize this failure of Kerr does not mean that one denies the comparative liberalness of the man, since he has not yet moved to take over the *Daily Cal* at UC or to introduce such a measure as the dean's at UCLA.

However, it is equally fallacious to deny the possibility of the eventual imposition of such a measure at Cal if it is successfully carried at UCLA. (As a matter of fact UCLA Chancellor Raymond Allen—former president of the University of Washington when it fired its admitted Stalinists several years ago against faculty recommendations—has not spoken out to endorse his dean's move, and it might not carry.) In the words of the "As I See It" column of YSL organizer Charles Shain (*Daily Cal*, Apr. 13):

"It was only a few years ago on this campus (U. C.) that rule #17 was 'extended' to bar a debate being held on

campus on the 1951 British elections, because one of the speakers was Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League.

"The 'reason' given was that the ISL was on the personally devised and never legally substantiated 'Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations' aimed specifically at government employment.

"At that time a great protest was raised at Cal, leading to the Young Republicans and Young Democrats sponsoring the debate at Barrington Hall (a student co-op). ASUC President Dick Clarke had opposed this 'extension'; and even the OOZE chapter of SCUM (Society for the Conservation of University Morality) opposed this treatment of the 'anti-Commie' speaker Max Shachtman."

At the time of the Shachtman case, which drove the "big game" with Stanford off the first-page headlines, it was Dean Stone who violated his own Rule 17 in denying a debate between two opposing speakers, manufacturing an *ad hoc* regulation to bar persons in "subversive organizations."

While the YSL does not concur with the OOZE chapter of SCUM's recommendation that the dean be "sent back to Moscow" for opposing the 'anti-Commie' speaker Shachtman, it must still express its serious doubt of the forbearance of such an administrator in withholding the UCLA-type "extension" of Rule 17, once it had been installed in the southern division of the U. of C.

We look to the students at UCLA to make their voices heard in the matter, and would urge all student organizations in the university community in Berkeley and Los Angeles to speak out together in opposing this reactionary move of Dean Hahn's. We should hear of their efforts in a future issue of the *Challenge*.

INDIA'S PARTY STRUGGLE:

Socialism, Stalinism, and Congress In the Andhra Election Battle

By TORCUATO DI TELLA

Andhra, one of the largest states in India, with a population of over 20 million, has been the scene of the most crucial mid-term elections held in the country since independence.

Andhra had come into existence only in 1953, as a separate linguistic state, carved out of the composite Madras state. In the Assembly, the Communist Party came to have the same strength as Nehru's Congress Party. Other lesser groupings were the Krishikar Lokh (KLP) and Praja parties, with a good following among the peasantry. The Socialist Party and many independents completed the picture.

The Congress Party was able to set up a ministry with the help of a fluctuating coalition of minor parties and independents. When the coalition broke down on a minor point, it became necessary to face the electorate again, in February of this year.

The whole nation turned its attention to the fight, which was a showdown between Congress and its biggest and best organized opposition, the CP. Tremendous resources in money and men were mobilized by the main contestants. Andhra was the most CP-influenced of all Indian states, and the government was determined to eliminate this pocket of unrest. A CP victory would have meant a terrible blow to the Congress government.

The results were a victory for the United Congress Front, which included the KLP and Praja parties, and got 146 seats. The CP remained far behind with 15 seats. The Praja Socialist Party (its name after a merger with a sector of the Praja Party) took 13 seats. Independents got 20 seats.

But the interesting feature is that the CP increased its popular vote from 23 per cent to 31 per cent of the electorate. What kind of defeat is this, then, where the defeated party increases, almost by half again, the number of its supporters? Still, it certainly has been a defeat for the CP in terms of power and of its capacity to attack the stability of the Congress government.

TYPICAL PICTURE

The defeat was brought about by a conservative concentration of forces, a "united front" of the different sections of the bourgeoisie and upper strata of peasants. The KLP and Praja Parties, representing the better-off peasantry, joined with the Congress in the united front. This is not only significant from an electoral point of view.

