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FIVE CENTS

FRANCE'S OTHER INDOCHINAS:
Colonialism in Morocco & Tunisia

... page 3

Myths on American Superiority:
The Other Side of the Picture

... page 7

The Uncontrolled H-Bomb

... page 4

McCarthy Show Evaded Issue Of McCarthyism

By SAM TAYLOR

The sudden suspension of the army-McCarthy hearings have raised doubts as to whether they will ever be resumed. It has been no secret that the Republican leadership in Congress has been looking for a way to end at least the television portion of the weirdest congressional investigation in this era of investigations.

To add to the strange proceedings, it has been the Eisenhower administration, which only a few days ago was desirous of keeping the television show on the road, that provided the excuse for this delay and possible cessation. The immediate reason was the refusal of the White House to permit testimony by army counsel Adams, or anyone else, on the role played by White House aides and other high administration figures in the preparation of the army case against McCarthy.

But as has been the case in this investigation, the reasons that appeared on the surface are only a pretext or a mask for other purposes. From the point of view of the Republican Party the hearings are a disaster in that the struggle between McCarthy and the Eisenhower administration could only end in a draw, and leave unresolved the cleavage in the party. The Democrats, for their part, have only to sit on the sidelines and respond with the proper amount of moral indignation at the right times to gain a political advantage in an election year.

SHADOW-BOXING

The Eisenhower administration has not conducted the kind of attack against McCarthy which was capable of seriously damaging McCarthyism. They demonstrate that he is not a knight in shining armor and that he is a man whose veracity is to be questioned, but this hardly constitutes the essence of McCarthyism.

McCarthy demonstrated himself to be the fraud and demagogue that he is before a nation-wide audience. And no doubt he has suffered a certain personal setback as seen in the stand-offish attitude on the part of Senator Ferguson of Michigan and his kind—at least until they can get a clearer scent of how the political winds are blowing. McCarthy also managed to pull his famous "I have in my hand" routine and got nabbed trying to pass off a "doctored" photograph and a "hot" document.

But McCarthyism as the symbol of the

(Continued on page 2)

WHAT ON EARTH MADE HIM THINK OF THAT?

WASHINGTON, May 4 (AP)—Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson was asked at a Pentagon news conference today if he had ordered Secretary of the Army Robert E. Stevens to cooperate with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy to the extent that he did.

Mr. Wilson's answer:

"You never give anyone orders to such a degree; that isn't the way it is done. 'I mean it's like trying to tell someone how to suck eggs. You give him a job and let him go and suck it his way.'"

—N. Y. Times, May 5.

Court Bans Racist Education; Next Goal: Outlaw All Jim-Crow!

By HAL DRAPER

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court declaring that Jim Crow segregation in public education, in every and any grade, is unconstitutional and illegal is a great milestone in the fight of the Negro people, labor and liberals against discrimination. The immediate credit for this historic victory goes to the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, which has so resolutely prosecuted the case against racist education in the courts, but behind it is also the persistent struggles against racism in every field which has made Negro Americans second-class citizens in the country.

Socialists hail the decision and rejoice with the Negro people at the triumph which has been gained on the juridical field. It is still a far cry from wiping out the Jim Crow system which exists in the U. S.—it is still problematical, for that matter, how far the court action will go in actually wiping out Jim Crow in education in the next period—but all that means at the moment is that it would be a great mistake to hail it as the end of the road.

We doubt whether that is much of a

danger among the Negro people themselves, who know too well the disabilities they suffer under in every field of life; though such tendencies may appear in ceremonial statements by politicians.

What stands out on this day is that a great step has been taken, and a strong weapon put in the hands of genuine democrats, toward undermining still more every stronghold of race discrimination, and the anti-Jim-Crow struggle has been given new impetus and heart to intensify the fight on every other front in addition to education.

UNDER SOCIAL PRESSURE

This was underlined by the character of the decision. The court's argument did not even pretend to be based merely on technical juridical considerations, loftily abstracted from the social struggle. Commentators have noted, not without some uneasiness, that his was a "sociological" decision.

It was not derived primarily from poring over law books. It consciously reflected, and even was formulated in terms of, political and social forces. The famous Dooleyism that "the Supreme Court follows the election returns" really means that the Supreme Court interprets the law not only in terms of theoretical-juridical self-consistency; precedents, legalisms, etc., but under the pressure of mass struggles in society. There has never been a court decision that exemplifies this fundamental truth more explicitly.

Four problems suggest themselves for discussion as a result of this far-reaching pronouncement: (1) How will it be implemented? (2) What may be its impact on the American political struggle as a whole? (3) Its impact on the whole question of constitutional interpretation of the limits to social change? and (4) What are the social forces which this decision reflected?

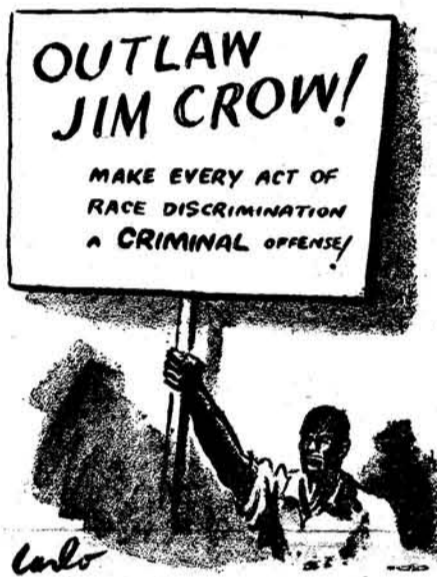
NEXT BATTLE

The question of implementation was specifically postponed by the court for further consideration. No objection can be raised to this step of itself; it would be necessary and proper even if one assumed—that is not true—that the federal government was militantly and aggressively eager to root out Jim Crow education in the shortest possible time. But since this is not true, the next battlefield even in the special area covered by the decision, education, will be precisely that of implementation.

The Supreme Court itself possesses no arms to carry its decisions into life. In the last analysis the decision must be

(Continued on page 2)

(Turn to last page)



U.S. Geneva 'Policy' Flops— Intervention Danger Grows

By GORDON HASKELL

The danger of United States Military intervention in Indochina is still ominously with us.

Under the repeated political shocks of the past few weeks, the American government has reacted like a soldier sick with battle fatigue. It has staggered from one position to another, contradicted itself repeatedly, gone from bullying belligerency to the depths of helpless despair. But with all its confusions, contradictions, evasions and aimless wanderings it shows a morbid tendency to return ever and again to the one idea or policy which is most dangerous to the American people.

This is the policy of attempting to stem the expansion of Stalinism in Indochina by American military intervention in that country.

The foundering of the Eisenhower administration in the Indochina crisis, as well as its tendency to return to the "simple" idea of military intervention, is not a product of mental instability at the top of the government. It results, rather, from the continuing inability of the American government to propose any political solution for Indochina which can resist Stalinism.

It results from the irresistible tendency of the American government to rely on the discredited, outlived and toppling structure of European imperialism and native reaction in Asia as its only points of support against the surge of the Asian peoples for national independence and social change on the one hand, and the Stalinist ability to exploit this surge for the imposition of its new imperialism on the other.

Before the Geneva conference got under way, Secretary of State Dulles attempted to hold Britain and France in line for U. S. policy by threatening to extend the Indochina war to Stalinist

China as part of the "massive retaliation" policy of the government. This met the united resistance of all the allies and possible allies, both in Europe and Asia.

When the bluff was called by friend and foe alike, the Eisenhower administration beat a hasty retreat which showed every sign of demoralization. At that point, they attempted to deflate the importance in the public mind of a loss of Indochina which they had previously blown up to ogre size to prepare the people for another Korea-type war.

SAVING FACE

At this stage, the French and British were staking everything on the hope of some kind of deal with the Stalinists in Indochina which would save French face, and if possible some of French power and revenue in that country. The French entered into direct negotiations with the Russians and any other Stalinist delegates they could get hold of. The British acted as go-betweens and mediators. The American delegation sat sullenly on the sidelines grumbling at the fact that its allies were dealing behind its back. The Stalinists, however, showed no tendency to give something for nothing, especially as they felt that they held all the cards in their hands.

It became clear that all the Stalinist proposals involve the immediate or eventual ousting of France and all French interests from Indochina. Thus the post-

U.S. 'Policy' Flops — —

(Continued from page 1)

sibility of a deal for the division of the country or some other compromise which would save the French something began to fade. But a French government which cannot continue the war in Indochina successfully alone also cannot give up the country without the most serious, if not fatal, consequences for its colonial power in North Africa.

Hence reluctantly, with the gravest misgivings, the French have turned once again to their American allies with the demand that they be told on what terms, how quickly and with what means the Americans would be willing to join their military struggle in Indochina if no compromise can be worked out with the Stalinists.

The French government was retained in power by a majority of two votes in the National Assembly after the fall of Dienbienphu. Its shaky cabinet writhes in the terrible dilemma: it can seriously reinforce its occupation army in Indochina either by sending draftees, or by gutting its professional army in Germany and North Africa. No French government since World War II has dared to send draftees to the "dirty war" in Indochina. To pull its best troops out of North Africa might well mean that the struggle for independence which the people of these colonies have been carrying on for years would erupt into armed rebellion.

They can only rob Pierre to pay Paul—unless Uncle Sam can be induced to come to the rescue.

BRITISH FROZEN OUT

Thus, during the past week the French and Americans have been conferring behind closed doors, while the British cool their heels in the anteroom. To show their displeasure at this freezeout, the British have become even more adamant than before in their resistance to the idea of forming any kind of NATO-type alliance for Southeast Asia at least until after the conference in Geneva has broken up without results.

If the French, driven to desperation, have been forced to explore the possibilities of direct American military intervention in the war, this in no way changes the essentially unilateral, isolated and futile nature of such intervention. For one fact looms starkly and ominously above all the secret conferences, hurried consultations, and contradictory announcements of the diplomats. They have been unable to muster the support of a single important Asian country for any of their plans.

Australia and New Zealand, to be sure, are willing to enter into negotiations with the United States for a military pact in the area. But these two countries are populated primarily by peoples of European origin, and are hated by the peoples of Asia for their discrimination against non-whites. A pact which involves only them would be taken by the vast majority of Asians as a blatant attempt to perpetuate white colonialism in that part of the world.

