

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MAY 3, 1954

FIVE CENTS

May Day
1954

May Day 1954 sees the world heating up to what may be the outbreak of another "small war" in Indochina, or what may even be the starting point of the third world war. That is the pattern of the whole post-war world, bequeathed to us by the famous "victory over fascism" in the last war, a "victory" which could only be a stage in the degeneration of the ruling powers because it ended with the old systems still in power: the system which led to fascism, capitalism, and the system which ensures the privileges of the Russian bureaucratic despots.

Before our eyes the big picture of what capitalism and Stalinism mean for the world is being simultaneously acted out on two stages: in Geneva and in Washington, at the conference of the imperialist powers and at the farce-tragedy in the McCarthy hearing chambers.

At Geneva, the U. S. and its Western capitalist allies cannot hide their impotence and helplessness before the onslaught of Stalinist expansion, this time in Southeast Asia. But here at home, the government has been able to win great "victories" over the Stalinists, hasn't it?

In Indochina, Washington is standing behind French colonialism and oppression over a native people. Here at home, the witchhunt has gotten so thoroughly out of hand that the U. S. army is devoting more energies to defending itself against McCarthy's troops than Washington even knows how to devote against its Stalinist enemy.

In Indochina the Stalinists demagogically can wave the carrot of independence and land reform before the peasants, to grease their road toward taking over the country under their own dictatorship. But Washington knows only how to wave the big stick of the H-bomb.

In Indochina, the Stalinist-dominated army of the Vietminh can mobilize tens of thousands of anti-imperialist peasants to fight its battles. In the U. S., the French are recruiting American flyers for \$25,000 a year to act as mercenaries, to supplement the German storm-troopers who now make up whole cadres of the French legions fighting for colonialism.

NO RECONCILIATION

When May Day was founded, the picture that capitalism then presented was almost idyllic in comparison with the big picture in the world today: the accelerating downslide of the capitalist world into barbarous atomic war, into a police-state witchhunt which would have appalled the democratic sensibilities of even the men who applauded the murder of the Haymarket martyrs.

Who are those who can bring themselves to reconciliation with this brutalized and degenerate system today, to accommodation to it, compromise with it?—TODAY?

Independent Socialism is the banner of the movement which holds the fortress of democracy and progress through a workers' world, against the beleaguering forces of both capitalism and totalitarian Stalinism. When we speak of the "Third Camp," we mean not only the alternative to the existing war blocs, but we also point to the social alternative which alone offers a road to freedom, plenty and peace—the socialist world of a free working class, which is the democratic alternative to Stalinism and the revolutionary alternative to capitalism.

America's Blind Alley in Geneva: No Policy, No Friends, No Hope

By GORDON HASKELL

As the Geneva conference on Asia opens, the three strongest powers of the capitalist world show every sign of entering it in a state of disarray, demoralization, and even panic.

The papers report: "The French delegation left for Geneva in a gloomy state of mind. Some ministers thought direct negotiations would be sought with the rebels in Indochina."

Anthony Eden, foreign secretary of what used to be the great empire of Britain, shuttled back and forth between the continent and London in a frenzied effort to work up a policy which has some chance of binding the allies together in the face of their Stalinist opponents.

Secretary of State Dulles had no reason to run back to Washington for last-minute instructions. He knew before he left for Europe that the Knowland-Nixon-McCarthy wing of his party leaves him no room in which to maneuver, and that hence his best hope is that the conference will fall apart before too much damage can be done to the prestige, interests, and announced policy of his government.

No one, literally no one who has participated in the formation and carrying out of the policies of the capitalist world which have preceded this conference, and hence who bears responsibility for the present state of affairs, has any policy to suggest now which could save the situation in Indochina and give the capitalist bloc the political initiative during the conference, or afterward.

Commentators, analysts, experts on Asia, military leaders, diplomatic pundits—all, all are wringing their hands in despair, and either hoping for some miracle or hinting at some line of action in which they have so little confidence, or of the consequences of

which they have such fear, that they do not have the courage to advocate it openly and boldly as a "way out" of the trap in Indochina.

