

# LABOR ACTION

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December 30, 1957

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## **NATO Summit Conference Defeat for U.S. Underlines Need for a New Foreign Policy**

By SAM BOTTONE

The summit conference of the heads of state of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, measured by any reasonable standard, was a decisive defeat for U.S. foreign policy. That this policy has now reached a dead end is becoming more apparent as the assessment of the results take place.

The NATO alliance has been staggering from crisis of confidence to crisis of confidence for several years. But this time the patchwork is readily transparent.

NATO was dealt a solar plexus blow when the Russians announced the successful firing of an ICBM and followed it with their earth satellites. Suddenly everyone realized what should have been apparent for a long time: that the U.S. foreign policy based on the assumption of U.S. military superiority of nuclear power is no longer tenable, that this military superiority which was supposed to provide the position of strength for possible negotiations no longer exists.

Tragically almost all attention in the U.S. is being directed toward the means whereby this humpty-dumpty can be put back together again. The only trouble is that the people in the NATO alliance nations do not have confidence in this kind of American know-how. And herein lay the failure of the Paris meeting.

After the launching of the Russian sputnik and the hurried visit of Britain's

Prime Minister Macmillan to Washington, it was announced that the December meeting of the NATO foreign ministers would be expanded into a summit conference. This simply guaranteed a maximum concentration on the crisis of the Western alliance. The N.Y. Times, in what appears now to be an unhappy choice of an analogy, stated that "this will be the largest and potentially most important such gathering since the Versailles conference of 1919." And about as successful, too.

### TWO IDEAS

But to this top drawer meeting the U.S. really brought only two major ideas. The first was the proposal to establish intermediate range missile bases in Western Europe. The other was that the NATO allies should reject any proposal for negotiation with the Russians.

The outcome was just about the opposite. The U.S. got no firm commitment, only an agreement "in principle," to set up missile bases for missiles which, incidentally, are not available yet. And the European allies forced the U.S. to accept a proposal to promote disarmament negotiations with the Russians.

Walter Lippmann in the N.Y. Herald-

Tribune observed that "this program was such a crude miscalculation of European interests and of European feelings that it is no wonder the conference has shown such spectacular lack of confidence in American leadership."

The basis for this "crude miscalculation" is not to be found, as it is often assumed, in the fact that there has been a shift in the balance of power or that the U.S. has, for the moment, fallen behind in the missile race. If this were so, Dulles was right: all that is necessary to overcome the crisis of confidence is to set up missile bases aimed at the Russian heartland.

What really undermined the NATO meeting was the fear of a war and the destruction which could be wrought by the new push-button war technology. It was upon this correct understanding of the popular mood and fears that the Russian Stalinists embarked upon a political campaign after the launching of the Sputnik which culminated in the undermining of the Paris meeting.

### RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

Some time before the opening of the conference, Russia embarked upon a vigorous campaign in which Khrushchev warned all of the European NATO allies that missile launching bases would be considered a grave provocation and could lead to nuclear destruction. On the very eve of the meeting, Bulganin sent a series of letters proposing a new round of East-West negotiations on all major issues.

While the Eisenhower administration, and most Democrats too, dismissed the Bulganin notes as just propaganda, the effect in Europe was devastating. The combination of missile diplomacy and the olive branch produced the desired results in Western Europe.

While Dulles was writing articles in *Life* on the undesirability of any kind of negotiations, the N.Y. Times was reporting from Germany that the Bulganin letter "has struck a responsive cord in West Germany. . . . The consensus was that the inflexible position of the Western governments was self-defeating and that guns and rockets were no substitute for political solutions of the East-West crisis."

Consequently when the conference began, Chancellor Adenauer of Germany, regarded as the foremost supporter of the U.S. position in Europe, took the lead in emphasizing the need to re-open the question of negotiations and in de-emphasizing the agreement for missile bases. Left up in the air was a West German commitment to accept missile launching sites. Prime Minister Macmillan, who in October had agreed to accept the bases, also followed Adenauer's lead. These defections appeared to be turning into a rout when the Norwegian and Danish prime ministers specifically refused to allow these missiles in their countries.