SOUTHEAST ASIA BLOC

In reaction to this, the government of Indonesia has approached the governments of India and Burma with the idea of a joint non-aggression pact of the three of them on the one side and Stalinist China on the other. Although it is entirely possible that nothing will come of this idea, it symbolizes Asian reaction to the attempt of the Americans to gain support for their military policy among the peoples of the area whose political alignment can alone decide its ultimate fate.

In Indochina itself, the resistance to continued French rule, or even to a deal made between the French and the Stalinists behind the backs of the population, has been growing. Mass demonstrations against partition of the country have taken place in French-controlled territory. The Bao Dai government has signed a treaty with France which is supposed to give it a façade of independence, only to find that the French refuse to ratify the treaty until additional agree-

ments are signed "regulating" economic, cultural and "other" relations between the two countries.

In other words, even in this hour of desperation, the French refuse to relinquish the interests in that country in which they find the sole reason for continuing the fight.

High spokesmen of both parties in Washington have stated repeatedly that a continuation of the military struggle in Indochina is hopeless unless the French are willing to grant the country complete independence. They have said that unless native political forces can be rallied against Stalinism, American military intervention would simply bog this country down in an endless guerrilla war, even if the Chinese failed to counter American intervention by open intervention of their own.

These statements were true yesterday, when the French were resisting the idea of American troops entering the country. They are equally true today, when the French seem to be veering toward the idea that they can hope to salvage something out of the mess only by accepting American intervention.

THE INITIATIVE

No matter what promises the French might make for the future independence of the country so as to make U. S. intervention palatable to the American people, no matter what token gestures of "independence" they might give to make the road for Dulles and Chief of Staff Radford easier in getting acceptance for their interventionist policy, the whole world, and especially the whole of Asia, would know that America had gone in to save a reactionary colonial power from the consequences of its own colonial rule in Asia.

The Geneva conference has once more underlined the prime fact of the cold war—the retention of the political initiative by the Stalinists when dealing with the capitalist world. This initiative derives from their ability to exploit the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist drive of the peoples of Asia and the workers of Europe. They have been hurled back only when confronted with political forces which took the initiative away from them

by conducting the struggle against capitalism and/or colonialism with vigor and determination themselves (India, Burma, etc.)

In Indochina, the same principle applies. The only possibility of inflicting a real political defeat on the Stalinists, of holding them in their tracks, and eventually hurling them back from the position they have won, is to stimulate, encourage and support a popular movement which can oppose them in the name of independence, democracy, and fundamental economic change.

FIXED IDEA

The support of such a movement is contrary to the basic nature of French imperialism. Despite all the admonitions and warnings of high Democrats and Republicans, it is contrary to the basic nature of American imperialism. Such warnings cannot be taken seriously as long as they are made by men who support and are part and parcel of the political machines which control the foreign policy of this government. All they amount to is pious wishes by people who, in the end, will reluctantly go along with a military policy which they now condemn in advance as disastrous folly.

During the past month, U. S. military intervention in Indochina was held back by the unanimous opposition of the allied governments and of the peoples of Europe and Asia. But now the government seems to be returning with the morbid fascination of a mental patient to the fixed idea which is most destructive to his own well-being—to the fixed idea that there is only one real solution to the struggle against Stalinism, war.

There have been encouraging signs of revulsion and resistance to American intervention in Indochina among the people of this country. The danger is not over; it is greater than before. Now is the time for every man and woman in the country who is really concerned with freedom for all peoples, who is seriously dedicated to the principles of democracy on a world scale, who really wants to defeat Stalinism rather than to stoke its political fires, to make their voices heard.

No American intervention in Indochina!

Evaded McCarthyism Issue — —

(Continued from page 1)

witchhunt, the anti-Communist hysteria and frustration over the Stalinist gains in the world remained unchallenged. Neither Secretary of the Army Stevens during his long testimony nor the Democrats on the committee raised the political issue of McCarthyism. It was the junior senator from Wisconsin who time and again raised the question of "Communists in government." And no one seriously tried to meet him head-on; the preference was narrowly to discuss the Cohn-Schine affair.

The real issue in these hearings is not the army charge that McCarthy and Roy Cohn tried to intimidate the army in order to get preferential treatment for G. David Schine, a former consultant to the

McCarthy committee. From what has taken place thus far, the army charge appears to be true. But this is a far cry from the reason why the army released the report on the Schine case.

NO SPADES

The army charges were a declaration of limited war against McCarthy, and were an attempt not merely to get McCarthy to call off his investigation of the army, but to fight his growing challenge for control of the Republican Party. Therefore the McCarthy countercharge that the army was trying to "blackmail" him into calling off his investigation is not without an element of truth.

McCarthy's use of his senatorial position to terrorize a branch of the Executive Department was not a question of personal pique, and presenting it as such led to these confused and tangled hearings. McCarthy was not going to be bought off, and the fact that the investigation took place is an indication of this.

The refusal of the White House to permit testimony on the meeting of high administration officials including Attorney General Brownell, Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and UN representative Henry Cabot Lodge has provided the excuse to sidetrack the hearings. It is also a demonstration of the unwillingness of the Eisenhower administration to engage in an open "calling a spade a spade" fight with McCarthy at this time, if it will ever do it at all.

McCarthy has based his defense on the claim that the report was released in order to get him to call off his hearings. And the admission by army counsel John Adams of the January 21 meeting at which he was directed to draw up details of the attempts to get preferential treatment for Schine gives substance to McCarthy's argument.

LIMITED FIGHT

His refusal to go on with the hearings unless testimony about this meeting is permitted is both a way out for McCarthy and a threat to blow open a fight about the motives of the Eisenhower administration in opposing his hearings. At this time McCarthy is in no position to engage in

Trusts Go Scot-Free But 'Trust-Buster' Out to Bust Union

U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. who specializes in amicably settling anti-trust actions against the nation's huge corporations engaged in price fixing, won a victory for his administration on April 28, when 6 little strawberry farmers in Louisiana and a union organizer were convicted in the U. S. District Court in New Orleans, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

The men convicted by the "trust-busting" attorney general are leaders of a 3000-member AFL union known as the Louisiana Fruit and Vegetable Producers Cooperative Marketing Union, Local 312. The strawberry farmers, who cultivated less than 3 acres each in strawberries and earned less than \$400 annually in 1951, united against chain-store and commission-agent buyers to secure the market price for the products of the labor of their families.

Prison sentences of 6 to 9 months, plus fines of \$500 to \$1000 each were assessed against the individuals, while the Union Cooperative was fined \$4000.

The U. S. district judge in New Orleans agreed to suspend the prison terms and place each man on probation for one year upon payment of the heavy fines.

H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Agricultural Workers Union (AFL), with whose organization the strawberry farmers are affiliated, said in Washington:

"It appears that the U. S. Department of Justice enforces the anti-trust law one way against the rich and another way against the poor. Anti-trust actions against the major oil and aluminum corporations are settled amicably by Mr. Brownell, who turns right around and persecutes the poor and needy who try to get a better deal for their families. Brownell is now threatening to investigate General Motors and the Ford Motor Company for controlling 82 per cent of the automobile production in the United States. One can imagine just how far such an investigation will go with the former president of General Motors sitting in President Eisenhower's cabinet."

an open struggle with the White House, and he is looking to duck out. But if he has to fight, as the hearings have shown, he wants to make it a defense of his "Communists in government" investigations and not the trivia of the Schine affair.

If the Eisenhower administration were to permit testimony on the secret January 21 meeting, it would thereby indicate that it is prepared to make a stepped-up political attack against McCarthy and to bring out into the open the cleavage in the Republican Party. The decision of that meeting was to engage in a limited fight in which they hoped to cut McCarthy down to size.

The Eisenhower administration has alternately cajoled and capitulated to McCarthy until he forced them to make some attempt at self-defense. It cannot and does not fight McCarthyism, because it is itself a participant in and practitioner of McCarthyism.

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FRANCE'S OTHER INDOCHINAS

I—In Morocco: French Imperialism vs. the Labor Movement and Living Standards

By A. GIACOMETTI

Detailed information on the labor movement in Morocco has been made available recently in a report by Mahjoub Bensedik, secretary of the Railway Workers Federation of Morocco and member of the Bureau of the Union Générale des Syndicats Confédérés du Maroc. Mahjoub Bensedik has been detained since December 1952.

The document deals in some detail with the social and political situation of the Moroccan working class, in particular with regard to the compulsory affiliation of Moroccan workers to the French trade-union federation. On this point, Mahjoub presents a highly instructive picture of the collusion between the French administration and the Stalinist organization in Morocco:

"The compulsory affiliation of the Moroccan workers to the Union Generale des Syndicats Confédérés du Maroc (UGSCM) and the rise of their delegates to positions of leadership in the organization, which is theoretically and nominally affiliated to the pro-Communist CGT, has given rise to an equivocal situation which allows the Administration of the Protectorate to raise the cry of labor collaboration with Communism and to repress the Moroccan trade-union movement under the guise of anti-Communism.

"However, for anyone who has the slightest knowledge about the political and social situation in Morocco, this alleged collaboration is a nonsensical notion. Not only has there never been such collaboration, or even unity of action, but the record shows that since 1944 the Moroccan trade-unionists of the Istiqlal [Independence party] tendency have been conducting a merciless struggle against the invasion of Communist influence.

NO PRO-STALINISM

"The record also shows that it is the Administration of the Protectorate which has tolerated, if not encouraged, the importation of Communist ideology in Morocco. It has done so not only by recognizing the Moroccan Communist Party, but above all by setting up a branch of the CGT immediately after the liberation of North Africa in 1943, and by providing it with a whole staff of Communist organizers at its own expense, while at the same time refusing to grant Moroccan workers the right to create free trade-union organizations.

"The aim of this memorandum is therefore to outline as briefly as possible the various stages of trade-unionism in Morocco, to show the compelling necessities which forced the Moroccan workers to adhere to the UGSCM, as well as the motivations which impelled the Moroccan trade-unionists to take over this organization in order to create within it a de-facto autonomous trade-union movement.

"It is important to stress at the outset that even though there has been regrettable but compulsory cohabitation of Istiqlal and Communist leaders in the Bureau of the UGSCM, there has never existed between them unity of aims or of action. Instead there has been a clearly defined factional struggle, arising from ideological opposition and from the incompatibility of immediate aims, and illustrated by obvious facts. The strike movement of December 8, 1952, which was decided by the Moroccan fraction of the Bureau of the UGSCM without the knowledge of the Communists, is an encouraging example."