TO DESPAIR

Three weeks ago, Dulles scared the French and British half to death by hinting that his government thinks Stalinist China is almost a military aggressor in Indochina, and that the United States may deal with it as such. After a big clamor had been raised both in this country and abroad over the idea of an American "go it alone" military policy, Dulles suggested, or rather demanded, that a number of countries "go it together" in Indochina instead.

This gave the French and British an out: they could agree to examine the possibility of some kind of Far Eastern military pact without agreeing to anything which could get the United States into the war there now.

Just as the echoes of this brilliant diplomatic maneuver began to die down, Vice-President Nixon told a thousand people ("off the record") that if France

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McCarthy Is Exposing McCarthyism

By SAM TAYLOR

The current McCarthy-army hearings now going on in Washington will be remembered as one of the strangest political shows of recent years. The long-delayed decision of the Eisenhower administration to rebuff the junior senator from Wisconsin, to any extent, is welcome. Their tactic of centering the attack on the veracity of McCarthy's statements in the otherwise unimportant Schine case can perhaps mean that McCarthy will be slowed down, but it certainly does not mean a serious political challenge to McCarthyism.

The hallmark of the McCarthy committee has been its reckless trampling of the rights of all but the friendliest of witnesses, and the "leaking" to the press of information. But the present hearings have cast McCarthy as the "champion" of the democratic rights of people—certain people—i.e., McCarthy and his friends. McCarthy has vigorous objections to any procedure that would hinder his defense, and it is no credit to him

that on many points (like the right of the accused to cross-examine) he is formally correct.

The committee has established certain rules and procedures which (it specially notes) do not set precedents for future committee hearings. That is, when senators and high army officials are involved, there are to be more-or-less fair procedures, but an individual with less influence is to be at the tender mercy of the autocratic Senate rules.

For example, no one can give hearsay testimony without the person who is quoted being available for examination by all concerned. Certainly this would be a remarkable change in Senate and government rules on loyalty and security hearings.

It also seems that standard procedures in Washington involves not only tapping the phones of other people but also monitoring phone conversations by one of the participants. When it was brought out that Secretary of the Army Stevens had monitored McCarthy's conversations,

U.S. Intervention in Indochina Would Be A Stalinist Victory

By JACK WILSON

How little confidence the Eisenhower administration has in its foreign policy as a means of successfully combating Stalinism by any political program it can produce has been eloquently demonstrated by recent administration attempts to prepare the American people for full armed intervention, including infantry, in the war over there.

Perhaps the most significant indication of the real program of Eisenhower's administration is the repeated editorial comment of one of his intimates, John S. Knight, owner of the Knight chain of newspapers. Week after week he has been telling his readers that the Eisenhower administration is headed for war.

Apparently unable to stand the hypocrisy of top officials, Knight wrote this week:

"Defense Secretary Wilson said the other day that he sees no possibility that American troops may move to fight in the jungles of Indochina and that no such plan is even under study.

"But Wilson conceded that 'my crystal ball may be clouded.'

"Well, I'll clear it up for you, Mr. Secretary.

"If the president, the vice-president and Secretary Dulles are men to be believed, the United States will be messed up in an Asiatic war before the year is out."

These are rather sober words from a conservative publisher, who has long supported the Eisenhower administration but who feels, "I warn again that military victories alone will not resolve the situation in Southeast Asia."

Of course, the stakes in Southeast

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INDOCHINA AND THE WAR CRISIS — II

THE AUGUST REVOLUTION IN INDOCHINA

By A. STEIN

On August 6, 1945, the United States released the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima and brought the Japanese empire to its knees. The barbaric age of atomic warfare had begun. Ten days later the Japanese news agency Domei broadcast the text of an imperial rescript announcing that Japan had laid down its arms.

Throughout Asia, where Japan had earlier swept away the decrepit power of the old Western imperialism, a political void was suddenly created. A new force rushed in to fill this void and announced its existence to the world. Another cycle of revolution, of the struggle for national independence, had begun in Asia. And Indochina was no exception.

The independence of the Vietnam Republic was proclaimed on September 2 in the northern city of Hanoi by a provisional government constituted a few days earlier by the "Vietminh Committee of Liberation." And there is no better or more accurate expression of the revolutionary mood of the period than the declaration of independence itself. Speaking of the hated French oppressors, it says in part:

"They have deprived us of all liberties. They have imposed upon us inhuman laws. . . . They have built more prisons than schools. . . . They have despoiled our rice lands, our mines, our forests. . . .

