

LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

**How Washington Helped Break
The Strike at No. Amer. Aircraft**

... page 2

Britain: Mixed Economy & the RR Strike

... page 3

The Atomic Stalemate in the Cold War

... page 3

INDEX TO LABOR ACTION 1953

... page 6

**SPOT-
LIGHT**

Whither Christmas?

Christmas seems to have become a controversial question.

At the moment we're staying out of the fight, not having thought much about a "party line" on the question or any other line; but there are apparently several lines to consider—five in fact.

(1) There are some Protestant circles which tend to frown on all but the distinctly Christian elements in Christmas. For example, the administration of one religious school put a ban on Santa Claus, and, presumably, all his reindeer from Prancer to Dancer.

(2) At least one liberal journalist, Milton Mayer of the *Progressive*, proposed that Christmas be abolished, on the ground that its commercialization had made the celebration virtually sacrilegious.

(3) From a quite different point of view and motivation, the Stalinists in Eastern Europe have also sought to drop Christmas down a trapdoor, by emphasizing Happy New Year instead.

(4) Alongside these disputes and problems, there is something of a hassle also going on in Jewish circles, regarding the relative propriety of Jews' celebrating Christmas or Hannukah.

(5) Finally, there is the point of view that Christmas, as a holiday, has become three-quarters secularized anyway, and that therefore for practical purposes it can be regarded as a non-religious celebration. This secular holiday, it would seem, is simply to be known as the Season (as in "Season's Greetings").

Anyone who wants to, also, can raise the question of the Fate of Christmas under Socialism, along with the question of incentives, who-will-do-the-dirty-work, bureaucratization, and mixed economy. Since it is not a Burning Question, we may note for a starter only that:

(a) It does not seem practicable to raise the slogan: Give Christmas back to the Druids!

(b) Considering the demands of democracy, self-determination, individual integrity, and *de gustibus plus laissez faire*, the eclectic point of view (No. 6) might be added to the effect that anyone who pleases can celebrate The Season in his own way, just so it remains a holi-

(Continued on page 2)

The Me-Too Boys and M'Carthy

The Democrats Claim They Can Play the Game as Well as Ike

By H. W. BENSON

Joe McCarthy emerged from the Republican high policy conference in good humor. "I was not displeased by anything I heard," he commented. Ordinarily, this simple fact would not be newsworthy. But it comes only a few days after commentators and reporters had demonstrated conclusively that Eisenhower was about to take up the McCarthy challenge and put him in his place.

Apparently, this campaign has been temporarily diverted. Anti-McCarthyism of a certain type flows easily into McCarthyism. Every respectable statesman takes a turn at denouncing it; each time, however, McCarthy emerges, if not in good humor, then successful; he has been "repudiated," the record shows, but his major works remain unscathed. His highly

placed critics denounce his music while they dance to its tune.

McCarthy has the right to be pleased with the conference results. To the next session of Congress, Republican leaders will recommend the following:

(1) A law to give the government power to force a witness to testify despite the privileges of the Fifth Amendment. It would grant immunity from personal prosecution under certain conditions but it would force witnesses to become stool-pigeons for the political persecution of others. It would place a powerful new weapon in the hands of the witchhunters.

CONCILIATING JOE

(2) A law to legalize the admission into federal courts of evidence obtained through wiretapping, not only in cases allegedly involving sedition, espionage, and treason but also in ordinary criminal cases. If the law is passed, wiretapping (which is already employed illegally at the whim of federal agencies) becomes another legal instrument for probing out social dissent and political opposition.

If we were not aware of the fact that McCarthy had been amicably invited to the conference, we would be in the dark on one point. Is this program presented as a repudiation of McCarthyism or as an endorsement of it? Such a question is not always easy to answer because the critics of McCarthy are subtle, shrewd—and in a fog of confusion.

GPU to UP

A propaganda campaign that is being carried on by Stalinist agents of the GPU machine in Mexico, in the U. S. and other countries, shows its effects in unexpected places.

The campaign is that of the Stalinists to prepare for the eventual release from his Mexico City cell of "Jason-Mornard" (Ramon Mercader), the assassin of Leon Trotsky. With the acquisition of a great deal of knowledge about the killer's identity and background, it has become doubly clear that the Kremlin has real reason to fear his release; *he may talk*. There can be little doubt that his former employers are getting ready to shut his mouth by their usual methods.

But this will require a cover. It is plain that, in preparation for their crime, Moscow's Murder Inc. is doing its best to spread the story that "the Trotskyists" are planning to murder Jason—presumably in revenge. On Nov. 2 and August 3 last, LABOR ACTION revealed two episodes which show their hand; the second being a planted story in the Mexican paper *Atisbos*.

Now, perhaps unwittingly or out of sheer ignorance, the United Press has sent out a story which falls into the lap of the GPU plot.

In a UP dispatch dated December 18 from Mexico City (published in the *N. Y. Post* and probably elsewhere), the correspondent notes that the assassin is now eligible for parole but has indicated that he prefers the safety of remaining in jail. And the article adds:

"Authorities are convinced, and Mexican newspapers have reported, that friends of the murdered Trotsky, and Soviet agents anxious to seal his lips permanently, are waiting to assassinate him if he steps through the prison gates."

The UP thus picks up "out of the air" the idea which the GPU has vigorously disseminated into the atmosphere. The absurdity of the idea is apparent as soon as it is realized that, even apart from everything else, no one else has such good reason to preserve the life of Jason as do "friends of the murdered Trotsky," who have good reason to hope that a Jason who is out of jail could sooner or later be induced to tell the true story of where the real responsibility for the crime lay—in the Kremlin.

McCarthy is not easily satisfied; he was not enthusiastic; but he was admittedly "not displeased." With such evidence, we conclude that the Republican program is constructed in a mood of conciliation with him.

Actually, however, whether the spirit of cooperation or of antagonism persists at any given moment makes little difference in the long run. Follow for example, the mental gyrations of Eisenhower on related questions.

"HONEST IKE"

When Attorney-General Brownell discovered, through diligent detective research into an FBI filing folder, that Harry Dexter White had been accused of espionage, his indignation, sharpened by recent Republican electoral setbacks, couldn't be restrained. Brownell accused former President Truman of deliberately sheltering traitors and spies. But, not honest Ike: Eisenhower absolved Truman of wrong-doing and endorsed him as a patriotic, if Democratic, American.

Brownell shrugged it off; and, together with other high-ranking Republicans, announced that the issue of "communism in government" would become the chief GOP rallying cry in the '54 and '56 election campaigns.

But not responsible, honest Ike. Eisenhower solemnly abjured any such campaign and promised to concentrate on genuine political issues. It would seem like a real difference of political line if

(Continued on page 7)

Dulles' Arm-Twisting Too Crude, France Thinks

By L. G. SMITH

The United States delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council went to Paris to plan NATO's future. But John Foster Dulles stole the headlines with a threat that unless France ratifies the European Defense Community treaty quickly, and thus gives the go-ahead signal for the rearmament of Western Germany, Washington would be compelled to make "an agonizing reappraisal of basic United States policy."

There was nothing new in this threat, except perhaps in the blunt way in which it was put. Dulles had said virtually the same thing when he went to Europe last spring.

But most sections of the French press, and of the neutralist press in the rest of Europe, denounced this statement as open American arm-twisting. The Stalinist press pounced on it gleefully as conclusive evidence that the U. S. government will force its will on its allies, regardless of their wishes or the ultimate consequences. Even the ardent supporters of EDC in Bonn, London and other European capitals were forced to make shamefaced apologies for the "manner" if not the content of Dulles' threat.

Actually, most of the uproar in France has been empty of real meaning. The government of France has not been able to propose any serious alternative to EDC and the rearmament of Germany. If Western Europe must depend on arms

alone for its defense, it is clear that both American aid and German rearmament are essential. On the basis of the politics of the capitalist war camp, neither France, Italy, Britain, nor these three plus the other European members of NATO, can hope to defend the continent against an all-out Russian invasion now or in the foreseeable future, and they know it.

REALLY AGONIZING

But the rearmament of Western Germany holds great risk for all of them in two directions. First is the risk of Russian intervention to prevent it, and second is the big question mark on the role that a rearmed Germany will play in Europe in the future. After all, the Adenauer government represents the same stratum in German society which helped Hitler to power and backed his government up to the moment when it was clearly going to be defeated. And the governments in power in the other NATO countries are hardly likely to look to the German Social-Democrats as an acceptable alternative.

Thus the French reaction is chiefly that of a government which is in a blind alley, but does not like to be told so—at least in public. Despite their threats, however, are United States policy-makers in a much better position?

The "agonizing reappraisal" threat is

(Continued on page 6)

Down with

the old year of our
New Year's Eve Party—
Dancing, food, drink, and
a gay, gala time for all,
regardless of race, creed,
color or previous condition
of turpitude.

LABOR ACTION HALL
114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

How The Government Helped To Break the No. Amer. Strike

By BEN HALL

"This proves the government is run lock, stock and barrel by big business." With these words, John Livingstone, vice-president of the United Auto Workers handling the North American Aircraft strike, told union members why they had to return to work without winning their major demands.

For 53 days, in Columbus, Ohio and Los Angeles, the men held out for a 26-cent hourly increase to bring aircraft wages up to automobile standards, a union goal since the expansion of the aircraft industry during the last war. But they called off their strike on terms that the company is said to have offered before the strike: they got a 4 per cent wage increase but they lost the union shop, which was replaced by a maintenance-of-membership clause. Union deserters who went back to work during the strike can now maintain full shop rights.

The fight for equality of aircraft wages is set back in the whole industry. But the failure of the union to gain its demands is not the chief interest of this strike—not all strikes can be smashing victories. What is most significant is the role of the government.

North American produces the F-86 Sabre Jet plane. When the union called a

strike in 1952, and seemed on the verge of success, the company and the Defense Department screamed for an immediate work-return and demanded that the union submit to arbitration. Even one hour's loss of production, said the Defense Department, would endanger our national security.

The union yielded. In arbitration, its main demands were rejected by a board which tearfully admitted their justification.

But in 1953, the company was ready for a long strike. National "emergencies" (one of the frauds of our time) can be conjured up or dissipated upon the whim of government propaganda salesmen. A few months before, their imagination had created a national emergency after a one-day New York longshore strike. But since the North American Aircraft Company was doing nicely, they chose not to manufacture another emergency.

The UAW pointed out that the company was squandering millions of dollars to break the strike, for radio and television time, for newspaper ads, for hiring scabs. And this money would come out of taxes. The union demonstrated that planes turned out by scab labor were substandard and unsafe. But the Defense Department answered calmly, where it deigned to reply, that it was not interested in the strike, that no emergency existed, and please don't bother us for at least sixty days.

"The Defense Department of the

United States," reported the union during the strike, "has advised the UAW-CIO that it is not concerned about the effects of this strike on the nation's security—for at least a 60-day period—and has apparently placed its full stamp of approval on a gigantic union-busting taxpayer-financed campaign to break this strike during this 60-day period."

It might seem that the union was insisting that the government intervene on its side, while an impartial Republican administration pursued its determined course of remaining aloof from labor disputes. This is one of the myths invented by the Republican Party.

One of the greatest pressures on any employer during a strike is the insistence of his customers that the strike-bound plant live up to its contracts for deliveries. When pressure for deliveries becomes great, the employer is often compelled to settle.

In this case, the only customer of the North American Company is the government. The Republican administration was therefore involved in the strike from the very beginning. And as a strike-breaking, pro-employer customer, it was sympathetic with the plight of the company and relaxed demands for delivery of its products—jet planes.

The full story is told in capsule form by Joseph A. Loftus in the New York Times:

"The government is the principal customer of the airplane industry. The prices it pays are fluid. Demands for the delivery of planes can be rigorous or relaxed. The administration decided it could afford to be relaxed. That simplified the employers' problem. They waited out the strikers, who eventually accepted what they could have had before they went on strike."

JIM-CROW WAR IS BREWING IN CHICAGO

The rental of a home to a Negro family in the Chicago Housing Authority's Trumbull Park Homes has precipitated another crisis in race relations in Illinois, recently the scene of the Cicero race riots. Acting under a 1950 provision of the Housing Authority which banned discrimination, Donald Howard's family was the first Negro family to be admitted to the project since it was built in 1930.

Six days after the Howards moved in, bricks, stones and sulphur candles were thrown into the apartment. Crowds gathered in increasing numbers outside the Howard residence, and by August 10 the mob was estimated at over 1,000 persons. Commencing August 5, 750 Chicago police, working three shifts, were required to block off crowds, patrol the area, and insure against acts of violence. Despite the police traffic was disrupted, Negroes' cars were stoned, small fires started, false alarms turned in, and demonstrations staged night after night.

Tension mounted even further when three more Negro families moved into Trumbull Park Homes on October 15. At this point, the city had dispatched 1,160 members of its police force. So serious was the situation that at times 20 per cent of the entire force was tied up in dealing with the conflict.

Although the arrival of the Howards was described as "unexpected" by the executive secretary of the Chicago Housing Authority, the Authority quickly joined forces with the City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations and the Chicago Council Against Discrimination (a local coordinating body of over 100 church, civic, and labor organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union) to prepare the community for further Negro residents.

While there is little prospect for an immediate solution of the problem, the Chicago City Council finally passed, after much furor, a resolution asking Mayor Kennelly to form a committee to investigate racial strife in Chicago.

SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

day. This last proviso we add in a purely altruistic spirit, since the holiday aspect of Christmas is just another headache for editors; but we don't want to seem to get personal about it.

In any case, to take an evasive way out of the hot controversy, LABOR ACTION and its editors wish you a merry time for whatever it is that you're celebrating, and a very Happy New Year.

Among India's Socialists

A leading militant of the Praja Socialist Party of India has spoken up in sharp criticism of the increasingly opportunistic line of the party leadership; and the development cannot fail to be healthy.

Ever since its sharp turn last year, culminating in the merger with the KMPP of Kripalani (see LABOR ACTION for July 21, October 20 and November 10, 1952), the Indian Socialists have been steadily drifting to the right. The trend began as a reaction to the party's showing in the national election, which was good but much worse than what some of the party leaders were apparently dreaming about; and the latter proceeded to dump their Marxist ideas in good measure, aiming for greater electoral success. The point of dispute that comes up now is a direct reflection of the party's leaning toward opportunistic alliances.

This tendency has been toward a de-emphasis of the party's independent role and toward coalition with the ruling Congress Party of Nehru. But while the main trend has been toward the Congress, in one place, Travancore-Cochin, the party leadership even decided on an electoral bloc with the Stalinists, since they are strong there! It convinced many militants that it put electoral blocs with anyone above any principles.

The foreign secretary of the party, Madhu Limaye, who is also a leading spirit in the Asian Conference Bureau which emerged from the Rangoon conference of Asian socialists, spoke up in the pages of the party's organ, *Janata* (Nov. 8). This is especially significant since *Janata* does not usually follow the practice of permitting free expression for inner-party differences in its pages, a fact which its editors specifically note in printing Limaye's criticism.

"For the last eight months or so I, along with a large section of Praja Socialist workers, have been watching with anxiety and dismay the various moves and actions of the party leadership that have had the cumulative effect of steadily pulling out the very foundations on which the party has rested these many years . . ."

Limaye begins. ". . . the Praja Socialists have more than maintained their position as the foremost opposition party in the country. And yet if we find that the fortunes of the party are at their lowest ebb today, it is not because of any lack of public confidence in the party and its program, but the wrong policies of the party leadership . . . from some of the past actions of the party leaders it appears that they themselves are determined to scuttle the independent political and ideological stand of the party and hasten the process of polarization [between the Congress party and Stalinism] by alternately cooperating with the Congress and the Communists."

And he raises the question whether the party leaders want to "drop all embarrassing statements of policy and ideology which circumscribe the party's maneuverability. He speaks of "the cult of hero worship, lack of faith, enthusiasm and zeal that have lately crept into the party."

In the following issue of *Janata*, an attempted reply by Prof. Pradhan illustrates exactly what Limaye was writing about: Pradhan is interested in denying that the party leadership leans toward alliance with the Stalinists: "If at all the leadership has, in fact, in recent months shown a definite preference for the Congress as against the Communists." Limaye's point was that the party was abandoning its independent role.

And Pradhan attacks Limaye for daring to criticize the leadership's line. The atmosphere of party democracy in the Indian party does not appear to be the healthiest.

As a keystone of Asia, the militant socialists of India have reason to feel furled by the party's trend. A great deal depends on the Indian Socialist movement, which can play a great role, if it does not give up its principles for a mess of votes.

The Velde Side-Show

By JACK WALKER

For a treatment along with the treat, I'd urge all civil-libertarians to take in the Velde House Un-American Activities Committee circus when it is playing in your vicinity.

After five days' performances in the Bay Area beginning December 1 we've begun to build up a resistance to black headlines, courtroom scenes and practically textual coverage of the preceding day's testimony by all of the daily papers. But for those five days the No. 1 topic of conversation throughout the area was occurring in the Board of Supervisors' chamber in San Francisco's City Hall, under indirect flashbulb lighting and the scanning tubes of TV cameras.

The "feel" that one gets from hearings such as this bring vividly to mind the deepening crisis in civil liberties. Adding to the atmosphere was a detail of Red Squad agents who were on hand to take pictures of people waiting in line to enter the courtroom and at the foot of the grand staircase to "look over" the audience after the hearings.

The most dramatic moment for the committee was the charge against U. S. Representative Robert L. Condon (Dem., Alameda County) of association with the CP; it was on the basis of this charge that Condon was barred from atomic tests in Nevada. It is not impossible that, while he was a candidate in heavily industrialized Contra Costa County in 1948, where the CP had a fairly strong base and the cold war was only medium-hot, Condon opportunistically played footsie with people whom he probably knew to be Stalinists.

ROSSER

The most interesting witness from a socialist viewpoint was Louis Rosser, an ex-YCL national leader and important CPer from 1932-1944, who opened the hearings as a "friendly" witness. Rosser had previously testified at the Los Angeles Smith Act trials of Stalinist leaders and in closed Velde committee hearings, and was a sophisticated Negro intellectual able to speak on CP theory and activities.

Because of color, background and contacts, along with a willingness to carry out orders, he had risen rapidly in YCL work where he had been assigned by the CP, before quitting the party in disillusionment.

He had been on county, state and national committees, even attending a super-secret national CP school for future Stalinist administrators in the U. S. from November 1938-July 1939 on an upper New York estate.

Like other Negro intellectuals, he had rejected the slogans of Negro self-determination for the Black Belt but had gone along, until he ran into repeated CP sell-outs of the class struggle after Hitler had invaded Russia. Before then he had become cynical over the manipulation of the struggle for Negro rights—on the basis of the needs of the Kremlin, but he had stayed on in spite of his doubts. He was able to document some of the accusations made by the socialists and militants against the CP in those days.

DAMNING TESTIMONY

(1) In 1942, through a nephew of Charlotte Bass—then a CP fellow traveler and editor of a California Negro weekly—he was able to get her to attack the Randolph "March on Washington" movement as an attack on national unity. This was in a speech delivered by Bass in California the night before Randolph was scheduled to speak here, her speech being written by Rosser and the YCL nephew for this purpose!

(2) Throughout the U. S.-Russian war alliance, he asserted, the CP had informed to the FBI on Trotskyists and other anti-war elements in southern California shipyards (Rosser was operating in LA).

(3) Finally—and this was the breaking incident for Rosser although he held out a little longer—in 1944 the CP refused to act on behalf of 50 Negro sailors who refused to load munition ships at Port Chicago following a recent explosion there. William Schneiderman, then state CP chairman, had looked out the window when Rosser appealed to him for aid and said: "Rosser, what's more important, loading those ships for the Soviet Union, or those 50 men going to jail?" . . . ("I made up by mind that if I could get out of the party, I was going to get out.")

Following his break with the CP, Rosser had gotten pushed out of several jobs by Stalinist pressure—including one in the NAACP where the Stalinists voted to deprive his office of funds—before he went to the FBI in 1951, thereby descending from the status of a disillusioned militant to that of a government informer.

SPLIT

a bottle with us at our

New Year's Eve Party—

Refreshment: liquid, solid,
and spiritual . . . Dancing

LABOR ACTION HALL

114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

9 p.m. Contribution: \$1

LONDON LETTER

Looming Railway Strike Raises the

Problem of a 'Mixed Economy'

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Dec. 17—It was last Saturday afternoon that we heard the announcement that the National Union of Railwaymen had decided to call a strike of its 400,000 members on Monday, December 21. There loomed the prospect of a holiday season with no long-distance or underground trains, no postal deliveries, no milk, etc.

But the decision for the strike was by no means an unexpected one. For many months now, the NUR, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association have been negotiating with the British Transport Commission, which administers the nationalized railways.

The unions submitted a claim for a 15 per cent rise in wages to negotiations and then to arbitration before the Railway Staffs National Tribunal. This latter body decided to recommend an increase of 50 cents a week basic, as well as a revision of the differentiation between skilled and unskilled workers, a differentiation which has been decreasing since the war. A census taken by the Transport Commission in April showed that the average wage on the railways was about \$20 basic and \$5 overtime.

The arguments put forward by the Railwaymen were as follows: (1) the increased cost of living due to abolition of many food subsidies by the Tory government; (2) the fact that railway employees have always been paid badly hitherto. For instance their average of \$25 compares with \$33 for the auto workers and \$37 for the coal miners.

The Transport Commission argues: (1) Any rise in railway charges means a rise in all prices and therefore ultimately all wages. (2) They just haven't got the money; a severe loss was taken by British Railways last year. (3) There was a rise in fares earlier this year.

There is not the slightest doubt that the railway workers have had a raw deal in the past. One man I know used to be

paid \$18 a week before the war, and now gets only \$21. Everyone knows that the cost of living has gone up by much more than this. Another man I know worked on the railways for 25 years, and was then pensioned off with the magnanimous sum of \$1 a week to supplement the \$3.50 from social insurance.

The question of wage differential is important in this dispute. The NUR, representing the less skilled railwaymen, is not so anxious to revise the differential, compared with the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and the TSSA, whose members are more skilled.

For instance, in 1939 the ratio between a lengthman's pay and an engine driver's was 53 per cent; today it is 76 per cent. A revision of this relation would mean, presumably, a higher wage for skilled men at the expense of lesser increases for less skilled workers. The economic straits of this country make the NUR feel that it is the lowest paid who need an increase.

POSSIBLE COMPROMISE

Frantic negotiations to avert the strike, for which notices have already been sent out, have been taking place. Sir Walter Monckton, the minister of labor, who is just recovering from influenza, was the chairman at an hour-long meeting between the Transport Commission and the NUR; the latter's principal spokesmen were Sir Brian Robertson (an ex-general) and J. S. Campbell. It is, of course, extremely difficult at this stage to know whether the strike will come off or be averted. By the time you read this, the decision will have been made.

There is, however, a possible compromise implied by a resolution of a group of 29 engineering unions representing 40,000 repair men; they resolved to join the strike "on December 20 or any subsequent date." This is the key to the compromise if one is to occur. The strike may be delayed till after Christmas. This would certainly meet with the general approval of the traveling public, which

is on the whole very sympathetic with the railway workers.

The threatened railway strike can be considered a classic example of the incongruities of a "mixed economy." There is clearly very strong pressure from the rise in prices in the private sector on the workers of the nationalized industries. They thus press for higher wages. Higher wages in such basic industries as the mines, the railways, etc., must produce an increased all-around cost of living. As the private industries can put up their prices with comparative impunity, the pressure of wages ultimately bears on wage earners particularly in the nationalized industries.

WORST OF BOTH WORLDS

What, in fact, is now happening is that the railway workers are asking for a bigger share of the national cake. Were this industry not nationalized, this could come out of profits; now, however, it comes out of the consuming public, not only directly as increased fares but also indirectly as higher prices for all transported goods.

If all the industries were nationalized, the national cake could be shared out equally. Any economic, political or physical difficulties requiring greater sacrifice could be shared by the whole community.

With our "mixed economy," we get the worst of both worlds. We are unable to extract higher wages from those who are responsible for higher prices; instead we have to take them from the rest of the consuming public.

It must not be forgotten, too, that the previous owners of the railways are still getting a good steady return from their investments in an industry whose decay clearly showed it to be a very uncertain risk before nationalization.

Still, whether there is a strike or not, we hope this London Letter reaches the readers of LABOR ACTION—and all our friends and supporters here wish all American socialists a very sincere and personal Happy New Year.

SMITH AND WHITE ON THE MARSHALL PLAN

Not long ago only radicals used to point out what the actual political and social role of the Marshall Plan was, as distinct from the humanitarian and philanthropic dress that was put on it. Among prominent liberals, Justice William O. Douglas was the first, or at least one of the first, to tell the hard truth. Now it bids fair to become a commonplace of politics.

Thus, the head of the CBS European bureau, Howard K. Smith, writes in the course of a review of a recent book—Theodore White's *Fire in the Ashes*—that

"White reports that our Marshall planners learned to their great surprise that after two years of Marshall aid the ruling classes of Europe had used the funds to conserve their positions and profits. The Marshall planners saw their mistake and were just going to start using the aid to make reforms when the Korean war broke out and frustrated the whole thing. When this great discovery had been made, White says, he 'called on one of the new chiefs and found him full of vigor, charged with enthusiasm. 'The object of the exercise,' he said, 'is to win people over to democracy...'"

"Now this is nonsense [continues Smith]. The composers of 'Call Me Madam' understood better than White here does the conservative uses of Marshall aid. Not a few said before Marshall aid began that this was the danger. We made ourselves rather nuisances complaining repeatedly that the money was not 'trickling down' but was financing a status quo that had to be changed for Europe's own good. A rather eminent Marshall aid administrator once fumed at me that it was 'do-gooders' like me who caused all the trouble. So I am quite sure no late discovery was made. If White really found an administrator who discovered only in 1950 that the 'object of the exercise was to win people over to democracy,' he should have reported him to the nearest truant officer for delinquency. The plan's handouts divulged that secret as early as 1948."

But no one took it seriously. No one, that is, except the peace-lovers of the Nobel prize committee who have given their peace award to Marshall at this late date, after every one knows (it seems) what the Marshall Plan really meant.