FOR FREE UNIONISM

In the concluding paragraphs of the report, Mahjoub further describes the relationship between the UGSCM and the CGT, and the immediate aims of Moroccan trade-unionism:

"The ties between the UGSCM and the CGT had actually been broken for a long time, and the transformation of this institution into a free trade-union organization was to be only a formality. The congress which should have decided on the matter was called for February 1953 and the report for it had already been written. It would be superfluous to insist further on our intentions on the subject. These intentions are proved not only by our verbal agreements with representatives of the ICFTU, but by documents seized by the police and which are now in their files: the report for the congress, the correspondence of Mahjoub and Taieb with journalists.

"Our position on the trade-union question is also too well known to be explained in detail here. It is similar to the one defined publicly, several times, by His

Majesty the Sultan. It differs from the position of the General-Residency [French colonial administration] by the fact that we are partisans of trade-union pluralism and of the independence of the unions, not only from their political or religious organizers, but also and mainly from the administration and the police.

"Besides, we are not alone in opposing the strange conception of trade-unionism held by the General-Residency. Even the F.O. [Force Ouvrière] federation has recently condemned in public the parody of 'factory djemaas,' which isolate the workers on the basis of their ethnic origin and forces them to be represented by 'delegates' directly appointed by the police and the authorities.

"It is true that, in the absence of any collaboration between the unions and the Communists . . . the administration may seize upon the collaboration of the unions and the Istiqlal, which is in part real. Therefore, before concluding, let us examine briefly the relationship between these two organizations."

The reference to the Sultan's position relates to the public statement made on April 30, 1949 by Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef, to a delegation of Moroccan trade-unionists: "Trade-unionism is a movement of emancipation of the most numerous and most important working class of the Moroccan people. The fate of this class . . . is a matter of great concern to us, but trade-unionism can develop

and bear healthy fruit only in a climate of freedom: freedom for the workers, for all the workers, to create or to choose their trade unions, freedom for the workers to choose their leaders democratically. This freedom is the only guarantee we demand. The nationality of the leaders matters little. It is sufficient that they should possess the confidence of the workers."

After drawing a parallel between the nationalist and the trade-union movement, Mahjoub concludes:

"Like the trade-union movement, the national parties are faced with three enemies: Communism, the financial oligarchies and the administration of the Protectorate. This similarity of aims and a common activity have naturally found expression in unity of action and in mutual assistance. . . . the trade-union movement seeking support among the representatives of public opinion, in particular among the Istiqlal party."

TWO PROLETARIATS

The memorandum also presents extensive documentation concerning the living conditions of Moroccan workers. In his description of the social situation, Mahjoub insists on the cleavage between the European and Moroccan working class:

"Existence of two very distinct working classes, which are not united by any community of interests and which are divided even further by discriminatory legislation. . . . Therefore, there is no [united] proletariat in Morocco, but a higher proletariat composed by the minority of European workers, and a lower proletariat, composed by the great mass of Moroccan workers."

The exact proportion of these "two working-classes" has recently been shown in an article by Henri Piro in the review *Fédération*, of March-April 1954. According to this writer, the Moroccan workers represent 5/6 to 6/7 of the whole

working class. He quotes the following examples as typical:

In the Sharifian Bureau of Phosphates: 91.7 per cent of the workers are Moroccan; in the Eastern Morocco Mining Co.: approximately 75 per cent; in 23 factories in Casablanca: 81.7 per cent; in the Moroccan Sugar Co.: 87 per cent.

DEPRESSED CONDITIONS

As far as the living conditions are concerned, Mahjoub has compiled a detailed monthly budget for a Moroccan unskilled worker, married, without children. Assuming that he works regularly, that he is never ill and that he is never fined, such a worker earns the equivalent of approximately \$22 a month. If his wife can find work as a servant, she can earn \$7 a month. On the other hand, the monthly rent for a tin-can shack in the "bidonvilles" is \$2 monthly; a pound of flour costs 7 cents, a pound of meat 40 cents and a pound of sugar 20 cents.

In practice, the majority of workers living under these conditions are reduced to eating almost exclusively bread and tea, thereby undernourishing themselves and their families during most of their lives.

Elsewhere, the document points out that 10 large companies in Morocco have had an income of \$2.2 million in 1949, that is, roughly 50 per cent of their capital, and that the profits of the same companies reached \$3.5 million in 1950.

From the total picture, it appears clearly that the social problems of the Moroccan labor movement cannot be solved in a satisfactory manner without first solving the political problem, that is without breaking the hold of the French administration. In this perspective, the most pressing need is the creation of an independent and representative trade-union federation, such as the Tunisian workers have in the UGTT.

II—In Tunisia: Nationalists Reject Fake Reforms

By A. GIACOMETTI

PARIS, April 10—On March 4 the French Resident-General in Tunisia, Pierre Voizard, launched a series of reforms, along with a new Tunisian government, headed by Mzali, a "friend of France." Both measures were supposed to crown the "policy of conciliation" adopted seven months ago, upon Voizard's appointment. In the course of the last month, it has become clear that neither "reforms" nor a "conciliation policy" have produced the desired results. They have failed to obscure the colonialist content of French policy in Tunisia and they have failed to divide the nationalist movement. The Voizard policy stands exposed as the tribute vice pays to virtue.

In fact, the so-called reforms represent rather a step backward in the long history of unsuccessful attempts to straighten out Franco-Tunisian relations.

Already in 1922 proposals were formulated by the French chauvinist leaders Barrès, Taittinger and Prince Murat, which included plans for a Tunisian parliament and for an all-Tunisian government responsible to this parliament. Voizard's proposals do not even come near such plans. In 1946 a reform plan had been elaborated which provided for an all-Tunisian executive, which the present plan also fails to do.

NO REAL ADVANCE

The present reforms also fall short of the very moderate seven-point proposal presented by Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour (or Constitution) Party in April 1950; they fall short of the project presented by Tahar Ben Amar, former president of the Tunisian chamber of the defunct Great Council, in May 1952; they even fall short of a project prepared by the Baccouche government under Resident-General de Hautecloque.

The present reforms not only fail to transfer any of the vital functions of the executive to a Tunisian administration, but on the legislative level they establish the right of the resident Frenchmen to elect their own representative body. Thus they legalize the principle of co-sovereignty and flagrantly violate the terms of the protectorate. Moreover, the representatives of the Frenchmen will be elected under a system of direct and universal suffrage, whereas the Tunisian representa-

tives have to be elected under an indirect two-degree system. No provision is made at all for transition toward an all-Tunisian executive or legislative.

Whereas it is true that the Tunisian chamber has slightly more delegates than the French (45 to 42 for the French), this slight advantage disappears when the vote involves financial matters. On all such votes, both chambers have to co-opt a number of delegates reestablishing a parity of 53 to 53—the very numbers of the old Great Council.

There are only two measures which could be described, if one likes to stretch a point, as concessions to Tunisian demands: some French functionaries have been deprived of ministerial rank, and the small Department of Reconstruction has been turned over to Tunisian administration. However, it is common knowledge that the Department of Reconstruction has almost finished its work, and that it will be dissolved soon.

CALL FOR VIGILANCE

All representative Tunisian organizations have taken strong positions against the so-called reforms and against the puppet government that is supposed to carry them out. This opposition came as a surprise to certain French liberals, who had apparently expected the Tunisians to rejoice wildly over any political measure that can be distinguished from De Hautecloque's military repression techniques. Yet the Tunisian nationalists had given ample warning to democratic opinion in France and elsewhere concerning the nature of the new measures.

The day after the proclamation of the reforms, the UGTT (Tunisian labor federation) and the Neo-Destour Party came out with statements of strong opposition. (The Neo-Destour Party's leader, Habib Bourguiba, is still in jail and in exile, and Tunisia is still under martial law.)

The UGTT calls on the entire Tunisian working-class, "civil servants, white collar workers, industrial workers of all categories, to remain vigilant and to take

all necessary measures of protection against the attacks on their rights as individuals, proletarians and Tunisians, which the reforms will permit."

Other organizations protesting against the "reforms" were the small Stalinist-controlled USTT (on March 6), the General Union of Tunisian Government and Civil Service Workers (on March 21) and the Old Destour Party, representing the moderate nationalist tendency, on March 18.

Considering this absolutely unanimous rejection of the reforms by Tunisian opinion, it may come as a surprise that strong opposition was also voiced by the French settlers. When the Mzali government was formed, the Comité de la Méditerranée, which represents an extreme reactionary caucus among the settlers and which is headed by Puaux and Colonna, leaders of the colonialist lobby in Paris, protested violently.

STAND-PATTERS

On March 4, *Tunisie-France*, organ of the Rassemblement Français, which is the representative organization of the French residents, adopted a more conciliatory tone toward the Mzali government. On March 11, however, the Directing Committee of the Rassemblement Français voted an astonishing resolution protesting against the "extremely dangerous situation created by the reforms of March 4." This resolution considers that the settlers have been placed before the accomplished fact of a "state organization designed to abolish the protectorate, and a representative system designed to diminish the French politically."

The Rassemblement Français also protests against the "inequality" between the French and the Tunisian assemblies under the new system. In the end, however, the Rassemblement Français says that "all is not lost," and calls upon its followers to "take action to avoid the worst."

These anguished protests do not really rest on a misunderstanding, for Pierre Voizard hastened to explain from the very first that no real concessions had been made. In a speech to veterans of the Indochinese war on March 8, he confirmed in his own way everything the Tunisian nationalists had been saying about the reforms:

(Turn to last page)

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YOU and SCIENCE

UNIONIZED ENGINEERS SHOW HOW TO WIN

By CARL DARTON

How should scientists, engineers, professionals and all workers react against the insecurity of the government's "security" program? Two events of the past several weeks suggest the answer. One concerns Fort Monmouth, N. J., and the other the Arma Corporation, Garden City, L. I.

On April 25 the Federation of American Scientists' Committee on Loyalty and Security released its study on the suspension of some thirty scientists and engineers at the Fort Monmouth Army Signal Corp Laboratories. This study of some 64 pages documents the absurdity of both the army's and McCarthy's charges against the suspended employees. The main facts of the case are well known and we will not enlarge upon them here. The FAS report confirms that there is no evidence of espionage and very little of "subversion" at the laboratories.