" . . . Our people have broken all the chains that have held us down for almost a hundred years in order to make our Vietnam an independent country. We, members of the provisional government, representing the entire population of Vietnam, declare that we will henceforth have nothing to do with imperial France, annul all the treaties that France has signed with regard to Vietnam, abolish all the privileges which the French have arrogated to themselves on our territory. . . .

" . . . The entire Vietnam people, inspired by the same will, is determined to struggle to the end against every aggressive attempt on the part of the French imperialists. . . .

" . . . Vietnam has the right to be free and independent and has in fact become free and independent. . . ."

Whatever the Vietminh was, and whatever the role of the Indochinese Stalinists within it and the provisional government it set up in Hanoi on September 2, the one fact all honest observers confirm was that a revolution was taking place. And the Vietminh lagged behind the feverish course of events.

This was true even in Hanoi itself. Two weeks before the Vietminh proclaimed the independence of Vietnam, a mass meeting had been called on the initiative of a group of left-wing intellectuals, organized in the General Association of Students. Acting outside of and independent of the Central Committee of the Vietminh, this group invited "representatives of

all the parties and all the strata of the population" to participate in this mass meeting.

The revolutionary nature of the meeting was revealed in the resolution which was adopted by the gathering. Its main points declared it necessary—

(1) To unify all the national forces of Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina under a government supported by the masses.

(2) To demand the abdication of the emperor of Annam (Bao Dai), establish a republican regime, and transfer power to a provisional government formed by Vietminh.

(3) To demand that the Vietminh Front immediately open negotiations with the other parties to form a provisional government.

(4) To call on all parties, all strata of the population, the broad masses of the people, to sustain the provisional government with the aim of beginning the task of consolidating national independence.

The power of the Vietminh was strongest in the North, centered in Hanoi, and did not extend at all to Southern Indochina, where its organization and influence were at their weakest. There the revolution took an independent course.

In Saigon, the establishment of a revolutionary power was accomplished by a coalition of political groups which took the name of the United National Front. Organized on August 14, this revolutionary power consisted of the two politico-religious movements, the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao, nationalist groupings such as the "Avant-Garde Youth," the Party of Vietnam Independence, smaller groups of intellectuals and civil servants, and the Trotskyist "Struggle" group. The first task set by this new ruling power was to arm the population to prevent any return of the French.

FORM WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

The masses of peasants and workers, meanwhile, did not wait for directives from "above" in order to take action. Everywhere throughout Indochina, popular committees sprang up. In the villages, the old officialdom, the Notables and Mandarins were arrested. The land—above all in the South, where the agrarian problem was acute—was seized and divided up, and where landlords resisted they were beaten and killed.

In the towns, the jails were thrown open and political prisoners were released. But even more important was the fact that in some industrial centers, the workers took possession of the mines and factories.

This page of the August revolution has scarcely found its place in the several documented histories of the Indochinese revolution that have recently appeared. And it is to the pages of LABOR ACTION that we must turn for a rare account of what occurred.

In the January 21, 1952 issue of LABOR ACTION, our Indochinese comrade N. Van has given us an authentic account of revolutionary initiative displayed by the working class. He writes:

"When Ho Chi Minh occupied Hanoi, the miners of Hon Gay Campelha (comprising 300,000 souls) rose up, formed workers committees, and on this basis set up a real proletarian govern-

ment. The workers took over the mines, tramways, railroads and telegraph, arrested the managers and police, and smashed the whole of the former local imperialist state apparatus. The Japanese troops, who had surrendered, remained indifferent in the situation. All the organs of production were put under the direct control of a management committee elected by the workers themselves and strictly controlled by them. The principle of wage-equality on all levels of manual and intellectual work was put into effect. Armed workers acted as the police.

"During its three months of existence (end of August to December 1945), this first proletarian government made it possible for mining production to proceed normally, ensured the economic life of the whole region, conducted an intensive struggle against illiteracy, and instituted a social-security system."