It means an all-around consolidation of the bourgeois front, under the influence of a sharpened class struggle. In the previous elections in 1952*, the KLP and Praja Parties successfully led great sections of the landed peasantry, who had gripes against the Congress Party. A good sector of these peasants even joined with the CP and provided much of the CP's cadre and leadership.

Thus we had the typical picture which many maintain is potentially present in every Asiatic country: a frustrated landed peasantry becoming radical and even revolutionary, turning against the capitalists of the cities and the big feudal landlords. Under such conditions, the support for leftist movements comes mainly from the countryside, and not from the cities and urban proletariat, as in the West. That pattern seems to have developed in China, where the capitalist system, weakened by foreign wars (Japan) and by the remains of feudalism (war lords), couldn't obtain the support of the landed rural masses.

*The results of the All-India general elections in 1952 were as follows:

	Total Vote—%	Seats Won—%
Congress Party	45.0	74.4
Socialists	10.5	2.4
Communist Party	5.1	5.3
Praja and KLP	7.3	2.2
Others (Indep. and religious)	32.1	15.7

The CP got fewer votes than the Socialists, but more seats because more concentrated. They also had a better organization and are now the main opposition party in the country. The KLP and Praja Parties have concentrated strength, mainly in Andhra and Mysore. The Socialist Party later merged with a sector of the Praja, forming the Praja Socialist Party.

The author of this article is a South American socialist now living in India.—Ed.

India shows an important difference from China: having been under British rule for such a long time, it became better integrated with the world capitalist system, and developed since an early date a strong centralized administration and bureaucracy and a well-functioning communications system, which were necessary to exploit the country more methodically. The power of blind feudalism was destroyed to a much greater extent in India than in China.

China had been a battleground for different predatory foreign imperialisms, who were never able to control the country completely and establish the material basis for bourgeois society. The Nationalist government in China could never effectively subdue the feudal war lords. But in India the central government has been successful in overcoming their power, completely absorbing the princely states. Hyderabad, the only one that resisted, was quickly defeated through a "police action" in 1949. The feudal princes were converted into capitalists, joining the Indian nationalist government.

It is interesting to notice that the only CP attempt at open revolt occurred in Telangana, a part of Hyderabad state, in connection with the trouble created between the local ruler (Nizam) and the central government. At that time many of the landed peasants joined in the revolt, as they had been exploited by the feudal lords since time immemorial. The chaotic situation which developed during the "police action" allowed the CP to organize strong armed units. To the peasants the CP seemed to offer a plausible alternative to feudal domination.

The Telangana revolt was put down after two years, but the seeds of discontent remained there. And we must remember that Telangana borders on Andhra and has the same language.

CLASS LINEUP CHANGES

In the general election of 1952, Hyderabad and Andhra turned out to be two of the main strongholds of the CP. The CP had the support of the landless laborers and the untouchables, but they were led by the usual sectors of the urban intelligentsia, plus a considerable number of the richer peasants. On the other hand, many other rich and middle peasants supported the KLP and Praja Parties, at that time strongly in opposition. The rest of the rural and urban middle classes gave their support to the Congress Party, like the great capitalists and landlords. The urban proletariat was divided between the Socialists and the CP. The Socialists controlled the working-class forces of such centers as Bombay, and also got some peasant support.

By the time the recent Andhra election was held, three very important years had passed. The economy was strengthened by the investment programs of the Five Year Plan, the first of its kind in India. The rural communities were helped by the Community Projects Administration, which tries to improve farming methods, health and educational facilities in the villages.

Even though both fell short of the real needs of an underdeveloped country, still they were successful enough to bring some prosperity to the upper strata. For example, one common and documented criticism against the Community Projects is that they have been mainly to the advantage of the richer peasants. From a democratic and socialist point of view, this is a shortcoming, but from a power point of view it gave good results. Also the effects of the Korean war boom, with its high prices for Indian raw materials,

started to be felt throughout the economy.