We are more concerned with the motivations of the scientists who made the study. We might add that the FAS investigating committee does not consist of Fort Monmouth employees but mostly university professors and research workers. They would appear to have had the sympathy and aid of many of the suspended workers, however. Their purpose in the study, aside from the obvious one of exposing the injustice of the army's action, was to highlight the minor nature of the security threat as compared with the disruptive effect of the suspensions upon the research output at the laboratories. They recommended that the army overhaul and remove the abuses and stupidities of its security system.

The reaction of the army to the pressure of McCarthy indicates the futility of this method of persuasion. We do not like to scoff at any honest effort of scientists to fight back at government oppression, but in order to be effective they must speak louder than through learned reports. A few days after the FAS report was published there appeared in the N. Y. Times

of May 3 a report of more successful efforts by engineers to combat the evils of security suspension, through union organization and protest.

The Times news item stated that the Arma Corporation, Garden City, Long Island, had claimed it had the right to suspend without pay any worker declared to be a poor security risk. The corporation claimed this right since it held contracts with the navy, air force and Atomic Energy Commission in developing new products relating to navigation, communications and ordnance. It was considered to be practically a 100 per cent government facility.

Fortunately for the engineers and technicians, they were represented by a union which, as the result of a nine-week strike in the fall of 1953, had won a contract with Arma. The Engineers Association of Arma consists of about 800 members and is affiliated with the Engineers and Scientists of America. The ESA forced the question of suspension without pay before an arbitrator, who rendered a decision in favor of the union.

The arbitrator, Curtis G. Shake, a former judge of the Indiana Supreme Court, ruled that "the principle that every man should be entitled to be heard when charges are made reflecting on his loyalty is deeply rooted in our political philosophy. The substance of these rights is protected in our Bill of Rights." The suspended employee was awarded his pay.

In contrast to the Arma engineers, there are now some 20 to 30 engineers and scientists at Fort Monmouth suspended without pay, and a decision, favorable or unfavorable, may require a full year, still without pay.

Behind the smoke of the army-McCarthy show in Washington is the basic issue of job security for government and other workers caught up in the hysteria of security investigations. A comparison of the results at Arma and Fort Monmouth will not be lost on the working scientists and engineers.

LONDON LETTER

Moscow Is Wooing Britain Too

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, May 12—While it is clear that Russia has been trying to drive a wedge between France and the U. S., utilizing the overwhelming French feeling against German rearmament, in Britain too we can see evidence of Malenkov's flirtations.

Radio Moscow has been very much less vituperative about Britain lately, and has even broadcast some praise of Churchill recently. There has been a very well publicized effort to popularize the English-language Moscow fortnightly and also Chinese cultural magazines. One advertisement here recently went so far as to say "Orders from Moscow—Read all about the visit of British businessmen to Russia."

Nor is it a coincidence that most of the speeches at the annual conference of the British CP urged the members to be more "human." Many of the speakers asked that more attention and publicity be given to Russian culture and less to clearly political issues. The delegates were told to be more attentive to local

sensitivities and idiosyncrasies.

One must recall, in this connection, the strong feeling in Britain against German rearmament, especially in the Labor Party. East-West trade has become a respectable slogan for such respectable characters as Harold Wilson, the Labor government's President of the Board of Trade, and Clement Attlee. When some Stalinists infiltrated into the Labor Party's May Day processions shouting slogans about these issues, they were playing on a string with much Labor sentiment behind it.

The pro-Stalinist illusions of such confused Labor MPs as Sidney Silverman and Woodrow Wyatt have caused them to respond to Malenkov's overtures, and so far the wedge between the two sides of the Atlantic seems to be widening. Britain's desperate desire for peace in Southeast Asia counterposed to America's policy makes it likely that the wedge will be driven in still further. At this point, also, EDC looks like a still-birth.

Gold Coast Government to Get New Constitution, More Powers

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Apr. 29—It was a great relief to read the report of the commission set up by the governor of the Gold Coast on alleged bribery in the government headed by Kwame Nkrumah. Only one minister, J. A. Braimah, had accepted a bribe. He took 2000 pounds from a Mr. Kassardjian, a contractor, to persuade him to give him the contract for a training college in Northern Gold Coast. In fact, the contractor was the only suitable person anyway and so was awarded the contract. The 2000 pounds was thus wasted. What was more amusing was that Braimah, the minister of communications and works, had very little influence in the matter at all.

Prime Minister Nkrumah had been chairman of the committee responsible for awarding contracts, and his political opponents in the Gold Coast and in Britain were hoping that he would be compromised by the investigation. However, the commission found that "there was no justification for allegations . . . of the acceptance of bribes or of improper conduct on the part of the prime minister. . . ."

Dr. Nkrumah is a very astute man. When he took power under a constitution which left most of the authority in the hands of the governor, he was aware of the efforts which both politicians and businessmen would make to buy him and the Convention People's Party. Much to the governor's chagrin, he persuaded his ministers not to live in the bungalows which the governor had put aside for them, as they would thereby become alienated from the people. He also insisted that the salaries of the ministers and members of the legislatures who belonged to his party should be paid into party funds and should be allocated according to party desires.

These measures have rendered the Gold Coast government one of the least vulnerable of the new governments which have been set up since the war.

BRITAIN HEDGES

By a coincidence not related to the bribery affair, the British government announced on April 28 a new constitution for the Gold Coast which will give more power to the elected government. In fact, Africans will have complete control except for "external affairs, Togoland and certain matters concerning the police." These reserve powers will be exercised by the governor and the deputy advised by representatives of overseas interests. Under the new constitution there will be a council including senior ministers and guarantees to overseas investors that they will be adequately compensated if their property is nationalized.

A slight account of the new constitution as this is brings out interesting points. The governor will be responsible for the police. This is to assure their loyalty in case they become too independent and side with the Africans, as in Guiana. Togoland, formerly a German territory, will still be ruled by the governor as it is politically very backward. The proposed State Council, which will have "reserve" powers, will include senior cabinet ministers, but also representatives of overseas interests; the

clause preventing confiscation of foreign investments is also crucial.

What is becoming clearer is that politically the Tories may be ready to get out of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Since there is no large indigenous European element in West Africa, the possibility of African self-rule is very real.

However, the importance to Britain of these territories as markets and producers of raw materials is demonstrated by the safeguards in the constitution. As long as they don't become "Communist," or confiscate British investments, they can rule themselves quite freely.

For the next 20 years anyhow, investors are safeguarded by the real need for capital in the Gold Coast. It was Nkrumah himself who suggested the clause about foreign capital in the constitution. No doubt when the economy of the Gold Coast has been sufficiently strengthened, the Convention People's Party will know what to do about foreign economic control of their country.

SCARED OF MALAN

The Parliamentary statement ends: "Under these changes the powers retained by Her Majesty's Government are the minimum which they must retain so long as they have any responsibility for the Gold Coast. These changes must therefore be regarded as the last stage before the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs. The grant of such responsibility within the Commonwealth is a matter for the United Kingdom Government and Parliament. . . . Full membership of the Commonwealth is, of course, a different question which, as was made clear by the then Commonwealth Secretary, on June 7, 1951, and by the Prime Minister on June 16, 1952, would be a matter for consultation between all existing members of the Commonwealth."

It is clear from this statement that Britain is still scared of the reaction which would result in South Africa from giving dominion status to the Gold Coast. Malan would probably withdraw from the Commonwealth. For the time being, South African gold is more important to British economy than Gold Coast cocoa; so it's hard luck for the Africans. It is, however, significant that other Commonwealth countries have not hitherto been consulted when dominion status has been granted.

It has been announced that up to April 10, there have been 191,587 arrests made in Kenya in connection with Mau Mau. Of these, 35,380 were released after preliminary inquiry; 156,207 were screened, and 78,413 were released after screening; 1801 were detained.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Negro Brewery Workers

To the Editor:

At a special meeting held in the Brooklyn Branch headquarters of the NAACP, dozens of angry Negro workers crowded the small hall and mapped out a joint campaign with the NAACP and the Harlem Brewery Workers to smash the vicious system of job discrimination practised against them by the companies and the Teamsters' Union (AFL). Spokesmen for the men asserted that although 40 per cent of the beer consumed in New York alone is bought by Negroes, only 25 Negro men are employed as truck drivers, helpers or bottlers in all the breweries combined! They charged that by virtue of the amount of beer purchased by Negro consumers, at least 2400 Negroes should be employed in a total work force of 9000 workers.

It was further charged that through the shape-up system, which is supported by the Teamsters and the companies, discrimination is flagrantly practised

against Negro workers. Men are hand-picked for jobs and usually for every 25 or 30 white workers picked only one Negro is selected. White workers also suffer under the system because selections are usually made on the basis of a favorite few instead of a first-come-first-on-the-job basis. Attempts by the Urban League for over a year to persuade the union and the companies to change their hiring policies have been rebuffed.

Seeing no alternative the men have therefore decided to launch a boycott campaign against the beer companies. Consumers will be urged not to buy beer from such major companies as Rheingold, Schaeffer, Piels, Ballantine, Schlitz, Budweiser and Pabst until they hire Negroes in proportion to their purchasing power in the community.

On the other hand, the public will be urged to buy Ruppert beer. The Ruppert Company has hired more Negroes than all the other companies put together.

In addition to insisting on a non-discriminatory system of hiring, the NAACP and the H.B.W. will push for non-discrimination clauses in future contracts negotiated between the Teamsters' Union and the breweries, and if such clauses are not included in the new contracts unfair labor practices charges will be filed against the union under the Powell Anti-Discrimination bill recently passed by Congress.

The men are also demanding that several hundred Negro workers be given Group 2 status under contract seniority provisions which will entitle them to receive union books and will give them permanent job security. Membership in the union automatically means assurance of steady year-round employment.

Determined that they will leave no stone unturned to force the union and the companies to recognize their rights to equal opportunity for jobs and job protection, these workers have laid down a final challenge to the Teamsters and the companies. In plain language they're saying, "Open Up—or Get Busted Up!"

Richard STARK

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British Young Socialists Oppose Right-Wing Policies

By ALEX NEWBOLD

LONDON, April 19—The British Labor League of Youth held its national conference over the Easter weekend, at a most critical time in its development. Represented at the conference were 125 League branches which had sent delegates, out of a total number of branches in the country of 384. This compares with a total of 349 delegates, representing 777 League branches, only three years ago at the 1951 conference.