FRANCE GETS AN ISSUE

Later, when the French regained a foothold in Southern Indochina (Cochinchina) with the help of British armed forces (and Japanese troops subject to British command), they were to accuse the Vietminh of having instigated and fanned the flames of revolution as paid agents of the Japanese, and of having acquired arms from the latter for this purpose. In 1946, the first post-war French high commissioner in Indochina, Thierry d'Argenlieu, abandoned this line for a new apologia: Vietminh was Moscow's tool in her scheme for world conquest.

D'Argenlieu could point to the fact that the provisional government established in Hanoi on September 2 was the creation of the Vietminh (which is short for League for Vietnam Independence); that the head of both the provisional government and the Vietminh was Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930; that out of the 15 members of the provisional government, 8 belonged to the Vietminh, and of these, five were Communist Party leaders.

The leading role of the Stalinists in the Vietminh and in the provisional government which the latter set up could not be denied. With this fact as his point of departure, d'Argenlieu could prove by Ho Chi Minh's past that he was an "agent of Moscow," and that he was fomenting revolution in Indochina in accordance with instructions from the Kremlin. And as the counterfeit revolutions, replete with People's Fronts and National Fronts, unfolded in Eastern Europe, Vietminh seemed to fit into the same pattern.

But the August revolution in Indochina was a genuine social upheaval. Ho Chi Minh's Vietminh was not supported by Russian bayonets, and the other parties and groups in Vietminh were not puppets of the Stalinists. Does this mean, as the Stalinoid "neutralists" of both the French and English variety are fond of saying, that in Asia the Stalinists are capable of sharing power and leading a genuine struggle for national independence? And that this is what they have been doing ever since August 1945 in Indochina?

It is to these questions that we must now turn.

(Continued)

UAW — —

(Continued from page 2)

important; for the main speaker, Douglas, was anxious to evade the issues, not settle them. But one thing emerged: the delegates were eager for someone to hold out a road to peace without yielding to Stalinism.

"American boys and girls must not die for democracy," said Senator Humphrey as the conference was closing, "they must live to enjoy democracy. On the world scene, our problems will not be settled militarily." His audience cheered and applauded because that is what they wanted to hear. But who if anyone will fight for peace, and how—that remained vague as they took their seats in cars, buses and trains to return to the factories.

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New Anti-Colonial Movement Founded in England

By ALEX NEWBOLD

LONDON, April 13—A most important development in the struggle against British imperialism took place on Sunday, April 11, when the Movement for Colonial Freedom was founded at an inaugural conference in the hall of the Waldorf Hotel here.

Three hundred fifty delegates and observers were assembled on what was rather unusual territory for a left-wing conference, and they set up a movement which should provide a most important anti-imperialist pressure group in British politics and particularly in the Labor Party.

For some time the organizers of the British Center of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, and of the various ad-hoc committees which have sprung up as a result of each individual crisis in the reign of Oliver Lyttelton as colonial secretary, have been dissatisfied with the lack of coordination among anti-imperialists. This new organization is a bold attempt to embrace all these odds under one constitution, and at the same time draw in those other organizations which have expressed themselves for colonial freedom but have only stood on the sidelines so far: various religious and pacifist societies, and such leading churchmen as Canon Collins and the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, chairman of the Methodist Assembly.

The most important new feature of the movement will be a number of standing

committees to be formed by experts on the various geographical centers of colonialism: one on Kenya and East Africa, another on Guiana and the Caribbean, and so on.

The British Center of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism of course provided the main body of support at the conference, as it was on their initiative that the new movement was founded. The Movement for Colonial Freedom will now become the new affiliate of the Congress, which will (according to Fenner Brockway, chaired the meeting) shortly be moving its headquarters from Paris to Africa, when the Pan-African Congress assembles there later this year.

PROGRAM

It is worth pointing up the objects of the Movement for Colonial Freedom in full, and they are set out below:

(1) The rights of colonial peoples to independence (self-government and self-determination) and of all peoples to freedom from external economic or military domination.

(2) The application throughout the world of the principles of "fair shares for all" by extending to underdeveloped territories economic aid free from exploitation or external ownership.

(3) The application of the four freedoms and the Declaration of Human Rights to all peoples, including freedom from contempt by the abolition of the color bar.