THE CHAUVINIST MIND

An unwitting, and subtly revealing, indication of how U. S. diplomacy thinks of the colonial countries is provided by a recent statement of Washington's special representative to Southern Rhodesia, where unrest with British rule is growing among the African people. As reported by the *London Times* (August 12), William H. Ball said:

"Our concern, as it is the concern of the administering powers, in the political future of Africa, is that no part of it falls under Soviet domination or influence. It is one of our major objectives to see that the people of Africa in their own interest remain wedded to Western ideas. In the achievement of these objectives we stand ready to cooperate in every way possible with the administering powers in their efforts to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned."

The operative phrase that deserves pointing out is the objective that the African people "remain wedded to Western ideas." The trouble is (for both Washington and London) that they have some ideas of their own.

WORLD POLITICS

EISENHOWER'S CONFESSION: ATOMIC STALEMATE IN A WAR-TORN WORLD

By M. J. HARDWICK

The impact of the development of atomic warfare has finally registered itself on the political life of America in a way to shock the pro-war chauvinistic wing of public opinion.

For the best informed military man of the country, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, made the surprising admission in his United Nations speech that neither America nor Russia can win an atomic war against the other.

This is a staggering fact, the full implications of which will take considerable time to unfold, but which assuredly is going to count increasingly in domestic and world events.

The disclosure, as limited as it was, of the gigantic atomic power of both America and Russia makes more understandable what some used to think was hysteria when atomic scientists spoke of atomic warfare. The development of new and destructive weapons has always influenced the nature of warfare. Today, when American strategists begin to deal with bombs, one of which has the equivalent of 5 million tons of TNT, the orthodox military strategy of World War II becomes relegated to the horse-and-bugger era.

In the over-all strategic picture, America and Russia resemble two opponents, each with a loaded pistol pressed directly to the other's brain. It would be small consolation to move to pull the trigger first.

UNIQUE SITUATION

When one recalls that American strategy in the past six years has been based on the theory that only America's pistol was fully loaded (its alleged monopoly of atomic weapons), the panic and hysteria that are discernible at times in Washington, and reflected in the day-to-day journalistic pieces from there, are also understandable.

Thus we have the unique pre-war situation in which no military mind claims a road to success, something that was always

heretofore presented as the aim; and this uncomfortable situation operates to slow down any moves toward all-out war, no matter how many times negotiations break down in Korea or another crisis arises in Indo-China.

Before World War I, the German high command was supremely confident, for example, that its plan would bring relatively quick success. French and English military minds also had theories of victory.

In the pre-World War II days, there were many attractive theories of military victory. In Germany it was blitzkrieg and total warfare that would assure Der Fuehrer of his goals. In America, faith in industrial might and overwhelming allied manpower was viewed as the key to triumph. Proponents of airpower could argue persuasively for their concepts. And the military journals were filled with interesting, lively debate on strategy, tactics and roads to success.

NO HORIZON

The predominant tone of today is something quite different. It stems from fear and fright, rather than confidence. There is lacking any literature of victory, in the military journals or among the popular military experts. And each year, as the stockpiles increase, there is less likelihood of any comforting theory of military victory.

No less an expert than General Bradley excluded any D-Day landings in event of World War III. A huge massed armada would serve only as a sitting duck for an atomic bomb. In terms of large-scale land warfare, this kind of "airpower" reduces combat to guerrilla skirmishes, in which the essence of military direction—rigid control over troops—becomes improbable if not impossible. New and less grandiose concepts of the role of the navy force themselves on the military strategists. A de-emphasis of the two older arms already is reflecting itself in the proposed budget. As a large-scale police force, the army and navy continue

to be important, they are not decisive, nor are they components of a decisive force.

War becomes less a military question than ever before. It is a political issue. Is there any military sense to arguing for the success or failure of NATO in terms of whether 25 divisions or 30 divisions is enough for success? One atom bomb, more or less, is far more pertinent in terms of military might. NATO and the European army are strictly political questions. Can the U. S. politically line up the nations of Europe? That is the question. And the argument over the rearming of Germany is far less important as a military need than what it signifies politically in winning support for America in the conflict for world domination against Russia.

For no one in the military field can answer the question: How can World War III be won? Survival, not victory, is the preoccupation of both American and Russian military experts. This is not the smallest deterrent to war.

The two giants of the world face other dilemmas. Will world opinion or the fear of retaliation work to make use of atomic weapons impossible, as was the case with poison gas in World War II? Even Hitler took this into account, but Hitler also had, or thought he had, a strategy for victory without use of gas. The prospect of an old-fashioned war between the two antagonists offers a dismal view for either side. And at what point would desperation change the character of the war into an all-out atomic assault?

The fury of the witchhunt in America comes partly from frustration over a military impotence that is increasingly evident to wider layers of the population.

As the history of the Peloponnesian wars suggests, the mutual destruction of Athens and Sparta did signify the decline of Greek civilization, but not of world civilization. It is a sobering thought to the statesmen and strategists of both camps today.

New Years Eve

is the time for the

N. Y. ISL's New Year's Eve Party—9 p.m. and on—

Labor Action Hall,

114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

Youth and Student Corner

TRENDS IN THE SOCIALIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

By **BOGDAN DENITCH**
National Executive Committee, YPSL

Less well known than the Socialist International, but predating the post-war adult international of social-democratic parties, is the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY).

IUSY, the socialist youth international, which today comprises most of the social-democratic youth organizations, was organized almost immediately after World War II at the International Congress of Socialist Youth held in Paris in September of 1946.

Almost immediately the congress divided along political lines. The "Northern bloc" made up of England, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and the Flemish section of Belgium, jointly with the delegates from the Stalinist-influenced sections in Poland and Czechoslovakia, united on a reformist, vaguely pro-Stalinist program.

On the other hand, Austria, Italy, Spain, France, Switzerland, Greece, Luxemburg, and sections of the Bund and Belgian youth, as well as the American YPSL, organized an "Assembly for a Socialist Youth International," which came out with a clear internationalist program.

LEFT-WING STAND

As an example, a section of the latter declaration read:

"Working youth, oppressed throughout the world:

"You have just suffered long years of oppression from fascism and war. You have given and still give your blood for liberty. You live in the midst of ruins....

"Already there leaps before your eyes the vanity of the illusions of prosperity and peace, the hypocrisy of the declarations promised by the Atlantic Charter, the lack of power of the UN and the lies of the imperialist phases on peace. In spite of surface optimism, the third world war is being prepared while you watch.

"Atomic energy, which could liberate humanity from need, can only be used by decaying capitalism for destruction and war.

"Capitalism has, in fact already existed for half a century as the principal fetter on the development of the productive forces, economy, politics and society. It has precipitated the world into ever graver economic crises; it has roused imperialist rivalries for the conquest of raw materials and new markets; it has installed imperialist expression and fascism wherever it could not rule in other ways; it has caused two imperialist world wars which have laid waste the globe.

"The imperialists keep the bloody dictatorship of Franco in power, and have plunged Greece into a civil war. Power blocs of imperialist nations have reformed; new conflicts are prepared.

"Never has there been more need for the proletarian revolution.

"Only by autonomous and organized action of the proletariat can we achieve peace and security, only in this way can we defend freedom and democracy. Though it is true that each proletariat must first free itself from its own oppressors, socialism can only be fully realized on an international scale. This is why chauvinism is poison for the working class.

"We do not have any confidence in the

actions of the various international organizations, which will suggest an imperialist solution to the problems of Europe and the world, by a division of the world into new spheres of influence...."

Considering the period—this was still the "honeymoon" period following Yalta and Teheran—this was a very advanced statement for these socialist youth groups. So advanced was it, as a matter of fact, that today most of the sections of the world socialist youth movement that then signed the declaration of the Assembly for a Socialist Youth International have been bureaucratically suppressed or expelled either by their own adult sections or (as in the case of the Greek section) by the state.

The French, Belgian, Swiss and Italian sections have all been "reorganized" by their parties. The most recent reorganization of the Italian section took place this summer—as we were informed in a charming letter from the reorganizing committee of the Italian socialist youth, which said among other things that perhaps the reason the Italians have not been very active lately is that the Italian party just dissolved the youth's national committee. The YPSL, of course, has suffered two splits since the signing of the declaration.

Today, therefore, the only international organization of the socialist youth is the IUSY. Because of the change of atmosphere—or, to be specific, because of the fact that the adult parties of the Socialist International are allied with the American camp in the present power conflict—the IUSY is no longer even vaguely Stalinoid; it is firmly pro-Western.

ANTI-COLONIAL WORK

Nevertheless all of the more radical socialist youth organizations, the Austrians, the Saar section, the Burmese, the YPSL, etc., are in the IUSY where they form a small but growing anti-war minority.

The IUSY works through fairly elaborate international machinery. It has its own press and special "bureaus" working in the colonial areas. Probably the most fruitful aspect of the IUSY's work is its work in the colonies, where it builds local socialist youth organizations. These local youth organizations, for some "strange" reason, almost immediately tend to become Third Camp in orientation. While this development upsets the IUSY leadership, which cannot understand why the youth movements in the colonial countries are not willing to align themselves firmly with the "democratic camp," it gives hope for healthier development in the youth international itself.

At the unity convention of American socialist youth in February, where the YPSL and the Socialist Youth League plan to merge, one of the proposals that will come up will be affiliation of the resulting new socialist youth organization to the IUSY. In order to acquaint American young socialists and sympathizers with the nature of the world socialist youth movement, further articles will appear in LABOR ACTION on the IUSY and its various sections.

Note on an SP Pacifist Who Lectures on Ethics

Members of the YPSL and the SYL are by now familiar with the line that Socialist Party members (those few who actually take the SP line seriously) take in dealing with our comrades. The standard charge is that both organizations are unethical, unprincipled, etc. Without dwelling on the rather sloppy habit that social-democrats have of lumping all anti-war revolutionary socialists under one set of (unfavorable) stereotypes, we want to devote a little space to examining the practices followed by our mentors in ethics, in their work in "mass" organizations.

It is generally agreed that responsible socialists do not wage their factional wars in other organizations where their factional differences happen to be irrelevant. In this respect, it is interesting to cite the activities of one of the main spokesmen for the SP in the pacifist movement — Stephen Siteman — while dealing with our comrades.

Siteman was first brought up to our attention when he attempted to do a hatchet-job on Bob Bone, the editor of

Anvil, on the National Committee of the War Resisters League. Bone had been a pacifist long before he became an organized socialist, and his views on most relevant questions remained the same as they had been when he was national secretary of the YPSL. Nevertheless Siteman contended that because Bone is now associated with the magazine Anvil, in which the "Trotskyist" SYL was active, he was unfit for association with pacifists.

The double irony of this argument of guilt-by-association was that it came from a person who claimed to be speaking for the SP, an organization whose pro-war views on the Korean war were anathema to pacifism. Bone gave the WRL a very clear exposition of his own views, and it was obviously necessary to judge his pacifist convictions by his own views, not by criteria of "association" stolen from the witchhunters' arsenal.

HARRINGTON CASE

Now as most of the readers of LABOR ACTION should know, the YPSL, which recently split from the SP, has a fairly large number of pacifists in its membership. Some are on the NEC of the League. The YPSL also is not only not a "Trotskyist" organization but has made it clear in almost every document it published (before and since the split) that it is critical of Bolshevism and Trotskyism. This is mentioned merely in order to explain the nature of Siteman's more recent "educational" activities in the pacifist movement.

Michael Harrington, a member of the YPSL NEC, has been fairly well known in pacifist circles for some years; as a matter of fact he joined the YPSL while at the *Catholic Worker* and retains friendly ties with that organization. Very shortly after the YPSL split from the SP, Harrington was nominated for a committee post on the central committee of Conscientious Objectors, a group which is a sort of clearing-house for a number of pacifist organizations.

Siteman raised immediate objections to the nomination on the fantastic and familiar grounds that Harrington, by remaining in the YPSL—which cooperates with the SYL—which in turn has a "Trotskyist" tradition—was a sort of "Trotskyist"!

This appears to be guilt-by-association three times removed.

Siteman then proceeded to question the sincerity of Harrington's pacifist views—which, we understand, is supposed to be particularly cutting in pacifist circles—despite the fact that a number of well known pacifists vouched for him, and despite the fact that he is probably the most vocal pacifist socialist on the YPSL NEC. The pacifist group reacted to this outburst by quashing the nomination, in order to avoid controversy, and therefore this vest-pocket edition of McCarthyite tactics can be said to have succeeded in its intent.

It would be interesting to hear from the Socialist Party, about how it views the activities of Siteman, and whether it permits the use of slander and innuendo when these serve its ends.



History in Capsule Form — Far from Sirius

By **PHILIP COHEN**

René Sédillot's book *The History of the World in 300 Pages* has been reprinted as a Mentor pocket book—where it becomes *The History of the World in 240 Pages*—and it remains an interesting curiosity. Interesting because by its very nature it exemplifies the central problem of how to understand history.

All history-writing is a matter of selection, of course; and the problem of a conception of history is the problem of why a historian selects certain facts, trends, figures, dates, and not others, and how he relates these selected data. But when a man attempts the tour de force of compressing the history of the world into a *Quick* magazine format, he must know what he thinks he is doing to an even greater extent than the historian who can spread himself over 10 volumes.

The question: What is important in history? Can only be answered on the basis of SOME conception of history, whether it is a materialist conception or an idealist one, whether it is wrong or right or whatever.