This disastrous decline in the size of the L.O.Y., with a total membership estimated at around six thousand compared with nearly 150,000 of the Young Conservatives, was the dominating theme of the conference.

The report of the National Consultative Committee of the L.O.Y., although recognizing the decline, put it down to such things as lack of good will from adult parties, lack of meeting rooms, bad planning—a head of branch programs, and "the comparative low state of public interest in political matters." The conference was almost unanimous in rejecting these ideas and gave the main reasons for the decline as being the lack of initiative from the Labor Party in taking a firm stand on the recent wages issue and against the steady preparations for the third world war and the use of the H-bomb, and the continued refusals of the NEC of the Labor Party to allow the discussion of policy concerning youth at League conferences.

Ron Keating, the chairman of the conference, made it quite clear in his opening address to the delegates that he thought that it was the continual unwillingness of the NEC to allow political as opposed to organizational resolutions at the national conferences that was the main reason for the decline in the L.O.Y.'s strength. He stated that the NEC attitude was caused by its fear that the League would take a far more progressive stand than the adult party, particularly on such questions as conscription and colonial policy. As an example, he gave the Labor Party's attack on IUSY. This, he said, although formulated as an attack on the considerable mismanagement which does exist inside the IUSY, was of a political nature, as the IUSY was building one international in the socialist youth field because of its progressive attitude on colonialism, whereas there are now two adult socialist internationals.

SUPPORT BEVAN

The biggest rumpus at the whole conference occurred when it refused to accept the report of the Standing Orders Committee, who had refused to accept three emergency resolutions submitted to the conference on Bevan's resignation from the opposition "front bench," on the hydrogen bomb and on German rearmament. Although these resolutions were clearly outside the terms of reference of the conference, they were felt to be so important that conference wanted to discuss them. However, the pressure brought to bear on the NCC from the Labor Party officials was so strong that they said they would resign if the resolutions were discussed. As this would have entirely wrecked the League, the report of the Standing Orders Committee was accepted under strong protest.

The final round was, however, won by the left wing. A letter to Nye Bevan was drawn up, supporting him on his valiant stand against a Southeast Asia Pact, and this was signed by nearly a hundred of the delegates present.

The last afternoon of the conference was devoted to a discussion on two study group reports, collated by the NCC from reports received from the regional committees. The subjects chosen for this year were "European Unity" and "a Re-examination of the Structure of Local

Government," and considerable opposition was voiced to the choice of subjects of such little topicality and to the fact that the final reports had so very little in common with what many branches had originally forwarded.

FOR SOCIALIST EUROPE

The document on "European Unity" was referred back to the NCC in its entirety, with the great majority of delegates being completely opposed to European unity within a capitalist framework. The feeling was that the present call for unity was that of a capitalism in decline, or else a call by the U. S. government for a strategic outpost for its third world war against Stalinism. The delegates called for a united socialist Europe in a fight for world-wide socialism.

The document on local government was one on which budding young town councillors had very strong opinions, but which failed to arouse much interest from the rest of the delegates.

The most important fact about the conference was the fact that it showed the left wing supporting Bevan and going even further, and the fact that they showed that there was a great basis for cooperation of the left within the League.

The Stalinists must have been worried, too, for not once during the whole conference was there expressed an even faintly Stalinist line, nor did the sellers of the Young Communist Challenge outside the hall do much business compared with the independent left-wing papers being offered for sale. Most speakers emphatically stated their opposition not only to American imperialism but to Stalinist exploitation as well.

SDA Rally on Academic Freedom Hears Liberal and Socialist Views

By RUTH KAREL

On Sunday, May 9, the New York region of Students for Democratic Action (the ADA's student group) held its Academic Freedom rally in Community Church as the culmination of Academic Freedom Week.

As one of the speakers pointed out, the small turnout—about 60—gave some indication that repression of freedom is not merely an academic question but a formidable reality.

Addressing the rally were: the Rev. A. J. Muste, leading pacifist; R. Lawrence Siegel, counsel for the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; Richard Newman of SDA; Garry Fullerton for the YPSL (SP); and Max Martin, national chairman of the Young Socialist League. Scheduled speakers of the Young Liberals, Student League for Industrial Democracy and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People failed to appear.

Muste, speaking first, stated his sharp opposition to those who would deny the Stalinists the right to teach and emphasized the need for a constant struggle for academic freedom, without capitulating to the atmosphere of fear.

R. L. Siegel spoke principally about the problem of legislative investigation committees. He emphasized the legality of the Fifth Amendment and pointed out that the practice of deducing guilt from its use is an attack on our basic Anglo-American democratic political tradition. He also pointed out that Sidney Hook and Norman Thomas, in refusing to defend the civil liberties of Stalinists, weaken the defense of academic freedom.

The next speaker was Richard Newman of SDA who called on all to resist the atmosphere of fear with courage, and to stand for freedom in all areas of life. Gary Fullerton of the SP, speaking for

its youth, pointed out that academic freedom had a history in European universities and its repression was not unique in our time. He refused to defend the right of Stalinists to teach.

Speaking for the Young Socialist League, Max Martin presented four points for consideration in light of the present onslaught upon civil liberties. The first was the necessity for an aggressive and militant struggle, as against the notion of approaching the problem with humility.

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL

The second was the need for a principled position on civil liberties, which must include a defense of the rights of Stalinists and fascists despite our abhorrence of their ideologies. In this connection he went on to point out that the "conspiracy" theory of Stalinism betrayed a lack of understanding of the fact that Stalinism, while it does have its GPU and spy apparatus, is principally a political and social movement and that the denial of academic freedom to the Stalinists is a denial of political rights.

The third point was that this "conspiracy" theory was the result of inability on the part of Washington to understand the mass appeal and success of the Stalinists all over the world. Its only way to combat this success is military action abroad and repression at home—it can offer no democratic solution.

His fourth point: only a new party based on the labor movement could offer such democratic program. He urged the liberals—who do not accept this idea—at least to demand of the candidates they do support that they have the same principled position on civil liberties as they do. The YSL believes that if the liberals do this they will eventually be forced to break with the Democratic Party and re-evaluate their political alternatives.

RESOLUTION ON WAR OF YSL FOUNDING CONVENTION—

We Take Our Stand Against War

The Young Socialist League is an internationalist, Third Camp, anti-war socialist organization. It identifies with the revolutionary anti-war traditions of socialism—that is, with those socialists who, remaining true to their tradition and class interests, opposed the two imperialist world wars. At the founding convention of the Young Socialist League we reiterate our absolute opposition to imperialist wars.

It is, however, meaningless to express opposition to war without at the same time opposing and organizing against the system which breeds war. The struggle against war therefore goes hand in hand with the struggle against capitalism and Stalinism and exploitive social systems in general. The fight for socialism and the fight against war are inseparable.

Socialists support, and have supported in the past, wars of national independence, when they are waged isolated from the major imperialist wars, or do not become turned into a battleground for the two imperialist camps. An example of this was the support socialists gave to the Indonesian war of independence. At that point, however, where a struggle for independence becomes clearly subordinated to the imperialist conflict, socialists can support it no longer.

The polarization of struggle that exists has made for close cooperation between socialists and pacifists, and pacifist-socialists are among our members. The pacifist-socialist does not agree on all points of principle with the non-pacifist socialist who opposes imperialist conflicts but not violence as such. We see, however, the necessity of common action and organization in the face of the common menace which the rival imperial-

isms constitute today. We therefore call on all anti-war socialist-pacifists and socialists to unite in the YSL.

We defend the national independence of the smaller nations against the two colossi—regardless of the social nature of the nation involved. But it should be clear that the ruling classes use the slogan of national defense to mean the defense of the existing social order. The socialist, therefore, believes that to defend the nation, today in America, the workers must democratically take their political and economic destiny in their own hands.

FOR THIRD CAMP

Stalinism, although a mortal enemy of capitalism, does not represent an anti-war movement. Although it is true that the Stalinists oppose the war preparations of the American camp, this is only because of their unconditional support of the Russian camp, a camp which is also arming to the teeth in preparation for an imperialist world war. Our oppo-

sition to Stalinism goes hand in hand with our opposition to capitalism. Stalinism must be destroyed as an anti-working-class force that acts as the agent of one of the imperialist camps. The first duty of the socialists living under Stalinist domination is to oppose the war preparations of their ruling class; our first job is to oppose the war preparations of our ruling class.

We declare that the world conflict toward which the policies of the two camps are leading us is not our war. It would be an imperialist war fought with the most barbaric weapons of modern science. It would be a war in which the victory of either side would represent a major catastrophe for humanity and socialism. Thus, while struggling to mobilize the people against the war preparations we declare that: if a third imperialist war breaks out we will continue participating in the class struggle, always retaining our identity as a Third Camp; struggling for the victory of the working class and colonial peoples over our ruling class and over the representatives at home of the ruling class across the sea.

To talk seriously of a domestic struggle against capitalism outside of the context of the world conflict is sectarian, out of date, and dangerous. Our struggle for socialism can rarely be simply two-sided; our ruling class versus us. Even here at home our struggle is a three-way one.

We raise the internationalist slogan: AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALIST CAMPS!

To raise the slogan of "critical support" or to talk of soft-pedaling the class

Students!

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Young Socialist CHALLENGE

We Take Our Stand — —

(Continued from page 5)

struggle toward either of the imperialist camps is to capitulate to the politics of that camp, since it is the ruling classes of the two camps who will determine the basis and the conditions under which such a war would be fought. The working class has no responsibility for nor say in the conduct of such a war in either of the camps. It can acquire such responsibility only by taking state power in order to carry out its own internationalist, democratic and socialist program. We therefore unconditionally oppose the present militarization of America—the draft, UMT, ROTC on campus, the huge war program, and the ideological mobilization for war that is taking place. These preparations are steps leading America closer to the establishment of a garrison state.

Socialists who today give support to the war preparations of either of the two camps—or to the political, economic and ideological preparations for such a war—

are betraying socialism. It is inconceivable that the butchery which would result if the imperialist war breaks out could aid in the defense of freedom and socialism.

To fight effectively against such a war we must redouble our efforts to make the working class conscious of its interests, since only the intervention of the working class and the colonial peoples on the political scene as an independent factor can stave off the third world war. However, since the repression of civil liberties is the most immediate aspect of the drive toward war which confronts us, our most pressing task today is to fight for the preservation of democratic rights.

OUR IMMEDIATE ENEMY IS OUR OWN RULING CLASS!

AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALIST CAMPS, FOR THE THIRD CAMP OF THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED COLONIAL PEOPLES!

—Adopted by 1st National Convention, Young Socialist League
February 12, 1954

READERS TAKE THE FLOOR

Some Strong Language

To the Editors of *Challenge*:

It is amazing how illiberal so many so-called liberal groups can be, for the article your paper published on March 15 about the Intercollegiate Academic Freedom Conference was a maze of half-truths, contradictions and sophistry—worse than any NYU campus paper could ever inflict upon the YSL.

We're not surprised, though. Once the YSL became imbued with the notion that Stalinoids were behind the movement to have the YSL speak after lunch rather than before (an injustice to the nth degree) it was to be expected that your writer would throw reason and logic to the winds and let the vengeance of the YSL members' slighted feelings dictate the libelous masterpiece that was published.

The YSL was not even officially invited, because no one in attendance at the committee meetings knew your organization existed. As to the YSL speaker, when the delegates' stomachs began to growl at 1 P.M., the conference chairman thought it best to call a recess rather than hear another speech. In view of the fact that panel reports and a speaker from the SCM spoke after the YSL, it seems rather a blatant lie that your writer, with the ethics of a Winchell or Pegler, could say that your delegate spoke "at the last moment."

If we wanted to propagate the policy of cooperating with LYL, our keynoter would most certainly have been someone with Communist tendencies. Mr. Lawrence Siegal, counsel for the ACLU, is not the man to speak before a group dominated by Stalinoids. Your insinuation that many delegates were displeased with Siegal's remarks about non-cooperation with Stalinists, but were delighted when Mr. Denitch said the same thing is typical of the way you distort the facts to fit YSL egocentrism.

The LYLers at the conference were neither invited nor were they "present in force," as your reporter maliciously wrote. You say the LYL "made itself evident in the panels," while this writer knows definitely (as co-chairman of one of the panels) that one of the few LYL leaders who did attend never once opened his mouth to publicly utter a word throughout the whole panel discussion.

The YSL ought to substantiate its vicious lies with some proof, however false and illogical the proof may be. To say that the ICC has a "visible Stalinoid slant" is to deny the fact that just a few months ago (before it officially recognized that violations of academic freedom are rampant), the policy of the ICC was merely to act as a clearing house for information, and to take no stand on academic freedom whatsoever. This is, indeed, a "visible Stalinoid slant," especially when the voting members of the ICC are official representatives from the recognized student councils of five colleges. To say that these students are Stalinoid is to make the same charge against the student councils which sent them.

The slogan stated at the end of the ar-

ticle—"unity of all democratic student groups in defense of academic freedom for all"—is a fine one. YSL has a long ways to go before it can say it practises what it preaches.

Arthur STEIER,
for the Intercollegiate
Committee for Academic Freedom

March 26.

I'm afraid that Steier's emotions got in the way of a reasonably careful reading of my article. To begin with, the article very clearly stated that the YSL speaker was informed that his speech had been canceled—not merely postponed till "after lunch"—and that it was this that was reversed "at the last moment" because of liberals' protests.

Steier does not address himself to this at all, but dwells very humorously on the state of the delegates' stomachs, and on the irrelevant question of who spoke after the YSL.

Secondly, the article described the political attitudes of the committee as follows: "The composition of the leading people involved in the committee seems to be equally divided between completely inexperienced 'innocents' who feel that it is enough to get people to support the word 'academic freedom' and Stalinoid liberals who object to discussing the role of the Stalinists in such a conference or in the committee because they believe the Stalinists should be within such a grouping."

Obviously this opinion or evaluation is not even touched by Steier's reply that "If we wanted to propagate the policy of cooperating with LYL, our keynoter would most certainly have been someone with Communist tendencies." It is one thing to wish to cooperate with the Stalinists; it is quite another thing to make a Stalinist the keynoter.

Thirdly, Steier's careless reading habits are evident in his quote about "visible Stalinoid slant." The sentence from which he quotes this explicitly said that this had been true in 1953 but that the political complexion of the committee was modified later, in the manner described.

Fourth, about Siegal's speech: the article's point was that the displeasure shown at his remarks came from the Stalinists present; but that the speech itself was "excellent."

Lastly: the political composition of the committee can hardly be ascribed to the student governments, which in most cases sent those individuals who volunteered, as observers.

As for disagreement over the role played by LYLers in the panels: Is Steier really that sure that he knew all the LYLers there, in addition to the one who didn't open his mouth?

While pointing out the above evidences of carelessness in Steier's heated reply, we would not accuse him of being "libelous" or "sophistical," of telling "lies," of rivaling "Winchell or Pegler," or any of the other amiable epithets that smoked up his pen.

Ted BARRY

New Facts Prove H-Bomb Effects Not Under Control

Facts have twice again demonstrated that the soothing announcement of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission about the control and limitations of the H-bomb tests are a compound of either (a) ignorance, (b) error, (c) negligence, (d) lies, or some combination thereof.

While the government agency has continuously claimed, in indignant and virtuous rebuttal of world-wide criticism, that it has taken the greatest pains to make sure that the tests represented no danger to inhabited areas, it is now established that the people of the Marshall Islands in the Pacific have been subjected to physical harm by radioactive dust. The Marshallese have appealed to the UN for redress and protection from their "trustee."

Assuming that Washington did not callously and deliberately disregard the welfare of these islands in flagrant breach of its trust, the development means that the H-bomb tests are NOT under control, that the "experts" do NOT know what their effects are.

A second light on this question was also thrown by further disclosures about the effects of the "small" A-bomb explosion over Nagasaki in 1945. The AMA's *American Journal of Diseases of Children* currently reports on the bomb's effect on pregnancy. The facts cited are much more ominous than anything admitted up to now.

Among 39 pregnant women with major

signs of radiation injury, the study showed, there were three miscarriages, four stillbirths, three babies who died within the first month of life, three who died within the first year and one who died at two and a half years. In addition, four of the 16 surviving children were mentally retarded.

The report was made by Drs. James N. Yamazaki, Stanley W. Wright and Phyllis M. Wright.

The study covered two groups of women—98 who were within the radiation area, including the 30 who showed signs of major radiation injury, and 113 who were outside the radiation area.

In the group of 68, there were one miscarriage, two stillbirths, three babies who died within the first month of life and one case of mental retardation.

In the group of 113, there were two miscarriages, one stillbirth, one baby who died in a month and three who died in a year.

"It is difficult to evaluate the effect of radiation on this mortality and morbidity," the doctors stated, "since other factors, such as trauma, burns, infections, etc. may have a deleterious effect on the fetus."

"The evidence strongly suggests, however, that radiation, either directly to the fetus or indirectly as a result of its effect on the maternal tissues, was of considerable importance in determining the outcome of these pregnancies."

ISL FUND DRIVE

Drive Closes with 90%

By ALBERT GATES
Fund Drive Director

The special issue of LABOR ACTION delayed us in presenting the semi-final report on the Fund Drive. We are calling in a semi-final report because some of the branches which sent in payments requested that we extend their time so that they can complete their local campaigns.

The Fund Drive is, however, officially over, even though we are awaiting these final accounts. The contributions received up to this point have reached an over-all total of \$9,123.92, a fraction over 10 per cent less than our goal. In the intervening couple of weeks, we received over \$1300. A number of areas which were far down in the standings ended their drives at 100 per cent or more.

We find it hard to believe, no matter what happens in the final accounting, that anyone is going to beat out St. Louis from top position, or challenge Cleveland in second place. If Chicago carries out its promise, it has a chance to bypass Newark, which did a wonderful job in this Fund Drive. As of now, however, Newark is in third place, and Chicago fourth. The Bay Area, too, did very well to come in fifth in a valiant effort to hold up the honor of the West Coast.

In the second group of finishers are those who achieved 100 per cent of their quota. These are the smaller quotas, but that didn't make the job any easier for Reading, Pittsburgh, Oregon, and Streator. What is more, they helped considerably toward the total percentage.

Two areas are pretty close to the 100 per cent mark, New York and Detroit. Both have done very well for their circumstances; New York the best job of all considering the staggering proportion of the drive assigned to it, almost 40 per cent of the total quota.

The rest of our branches are also-rans—some better than others. Seattle made quite a spurt in the last weeks and almost did the

trick. Buffalo too came pretty close. But following these, we doubt whether the others can make it up.

This is the first time in more than a decade that we were not able to issue a final report showing a Fund Drive to be 100 per cent successful. It is quite possible when the final accounting is made that 100 per cent will be reached, since New York is certain that it will make up the difference between its present standing and its goal. Other branches too have indicated that they have more funds to send

The big gap in this campaign is due to the absence of a youth quota, brought about by the fusion of the SYL and YPSL into the new independent Young Socialist League. In other years, the SYL had taken quotas as high as \$8100. We have missed our youth very much in this campaign, but even so we have done well.

If any of our readers would like to help us make up the difference between our present income and the total quota, your help is most welcome. At any rate, we take this opportunity to thank all our branches, our comrades, our friends, readers and sympathizers for their wonderful cooperation in the 1954 ISL Fund Drive.

BOX SCORE

	Quota	Paid	%
TOTAL	\$10,200	\$9,123.92	89.6
St. Louis	25	50	200
Cleveland	150	200	133.3
Newark	400	457	111.7
Chicago	1800	1936	107.5
Bay Area	500	517	103.4
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
Reading	50	50	100
Oregon	50	50	100
Streator	25	25	100
Detroit	300	288.50	96.1
New York	4000	3772.92	94
Seattle	150	131	87.3
Buffalo	300	250	83.3
Nat'l Office	1500	1183	78.8
Philadelphia	250	164	65.6
Los Angeles	600	378	63
Indiana	50	0	0
Akron	50	0	0

Myths About American Superiority: The Other Side of the Picture

By VICTOR HOWARD

I have just received in the mail, from the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, a copy of a prize-winning essay on the "American Way of Life," written by a 16-year-old high school girl of Akron, Ohio. It reads in a familiar vein: "... those 160,000,000 Americans have more roast beef and mashed potatoes . . . more automobiles and telephones, more safety razors and bathtubs, more Orlon sweaters and aureomycin, the fruits of American initiative and enterprise; more public schools and life insurance policies . . . than any other people on earth! . . . Show me a country greater than our country, show me a people more energetic, creative, progressive. . ."