(4) Technical assistance to educational and economic advance in the underdeveloped territories, particularly to the trade unions and cooperative movements.

(5) The substitution of internationalism for imperialism in all economic and political relations, including action through the UN.

It can be seen that this program is not so uncompromising as that of the British Center of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism before it, and indeed the result may be that it will lose some of the militancy found in the old movement. However, this is the only danger which could result from the new Movement, though of course it is the most decisive one.

Jennie Lee introduced the policy statement at the conference in an exceptionally well-received speech, in which she made numerous references to the absolutely bankrupt and counter-revolutionary role of the Asian and Indochinese policies of John Foster Dulles, who was just landing at London airport at that moment.

The success or other fate of the Movement for Colonial Freedom will depend on how far the members and affiliated organizations, particularly the associated MPs, will go toward carrying out the principles laid down in the constitution; and most important of all, how far the Labor Party can be persuaded by the Movement of the necessity and imperativeness of being on the right side in the present colonial revolution.

This Is Our May Day

By BOGDAN DENITCH

May Day of 1954 is being celebrated the world over by socialists as the holiday of the international working class, as it had been celebrated for decades. In America, however, the international working-class holiday is now almost unknown.

In New York, for example, there are, as far as we know, three "May Days" that the public is aware of: the parade that is traditionally held by the American agents of Stalinist totalitarianism; the "socialist" May Day celebrated by the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle and the few locals of ILGWU that still cling to a socialist tradition—and the parade of the "patriots" sponsored by the Hearst press and the Legion. The Stalinists and the "patriots" both loudly and proudly proclaim, on this day of all days, their blind and loyal allegiance to their respective war camps—while the "respectable socialists," the State Department socialists, use this day to make clear their devotion to the camp led by American imperialism.

And—irony of ironies—this year Union Square, traditionally first the socialist and then the Stalinist stronghold on this day, will witness a new kind of "May Day" celebration—a businessmen's celebration. The 14th Street Businessmen's Association has apparently decided to forstall the Stalinist possession of the square by taking over the square for their rally!

This day is one day when the usual objective analytical approach of the Marxist movement can legitimately be balanced by genuine emotional outrage at what has become of our holiday, the workers' holiday. It is symptomatic of the times that May Day in America is the property of professional political prostitutes with a sprinkling of "pinks" and pie-cards.

OUR BANNER FLIES

But there is another May Day. It is the May Day of those who have not ceased to fight for the aims of the socialist movement—those who still hold to the revolutionary and democratic aims of the proletarian movement—those who have not yielded nor weakened; in short, those who still pursue the class struggle against tyranny, against exploitation, against war. This is our May Day.

It is significant that May Day is not the celebration of a social movement in America, but that the social movement is still developing in consciousness and clarity. While it may never embrace the tradition and the terminology of the old socialist movement, it is being driven, by the pressures of the very society it tries to adjust to, into rebellion. But the forces of production which have given the workers' movement its birth have also made it organize economically—and now the increasing inability of capitalist society to organize production for peace begins to force the movement into the political arena.

The Young Socialist League is primarily a student movement. Being a youth movement this is only natural. However, it is important at times to make clear that we orient to the only class that can ever transform this society into a socialist society, the only class, as a matter of fact, that can defend democracy.

In the meantime, in the period of social peace and stability bought by the Permanent War Economy we have to keep our ideas alive—the ideas of independent socialism, opposed to the social regimes of both imperialist camps, supporting the struggle for a Third Camp of the working class and colonial peoples. That is why we exist.

New Student Political Group Formed at U. of Chicago

By DEBBIE MEIER

CHICAGO, Apr. 26—A group of students at the University of Chicago have recently formed a new student political organization, called the Political Action Committee. The PAC was formed by a group of individuals who were dissatisfied with the existing student-political milieu on campus.

Some had previously been, and a few still are, members of the Student Representative Party, one of the two groups on campus competing in student government elections. But on the whole they were dissatisfied with the activities and nature of SRP, and felt the need for a new and different organization.

The growing conservatism of the campus, along with the new "popular front" line of the Stalinists has made it increasingly difficult to maintain a militant progressive student political party engaging in student elections. A series of dramatic and traumatic events within the SRP prior to the NSA election of last week proved a final blow to the illusions of many of the more radical and militant SRPers. (A more detailed account of these events will appear in *Challenge*.)