### ONE MORE TRY

The feeling is widespread, since these missile launching sites place Western Europe in the front line of any future war, that whatever the experience has been in the past, another attempt must be made to seek a way out of a renewed armament race through negotiations with the Russians.

This sentiment was too strong and too widespread for either Adenauer or Macmillan to ignore. And neither could Dulles and Eisenhower ignore it. Therefore an agreement to once more tread the thorny path to disarmament negotiations with the Russians was the price the U.S. had to pay for the "in principle" agreement on missile bases. These "in principle" agreements were belittled by Dulles just prior to the NATO meeting as virtually meaningless. This alone indicates the magnitude of the defeat handed to U.S. foreign policy.

### DULLES SWALLOWS WORDS

Dulles had to swallow a good deal of what he said on the eve of the Paris conference on negotiations in order to get this minimal agreement. And to make the best of the situation, this setback is being hailed as a step forward. Henceforth NATO policy will consist of both halves of the compromise. But the U.S. and the Western Europe allies will differ as to whether it means missiles and negotiations, or negotiations and maybe missiles.

It is certain however, Eisenhower, Adenauer and Macmillan have little disagreement over the precedence in this dual policy. For them the negotiation commitment was a necessary and vital

### N. Y. SUBWAY MOTORMEN'S STRIKE

## **For Militant Industrial Unionism:**

# **A Setback Or a Challenge?**

By BEN HALL

Motormen on New York City's subways struck at 5 AM on Monday, December 9. It was the first major city-wide subway walkout in history, called by a new, small independent craft union, the Motormen's Benevolent Association. The central strike demand made upon the Transit Authority, which manages the city-owned system, called for the recognition of the MBA and for collective bargaining rights for it.

Small groups in other crafts went out in sympathy: conductors, signalmen, towermen, and building trades workers. At its height, perhaps 2000 of the city's 3100 motormen were out and 1000 others joined the strike. Some 32,000 workers man the subway system, all represented up to now by the industrial Transport Workers Union headed by Mike Quill. This was a deep-going craft revolt against him and the TWU.

Eight days later, on Monday, December 16, a mass meeting of 1,500 strikers voted to return to work, their morale high and their spirit unbroken. The subways had not stopped running. For the first three

days the number of strikers increased and subway service deteriorated to one-third of normal. Then, however, service began to improve as supervisors were drafted to run trains; new men recruited; overtime at fantastic premiums paid to those who stayed on the job (a man could collect \$650 in a week); police rode in the cabs of every train and sat beside every working conductor. It cost \$2,500,000 in extra expenses to keep the trains running; cost were set up to sleep the "loyal" work force; mess halls were hastily organized to feed them. The Transit Authority was all set for old-time strike-breaking on a grand scale.

By the time the strike was called off,

a small back to work trickle had begun. Yet, although their strike was waning and they returned without winning their key demand, the motormen were not defeated. In fact, they won a moral victory. At the very end, public sympathy was running strongly with them and they won important concessions as they checked in at the car barns.

1. Was the strike "legal?" The Condon-Wadlin law prohibits strikes by government employees in New York State and prescribes severe penalties against strikers. When the MBA called a 9 hour strike last year, an injunction was issued against it; when the present strike began four union leaders were instantly jailed and not released until the strike was over. Newspapers and politicians called the strike "illegal," some in hysterical frenzy; others in dismay. The Transit Authority and some newspaper editors began howling for blood, demanding the hard fist of law-enforcement against city-employed strikers.

But with growing sympathy in favor of

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## A Final Report and Summary of

# THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION

By GORDON HASKELL

The second convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organization had one central problem to solve, and that is what it concentrated on. This problem was whether or not the American labor movement can begin to rid itself of some of the practices and influences most alien and harmful to a workers' movement which have grown up and flourished inside a growing number of unions over the past decades. The question was whether the forces which represent the needs and aspirations of the American workers would gain a decisive upper hand in the movement, or whether the racketeers and fast-buck boys, the leaders who sell their workers' labor like a wholesaler sells cheese, would continue to be tolerated and legitimized as responsible trade unionists. (For a more complete analy-

sis of this aspect of the convention see LABOR ACTION for December 16).