We are all familiar with this sort of boasting, tribal self-adulation, this arrogant assumption of American superiority in all things from television to longevity and literacy. This brashness has been made known to foreign folk by the presence of gum-chewing, Coca-Cola guzzling, comic-book reading GIs in all quarters of the globe. No doubt some of our draftees from backwoods areas who were ill-accustomed to wearing shoes before they were conscripted were a little surprised to find that the use of footgear is a ubiquitous habit in European lands.

At home nearly every American from the schoolboy and the scissor-bill to the paunchy lawyer settling down to his evening intellectual diet of Pegler and Winchell is thoroughly convinced that there is nothing in which the U. S. does not excel. This adolescent self-admiration deserves to be punctured.

Wealth and Homicides

Propagandists of every nation tend to measure progress in terms of the things in which their country excels. For the United States these things are principally wealth, income, technology, gadgets, and productivity.

Thanks in part to our reckless practice of robbing future generations by exploitation of natural resources at a fearful rate, and our intensive exploitation of labor power, we do enjoy a relatively high total wealth, although there are greater extremes of wealth and poverty in the United States than in most countries of the world.

The United States does lead in productivity per man-hour, partly because we wear out men at a faster rate. It does lead in railroad mileage, television sets, radios, refrigerators, telephones, automobiles (which exceed the number of phones) and a host of other gadgets.

And yet, the NAM ads which tell us that there is an auto for every American family, on the average, fail to mention that there are 17 million families which own no automobile. Also, despite rapid strides in rural electrification, more American farm homes are still without electricity than in Japan.

The United States leads in the number of motion pictures produced, but any literate person will quickly agree that Hollywood's super-colossal productions, with their new techniques designed to win back the TV viewers, are qualitatively and dramatically inferior to many low-budget films produced in Italy, France, and England.

Have we yet exhausted the list of items in which the U. S. excels? By no means. There remain a few things which even the NAM ads, the orators and the essayists overlook.

The U. S. leads in traffic accidents, is second in industrial accidents, leads in fire losses, mental illness and crime. Only Mexico and Chile have a higher homicide rate. The U. S. leads in divorces, is second only to the Stalinist countries in prison population, and is first in the production and consumption of chewing gum, Bibles, and comic books.

Science and Invention

But surely American technological leadership is unquestioned? By no means.

I am indebted to John J. Brown for his "American Technology: Myth and Reality," *Politics*, October 1944, which aroused my interest in this subject. Here he points out how the American rubber industry had to obtain second-rate processes from I. G. Farbenindustrie, and how, despite the boasting of General Electric concerning U. S. pre-eminence in electronics, the Signal Corps of the U. S. Army in World War II had to import most of its radar equipment from Canada and England.

Brown also cited a Chesterfield cigarette broadcast which boasted that the five greatest inventions of modern times—the telephone, submarine, automobile, telegraph, and airplane—were all invented by Americans. Brown demonstrates that every one of these inventions was the work of non-Americans.

We can also add that the British launched the industrial revolution with the discovery of steam power and applied it to the locomotive, invented textile machinery and the Bessemer process. The Englishman Langley was one of several developers of the airplane, and Brennan, of the same country, invented the helicopter.

The Scotsman Baird discovered television in 1926. The Italian Marconi developed the first wireless. The Austrian Mitterhoffer created the first typewriter in 1864.

The German Diesel invented the internal combustion engine, the German Roentgen discovered X-rays, the German Daimler first drove a gasoline powered auto in 1885, and the Russian Ipatieff discovered hi-octane gasoline.

Atomic energy can be credited to Einstein, Meitner

Victor Howard's contribution, published on this page, is written in a frankly "muck-raking" spirit which is often good for the soul after too much exposure to chauvinistic boasts. Naturally, it is not an attempt to present a rounded picture of U. S. achievements and defects, but merely to put the spotlight on the "other side" which is glossed over by adherents of the myth that the U. S. leads the world in every important respect. Such reminders are worthwhile—and, need we say, even for radicals?—Ed.

and Fermi. Other non-American discoveries, to name only a few, are aspirin, novocaine, insulin, sulfanilamide, rayon, stainless steel, coke, manganese, dynamite, photography, the gyroscope, and the tungsten filament.

It might also be added, as William F. Ogburn points out in *Social Change*, that inventions and discoveries are never truly the result of any single investigator or nation, but are the fruit of international research and progress. Ogburn lists a large number of discoveries which were almost simultaneously made in various countries.

Of the 72 chemical elements discovered since 1800, only nine were discovered in the United States. Eighteen were discovered in England, sixteen in Sweden, thirteen in France, and eight in Germany. In addition, beryllium was the joint discovery of the French and Germans, while helium was the joint discovery of the Swedes and Scots.

The United States can, of course, point to an imposing array of inventors and scientific men many of whom, like Steinmetz, were born abroad, but there is no field of scientific endeavor in which a list of the greatest will fail to include a majority of non-Americans. If we were to list the half dozen greatest minds of the past century, it might include Darwin, Marx, Freud, Einstein, Mendel, and Pasteur, foreigners all. Between 1901 and 1953, 137 Nobel prizes in physics, chemistry and medicine were awarded to scientists from 21 countries. Of the 137 prizes, 102 went to non-American scientists, the Germans leading with 38 prizes.

Health and Insurance

The United States is not first in any of the commonly accepted indices of progress in public health. Our death rate from two diseases, diabetes and nephritis, is the highest in the world.

The latest figures on American life expectancy at birth, as reported by the U. S. Public Health Service, is 68.4. It is higher in Australia, Denmark, Sweden, New Zealand and the Netherlands. The last country now ranks highest, with a longevity figure of 69.4 years for men and 71.5 for women.

Our infant mortality rate is 28.6 per 1000 live births. The U. S. is outranked here by Norway with 28.2, the Netherlands with 26.6, Iceland with 26, Australia with 25.2, New Zealand with 22.8, and Sweden with 21.4, lowest in the world.

Israel leads the world with doctors, possessing 22.2 physicians for each 10,000 persons, compared to 13.3 in the United States. Austria and Switzerland also have a higher physician ratio than the U. S.

The United States has one hospital bed for every 113 persons, but is outranked by Great Britain with 99 and Sweden with one bed for every 96 persons.

The over-all American death rate as of 1952 is 9.6 per 1000 annually. The latest available figures show a crude death rate of only 7.3 for the Netherlands. Other countries with a death rate lower than the U. S. are Norway, Canada, Argentine, Japan, Denmark, Australia and Finland, in that order. Sweden ties the U. S. with 9.6.

The young girl essayist described U. S. leadership in life insurance. In a country which lags behind every civilized nation in the extent of its social insurance legislation, it is to be expected that there would be a vast field for private insurance companies.

But it is a sad as well as interesting fact that the premiums paid are almost twice as great as the amount of money paid out to policy holders, amounting to \$8,704,000,000 as against \$4,724,000,000 for 1951. Moreover, in regard to health insurance, 43.4 per cent of the American population have no protection of any kind, whereas virtually the entire population of advanced European countries are covered by social-insurance plans.

Food and Education

Americans are not the best fed people in the world, whether that be measured by caloric consumption or protein consumption. The daily caloric intake in the United States is 3210. First in the world are the Irish, who consume 3500 calories per day per capita. Also ahead of the U. S. in the body-fuel department are New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, Canada, Sweden and Iceland, in that order. Finland ties the U. S.

All of the above countries except Switzerland and Finland also outrank the U. S. in protein consumption. Moreover, the American daily protein intake of 90 grams per capita is exceeded by eight additional countries, besides those listed above.

Related to this question, and also to our vaunted efficiency, is the noteworthy fact that despite the stupendous amount of food produced here, our wasteful agricultural methods, compared to the careful husbanding practised elsewhere, produce one of the lowest yields per acre to be found in any country, for all

leading crops. Only the large extent of American territory protects the population from the effects of carelessness, for the present.

The U. S. is by no means the most literate nation on this planet, as the "patriots" take for granted. Our reported illiteracy rate is approximately 3 per cent of the population. It is less in Germany, Finland, Denmark, Japan, Israel, Norway, the Netherlands, Australia, Switzerland, Sweden, Luxemburg, and Great Britain.

The country with the greatest percentage of its total population attending schools of all classes is Canada, with 20 per cent. In the United States it is 16 per cent. The median years of school completed by Americans over 25 years of age stood in 1950 at 9.3, which is not worth bragging about. I have not been able to locate comparative international figures for this item.

However, most of the civilized countries, and even some half civilized ones like the Soviet Union, spend a much larger share of their national income on education than does the United States.

According to the American Institute of Public Opinion, nearly half of our "educated" Americans possess some kind of superstitious belief. One tenth of them believe bad luck can be avoided by throwing salt over the shoulder, one third believe in knocking on wood, and one fifth believe that a black cat crossing one's path brings trouble.

Books and Newspapers

Although two-thirds of Americans profess to read the Bible during the year, they read few other books. The total production of books of all kinds, including text books, averages about 3 books per capita annually, and most of these are consumed by a minute sector of the population.

In a poll question by the above agency, which asked "Do you happen to be reading any book or books at the present time?" the negative answers amounted to 79 per cent. In England only 49 per cent answered the same question in the negative.

With a population less than a third as great as ours, the British are the world's greatest consumers of books. In 1951 they published 18,066 titles, compared to only 11,255 (only 60 per cent as many) in the United States. Moreover, the number of titles published in England has increased since 1940 at a rate 3 times as great as in the United States. In terms of book titles published per year, on a per-capita basis, we are outranked also by Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, Bulgaria and Turkey.

The British are also the most prolific publishers and readers of newspapers. For every 1000 Englishmen, 615 copies of daily newspapers are published, whereas the United States lags far behind with 315 copies of daily newspapers per 1000 of population. Also outranking the United States in newspaper reading are Australia, Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, Sweden and Switzerland.

There is, however, one field of literary enterprise in which the pre-eminence of the United States is absolutely unchallenged, the production and consumption of our peculiar contribution to mankind, comic books, the volume of which outranks the total number of books and pamphlets of all kinds. The nine leading comic-book publishers alone are reported by Audit Bureau of Circulations to have a monthly circulation figure of over 39 million!

Also, the seven leading publishers of romance and screen magazines have a circulation exceeding 17 million, while 13 leading women's magazines of questionable merit have a circulation beyond 37 million. Only ten of the 50 leading periodicals of the U. S. can be considered as being even one step above sheer trash.