In his introduction, Sédillot naturally discusses the problem he faced. And in view of the nature of his attempt, his discussion is a ludicrous caricature of the historian who has never bothered to think through his method to the end, and therefore puts together a meaningless chronicle.

In his introduction Sédillot wishes to present his effort as that of an above-the-battle disinterested observer of humanity, and here is how he actually puts it, without the slightest intention of caricature:

"This would be the point of view of a watcher on Sirius, and it is precisely upon Sirius, remote from all human emotions, that the historian who would record the Passion of Mankind must take his stand."

Now this claim to, or attempt at, an extra-terrestrial method of interstellar impartiality deserves to be quoted as a classic. It has been well said that the man who claims to be without a "theory" merely means that he has naively and unthinkingly accepted the vulgar pervading theories which fill his consciousness without awareness; he is not without a theory, he is merely the uncritical victim of the most naive ones.

So also with Sédillot's noble attempt to dissociate himself from the interests, struggles, social and political alignments which his mortal flesh is heir to—not by a critical-analytical view of them, but by pretending to ignore them.

Naturally, therefore, this would-be extra-planetary historian sees no good in anyone who wants to see history as deriving "from one single principle." This does not deter him from himself stating his belief that "politics remains the determining factor."

How well he understands even the problem—just the problem—that he is discussing is indicated by his remarks in criticism of the view "that it is the economic structure that alone controls the destiny of mankind." (Incidentally, he undoubtedly thinks here that he is criticizing the Marxist theory, since way out there on Sirius he is not aware that Marxism does not claim that economic or social factors alone are operative.) Sédillot comments on this economic determinism:

"But those bred up to the study of economics have only to study the interrelation of cause and effect to realize very soon that politics remains the determining factor. They may set themselves, for example, to examine the economic consequences of the discovery of the New World, only to find that this discovery was stimulated by events that were purely political—the cutting of the route to the Indies by the Turkish invasions."

The shallowness of this thought is evident: what he is proving is neither that politics nor economics is determining (in any sense) but merely the fact that cause and effect are interrelated, that more basic factors and more secondary factors interact. That is a platitude for Marxists as well as for others.

You can know what to expect from an historical writer of this cut. You will not usually be disappointed.

Have you read . . .

**"NEXT —
A LABOR PARTY!"**

by
Jack Ranger

A discussion for trade-unionists of American labor's greatest lack and greatest need.

25 cents

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114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

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BOOKS and Ideas

Studies of Hitler & Von Papen

By GABRIEL GERSH

MEMOIRS, by Franz von Papen.
E. P. Dutton, \$6.50, 634 pages.

"Autobiographies," writes Von Papen, "can never be truly objective. They can only be a personal contribution to the mosaic of history." His memoirs, admirably translated by Brian Connell, are as objective as can be reasonably expected; they are written with some measure of dignity and apparently without any mean bitterness.

We can understand that a man who has been subjected to so many trying ordeals, who has seen the destruction of all that he has cherished, should try to acquit himself of all responsibility for Hitler Germany's misdeeds. We can understand that he should deal evasively with such blemishes on his past record as his abandonment of Brüning, his reinstatement of the Brown Shirts, his willingness to serve in Hitler's cabinet, or his contrivance of the Hitler-Schuschnigg interview at Berchtesgaden. Certainly, all these evasions are comprehensible although unforgivable.

ENIGMA?

What is more difficult to understand is how Von Papen, after his friends and associates were murdered, was able to reconcile his "high principles" with continued service to a system which he admits to have been "one of the most godless governments of modern times." The enigma cannot be explained in terms of ordinary human ambition. His actions cannot be attributed to any concern for his personal safety, for Von Papen is a brave man.

Like so many other Germans who served Hitler, Von Papen suffered from the illusion that he was indispensable; that he would succeed in taming and subduing Hitler; and that he might mitigate some of the worst excesses of Nazism. He was, moreover, devoted to the "German fatherland" and could not refuse to serve it, even though Hitler was its leader and Nazism its official creed.

His actions and attitude—when compared to those of the men and women who lost their lives in the unsuccessful coup of July 20, 1944—appear weak and opportunist. Was he, as Conrad Heiden asserts, no more than "a man of shadows"?

ARISTOCRAT

He may, in all sincerity, have believed that the Nazi rulers would abate their violence. He may have been convinced that by some miracle the Nazis would ease the severity of their dictatorship.

He admits that he completely underestimated the hypnotic spell which Hitler cast upon many Germans. He may even have been so misguided as to suppose that he, with his wider experience, would be able to attract Hitler to his own policies, and to preserve some of the old standards.

Yet the moment must have come when he recognized the unrepentant ferocity and depravity of the Nazi regime. Why, we ask ourselves again, did he remain faithful to Hitler?

The answer to this is to be found in his antecedents and his aristocratic background. Herr von Papen comes from an old family of nobles in Western Germany. As a young man he had served with much bravery and distinction in the Lancer regiment and accepted all the traditions of the officer caste; in later age he became a member of the Herrenklub, who regarded themselves as an elite. He was a conservative, a Catholic and a monarchist.

Herr von Papen admits that democracy is not to his liking. In fact, his hatred of Rousseau is hardly less pronounced than his hatred of Karl Marx. He believes that

all the ills of the modern world flow from the French Revolution and that politics should be the exclusive concern of that small elite of aristocrats who are born to rule and who, in the golden past, managed public affairs very well without any interference from the people.

VON PAPEN'S HOPE

Von Papen disliked the Weimar Republic with its many parties, its trade unions and its workers' councils. His aim was to re-establish the old habits of order and discipline. He desired to bring back to Germany the "old Christian ethic" which had been destroyed by defeat and inflation. He was convinced that the role of Germany was to provide the Christian world with a bulwark against the heathen Slavs.

Yet why was he convinced that Nazism was a blessing which would deliver the German nation from the "evils to which it had been subjected by the Allies, the Socialists and the Communists"?

Perhaps the explanation lies in Von Papen's hope that Hitler would develop into a true aristocrat, as contemptuous of the masses and their applause as he was himself. Essentially he disapproved of Hitler, not because of the excesses of Nazism but because Hitler had to be the worshiped hero of the people.

From Von Papen's standpoint, Hitler was too "democratic," i.e., too dependent on the rabble he led, too much inclined to identify himself with the mob instead of being the aloof commander content to dictate and enforce obedience. In fact, of course, this alleged weakness was the very reason why Hitler could succeed where the Von Papens failed, but even today Herr von Papen is as incapable of grasping this as he was in the fateful thirties.

HITLER: A STUDY IN TYRANNY, by Alan Bullock—Harper, 776 pages, \$6.00.

The story of Adolf Hitler will be subjected to various distortions. There will be those who depict it in terms of classic tragedy, as the drama of a man of arrogance who was first led astray, and then destroyed; by the fury of the gods. Others will portray him as an emissary of the devil who, having caused misery and suffering for millions, met just retribution for his crimes. Others again will picture him as a patriot of genius who raised his country to unprecedented levels of glory and power and whose only mistake was that he ultimately failed. And there will be some who will claim that he was little more than a demagogue of exceptional capacity, who was able to conquer the soul of a nation and make it his helpless and willing victim.

It is fortunate, therefore, that, at this early stage, a book should be written providing an objective account, based upon the mass of material already collected and enabling posterity to judge with a minimum of bias or emotion. Alan Bullock's book is a work of historical value and excellent balance.

It is an impressive and well-written book which will doubtless remain the standard biography of Hitler for many years to come. The author has not merely taken the trouble to study his sources but has also fused his immense learning into a coherent and moving pattern. His work gives a clear and convincing picture of Hitler as a man and "National-Socialism" as a movement.

Bullock writes extremely well, sustains his narrative at a quick pace, never pokes fun at Hitler, never becomes the captive of his own erudition, remains objective and restrained in spite of the evil of his subject.

"WILL POWER"

Bullock describes his theme "as an account of one of the most puzzling and remarkable careers in modern history." It was indeed remarkable that this man should have come within sight of conquering the world.

The author does not make the mistake of underestimating Hitler's evil genius. He stresses his astonishing gift for timing, his unflinching "intuitive" knowledge of the feelings and moods of many of his countrymen, his uncanny mastery of detail and the hypnotic spell that he cast

upon lesser wills. The author admits that we are filled with horror by the combination in Hitler of insignificance and grandeur, of vulgarity and force, of vast visions and bestial thoughts. But he contends that such contrasts should not blind us to the force of his intellect or to the intensity of his personality.

It is not sufficient, as Bullock frequently reminds us, to account for Hitler's power by attributing it to superhuman will-power. But what was it that gave such intensity to this will? Partly his abnormal egoism and that self-dramatization which enabled him to regard himself as chosen by Providence to lead his people to glory and conquest; partly the instinct of tyranny which led him to exterminate all those who opposed him and to scrap every measure of decency in pursuit of his aims; partly a demented obsession to shape the world in conformity with his own wicked ideals; and partly what Bullock calls "his inhuman fantasy," which convinced him that his wildest day dreams could be turned into realities.

Astonishing, certainly, was the "scale of his achievement." Because his judgments were unhampered by any scruples of conscience or simple kindness, he was a unique master of irrational forces in modern society and a brilliant judge of opponents' weaknesses—whether it was the statesmen of the West, the generals of the General Staff or his rivals within the party.

EMPTY TERROR

Hitler's career culminated in disaster because his drive for power twisted his judgments. The hallucinations of the final years may, as the author implies, have been intensified by the drugs given to him by his doctors. But essentially they were due to his belief in his own magic and mission, "to that assumption of his own infallibility which marked the deterioration of his judgment." In the end he divorced himself from all reality and took refuge in his own dream-world.

None of his entourage could control him, even when they realized where he was leading them. They were helpless, not merely because of their training in unquestioning obedience, but also because they were overborne by the power of his personality, and because they were not sure—almost to the end—whether his "intuitions" might not after all be right.

When several of his followers attempted to assassinate him, he escaped by a miracle. Bullock shows how near the coup of July 20, 1944, came to success, and how deeply its failure affected his immediate supporters. He retained their support even after he had come down from his heights and become once again no more than a tortured, self-deluded neurotic.

Bullock's scholarly and sober analysis of events leads us to agree with his final conclusion: It is not the evilness, not even the genius, of Hitler that provides the final verdict. "It is," writes the author, "this emptiness, this lack of anything to justify the suffering caused by his own monstrous and ungovernable will, which makes Hitler so repellent and so barren a figure." Violence was not only an expedient; it was a purpose in itself. No lasting legend can be built on nihilism. Such is the lesson conveyed by this important book. Let us hope that the German people and mankind learn it well.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Published by New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, Dec. 20:

- Greek Civilization and Character*, ed. by A. J. Toynbee, Mentor, 160 pp., 35¢.
- The Shaping of the Modern Mind*, by Crane Brinton, Mentor, 288 pp., 35¢.
- Father and Son*, by James T. Farrell, Signet Double, 480 pp., 50¢.
- Natural Child*, by Calder Willingham, Signet Giant, 304 pp., 35¢.
- Crime Without Punishment*, by Gunther Reinhardt, Signet, 240 pp., 25¢.
- Young Man with a Horn*, by Dorothy Baker, Signet, 144 pp., 25¢.
- The Disguises of Love*, by Robie Macauley, Signet, 192 pp., 25¢.
- Caesar's Angel*, by M. A. Amsbury, Signet Giant, 288 pp., 35¢.
- Home Is Upriver*, by Brian Harwin, Signet, 160 pp., 25¢.
- The Currents of Space*, by Isaac Asimov, Signet, 176 pp., 25¢.

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114 W. 14 St., N.Y.C.