On the other hand there were also some students who were seeking an arena for "left wing" political views, but who did not want to absorb all their time and energy in student government politics, especially in view of the inherent and structural impotence of the Student Government at the University of Chicago. In political makeup the various individuals who gathered together to organize the new PAC ranged from socialists of the YSL tendency, SP-type socialists, independent left-wingers, and left-wing liberals.

The group met informally during the week of April 13 to establish some basic principles and an outline of activity for the founding of the PAC. They drafted at their first meeting a rough outline of their principles. Following a preamble, which stresses the need for student interest and understanding in the problems of society the PAC defines itself as an organization devoted to the following four principles:

(1) An uncompromising defense of de-

mocracy and civil liberties for all, regardless of how distasteful their political ideology might be.

(2) An orientation toward developing a better understanding of and closer ties with the trade-union movement, in the belief that organized labor represents one of the major forces toward progress and the maintenance of democracy.

(3) An unceasing effort to explore alternatives to the present international tension existing between the totalitarian bloc surrounding the USSR on the one hand and the bloc around the U. S., allied as it is with totalitarian and imperialist forces in Spain, Korea, Indochina, etc., on the other hand.

(4) To provide a forum for the expression and interchange of radical and progressive ideas.

The group plans to engage in four types of activity. First, it plans to mimeograph a biweekly newsletter to distribute to the campus, putting forth its views on various questions of the day. Second, it hopes to run occasional large forums with outside speakers (for its first meeting it plans a debate on the need for a labor party).

A third activity will be running small discussions for its members and friends where events of the day can be analyzed and editorials for the newsletter written. And finally, it aims to involve itself and where possible other groups and individuals in activities outside of the campus—trade unions, community functions, race-relations activities, local electoral campaigns, etc.

YSL FUND DRIVE

Drive Is Still Warming Up

By SCOTT ARDEN
National Secretary, YSL

The first month of the three-month National Fund Drive of the Young Socialist League has met with mixed success. A quick glance at the score box below will easily explain why the term "success" must be qualified. Though \$500 of the total quota is in, which is 50 per cent, almost all of this is from two units, plus the "at large" category.

Chicago is well ahead and will probably complete the drive in first position. New York has done well but the size of its quota leaves it with a long way yet to go. The only cause for serious worry at this stage is the showing (or lack of showing) of Berkeley, Los Angeles and Boston.

On the whole the news that has come into the National Office is good. Newark guarantees that it will meet its quota in full within the near future. Berkeley promises a sizeable first installment in about a week, and we expect to hear from Los Angeles in about the same amount of time.

Despite this welcome news there are offsetting considerations. Boston is still unheard from. (*Get a pen, comrades!*) New Haven has requested an extension 'til September, which has been granted, with the understanding that pledges will be made during the period of the drive.

Though the Boston and New Haven situations pose problems, the real question mark is the "at large" category. Based, as it is, not on an organized unit but on our scattered members-at-large and our friends, both old and new (and even those yet to be made), it is by far the least certain category of all.

Our membership-at-large has accounted

well for itself, and promises to continue to do so. The response of our friends remains, on the whole, to be demonstrated. It is clearly to be expected that the bulk of the weight of the drive must be carried by our members, but this cannot be enough. An absolutely essential part of the drive rests in the hands of our friends and their contributions alone can make the drive a real success. Our campaign on Indochina, as well as our numerous other projects, must be backed up now, in advance, if any real success is to be achieved. Give generously, and give now.

Considering the newness of the YSL a slow start is fairly understandable. From this point on, however, a real push must be begun, and sustained for the two months of the drive still ahead. The first month has served as a "warming-up" period—but this period cannot safely be extended.

N. Y. YSL FOLK-DANCING CLASS

starts next Tuesday, May 4, at 8 p.m. Folk dances of various countries will be taught—Israeli, Russian, Scandinavian, Italian, etc. No previous experience required and everybody welcome. Instructor is Hal Draper. At Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

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

No U.S. Troops To Indochina!