In this sense we can say that the Congress Party scored a success. Slowly it rallied around itself the various sectors of bourgeois society and the richer peasantry. Its program of investments and economic development was well suited to their needs, and it compares favorably here with any other Asian country, with the possible exception of China.

As a result of all those causes, the CP lost much of its landed peasant support. They were driven by economic conditions, and against their wishes, to concentrate more upon a clear class line, mainly due to the Congress propaganda.

The question of properties versus non-properties groups was clearer than ever in the recent Andhra elections. The CP did not insist on it, but its opponents made it a main point in their appeal. The United Front of the Congress promised a very limited land reform, which would not affect the landed peasants, touching only some big landowners, and with good compensation at that.

ANDHRA POINTS AHEAD

In this sense the real political basis of the CP this time resembled more the Western pattern: a coalition of the poorer sectors of the proletariat and the urban intelligentsia. This gave them more votes—laborers' and untouchables' votes—but less power. All sectors of the landed peasantry united against them, and dealt them a heavy electoral blow. More

important in terms of power is the fact that the CP is rendered less able than before to use one faction of the village rich peasants against the others.

With this alignment of forces, India can enter a period of stable capitalist development, as long as world conditions do not interfere. Left-wing groups will see their agrarian support dwindle in significance and in striking power. They will have to concentrate among the industrial workers in the cities, the only remaining centers of political discontent, now about evenly divided between the CP and the Socialists.

This would mean a major change in the strategy of Indian politics, and for the immediate future a marked decrease in the strength of the leftist groups.

The importance of the Andhra election lies in the fact that it points in that direction. But it is only a trend which is starting, and things in Asia are not so stable as to guarantee its continuance.

Indian capitalism, in spite of its successes, has only a narrow margin of advantage over feudal and traditional forces. Any major world recession in the next few years might break down the whole edifice. The "Chinese pattern," or the "Telangana pattern," may again set in, with the landed peasants as a bulwark of revolt and discontent.

In that event the CP would be more likely to benefit from the situation than the present-day Socialists. The whole training of the Praja Socialist Party cadre makes them better fit for the previous, evolutionary course. In that case it may become the main opposition, replacing the CP.

It can happen either under the leadership of its right wing, in a purely reformist way; or else, under the growing influence of its left wing, it may become a real democratic socialist challenge to capitalism, basing its strength on a well-organized industrial proletariat. Only the future can tell which of these roads will be followed by the people of India, as they emerge from centuries of oppression and colonialism into a new life of their own.

A Crisis Flares in India's Socialist Party

By PHILIP COBEN

The Indian Socialists (Praja Socialist Party) have been thrown into a first-class internal crisis as a result of a maneuver by Nehru's Congress Party which succeeded in completely disorienting a group of the SP leadership around Secretary Asoka Mehta.

At its recent convention at Avadi, the Congress Party adopted a statement including verbiage about a "socialistic pattern of society." Congress and Nehru have played coyly with socialistic phraseology before, and the socialist weekly *Janata* responded to the new fakery with some excellent and vigorous analyses of their motives for "socialistic" talk now.

The crisis was precipitated, however, when Mehta appealed to the party to take the Congress maneuver seriously and favorably, thus taking another giant step toward the right in a course which this section of the party leadership has been following since 1952.

The initial attack by *Janata* pointed out, crushingly, that the Congress resolution had been presented at Avadi as being identical with previous Congress phrases and nothing new. It had been adopted unanimously, in a convention where a large section consciously represents the dominant capitalist elements in the country—indication enough of how seriously it was meant!

The motives for the present splurge of demagoguery were detailed: the Nehru government is giving a "socialistic" sugarcoating to its need to drive the people to make sacrifices such as are represented by coming higher taxes; it needed a political mask for purposes of the then-coming Andhra election; it has lamented its failure to attract idealistic youth; and in other ways *Janata* made clear that there was no mystery why Nehru was putting the new face on.

For that matter, bourgeois organs also made a correct, i.e., cynical, appraisal of the Avadi statement, reassuring any obtuse conservative who might get scared.