A final measure of the cultural level of the U. S. may be seen in the fact that the most widely read fiction in America is the hideous rubbish spawned by Mickey Spillane and Erskine Caldwell.

Indices of Civilization

"Greatest country"? This vague accolade often rendered in patriotic orations could have many meanings. We have discussed any application it might have in several fields, and are now reduced to the simplest meanings—area and population. In the former we are outranked by the Soviet Union, China, Canada, and Brazil, while in the latter the U. S. is led by China, India, and the Soviet Union.

To summarize, the United States does not rank first in any of the following indices of civilization: literacy, life expectancy, death rates, health care, diet, scientific achievement, or newspaper and book consumption. It does lead in some fields which are of questionable merit, such as TV and movie viewing, and in others whose merit is not in doubt, such as crime and accidents.

The U. S. does indeed rank high in many desirable aspects, but where this is true, it is not due to any peculiar American genius, but rather because we are the heirs to the progressive achievements of all peoples through the ages, and because we are the fortunate occupants of a vast, relatively new, and rich land stolen from its inhabitants, the Indians.

Because of the large number of facts and figures cited, I thought it best merely to list sources rather than burden the reader with a ponderous list of footnotes. Sources used are: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1953; *Statistical Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1953; *World Almanac*, 1954; *Pocket Almanac*, 1954; *Economic Almanac*, 1954; *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1953; *Britannica Yearbook*, 1953; and *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*.

Outlaw All Jim-Crow —

(Continued from page 1)

enforced by the executive, and, in much less than the last analysis, such enforcement can be sabotaged or slowed down to a snail's pace by the executive as well as by legislative action.

From this point of view, the richly justified joy over the Supreme Court's juridical coup must next give way to concern about carrying the battle over to the field of concrete government action. And here one still cannot discount the fact that the blow which has been struck by the Supreme Court is one which the government has shied away from. It is upon Congress and, less directly, upon the White House that the influence of the White-Supremacy racists is strongest, and here they have innumerable devices for making a last stand.

IMPACT ON POLITICS

The Negro people and their labor and liberal allies, therefore, cannot rest upon the victory. The question of implementation means that the next battlefield is political action. Such political action has now been greatly facilitated, but it remains essentially the same problem as before: how to organize the democratic forces against the political fortresses of the Jim-Crowers, and that means against the dominant elements of the Democratic Party in Washington—or at least independent of them, in a political movement which can truly speak for their aspirations. It is one of the considerations which point to the pressing need for a thoroughgoing political realignment, whose culmination can be reached in a new third party.

The impact of such a struggle in American politics cuts athwart the commonly accepted liberal-reactionary line of demarcation in the political line-up: that is, athwart the Democratic-Republican line-up. This event, with all of its historic effect, may even redound in the eyes of some Negroes to the credit of the Republican administration—quite falsely, to be sure—especially if the Eisenhower administration makes some show of implementation while the main resistance comes from the Bourbon sections of the Democratic Party.

THE "SUBVERSIVES"

Prominent leaders of the Democratic Party (from the South) are openly talking in terms of rebellion, sedition and subversion against the decision. They are giving out statements of a type which, if only hinted at by radicals, would be a more convincing basis for action under "anti-subversive" statutes than any arguments used by the witchhunters in the Smith Act trials or by the attorney general in his persecutions.

Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) says flatly: "The South will not abide by or obey this legislative decision by a politi-

cal court. . . ." Senator Sparkman, the Democratic Party's last vice-presidential candidate, says more discreetly that there will undoubtedly continue "to be many, many places where segregation by choice has taken place and will continue to take place." The powerful Senator Russell (Ga.) ominously issues a call to find "ways and means . . . to check the tendency of the court to disregard the Constitution."

"Regular Democrats, Southern and Northern alike, almost without exception," writes the *Times*, are figuring on the basis "that, logically or not, much of the public would tend to associate the court's decision with the Eisenhower administration. . . . It was indicated that Republican senators seeking re-election in the North would stress what they would call 'the Warren decision.'"

The Democratic Party, or at least its Northern sections which have to woo the labor, liberal and Negro vote, can dissociate themselves from this taint of opposition to "the Warren decision" and correctly point out that the whole trend which it caps was given great impetus under the Truman administration and the preceding Roosevelt administrations. But these Democrats' freedom of action in this argument is tied and snagged by their desire to placate the Southern lily-white racists in the interests of "party unity."

BIGGER GOAL

One of the important political trends of the past year has been Adlai Stevenson's wooing of the Southerners and obvious efforts for friendly relations with them, looking toward united support of the party behind his renewed candidacy for the presidency in 1956. The Northern Democrats can sincerely issue statements hailing the court, in contrast with the Talmadge-Byrnes-Eastland-Russell die-hards, but the issue cuts across their cherished "unity."

The struggle to implement the decision will take place under these conflicting currents within the field of partisan Democrats and Republican interests. Even aside from the larger considerations demanding a political realignment in the country, the Negro people cannot look to the Democratic Party as their most effective instrument for putting flesh on the bones of the juridical words.

Besides the question of implementation of the immediate victory, there is also the question of setting larger aims for the anti-Jim-Crow fight. If it is true, as the court decision says, that discrimination in education denies the Negro the "equal protection" of the laws, it follows that an illegal deprivation of rights is also present when Negroes are discriminated against in their right to a livelihood, to jobs, or in their right to a decent place to live.

The whole basis of the Supreme Court

decision points to a demand which Independent Socialists have raised for many years: *Make every act of racial discrimination a criminal offense!*

SOCIAL BASIS

The text of the Supreme Court decision shows that, by its own terms, the same type of considerations which motivated the blow against Jim Crow education also requires government action against race discrimination in every field. One does not have to be a constitutional lawyer to say this with a certain confidence because, as mentioned, the decision was not primarily based on technical legal considerations, but on social and even social-psychological ones.

One section of the decision expressly derogates the importance of trying to discover what the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to do by its framers. The court adduces as an argument the great changes in the social conditions of education which have occurred since that time. The world is different now, it is saying, and we cannot simply go by what was in the minds of people who lived in a different world.

WIDE-OPEN

Then it stresses that it is basing itself on "intangible factors," which turn out to be social and political likewise. "We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education," it says. Why not look to the effect of discrimination on the "equal protection" of the laws with respect to economic life and liberty?

"In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education," says the court. True, even though education is some distance removed from the immediate problem of succeeding in life. How much more true of the direct opportunity to succeed in life which is negated by job discrimination!

The court argued that Jim Crow education imbues Negroes with a handicapping sense of inferiority. How then can the U. S. tolerate discriminatory restaurants, washrooms, theater seats, etc., which tell the Negro in every hour of his daily life that he is an "inferior"?

But the widest language of this sort occurs in the court's second decision, that relating to the District of Columbia, which is not covered by the "equal protection of the laws" rule of the Fourteenth Amendment but had to be treated under the "due process" clause of the Fifth.

THE TWO-WAY STRETCH

The impression which one layman (this one) gets from a reading of this decision is that the court is saying pretty much the following:

"Our decision against segregated education in the states was, for legal purposes, pegged on a handy phrase from the Fourteenth Amendment, but it is much harder to put up a good show of doing the same thing for D. C. on the basis of the Fifth. Let's therefore put aside the mumbo-jumbo and come directly to grips with what we're really concerned about anyway."

And the operative argument in this supplementary decision boils down to one non-legalistic word: it is "unthinkable":

"In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the federal government."

And we wish to spotlight the following language:

"Although the court has not assumed to define 'liberty' with any great precision, that term is not confined to mere freedom from bodily restraint. Liberty under law extends to the full range of conduct which the individual is free to pursue, and it cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective."

This wide-open "libertarianism" is great, and it will be even greater as the basis for proving that the Constitution cannot be any bar to radical social change desired by the people, but read against the background of what is happening to liberty in the U. S. today it cannot but excite a quizzical look at the relationship between the trends on civil rights and the dark trends on civil liberties.

Why has the Supreme Court's trend been consistently liberal on the race question while it has pushed in the opposite direction on the larger question of democratic rights for all? This is an important enough question for a separate article in our next issue.

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Get Acquainted!

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

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

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Tunisian 'Reforms' —

(Continued from page 3)

"You have been asking yourselves if the rights of France have been respected in the text of the reforms that have just been passed, and if no disastrous or even regrettable retreat has been consented to, if our interests, the interests of our nation and also the interests of our nationals residing in Tunisia, have been safeguarded. To these questions, I answer yes, without the slightest hesitation. And when I say yes, I know what I am saying and whom I am talking to."

We can believe him. Voizard is unquestionably sincere in his expostulations, and for once he is telling the truth. The opposition of the French settlers should rather be explained by their panic fear of anything that even bears the label of reform.

The important fact, however, is that the failure of the reforms is also the failure of Voizard's "conciliation" policy. In the month that has passed since the proclamation of the reform project, the French administration has fallen back on methods of violent repression, thereby admitting helplessness before the united nationalist movement. The Resident-General's obligation to leave the French resident's privileges untouched has led back to the discredited and bankrupt police methods of De Hauteclouque.

STUDENTS FIGHT

On March 15, the students of Ez-Zitouna University, after a 10-day strike, organized a peaceful demonstration to present their demands to the Ministry of

Muslim Institutions. The minister refused to see them, the police attempted to disperse the crowd, and ended up by using tear-gas bombs and opening fire. Three students were killed, among them Mohammed Dahmani Hamza, editor of the student paper.

On March 22, military operations were resumed against resistance groups in the mountain regions of Southern Tunisia. Police, army and motorized units participated in the repression. No details were published about the campaign which ended on March 29. It is only known that it did not succeed in eliminating the partisan groups in the region.

On March 27, three people were executed for supposed participation in the riots of April 1952, after having been tried by martial law. The president of France, Coty, refused to pardon them, in spite of protests by Mauriac, Sartre and other personalities. The Political Bureau of the Neo-Destour did not fail to oppose these executions to the fact that the assassins of Ferhat Hached and of other nationalist leaders are still unpunished even though known.

These events mark the end of the "reform" period, and both sides are again arrayed for battle. For the time being, the main political issue will be the elections for the new government, which are scheduled for June. In the meantime, the obstinacy of the French administration can be counted on to make further contributions to the strength of the nationalist movement, to the unity of Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian nationalist organizations, and to its own liquidation.