The government of the United States has been aiding the forces of French imperialism in Indochina with munitions, supplies and non-combatant personnel. It now has threatened to take the full leap into the war by the sending of troops. This policy can only lead to a futile and senseless war—more futile and senseless than even the late "police action" in Korea. Moreover it opens the possibility of the beginning of the Third World War.

The Young Socialist League is firmly opposed to American intervention in Indochina. The YSL calls upon the government to scrap all plans for sending troops to Indochina. We urge the withdrawal of all military personnel who are already there and an end to all aid to the French forces. We, therefore, favor the cessation of all American aid to France since such aid necessarily serves to help the French imperialists.

The French struggle in Indochina is an imperialist struggle for the purpose of trying to continue the subjugation of Indochina to French imperialist rule and exploitation. The French do not belong in Indochina; that country belongs to the Indochinese who have a basic democratic right to national independence and to self-determination. The French must leave. We call upon the Indochinese people to take their country back from the French oppressors.

The Vietminh movement which opposes the French is a movement under the decisive control of the Stalinists. Its aims in the struggle are the creation of a totalitarian Stalinist state. Such a state would not be a genuinely independent one; it would be a typical Stalinist satellite state. Socialists do not give any support to the Vietminh; they are its uncompromising opponents.

Socialists are for the third camp of the Indochinese people against both French imperialism and the Stalinist-controlled Vietminh. The independent democratic nationalists of Indochina should begin the task of creating such a movement now—a movement which will fight for a free, democratic, united and independent Indochina.

Indochina may contain the forces for building such a movement now. Whether it does is still unclear. But one thing is clear; American intervention will not defeat Stalinism nor give the Indochinese people their independence. America must not intervene.

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May Day Greetings to Labor Action and the Challenge

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Branch
ISL
Salutes
Labor Action
on its 14th
Birthday**

**Revolutionary
Socialist
Greetings**
*from the
San Francisco
Bay Area
ISL*

May Day Greetings

**Our
Youth
Must
Not
Die
in
Indochina!**

*New York
Young Socialist
League*

**GREETINGS
from
FOUR COMRADES
in the
LOS ANGELES
YSL**

MAY DAY GREETINGS

***For the Third Camp
Of World Labor
And Colonial Peoples!***

*New York
Independent Socialist League*

**MAY DAY GREETINGS
TO ALL FIGHTERS
FOR SOCIALIST FREEDOM!**

*National Action Committee
Young Socialist League*

**Build the World
Thru Socialist
Planning — or
Destroy It with
Capitalist War
and H-Bombs . . .**

CLEVELAND ISL

**Greetings
of
Solidarity**

*from the
NEWARK
ISL*

**The East German
workers have shown
the way to
socialist emancipation!**

BERKELEY YSL

MAY DAY GREETINGS

*"Man's dearest possession is life,
and since it is given to him to live but
once, he must so live as not to be
seared with the shame of a cowardly
and trivial past, so live as not to be
tortured for years without purpose, so
live that dying he can say, 'all my life
and my strength were given to the
first cause in the world—the libera-
tion of mankind.'"*

*—Norman Mailer, in The Naked
and the Dead.*

DETROIT ISL

**BUILD THE
LEAGUE!**

Philadelphia ISL

**Los Angeles
Young Socialist League**

**Chicago
YSL**

May Day Greetings

**We Fight for a
Socialist America!**

**There can be no socialism
without democracy,
and no democracy without
socialism . . .**

CHICAGO ISL

**If this be
'subversive,'
let's make
the most
of it . . .**

**In Memory of
Martin Abern**

*" . . . In the present period, Ameri-
can capitalism is steadily moving to
supplant in fact, if not entirely in
form, the parliamentary machinery of
the American government with a bu-
reaucratic military regime.*

*"War measures' are the excuse to-
day for gradual curtailment of civil
and economic rights of the working
class. Tomorrow they will be the 'nec-
essary' measures of the imperialist
order in the post-war periods, if im-
perialism is not destroyed during the
war itself. Therefore, with the growth
of American capitalism along bureau-
cratic-military lines, it becomes neces-
sary for the American masses to be on
guard to protect, to the greatest pos-
sible degree, their civil and economic
rights."—from Civil Liberties in the
U. S., by Martin Abern, Labor Action,
October 19, 1942.*