But Asoka Mehta proposed a more favorable attitude toward Congress (inevitably, of course, inveighing against "negativist" attitudes, for it is the nature of capitulators to identify their

capitulation with the "positive"). Mehta attacked "over-suspicion" of Congress, an attitude of "pooh-poohing," etc., all of this merely indicating that he was proposing that the PSP adopt a role as political tail to Congress (pushing it on to "socialism") rather than as a militant opposition, a role which Mehta almost openly admitted should be left to the CP as its monopoly.

This Mehta orientation, which would be guaranteed suicide for the party, fortunately aroused a storm. A number of hard-hitting articles in *Janata* pin-pointed without much circumlocution the reasons why Mehta meant capitulation.

WANTS TO GIVE UP

Nobody can be expected to support a party which doesn't even believe in itself as an alternative to the government, they pointed out. Once we admit that Congress is moving toward socialism, however slowly, then people will feel that at least this Congress Party wields effective power, and they will not go over into opposition to a hesitating party which offers only timid promises of doing the same thing better or quicker or what-have-you. Nobody can respect a party which gets thrown into a crisis by its leadership as soon as the ruling party makes a little maneuver with its program....

Most indicative of Asoka Mehta's orientation toward abandoning an independent role for the PSP is his argument that, as "a clear and persistent opposition to the party in power," it is the CP which "offers the point of crystallization for the disillusioned and the discontented." Strangely he deduces from this, not that the PSP must vie for this role, but that the socialists should abandon any hope of playing such a role, i.e., abandon any socialist role. It amounts to acceptance by this party leader of one of the most right-wing versions of right-wing social-democracy, in spite of Mehta's pretenses in the past that he was working out some kind of "Indian" socialism of a new sort.

It will be important to see how badly the party is shaken by this development and whether it can throw off the influences of a right wing which is pushing the party to commit hara-kiri.

May Day Greetings to Labor Action and the Challenge

**DEEP-FELT
CONGRATULATIONS
TO THE STAFF
OF LABOR ACTION**

for a paper of which we can be truly proud despite the adverse and arduous conditions of our times.

"Seldom has the socialist movement owed so much to so few."

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
ISL

MAY DAY GREETINGS

For the Third Camp Of World Labor And Colonial Peoples!

New York

Independent Socialist League

May Day Greetings to All Fighters for Socialist Freedom

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE
YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

When bigger and better youth movements are built the YSL will build them!

Chicago Young Socialist League

FOR GREATER SOCIALIST ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT

Cleveland ISL

GREETINGS

PITTSBURGH ISL

**Greetings to
Labor Action
on its
15th Birthday**

READING ISL

**GREETINGS
Newark
ISL**

**Greetings to the
united labor movement—
Next step: Independent
Labor Party!**

DETROIT ISL

Build the Third Camp Youth Movement!

Berkeley YSL

**Salute!
PITTSBURGH
Young Socialist League**

In Memory of Martin Abern

"The imperialist world of tomorrow is an utterly black one. The America of tomorrow, if it remains capitalist, is also an utterly black one—bureaucratic, militaristic, totalitarian. The capitalist 'tomorrow' is either only an interval between wars or an indefinitely protracted war.

"American imperialism aims to dominate the entire world in the economic-political-military sense. It intends to police and ration the world; feed the world just enough to keep the people strong enough to work, but too weak to break the chains and reorganize the world on socialist foundations.

"American labor must begin to think in international terms of solidarity with all the oppressed and working peoples of the world.

"The organization of the proletariat for its own ends takes place over all obstacles. The proletariat, despite all defeats, rises again and again, but wiser; and moves again on its historic road toward social emancipation.

"There is no peace, no cessation of struggle in this world—without the achievement of world socialism. The choices are as before: either the chaos of rival imperialisms plunging the world into the Third Imperialist World War or the reorganization of society for International Socialism."

From TOMORROW IN AMERICA,
by Martin Abern,
New International, August 1942.