Marxism

- The Accumulation of Capital—Rosa Luxemburg* \$5.00
- Studies in the Development of Capitalism—Dobb* 3.50
- From Hegel to Marx—Hook* 4.50
- Theory of Capitalist Development—Sweezy* 4.50
- New Data for Lenin's 'Imperialism'—Varga & Mendelsohn* 2.50
- Karl Marx—Otto Rühle* 2.00
- Lenin on Agrarian Question—Rochester* 1.75
- Anti-Dühring—Engels* 3.90
- Materialism & Empirio-Criticism—Lenin* 2.75
- Living Thoughts of Karl Marx—Trotsky* 2.50
- Marx as Economist—Dobb*15

History

- Bolsheviks & the World War—Gankin & Fisher* \$6.00
- Intervention, Civil War & Communism in Russia, 1918—Bunyan* 4.50
- Ancient Society—Morgan* 3.50
- The Bending Cross (E. V. Debs)—Ginger* 1.00
- History of Supreme Court—Myers* 3.00
- Ten Days That Shook the World—Reed* 1.25

Socialism

- The Fight for Socialism—Max Shachtman* \$1.00
- Socialism, Utopian & Scientific—Engels*75
- Marxism in the U. S.—Trotsky*35
- Plenty for All—Erber*25
- Principles & Program of Independent Socialism (LA special issue)*10
- Independent Socialism & War (LA special issue)*10
- The Fair Deal: A Socialist Criticism (LA special issue)*10
- Reform or Revolution—Rosa Luxemburg*50
- Social Revolution—Kautsky*95
- The Evaluation of Property—Lafargue*95
- Materialist Conception of History—Plekhanov*20
- Role of Individual in History—Plekhanov*25
- Theory of Marxism—Lenin*15
- Religion & the Rise of Capitalism—Tawney*35
- American Empire—Nearing*35
- Socialism, the Hope of Humanity—Shachtman*10
- And all other in-print works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Kautsky, Plekhanov, etc.*

Labor Movement

- Next: A Labor Party!—Ranger* \$.25
- The UAW & Walter Reuther—Howe & Widick* 3.00
- History of the Amer. Working Class Movement—Bimba* 2.50
- The Role of the Trade Unions (mimeo)—Erber*25
- The Labor Spy Racket—Huberman* 1.00
- New Men of Power—Mills* 3.50
- Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay—Trotsky*25

Stalinism, Russia

- Rise & Fall of the Comintern—Tilak* \$1.00
- Assassination of Leon Trotsky—Goldman*25
- Behind the Moscow Trials—Shachtman* 1.00
- The First Two Moscow Trials—Heisler*25
- Murder in Mexico—Salazar & Gorkin* 2.50
- Case of Comrade Tulayev—Serge* 1.50
- 1984—George Orwell*35
- The New Course—Trotsky; incl. The Struggle for the New Course—Shachtman* 1.50
- The Revolution Betrayed—Trotsky* 1.50
- Stalinism & Bolshevism—Trotsky*15
- Stalin's Frameup System & Moscow Trials—Trotsky* 1.00
- Stalin (biog.)—Trotsky* 3.00
- Suppressed Testament of Lenin—Trotsky*25

Index to Labor Action for 1953

NOTE

To avoid repetitive cross-references, we list here the headings under which you will find entries dealing with the general subject of

WAR, FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Anti-Americanism; Atom Bomb; Civil Defense; Cold War; Eisenhower Admin (Foreign Policy); Korean War & Truce; Militarism; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Point Four; Psychological Warfare; Third Camp Conference; Trieste; United Nations; War Policy. For U. S. foreign relations with other countries, see the entries under given country (e.g., Spain).

Similarly, following are the headings dealing with the general subject of

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RELATED TOPICS

Academic Freedom; Civil Liberties; Democracy; FBI; Independent Socialist League (subversive list & passport case); Kutcher Case; Supreme Court.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM—See note introducing Index—Censorship at UCLA 1-19.4. Detroit teachers fight witchhunt 1-26.2. McCarthy over the schools; Columbia poll; U of Chi civ-lib comm (Student Socialist sec) 2-16. Agnes Meyers blasts witchhunt 2-23.1. Thomas upholds school probe 2-23.5. CCNY pres raps witch-hunters 3-9.5. Hook, Logic & McCarthy 3-9.6; 3-23.5; 3-30.5. Let freedom ring 3-23.1. Univ heads bend 4-6.2. Wellfish case (Columb) & dean's statement 4-13.5. Spy mike in classroom 4-27.4. Three conferences 5-18.5. Columbia profs blast witchhunt 5-25.5; faculty statement 11-23.5. McCarthyite heads NY colleges 6-8.4. Battle at Roosevelt Coll 6-29.5. Rally ag Jenner at U of Chi 7-6.5. Jenner comm flops 8-10.4. NYC program to oust CP teachers 8-10.5. Conn U prof reinstated 8-17.2. U of Cal ag army censorship 9-7.5. SDA resol on acad freedom 10-5.5. Feinberg Law List 10-5.7.

AFRICA—see also Egypt; Kenya; Morocco; South Africa; Tunisia—Tory policy on Centr Afr 4-6.2. Padmore's bk on Gold Coast 8-24.4. Tories & Nigeria 9-7.2. 'Good' imperialism in Congo 9-21.7. Congr ag Imperialism 10-12.2; 10-19.3. Brit jitters in S Rhodesia 10-19.3. Forum lecture by Afr student 11-23.4. Brit strong-arm methods 12-14.2. The chauvinist mind 12-26.3.

AMER COMM FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM—Open Letter to, on McCarran Act 2-2.6; letters 2-23.7.

AMER FED OF LABOR—See also Longshoremen; Dubinsky—AFL & ILA mess 8-24.2. Union democracy 8-24.2.

ANARCHISTS—Sir Anarchist 5-11.6.

ANTI-AMERICANISM—See note introducing Index—European SPs 8-10.7. Anti-Americanism & Marshall Plan 2-23.5.

ANTI-SEMITISM—See also Russia; Jews—In Slansky trial 1-19.4.

ASIA—See also countries—Asian socialist confederation 1-19.2. Asian federation? 12-21.1.

ASSN OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS—Warns Reuther 1-12.2. Attacks 'Deweyism' in UAW 3-2.2. ACTU conv 7-27.2.

ATOM-BOMB & ATOMIC ENERGY—See note introducing Index—CP & A-bomb 5-25.8. CIO fights atom steal 8-17.8. Why won't Wash'n tell truth about H-bomb? 10-19.2. New US milit perspective 12-21.1.

AUSTRIA—B. Kautsky on Austro-Marxism 8-24.5.

AUTO WORKERS—Stellato wins in local 1-5.2; about-faces 4-20.2; victory in local 6-18.2. ACTU warns Reuther 1-12.2; attacks 'Deweyism' 3-2.2; ACTU conv 7-27.2. CPER resigns 4-20.2. Locals debate 2-yr term 5-11.2. 'Upsets' in local elec 7-6.2. Reuther's 'conspiracy' 4-20.2. UAW Convention: UAW can tell the world 3-23.1; other issues before conv 3-23.2; constitutional proposals 3-23.3. UAW on foreign policy 3-30.1. Reutherism marks time 4-6.1. Reutherism & UAW conv 4-12.2. Political Action: Line at low ebb 8-31.2. Detroit elec 11-16.4. General Policy: UAW hits racist strike 5-11.2; suspends racist 8-17.1. What happened to Reuther's 'dynamism'? 7-27.2. Reuther against 'depression-mongering' 9-14.2. Economic Struggle & Issues: Deadline to revise contracts 1-19.2. Wildcats spread 2-23.1. Contracts reopened 3-9.2. Layoffs

loom 5-25.1. New GM contract 6-1.2. Era of happy relations? 6-8.3. Big 3's soft line 6-16.2. Scheme for peace 6-22.2. Portent in Detroit 8-3.2. Annual-wage demand 10-5.3.

BEVAN—See Britain.

BOLIVIA—Nationalist coup ag govt 2-9.2. Govt's balancing act 2-23.4. Attack on Left 3-30.3. POR's new line 7-6.4. Plan weak land-reform 8-24.5. Peasant discontent grows 8-31.6. Rightist opposition gaining 12-14.7.

BOOK REVIEWS—Bellow: Augie March 12-7.5. Berman: Russians in Focus 7-13.5. Bullock: Hitler, a Study in Tyranny 12-28.5. Childe: What is History? 5-25.4. Deutscher: Russia, What Next 8-10.6; 8-17.6. Ehrenburg: Julio Jurenito 8-24.6. Engels: Principles of Communism 4-27.4. Epstein: Jewish Labor in USA 9-14.5. Frazier: Malenkov 5-25.7. Habe: Our Love Affair with Ger 11-9.5. Kipnis: Amer Socialist Movement 5-18.7. Koestler: Arrow in the Blue 1-12.7. Kutcher: Case of the Legless Veteran 12-7.4. Marsh: Lobbyist for the People 11-30.4. Marx-Engels: Russian Menace to Europe 2-9.6; 2-16.3; 2-23.6; 3-9.4. McCarthy: Generation in Revolt 10-19.4. Michener: Bridges of Toko-ri 8-24.4. Namier: In the Nazi Era 6-15.4. Orwell: Homage to Catalonia 2-25. Padmore: Gold Coast Revolution 8-24.4. Remarque: Spark of Life 8-10.4. Rosmer: Moscou sous Lenine 7-20.4. Runes: Soviet Impact on Society 5-11.4. Sayles & Strauss: The Local Union 11-9.7. Schwarz: Labor in Soviet Union 6-29.5. Sternberg: End of a Revolution 6-8.4. Tetens: Ger Plots with the Kremlin 11-9.5. Thomas: The Salvage 8-3.5. Von Papen: Memoirs 12-28.5. Walbank: Decline of the Roman Empire 5-25.4. Zavalani: How Strong is Russia? 6-22.5.

BRAZIL—Labor shaking off Vargas' hypnosis 4-20.3. The new struggle 9-7.6.

BRITAIN—see also its colonies—Stock-taking for yr ahead 1-5.3. Coronation 1-12.3; 6-8.1; 6-15.2. Snags for Brit imperialism 1-26.2. Tories & Chiang 2-16.2. Brit floods 2-23.2. Tories & Egypt 3-2.2. Tory plan for textiles 3-9.2. Brit press & Stalin myths 3-23.6. Tito visit 3-30.7. Africa policy 4-6.2. Labor attacks budget 4-27.3. Stunt election? 5-11.3. US-Brit relations strained 5-25.1. TU leaders fall for Tory wiles 6-22.3. Brit stake in truce 7-6.2. Health service today 7-13.3. Govt smiles at Franco 7-27.3. Korean truce 8-10.3. Labor challenges Churchill on Korea 8-31.3. Brit & Europ army 10-5.3. Tale of ex-CPer (BR) 10-19.4. Engineer unions strike 11-9.3; 12-21.3. Lib Party's future 11-9.3. Churchill on lords & landlords 11-16.5. Three disputes before Churchill; TV hassle 12-7.3. RR strike & nationatn problem 12-28.3. BLP & Labor Movement: BLP's structure 2-9.2. Bevan organ on US Formosa policy 3-2.1. Bevan in India on 3rd bloc 3-2.2. BLP exec censures right wing 3-16.2. Right wing steps out of line 4-13.6. Youth conv 4-20.4. BLP exec meets 5-11.3. Attlee on US foreign pol 5-18.2. BLP faces test on May Day 5-18.3. Labor gains in local elec 5-25.3. It used to be called Bevanism 6-1.2. Marxism in Brit 6-15.5; 6-22.5. TU leaders fall for Tory wiles 6-22.3. Labor's 'Challenge to Brit' 6-29.4. BLP trails Churchill on war 7-20.2. Bevanites gird for Margate conf 8-3.3. BLP in parliament 8-10.3. Issues at TUC congr 8-17.3. TUC report on natlzn; Bevanites turn to TUs 9-7.2. Vignette of Graham (Postgate) 9-7.5. BLP exec report on yr 9-14.3. Two right wings 9-21.3. TUC confer 10-5.6. Margate BLP conf 10-12.2. Disc of Brit Labor govt & workers govts 10-12.7; 10-19.4; 10-26.4; 11-2.4; 11-9.4; 11-16.5. Bevanite deal with right-wing? 10-19.3. BLP line flabby 12-21.3.

BRITISH GUIANA—Suppression of Br Guiana 10-19.1; L 11-23.4. US & Guiana 10-26.6. Brit White Paper 11-2.4. BLP line, 11-9.3; Labor exec's gag 11-23.5; resented by ranks 11-30.3. Imperialism & its quislings 12-21.2.

BURMA—Refuses Point Four aid 4-6.8. How Burma defeated Stalinists 12-7.4.

CEYLON—Mass disorders ag price rises 8-31.8.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK—See Formosa; China.

CHILDREN—Child labor 1-12.4.

CHINA—See also Fourth Int'l; Formosa—A kind of Tito 6-1.4.

CHRISTMAS—Whither Christmas? 12-28.1.

CHURCHILL—See Britain.

CIO—See also Auto Workers; Labor Problems—Midwest comm & CP 4-20.2. What happened to Reuther's 'dynamism'? 7-27.2. Fights atom steal 8-17.8.

CIVIL DEFENSE—Parks for mass burial 6-15.1.

CIVIL LIBERTIES & WITCHHUNT—See note introducing Index—Wiretapping 1-5.6. Witchhunt ag Detroit teachers 1-26.2. Ferrer & Huston beg pardon 2-2.2. Open

Letter to ACCF on McCarran Act 2-2.6; letters & reply 2-23.7. On the tightrope, the ECLC 2-9.3. Govt letter on McCarran concentration camps 2-9.4. AJC on loyalty oath 2-9.5. Housing loyalty oath (L) 2-23.7; another Kutcher case 1-5.1. 'The Emperor's Clothes' (Rev) 2-23.7. FBI & your rights 4-13.5. Stoolpigeons in LA 4-13.7. Reuther's 'conspiracy' 4-20.2. Capitalism & democracy 5-4.3. Democracy & revolution 5-4.7. Detroit SP educator victim of the witchhunt 5-11.1. Artie Shaw on stand 5-11.1. Wechsler vs. McCarthy 5-11.5; 5-18.1. Calif's McCarthyite laws 5-11.2. Einstein on nonconformism 2-18.2; deft by Einstein 6-22.1. Dubinsky OKs aid to witchhunt 5-25.2; on McCarthyism without McCarthy 8-3.6. ACLU protests in Bridges case 5-25.3; Supr Ct decision 6-22.2. Kennan & Douglas on witchhunt 6-1.1. Clare Hoffman in LA 6-15.2. Leff case in UN 6-29.3. Law imposes govt purge on industry 7-20.1. Ethics in Rosen's testimony 7-20.1. Senate outflanks 5th Amend 7-27.4. Jenner comm flops 8-10.4. The faceless informer 8-24.8. Texas purge of textbooks 8-24.5. Jenner's plot theory 8-31.6. Attorney-gen's doubletalk on witchhunt 9-14.6. Radulovich case 10-5.4; second case in Detroit 10-19.5; air force embarrassed 10-26.1; rally condemns decision 11-2.2. Children's hour 10-19.1. Florida book-burning 10-26.3. NLRB on 'crime of being accused' 11-2.8; new police-state Butler bill ag labor 12-21.1. ACLU referendum dispute 11-16.2. Test question, dem rights for McCarthyites 11-23.1. Bay area meetings 11-23.2. Labor Temple gives up tradition 11-30.2. Brownell vs Brownell 12-14.2. Fifth Amend & stoolpigeons, Harvard case 12-21.5. The Me-Too Boys & McCarthy 12-28.1. Velde side show in Bay Area 12-28.2. Govt Purge & McCarthyism: Vincent case 1-12.1. Dodge's stoolpigeon system 3-9.1. McCarthyism & State Dept 3-9.2. Voice of Am & McCarthy 3-23.1; & Dulles 4-20.1. Clearance from Whitaker Chambers 3-30.1. 'Victory' over McCarthy 4-6.2. Ike chastises McCarthy critic 4-13.3. Joe'll he mad 4-20.1. Eisenhower & McCarthy 4-20.3. Eis extends purge system 5-11.1. Youngdahl decision on Lattimore 5-11.1. Wechsler vs McCarthy 5-11.5; 5-18.1. Marcelle Henry case 6-15.8. State Dept bookburning 6-22.1. Eisenhower & McCarthy, the sociology of sincerity 6-22.8. 'We were just burning a few books' 7-6.3; oil for the fire 7-13.3. Rebecca West & other dinosaurs, CP & McCarthy 7-6.4. 'Famous victory' in Matthews case; lesser evils; the oysterette system 7-27.1.5. FAS denounces McCarthyism at Monmouth 12-14.7. H. D. White case & Truman: 11-16.1; the political climate 11-23.1; strong words are not enough 11-23.1; Truman hearing of 1960 11-23.2; police-state atmosphere thickens. Hoover's intervention; trends: alarm world; labor faces McCarthyism too 11-30.1. Anti-Allen Measures: McCarranizing the seamen 1-5.1. Open Letter to ACCF 2-2.6; letters & reply 2-23.7. Supr Ct decision on deportee 6-15.1. Ellis Island, concentration camp 7-13.3. Lewis Corey up for deportation 8-24.3.

CIVIL RIGHTS—See Jim-Crowism; Race Discrimination.

COLD WAR—See note introducing Index

—Breathing spell is the people's victory 4-27.1. Big 3 to confer 6-1.1. Korean truce intensifies West's conflicts 6-15.1. Non-aggression pact? 10-12.1. Marshall's Nobel prize 11-9.2. Big 3 fiasco at Bermuda 12-14.1. Atomic stalemate 12-28.3.

COMMUNIST PARTY—See Stalinism.

CORRUPTION IN GOVT—Spingarn on bribers 1-12.4.

COSTA RICA—Socialists in power 8-10.4.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—See also Oatis Case

—Child hero of patricide 1-12.5. Testimony in Slansky trial 1-19.4. Militarization; overtime pay 2-9.4. Trade-unionist stands up 3-9.3. Who rules? 4-13.6. Contradiction of Stal 'planned econ' case study 6-1.6. June mass resistance movement 6-22.1; full report 6-29.1.8. Frank satire by critic 11-2.5. Party line on love 11-9.2.

DEMOCRACY—See note introducing Index—Special issue on Socialism & Democracy 5-4; L 6-8.4. Homage 11-23.1.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY—See Fair-Dealers; Truman Admin.

DEPORTATIONS—See Civil Liberties (Anti-Allen Measures).

DOCKERS—See Longshoremen.

DUBINSKY, DAVID—See Civil Liberties.

EAST EUROPE—See also countries; Stalinism (International); Russia—Russification of folk dancing 7-27.4.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (U. S.)—See also Labor Problems; Children; Eisenhower Admin (Domestic); Rents & Housing; Women—'Life' revels in war-capitalism 1-19.1. World oil cartel 1-19.1;

(Continued on page 7)

HOW TO USE INDEX

The numbers following each entry gives the date and page number of the issue. Thus:

10-5.7=October 5, page 7.

10-5.1,7=October 5, pages 1 & 7. Note that page numbers followed by "s" appear in the "Student Socialist" section of the indicated issue.

The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Names and personalities mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.

Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under the name of the country, usually not under a subject heading.

Trade-union articles are listed under the name of the occupation, e.g., Auto Workers.

Entries are separated by periods; but successive entries that are related to each other are separated by semi-colons to so indicate. In some cases, related entries are grouped under subheadings printed in boldface type.

ABBREVIATIONS

L—Letter to the editor.

BR—Book review.

Rev—Review of play or movie.

Disc—Discussion.

Dulles—

(Continued from page 1)

ed by Dulles is a well-chosen term. For any radical shift in American foreign policy at this time would indeed be agonizing.

As far as Europe is concerned, it could only turn in one of three directions: (1) A withdrawal from Europe, militarily, economically and politically. This would confess the bankruptcy of the whole of American policy since World War II. It would either stimulate social revolution in Western Europe, or turn it over to the Russian Stalinists. (2) A gradual withdrawal from Europe to its periphery. This would mean an attempt to hold on to air bases in England, Spain and perhaps North Africa, while giving up the rest in advance. The results would be similar to those of total withdrawal, except for England. (3) The rearmament of Germany without French agreement. Despite the grave political risks involved, this is by far the most likely result of a reappraisal of American policy.

Whether the United States could succeed in such a course without wrecking NATO remains to be seen. But from a political standpoint it is clear that such a policy would play into Stalinist hands in France, and in the whole of Western Europe as well.

ALTERNATIVE?

We have referred to the French protests as empty. This is not to say that deep feelings, which have a political significance, are not involved. But they can achieve real meaning only when and if a political force arises in France which can present an alternative to the Stalinists as well as to the American concern with erecting a purely military dam against the threat of Russian expansionism.

Today the French people feel most deeply wounded by American insistence and arrogance. But tomorrow it will be the British or Germans or Italians. In none of these countries is there today a political force both large enough and with a clear enough program which can give Europe the leadership required so that the old continent can itself "reappraise" its policy and arrive at a new one.

Unless such a force arises, France today, and Germany tomorrow will be compelled to bend to the wishes of American foreign policy, or face the most dire results. And there is only one source from which such a force can arise. That is the working class, the labor movement of these countries.

So far, the leadership of the labor movement in the various countries has been holding back on the issue of the unification of Western Europe. They have been justifiably suspicious of the unification plans proposed by the Americans and supported in one degree or another by their own governments. But none of them have given the lead in proposing to their sister movements in other countries the adoption of a working-class socialist plan for unification. In this respect, as in so many others, they tend to remain a cautious and even sterile opposition to the existing governments.

Me-Too — — Index to Labor Action 1953 — —

(Continued from page 1)

Eisenhower were not oblivious to all the facts of life except the daily weather.

Any erroneous impression was quickly dissipated by the president's "clarifying" explanation a few days later. He meant, he explained, that Communism would not be a danger in government by 1954. But "Communism in government" would be an issue, he said, "in the past tense." The Republicans would campaign for endorsement of their crusade against Communism and for a rebuke to the Democratic Party for its tolerance.

Eisenhower's highly touted "counter-attack" against McCarthy is on a par with his great speech against book-burning which momentarily startled a puzzled public in June. At that time, it was learned that the offices of the State Department all over the world were actually removing unorthodox books from their libraries and burning them in real bonfires. Even Eisenhower got a whiff of the fumes. Forgetting for the moment that he was president of the United States and consequently responsible for the spontaneous-combustion policy of the State Department he gave vent to his indignation in a speech at Dartmouth College.

"Don't join the book-burners. Don't be afraid to go to our library and read every book. . . . How will we defeat communism unless we know what it is . . . they are part of America and even if they think ideas that are contrary to ours, they have a right to them, a right to record them and a right to have them in places where they are accessible to others."

It seemed like a sensation and even made the front pages of all the newspapers, like the weather reports. The weather changed and so did honest Ike. A few weeks later he "clarified" his position at a press conference, explaining that he meant no criticism of the State Department, or anyone else, and he certainly opposed the dissemination of Communist propaganda.

The smoke blew away; books were no longer burned; they were simply removed from the library shelves and . . . by the way, what ever did become of those books?

AND THE DEMOCRATS?

As the Republican "counterattack" on McCarthy turns into a love-fest, thoughts turn to the Democratic Party which wages its own fight. The Democratic National Committee is mapping out its strategy to meet the issues raised by the McCarthy-Eisenhower campaign. It will take a firm, vigorous, and uncompromising stand in defense of its own ability to carry out the demands of their Republican critics, but without McCarthy.

Among other things it points to: (1) The prosecution and jailing of Communist Party leaders by the Democrats; (2) the rise in power of the FBI under Democratic Party rule from an agency with only 801 employees and a budget of less than \$3,000,000 to a staff of 15,000 with a budget of \$90,000,000! (3) laws dealing with "subversion" added to the statute books by Democrats.

It can add, also, the claim that the Democratic Party initiated the witch-hunt through its loyalty purges and its "subversive list." This promises to be the greatest demonstration of me-tooism since Dewey ran for president.

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(Continued from page 6)

cartel sabotages war 3-9.2. Peace scare 4-6.4. Who owns the corps? 6-29.8. Portent in Detroit 8-3.2. Two billion for capitalist propaganda 8-17.2. Indian boy's essay 8-24.1. Unemployment, layoffs rise 10-26.2. Unemployed on scrapheap in war boom 12-7.1. Detroit press falsifies unemp figures 12-21.2.

EDUCATION—See also Academic Freedom; Student Movement—Know-nothings of 1953 2-16-1s. Detroit red-hunt 2-16.2s.

EGYPT—Snag for Brit imperialism 1-26.2. Tories & Egypt 3-2.2. Nāguib is firm on Suez 8-24.3.

EISENHOWER ADMIN, DOMESTIC—See Truman Admin for beginning of yr; see also Civil Liberties; Econ Cond; Labor Problems; Militarism; Puerto Rico—Ch Wilson & GM 1-26.3. It's the curse of Midas, Mr. Wilson 2-2.1. Wilson's ancestor 2-9.1. Eis's state-of-union message 2-9.2. GOP & science 3-2.4. Ike chastises McCarthy critic 4-13.3. Eis & McCarthy 4-20.3. Astin case 4-27.4. Extends purge sys 5-11.1. Eis on taxes 5-25.1. Campaign promises on taxes 6-1.1. Eis's man Crawford 6-1.2. Sociology of sincerity 6-22.8. Nominee for Mine Bureau 7-6.3. Cutting welfare 7-20.1. McKay admits it's businessmen's govt 7-27.2. Pegler on Eis wing of GOP 8-10.8. Taft, cover for reaction 8-10.1. The 83rd Congress 8-10.1. Secy Weeks & US science 8-17.4. Durkin slinks out 9-21.1; his story 10-5.1. Eis, 'partisan' president? 11-9.1. GOP jitters 11-16.1. Breaking N. A. strike 12-28.2.

EISENHOWER ADMIN, FOREIGN POLICY—See also note introducing Index—'Forceful' policy & the allies 2-2.1. State-of-union message, new Formosa policy 2-9.1; Bevan organ on 3-2.1. Dulles' tough line in Eur 2-16.1. Let the people know 2-23.1. It's a blind alley 3-2.1; no solution 3-2.1. Futile talk after Stalin's death 3-16.1. Wash'n kept guessing by Malenkov peace talk 3-23.1. Russ peace maneuvers 3-30.1. UAW on Eis foreign pol 3-30.1. Powerless to seize initiative 4-6.1. Where does US policy go from here? 4-13.1. New 'hard line' on Asia 4-20.1. US isolating itself 4-20.1. NATO's 'peace crisis' 4-27.1. Not only Russia, Mr. Pres 4-27.1. Strain US-Brit relations 5-25.1. Time to be scared 6-1.1. Big 3 to confer on war 8-1.1. Taft's revealing speech 6-8.1. Korean truce intensifies West's conflicts 6-15.1. Consequences of the Russian relaxation 6-22.3. Why US can't capitalize on E Ger revolt 7-27.1; charity from Wash'n 7-27.1; testimony to a betrayal 9-21.3. Truce made, politics has the floor 8-3.1. Eis plugs for Adenauer 8-3.1. Europ SPs & anti-Americanism 8-10.7. Dulles urges Japan to rearm 8-17.1. US remilitarization of Ger 8-17.7. Has no peace plan for Korea conf 8-24.1. Banks on Adenauer victory 8-31.1. Dollars for shahs 9-7.1. Blocks India in UN 9-7.1. Dulles & Ger elec 9-14.1. Monument to Amer culture 9-14.2. US as imperialist arbiter 9-21.1. Why won't Wash'n tell truth about H-bomb? 10-19.2. Boggling down in Indo-China 11-2.1. Big 3 fiasco at Bermuda; atom-pool plan 12-14.1; 12-21.4. New US military perspective, A-bomb war 12-21.1. Dulles' arm-twisting & France 12-28.1. The chauvinist mind 12-28.3. Smith & White on Marshall Plan 12-28.3.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMM—On the tightrope 2-9.3.

ENGLAND—See Britain.