Forward to a Socialist World!

PHILADELPHIA ISL

GREETINGS ON MAY DAY

The Fight for a Socialist America Is the Best Defense of Democracy

New York Young Socialist League

Third Camp Anti-War Greetings

Los Angeles ISL

Revolutionary Socialist Greetings from the Editors

'Peace' Finesse — —

(Continued from page 1)

demanding German neutralization as a condition for unification of the country, they know very well that if Germany were unified and rearmed, there would be no way of enforcing such neutrality on her.

Secondly, it is clear that from the beginning of the occupation of Austria, the Russians regarded their presence in that country as "temporary." They made no real effort to Stalinize the portion of the country which they controlled. They permitted relatively free elections in their territory with the result that the Austrian Stalinists were decisively and ignominiously routed at the polls. Although it appears that they were taken by surprise by this defeat, the Stalinists do not lay themselves open to such "surprises" in situations where they are serious and have the power to impose their will as they did in the Russian zone of Austria.

NOT THE SAME

The Stalinist policy in East Germany has been completely different. They have Stalinized the whole of East German society including the economy, the government, and the elections. East Germany has been constructed as a Russian satellite in the same way as Poland, Rumania or Czechoslovakia.

The Stalinists have not been able to thoroughly consolidate their position in East Germany due to the popular resistance they have encountered. They realize that the unification of the country, far from exposing it to the danger of Stalinization, would mean the rapid defeat of the Stalinists in the Eastern portion, and in all probability would be the signal for the creation of a strongly anti-Stalinist, Social-Democratic regime in the whole country. This would place before the eyes of the workers and peoples of the remaining satellite countries a terribly tempting example.

Add to the above the enormous economic benefits the Russian Stalinists have drawn from their robbery and exploitation of the East German economy, and their fear of a united Germany, either as an addition to the American camp, or as a rallying-ground for an independent, socialist Western Europe, and it can be seen how powerful are the

factors lined up against the possibility of the Stalinists' relinquishing East Germany.

Yet they need a political justification for staying there. That is, they need to cover their real imperialist motives by an argument which can convince masses of people all over the world that they are not really imperialists. This argument is given them, free of charge and without any strings attached by... the government of the United States.

For the U. S. is also determined to keep its military power in Germany, and to maintain the division of the country if that is the only way it can be done. The American efforts to expose the real motives of the Stalinist occupiers have been totally ineffective because this government has no more been willing to give the German people their democratic sovereign rights without strings attached than have been the Russians. The Russians have been bluffing with offers of free elections in East Germany controlled by foreign observers to be followed or even preceded by evacuation of all foreign troops from the whole country. But the American government does not dare to call the bluff.

The Austrian development does not change the basic position of either imperialist overlord in Germany. It improves the strength of the Russian bluff, and hence will gain big political capital for the Russian Stalinists.

(We can also expect another wave of pro-Russian enthusiasm to rise in the Stalinoid and neutralist sections of the social-democracy in Europe. Yesterday, when Malenkov "the soft" fell, there was much gloom among them. But it appears that Khrushchev may be even "softer." We can be sure that the Austrian treaty will be hailed as new "proof" of a budding, if not flowering, "democracy" in the Kremlin.)

But the German Social-Democrats are still confronted with the need for a policy which will be effective not only in slowing up the rearmament of West Germany, but of unifying their country against the will of both occupying powers. The demand for negotiations cannot possibly do it. Only a massive campaign against the continued occupation of their country directed at both camps can achieve their purpose.

WEST GERMANY

The Von Bonin Memorandum

The most interesting aspect of the Von Bonin case in Germany either failed to make the *Times*' dispatches or slipped past us. This is the content of the document for which Bonn fired him last month as head of the "shadow" General Staff. The following week the Hamburg *Spiegel* published the original Von Bonin memorandum which had caused the row.