EVEREST—Everest as coronation gift 6-8.2.

FAIR-DEALERS—See also Truman Admin—Dem liberals in Congr 1-26.3. Stevenson speech 2-23.1. Stevenson on Chiang 3-30.1. Truman's speech & omission 9-14.8. Stevenson & foreign pol 9-21.1. Fair-Dealers vs Liberal Py 10-5.2. Democratic quandary 11-16.1. Adlai-Talmadge affair 12-7.1. The Me-Too Boys & McCarthy 12-28.1.

FASCISTS (U.S.)—See also Smith—Jew-haters' leaflet in NY 11-30.4.

FBI—See note introducing Index—Wire-tapping 1-5.6. NY cop deal 3-9.1. FBI & your rights 4-13.5. The faceless informer 8-24.8. Labor Journal hits FBI 10-19.5. FBI myth broken by Hoover's intervention 11-30.1.

FEDERALISTS—See World-Federalists.

FOREIGN POLICY (U.S.)—See note introducing Index—UAW on foreign pol 3-30.1. For a democratic foreign pol! 5-4.6. Taft's revealing speech 6-8.1. US bio-warfare plans 6-29.4. Weir's campaign 7-20.1. The neutralist slogan of negotiations with Russia 7-27.1. Stevenson & foreign pol 9-21.1. Non-aggression pact? 10-12.1.

FORMOSA—Repression of labor 1-26.3. Eisenhower's new policy 2-9.1. Brit Tories & Chiang 2-16.2. Stevenson on Chiang 3-30.1.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL—See also

Socialist Workers Party—Line on Chinese Stalinism 3-9.7. Chinese Trotskyists appeal ag Mao's terror 10-26.3.

FRANCE—See also Indo-China; Morocco; Tunisia—Salaries for students 1-26.8. New left-socialist grouping 2-9.7. Left trend in F.O. 2-23.3. Anti-Americanism & Marshall Plan 2-23.5. CP crisis on Marty-Tillon 3-30.6; the Marty-Tillon affair 4-6.4. Cabinet crisis & Mendes-France 6-22.3. Paris game of musical chairs 7-6.3. Trends in socialist movement 8-3.3. Mass strike 8-24.1; 8-31.3; the first round 9-14.1; why the TU leaders were scared 10-5.4. Juin, would-be dictator 10-5.6. New mass struggles by farmers 11-2.3. The continuing crisis 12-21.3. Dulles' arm-twisting 12-28.1.

FRANCO—See Spain.

GERMANY, EAST—Women slaughterhouse workers 2-9.4. First mass workers' revolt, June uprising 6-22.1; fight nationwide, West has jitters 6-29.1. NY picket-line at Russ consulate 7-6.1; SWP is silent 7-13.8. West is afraid of E Ger revolt 7-6.1. How to aid Ger workers' revolt & destroy Stalinism 7-13.1. Solidarity rally at U of Cal 7-13.5. Who were the leaders of June uprising? 7-13.6; Amer troops out of Ger! 7-20.6. Why US can't capitalize on revolt 7-27.1. Charity from Wash'n 7-27.1. Testimony to a betrayal 9-24.3. 'Counter-revolutionary' freedom 7-27.4. How the June days were launched 7-27.6. Toll mounts 8-10.1. SPD misses the boat 8-10.2. Isaac Deutscher, apologist for Stalinism 8-10.6. Food as weapon (L) 10-12.5. Since the June uprising 10-19.6. Tangled cloaks & daggers 11-2.5.

GERMANY, WEST—Times' puzzle 1-12.4. Trotsky's 'Stalin' published 1-19.4. Nazi revival & US policy 2-23.3. Hitler's generals (BR) 6-15.4. Afraid of E Ger revolt 7-6.1. It occurred to Eisenhower 8-3.1. SPD's policy 8-10.1. TUs return to politics 8-10.2. SPD misses boat on E Ger revolt 8-10.2. Life & death under the Nazis (BR) 8-10.4. Adenauer's elec reform & army policy 8-17.4. Ger generals make their move 8-17.7. Moscow & Ger unity issue 8-24.1. Accusations, SPD vs Adenauer 8-24.7. Russ & US calculations on Ger elec 8-31.1. Issues in the elec 9-7.5. Adenauer's victory & neo-Nazi vote 9-14.1; Dulles' intervention 9-14.1; L 10-5.4. Adenauer gets a bill 9-21.8. Grab for TU control 10-5.4. Elec in Hamburg 11-9.2. US remilitarization policy (BR) 11-9.5. TUs resist Adenauer grab 11-23.3. Blog of Hitler (BR); Von Papen's Memoirs 12-28.5.

GUIANA—See British Guiana.

HALLEY—See N. Y. Politics.

HOOK, SIDNEY—Hook, Logic & McCarthy 3-9.6; 3-23.5; 3-30.5. Footnote on Hookism 12-21.5.

HUNGARY—Party line on love 1-12.5. New blows ag Jews 3-2.6. Sex is cosmopolitan 7-27.4.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE—See also Third Camp Conference—Fund drive starts 2-2.3; final report 5-18.3. Protest to atty-gen 5-11.5. Contests subversive-listing 5-18.2. POUM greets ISL 7-20.4. Dept of Justice vs ISL on subversive list (special issue) 9-28; Letter by Kutcher 10-12.5; govt case denounced by Reading Labor-Advocate 10-19.5; Heisler article in SP Call 11-30.1; F.O.R. statement 12-14.1. Schachtman passport case: passport denied 11-2.1; State Dept hearing 11-16.6.

INDIA—Bevan in India 3-2.2. US blocks India in UN 9-7.1. Satyagraha campaign (L) 10-26.4. Among India's Socialists 12-28.2.

INDO-CHINA—War in Laos 5-11.6. Vietnam withdrawal 5-18.1. Scripps-Howard dispatch 8-3.8. US as imperialist arbiter 9-21.1. US & France both bog down 11-2.1.

IRAN—Dollars for shahs 9-7.1.

ISRAEL—Issue of Russ anti-sem rips Mapam 2-16.2. Blow by Russia 2-23.1. Israeli anti-Arab land-grab 6-15.7. Arabs suffer land-grab policy 8-17.5. The sheikh & the Zionists 8-31.5. 'Thou shalt not criticize Israel' 9-14.7; 11-9.2. Ner's foreign-pol line for Israel 9-21.5. Histadrut opens locals to Arab workers 10-12.2. Report on Israel (L) 10-26.4. Triangle of guilt in Kibya affair 11-2.2; ACJ line 12-7.7. Creeping medievalism 11-9.2.

ITALY—See also Trieste—Electoral 'reform' 4-6.1. Elec results 7-13.2.

JAPAN—Dulles urges rearming 8-17.1. Anti-war films 8-24.1.

JEWS—See also Anti-Semitism; Israel; Russia—Jewish Stalinists & Russian anti-sem 3-30.4.

JM-CROWISM—Case of Roseborough, legal lynching 1-12.1. Phila NAACP's work 1-26.2. Negro wins in Atlanta 5-25.5. Supr Ct decision on Wash'n restaurants 6-15.1. Boy Scout Jim-Crow 8-17.1. UAW suspends racist 8-17.1. Church & Jim-Crowism 9-21.4. Race conflict in Chi 12-28.2.

KENYA—Snag for British imperialism 1-26.2. Brit decrees forced labor 6-1.1. The Brit boot 6-15.1. Jomo Kenyatta 8-17.3. Brit intensifies terror 8-24.2. Atrocities revealed 12-14.2.

KOESTLER, ARTHUR—Self-portrait (BR) 1-12.7.

KOREAN WAR & TRUCE—See note introducing Index—What S Koreans think 1-12.5. Rhee threatens to continue war 5-11.1. Truce negotiations in crisis stage 5-18.1. Neurotic theory of Stalinism 5-18.1; 5-25.2. Rhee's blackmail 6-8.1. Truce intensifies West's conflicts 6-15.1. What accounts for Rhee? 6-29.3. Brit's stake in truce 7-6.2. The naked and the dead 7-13.1. Truce made, politics has the floor 8-3.1. POWs come home 8-17.1. US cong comm to map Korea's future 8-17.3. US has no peace plan 8-24.1. State Dept line in fiction (BR) 8-24.4. UN issue of India's part in peace conf 9-7.1. US feeler for 'neutralization' deal 10-5.3. Behind the POW riots 10-26.4. Why the stall at Panmunjom; our noble ally 12-21.1.

KUTCHER CASE—Another Kutcher case, housing loyalty oath 1-5.1. Appeal to Eisenhower 2-23.2. Eleventh appeal 10-26.2. Kutcher's book 12-7.4.

LABOR POLITICAL ACTION—See also Auto Workers—UAW's opportunity 3-23.1. AFL clubs (L) 6-15.4.

LABOR PROBLEMS & NEWS—See also Auto Workers & other occupations; CIO; AFL; Econ Cond; Labor Political Action—Study of union leaders 1-12.4. 'Best & worst' unions 1-19.2. CIO-AFL unity, 2-2.2. Why women work 2-23.2. Union busting in LA 3-30.2; 4-13.7. Union local surveys membership 4-6.3. Labor curbs forecast in war 4-6.5. Labor & democracy 5-4.2. Steel union prepares 5-25.2. Scheme for peace in steel & auto 6-22.2. T-H affidavits flopped 8-3.2. Calif cannery strike settled 8-17.2. Justice Dept hits union as monopoly 8-17.5. A union reports on internal democracy 8-31.2. Behind the calm surface 9-7.1. Bay area car strike; CIO radio program 9-14.2. Strike insurance 9-14.3. From socialist ideals to bureaucratism 9-14.5. Durkin slinks out 9-21.1; his story 10-5.1. NLRB, the 'crime of being accused' 11-2.8; new police-state Butler bill 12-21.1. T-H precedent in Pittsburg 11-9.4. TU local problems (BR) 11-9.7. No peace on labor front 11-30.2. Michigan scandal, Beck's man Hoffa 12-7.2. China exposes T-H hypocrisy 12-7.2. NY newspaper strike 12-14.1. 'New look' in old-line labor leaders, Beck & McDonald 12-21.6-7. Govt helps break N.A. strike 12-28.2.

LATIN AMERICA—See also countries—State Dept baffled by CP gains 10-26.1.

LIBERALISM—See also Fair-Dealers; Civil Liberties; Dubinsky; Amer Comm for Cult Freedom; Hook—Testament of a liberal (BR) 11-30.4.

LIBERAL PARTY—See N.Y. Politics.

LONGSHOREMEN—AFL cracks down on 2-16.1. Cleanup used as anti-union pretext 7-6.2. AFL & the ILA mess 8-24.2. Four cross-currents in strike 10-12.1. T-H hobbles fight on gangsters 10-26.1; case shows T-H hypocrisy 10-26.2.

LOYALTY PURGE—See Civil Liberties.

MARXISM—See also War Policy—Times' puzzle on Ger prosperity 1-12.4. Marx, Engels & the Russian menace 2-9.6; 2-16.3; 2-23.6; historical parallelism 3-9.4. Dangers of reading Marx in Russia 3-23.6. Capitalism & Stalinism (L) 4-6.5. Engels' 'Principles of Communism' 4-27.4. Socialism & Democracy (special issue) 5-4. New Marxist works 5-25.4. Bukharin on militarized capitalism 6-1.4. Marxism in Britain 6-15.5; 6-22.5. 'Marxology' 7-27.3. Two kinds of nationalism 8-3.4. H. Kautsky on Austro-Marxism 8-24.5. 'Workers govts' & Brit Labor govt 10-12.7; 10-19.4; 10-26.4; 11-2.4; 11-9.4; 11-16.5. Heritage of 25 yrs: Marxism & proletarian socialism 11-30.6. Marx on press freedom 12-7.5. Historian from Sirius 12-28.4.

MAY DAY—Breathing spell is the people's victory 4-27.1. Special issue, Socialism & Democracy 5-4.

MCCARRAN ACT—See Civil Liberties (Anti-Alien Measures).

MCCARTHYISM—See Civil Liberties.

MEXICO—Linguistic nationalism 5-11.5.

MILITARISM (U.S.)—See note introducing Index—Prof Brogan on 3-2.1. War scares & budgets 3-30.8. Case ag ROTO 6-22.4. Brain-washing the non-firers 7-20.5. Press agents of the Pentagon 10-28.5; 11-2.7; 11-9.6; 11-16.7; 11-23.7; 11-30.5.

MONOPOLY (U.S.)—See also Economic Conditions—Justice Dept hits union as monopoly 8-17.5.

MORAL REARMAMENT—MRA is anti-labor 10-26.3.