It is an argument against the NATO alliance, in general, as is known, from the standpoint of a patriotic Junker, but some of the points made are of special interest. It starts by stating bluntly that

"in the present German home political situation the central conditions for creating a high-quality army on a conscription basis are lacking." Such an army would be riddled with "unwilling elements," and would break down under the first test. "The example of the French army in 1940 is a clear warning."

He also argues that NATO remilitarization would be politically provocative, that it would be "regarded by the presumptive enemy as preparation for immediate war." It is doubtful whether he believes this strong statement; but in any case the argument closer to his heart is probably his fear of the consequences for Germany of NATO military strategy as a whole.

He does not believe that the NATO set-up can defend Germany at its frontiers. All West Germany to the Rhine would be the war theater, in an atomic war. "Am I to ask my son to defend his Fatherland on the Rhine?"

New Statesman and Nation reports: "The positive ideas of Von Bonin are to forgo conscription; create a professional army of 150,000; organize it as a defensive frontier group; reinforce it, in time, by a militia trained entirely for local home defense; and make it strategically independent from the rest of the NATO forces."

The problem which he is trying to grapple with is what to do to make it less likely that Germany will be the world's atomic battle arena in World War III, as NATO envisages. If this is true of Bonn's No. 1 Junker, it can be imagined how the German people feel.

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SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

tributing hands of companies for whom it is a commodity like cabbages or Chryslers. There has been an evident change of pace in news article which first sing lyrical paeans to the devoted work of Dr. Salk, with nothing less than justification, and then have to report the real situation according to which the vaccine will be "rationed" by the pocket-book, except insofar as the government steps in.

But on second thought there cannot be anything wrong with this picture, since it is required by the Free Enterprise system, and vaccine-manufacture must be kept free to avoid the evils of creeping socialism or communism, wherefore it must first be made available to the rich and allowed to trickle down to the poor only as profits dictate or the government shells out.

(2) It is heartening to learn that one of the great killer-diseases can be beaten; the others surely are vulnerable to science too. But how long will we have to wait before the feat can be duplicated for, say, cancer? The answer depends to a considerable extent on how much money is available for research. But, like the fight against polio, the fight against cancer, heart disease, etc. is carried on by the relatively small sums pulled out of people's pockets by private charity drives. The billions of dollars that are flowing out of the public coffers are going not for life but for death.

How long would cancer remain a terror if it were assaulted with the resources of a Manhattan Project?

The thought has been occurring even to columnists, in a degenerate literary form but impeccable in political sentiment:

*It's billions for bombs, not diseases,
It's billions for guns, not oleo—
But at least, comes the Bomb,
bejesus,
You won't be in bed with polio.*

Meanwhile thousands are dying of cancer in order to make it possible for tens of thousands of others to die some day of atomic blast or radiation.

(3) Getting a little further away from the immediate topic, we'd like to point, if only briefly, to the philosophic subversiveness of the Salk vaccine tests. It was pure Bolshevism in practice. As we all know now, these tests depended for their effectiveness on the Big Lie. Thousands of children and their parents and even the doctors who administered the shots had to be deceived into thinking they were injecting vaccine when they were really injecting inactive placebos, as scientific controls on the groups getting the real vaccine.

To be sure, the doctors will reply that this means of theirs, which meant lying on a truly massive scale, was necessary in order to achieve their end. But what experienced and sophisticated anti-Bolshevik will be fooled for a minute by this weak rationalization? Isn't it a notorious Bolshevism doctrine that "the end justifies the means" and don't we know the horrible results that flow from this pernicious doctrine, with the same inevitability that Stalinism flowed from Bolshevism? Down with Salk and Lenin! Up with paralysis, both political and infantile!

And now (such is life today) we had better hasten to add that this is not to be construed as praise of lying but as dispraise of all the ignorant pundits who erect a caricature of "Bolshevism" on some heavy thinking about "the end justifies the means."

Fellow-Traveler Hook: A Man in a Million

One of the unholiest political combinations in a long while appeared on the 12th inst. in a full-page ad in the *N. Y. Times* (and we suppose, other papers in the country). This was a political manifesto by the "Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the UN)," sponsored by an interesting list of VIPs.