MOROCCO—Sultan deposed for Fr puppet 8-24.3. Fr finds quislings 8-31.1. Here Trib's argument 8-31.1. Amer liberal on

(Turn to last page)

Index to Labor Action 1953

(Continued from page 7)

Morocco 9-14.1. Fr iron heel 10-12.6.
MOVIES—Anti-war films in Japan 8-24.1. 'From Here to Eternity' (Rev) 8-31.4.
NEGROES—See Jim-Crowism.
NEW YORK POLITICS — FBI-NY cop deal 3-9.1. Tammany hunt 4-8.8. Political Kaleidoscope 6-8.3; 6-15.3; 7-27.3; 8-3.5. Inside Lib Py 6-29.2. Lib Py to run Halley 7-6.1. Dems & GOP scurrying 7-13.2. Halley's slate 7-20.2. Rolling balls 8-3.1. Lib. Py's Marchisio-fiasco 8-24.1. Tammany wins primary 9-21.2. Lib Py chiefs jittery over Fair-Dealers 10-5.2. Vote for Halley! 10-12.1. Young Liberals' conv 10-19.2. Halley campaign weak 11-2.1. What was wrong? 11-16.1. How Lib Py ran campaign 11-16.3.
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORG—See note introducing Index—NATO's 'peace crisis' 4-27.1.
OATIS CASE—Oatis enigma 5-25.1. Why he confessed 10-5.7.
PACIFISM—See also Third Camp Conference—Peacemakers' resolution 10-26.7; L 11-16.7; 12-7.4. Note on an SP pacifist 12-28.4.
PAKISTAN—Creeping medievalism 11-9.2.
PASSPORTS—See Civil Liberties; ISL.
PEACEMAKERS—See Pacifism.
POINT FOUR—Burma refuses 4-8.8. Dulles to whittle down 4-20.1.
POLAND—See also Warsaw Uprising—Stalinists on science-fiction 1-12.5. Shore restrictions 2-9.4. Bierut on top 2-9.5. Myth of planned econ 4-6.5. Fake reform 4-27.7. June events 9-14.3.
POLITICAL ACTION—See Labor Political Action.
POUM—See Spain.
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE — Interview w Gen McClure 1-12.3. The dud is dumped 9-21.5.
PUERTO RICO—Another hollow pledge 12-7.3.
RACE DISCRIMINATION—See also Jim-Crowism; Anti-Semitism—The 2 camps of hypocrisy 1-26.1. Racism at USC frats 3-9.5.
RAMUGLIA, ANTHONY—Death 10-12.5.
RENTS & HOUSING—For housing loyalty oath, see Civil Liberties—Wilson's ancestor 2-9.1.
REUTHER—See Auto Workers.
ROSENBERG CASE — Berkeley board

grants auditorium 1-12.3. Commute Rosenberg sentence! 1-19.1. ISL wire to pres 6-23.1. Hysteria, panic & fear 6-29.1; L 7-13.4. Children's hour 10-19.1.
ROTC—See also Militarism—Case against 6-22.4.
RUSSIA—See also East Europe countries; Stalinism (Int'l)—Kremlin's secret press bulletin; child heroes of patricide 1-12.5. Stalin's theory of capitalist encirclement 1-19.5. Behind new anti-sem 1-26.1; five theories on the roots of 1-26.4. US Stal youth & Russ anti-sem 2-2.5. Vpered on Russ crisis 2-2.7. Jean Valjean case; line on love 2-9.4. Marx, Engels & Russ menace 2-9.6; 2-16.3; 2-23.6; 3-9.4. Issue of Russ anti-sem rips Mapam 2-16.2. Blow at Israel 2-23.1. Roots of Russ anti-sem 3-2.5. New blows ag Jews 3-2.6. Stalin's interview 3-9.1. Stalin's death: the rulers gird 3-16.1; bureaucracy trembles 3-16.2; new directorate in power 3-16.3; Stalin's bloody rise 3-16.4; Operation Immortality 3-16.6; this is not 1924 3-16.8. Malenkov's peace talk 3-23.1. Malenkov's speech at bier 3-23.6. Myths in Brit press 3-23.6. Dangers of reading Marx in Russia 3-23.6. Stalinoids on Stalin 3-23.7. Peace maneuvers 3-30.1. Structural change reverses trend 3-30.4. Jewish Stalinists & Russ anti-sem 3-30.4; L 5-11.4. Kremlin peace drive 4-6.1. Malenkov amnesty 4-6.1. Myth of planned econ 4-6.5. Capitalism & Stalinism (L) 4-6.5. Moscow & cold-war truce 4-13.1. New era of freedom for bureaucracy? (disc) 4-13.4. World-federalists & Russ ques 4-20.4. Warsaw Uprising (see in Index). Kremlin taking new direction? (disc) 4-20.6. 'Mistakes' of the Bolsheviks 5-4.4. What to learn from Stalinism 5-4.5. Runes' book 5-11.4. Dispute over 'objective law' 5-11.7. Book on Malenkov (BR) 5-25.7. Vpered discusses Russ changes 6-1.4. Sternberg's book (BR) 6-8.4. Consequences of the Russ relaxation 6-22.3. Planned muddle of Russ econ (BR) 6-22.5. Labor in Russia (BR) 6-29.5. NY picketline 7-6.1. Social roots of 'relaxation' crisis 7-6.6. Russia in descriptive terms (BR) 7-13.5. Beria: one down 7-20.1. Theory on Beria (disc) 7-20.3. Rosmer's 'Moscow Under Lenin' (BR) 7-20.4. Russia in crisis: needs dictator 7-20.7. Neutralist slogan of 'negotiations' 7-27.1. Russification of folk-dancing; MYD joke 7-27.4. Ukraine after Stalin's death, &c 7-27.5. Deutscher on E Ger & Kremlin democratization 8-10.6; 8-17.6; correction 8-31.4. Moscow fishes on Ger unity issue 8-24.1. Ehrenburg's satirical novel 8-24.6. Russ & US calculations on Ger elec 8-31.1. New rev forces in Russ (disc) 9-14.4. Spotlight on Khrushchev 9-21.6. Special issue of Anvil 9-21.6. Bureaucrat & peasant 10-12.3.
SCHOOLS — See Education; Academic Freedom; Student Movement.
SCIENCE—See also Atom Bomb—ESP & sci method 1-5.4; 2-2.4. Chlorophyll racket 1-12.4. Stalinists on sci-fiction 1-12.5. Automation 2-23.4. GOP policy 3-2.4. Apathy about H-bomb 3-23.4. Goal behind Einstein's equations 4-6.4. Astin case 4-27.4. Human nature & society 5-11.4. Linguistic nationalism 5-11.5. Pope & Kremlin as scientific oracles 5-25.4. 'Engineering' attitude on social issues 6-15.4. Automation & workers control 6-22.4. US bio-warfare plans 6-29.4. Scientists & unions 7-20.4. Is science free? 8-17.4. K-day: science is not sacred 8-31.4. New frontiers in biology 9-24.4. Fluoridation & anti-scientif pressures 10-12.4. Kinsey as sociologist 11-9.5. FAS denounces McCarthysm 12-14.7. Atom-pool plan 12-21.4.
SMITH, G. L. K.—Rally in LA 2-23.2; says times are good 10-5.2.
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL — Asian soc confer 1-19.3.
SOCIALIST PARTY — See also Socialist Youth—New resolution ag electoral work 1-5.2. Thomas upholds school probe 2-23.5. SP candidate in LA 3-23.8. US socialist history (BR) 5-18.7. Thomas, SP & 'State Dept socialists' 8-3.7. Note on an SP pacifist 12-28.4.
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY — See also Fourth Int'l—New crisis in SWP 5-18.6; 5-25.6; 6-1.5; 6-8.5. Factions declare truce 6-15.5. Silent on anti-Moscow picketline 7-13.8. Cochranite split 11-16.1; end of the line; Cochran letter 11-23.6. Man with the bucket 12-7.7. Cochranite pub meeting 12-14.7.
SOCIALIST YOUTH—Letter by Ypsl & reply 1-5.5. YPSL conv anti-war 4-27.1. SYL-YPSL relations 5-18.4. SP suspends NY YPSL 7-13.5. SYL-YPSL joint program 8-10.5. YPSL breaks w SP; statement 9-7.3. SYL-YPSL merger; SP's youth 12-21.4. Soc Youth Int'l 12-28.4. Note on SP pacifist 12-28.4.
SOUTH AFRICA—Resistance gets white aid 2-2.3. White supremacy 3-2.3. Labor defies Malan policy 4-6.3. After Malan's victory 5-25.3. Resistance due to explode

8-3.4. Reaction marches on 11-23.3.
SPAIN—Whitewash job for Span Stalinists 1-19.7. Orwell in Span rev 2-2.5. Social unrest 2-9.5. Franco's way of life 2-16.4. Revelations of Jesus Hernandez 6-1.3; 8-8.6; 6-15.6; 6-22.6. Tory govt smiles at Franco 7-27.3. POUM conv program 8-31.7. US secret treaty w Franco 10-5.1. Creeping medievalism 11-9.2. Labor MP's report 11-23.5. Pact didn't solve Franco's worries; ABC affair in Madrid; POUM declaration 12-7.8. Anti-Franco Campaign: Chicago anti-Franco comm 1-12.2; 1-26.8; rally 2-16.1; 5-25.4; 8-24.7. In defense of Franco's victims 1-19.6. Span free labor unites 2-2.1. Anti-Franco fight up to US labor 2-2.1. NY rallies ag Franco 4-6.1; 4-20.1; 4-27.2. POUM greets ISL 7-20.4.
STALINISM, INTL — See also Russia; East Europe countries—Stalin's theory of capitalist encirclement 1-19.5. Whitewash job for Span Stalinists 1-19.7. Neurotic theory of Stalinism 5-18.1; 5-25.2. CP & atom bomb 5-25.8. Contradiction of Stal planned econ 6-1.6. Revelations of Jesus Hernandez (see Spain). How to aid Ger workers & destroy Stalinism 7-13.1. Special issue of Anvil 9-21.6.
STALINISM, U.S. — See also Rosenberg Case; Civil Liberties—Stal youth & Russ anti-sem 2-2.5. Stalinoids on Stalin 3-23.7. Jewish Stalinists & Russ anti-sem 3-30.4; L 5-11.4.
STEEL WORKERS—See Labor Problems.
STEVENSON, ADLAI—See Fair-Dealers.
STUDENT MOVEMENT & PROBLEMS —Salaries for students (France) 1-26.8. Racism in USC frats 3-9.5. Yale strike 5-25.5. SLID conv 8-24.5. Report on N.E. anti-war camp 9-21.4. SDA resol on acad freedom 10-5.5.
'STUDENT SOCIALIST'—Acad freedom issue 2-16.
SUBVERSIVE LIST—See ISL; Civil Liberties.
SUPREME COURT—Deportation decision 6-15.1. Decision on Bridges 6-22.2. Decision on the faceless informer 8-24.8. Dooley to Vinson 9-21.1; Warren's record 10-26.3.
TAFT, R. A.—Cover for reaction 8-10.1.
THIRD CAMP CONFERENCE — Conf planned; text of call 11-16.4. Labor Temple gives up tradition 11-30.2. Socialists, pacifists plan cooperation 12-7.1. Report & proceedings, 4-page sec 12-14.
THOMAS, NORMAN—See Socialist Party.
TITOISM—See also Yugoslavia—Mao, a kind of Tito 6-1.4.
TRESCA CASE—Thomas demands reporter tell all 1-5.2. Gangster ready to talk 1-19.2. Thomas asks new inquiry 6-15.3. Lead fizzles out 6-22.2.
TRIESTE—Let the people vote! 10-26.1. Brit attitude 11-9.3.
TROTSKY, LEON—Bk 'Stalin' pub in Ger 1-19.4. Reveal new link in murder 8-8.1. Is GPU planning to kill Jacson? 8-3.1. GPU alibi, Atisbos article 11-2.6. GPU & UP 12-28.1.
TRUMAN ADMIN, DOMESTIC — Pres pardons Thomas & May 1-5.1. Tax cut or balanced budget 1-12.1. 'Trust-busting' 1-19.1. Govt yields to world oil cartel 1-19.1; cartel's sabotage 3-9.2. Harry Truman & history 2-2.2.
TRUST-BUSTING—See Monopoly; Econ Conditions.
TUNISIA—NY Times reporting 5-11.5. Tunisia & war in Laos 5-11.6.
UKRAINE—Disc in the Ukraine underground 1-12.6. Vpered on Russ crisis 2-2.7; 6-1.4. New blows ag Jews 3-2.6. Ukraine after Stalin's death; URDP program 7-27.5.
UNITED AUTO WORKERS — See Auto Workers.
UNITED NATIONS—'Subversive' case 6-29.3. Eisenhower's atom-pool speech 12-14.1.
URUGUAY—SP protests govt repression 1-12.5.
WAR POLICY—See also Pacifism; Third Camp Conference; see note introducing Index—Discussion (Vaughan) 3-2.4; 4-13.4; 4-27.6. Third-camp road (disc) 4-27.6. For a dem foreign pol! 5-4.6. How to aid Ger workers & destroy Stalinism without war 7-13.1. Over the table, sold! Churchill-Stalin deal 11-9.1. Heritage of 25 yrs 11-30.6-7.
WARSAW UPRISING—Anniv article 4-20.5. Churchill's story of betrayal 11-9.1.
WILSON, CHAS. E.—See Eisenhower Admin, Domestic.
WIRETAPPING—See Civil Liberties.
WOMEN—Why women work 2-23.2.
WORLD-FEDERALISTS—And 'Russ ques' 4-20.4.
YPSL—See Socialist Youth.
YUGOSLAVIA — See also Trieste — Tito visits Brit 3-30.7. Disc on Titoism 4-20.7. Mao, a kind of Tito 6-1.4. Titoists launch party purge 8-31.1. Deviation 8-31.5.
ZIONISM—See also Israel—ACJ line on Kibya affair 12-7.7.

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.

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