From the manifesto it is perfectly clear that this outfit (a revival of the committee of the same name that set up shop two years ago) is politically a front organization for the China Lobby. The biggest group among its listed sponsors consists of straight McCarthyite and Knowland types.

Its manifesto inveighs against "appeasement" of Peiping in terms which are likely aimed at proposals like the

one recently made by Stevenson, congratulating Eisenhower and Congress on the Quemoy-Formosa resolution, though it does not mention Quemoy or Matsu at all, concentrating on the necessity to defend Formosa. It hails Chiang Kai-shek as "our friendly Chinese allies" under the title of the "Free Chinese."

In a manner which is amusingly similar to the way in which Stalinist front groups paraphrase straight-CP demands, it has its own paraphrase of the straight-China Lobby demand for unleashing Chiang to "liberate" the mainland: "we consider the maintenance of Formosa as a dynamic force for the eventual freedom of the Chinese people a vital part of U. S. security against Communist aggression."

Well now, who signs this manifesto of the China Lobby's fellow travelers?

As mentioned, the most prominent group of names are open McCarthyites—Charles Edison, Reps. Judd, Gwinn, O'Konski, Bentley, St. George; Senators Dirksen, Bridges, Goldwater, Knowland, Mundt; a brace of the generals and admirals who organized the McCarthyite "Ten Million Americans" and who seem to have lost about 9 million somewhere since; miscellaneous admirers of McCarthy like Max Eastman, Eugene Lyons, Gov. Shivers. Then there are another slug of plain Republican reactionaries. A clear majority of the "Steering Committee" is made up by the McCarthyite-GOP Far Right contingent, including the notorious Rep. Walter of recent Corsi-killing fame.

All this is really only a build-up, dear reader, to introducing the sprinkling of "liberals" (godsaveus) whose names stand unblushing in this savory company. Almost in Abou ben-Adem's position, at the head of the "Steering Committee," stands the name of Sen. Paul Douglas, but since his status as a liberal, or even as a "liberal," is increasingly tenuous, let us skip down fast to the name of a real blown-in-the-bottle liberal—

That's Prof. Sidney Hook, the only man to come out in favor of heresy in the title of a book (and nowhere else). We list him as a "liberal" because we understand he feels slandered when called anything else.

The only "labor" name we spot on the list is that of Marx Lewis, of the Hatters, though some of the unknowns may turn out also to be blots on the fair name of the trade-union movement. (We aren't counting Jay Lovestone, who is listed, as a labor man in any sense.)

Then there are types like Sen. Ives, Javits, Mike Mansfield and Margaret Smith, whom some think of as liberals for some reason, plus Bishop Sheil, who has been doing penance for his noted blast at McCarthy.

We suggest to any of our student subscribers at NYU that they ask Prof. Hook to explain why he calls the Chiang police-state regime on Formosa the "Free Chinese." We suggest this would be academically proper in Hook's class on Metaphysics.

Delayed Reaction

Both the CIO and AFL have declared that they will boycott the April 25 meeting of the International Labor Organization's Petroleum Industry Committee because it is scheduled to meet in Caracas, Venezuela.

This is in protest against the continued suppression of trade-union rights, imprisonment of trade-union leaders, and military dictatorship in that satellite of the American oil empire.

This stand by the CIO and AFL is very nice. It is even ungrateful to bring up bygones, but—

Last year when the Pan-American Conference met at Caracas (with Dulles' chief item of business being the strong-arming of Guatemala), it was Caracas that was chosen as the site. It was little Costa Rica that protested and refused to attend. There were grumbles from other quarters. There were just as many trade-unionists in Venezuela's jails.

Why didn't the CIO and AFL raise their voice loud enough to be heard then, in support of something like Costa Rica's stand, that is, the stand that they take now on a lesser occasion? Or is this another example of how our labor statesman understand the straightjacketing requirements of "national unity," by which they mean never embarrassing the State Department?