Since everyone at the convention knew that his, and no other, was the crucial issue, almost all other business taken up by the gathering appeared to hold little interest for the delegates. As has been the case at every national labor convention for decades, resolutions were passed on almost every conceivable aspect of American and world social, political and economic problems. Many of these resolutions have become so standardized that they have achieved the status of a mere formality. Many of them are excellent statements of policy, while others leave much to be desired from either a socialist or a democratic point of view. To attempt a summary of them would far exceed a whole issue of Labor Action. But a few highlights should be touched on, nevertheless.

**UNION STAFFERS UNION.** The Newspaper Guild sought to get the convention to approve the formation of a union made up of AFL-CIO organizers. The effort was killed by referring the resolution back to the Executive Council, without debate.

**BAN NUCLEAR BOMB TESTS.** A resolution calling for the United States to suspend such tests as long as other nations do likewise was introduced by Mike Quill's United Transport Workers. It was given a fast shuffle by the Resolutions Committee whose chairman told the convention that the subject matter of the resolution was covered in the general resolution on foreign policy already passed by the convention. Far from calling for an end to bomb tests, this general resolution had demanded that the United States outstrip Russia at the earliest possible date in nuclear and ballistic weapons. Needless to say, no one put up a fight for the anti-H-bomb test resolution on the floor.

**FOREIGN RELATIONS.** This resolution repeated many of the standard foreign policy positions taken by the AFL-CIO under its Meany-Lovestone direction in foreign affairs. For a strong military posture; against colonialism; for expanded foreign aid, etc. But a struggle over the conduct of the AFL-CIO's own foreign relations took place behind the scenes of the convention, and at one point erupted on the floor.

For some time the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has been complaining of the free-wheeling world-wide operations of Lovestone's Free Trade Union Committee which has been the *de facto* foreign department of the AFL-CIO. At this convention it was decided to liquidate the Committee, and put its operations under the AFL-CIO's direct supervision, with a view to co-ordinating its activities with the activities and policies of the ICFTU. At the same time, the AFL-CIO undertook to raise a million dollars for the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund during the next two years.

Just how the new decision will work out in practice, no one can tell. Lovestone is reported to have opposed it vigorously. In the past he has generally succeeded in convincing Meany on foreign policy issues and activities. The question now arises: is his influence on the wane?

In the discussion of the AFL-CIO's own foreign relations, A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters made a speech in which he attacked what he referred to as their "abandonment" of a program for the training of African trade unionists. He developed an elaborate thesis to the effect that the American labor movement must have the same relations, roughly, to the labor movements of the "free world" as the U. S. government has to the governments of the same area. This was a veiled attack on the idea of working closer with

the ICFTU, and even subordinating American programs to those of the world body. It was widely rumored that Randolph's speech had been inspired and encouraged by Lovestone as a little monkey-wrench thrown into the wheels of AFL-CIO collaboration with ICFTU.

In any event, Meany took the floor and bluntly took issue with Randolph. He said that Randolph was misleading the convention on what was really going on with regard to the African training program and much more. He spoke with a degree of heat and vigor which hardly seemed warranted by the character of the argument. Could it be that a larger rift on policy and issues of staff loyalty lie behind this exchange?

**COMPANY UNION?** As the convention drew to a close, the Resolutions Committee was reversed only on one issue: whether or not to label the National Education Association a "company union." The demand that this label be tagged onto the NEA in a lengthy resolution on education was made by the AFL-CIO's affiliated American Federation of Teachers representatives, and others scattered strategically around the hall. Though Meany rose to comment in favor of the resolution's milder language, he did not make a real fight on the issue, and the amendment carried from the floor.

**LABOR'S DAILY.** The International Typographical Union, which has been making up the deficits for *Labor's Daily* informed the AFL-CIO that it could no longer afford the expense involved, and asked the united labor movement to take over the paper. Sad to say, the ITU got little response to its plea. Although a voluntary committee was set up to look into the matter, the failure of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO to respond enthusiastically and to push the preservation and expansion of *Labor's Daily* probably dooms this latest attempt of the American labor movement to create a daily newspaper of its own.

It is true that *Labor's Daily* had not really succeeded in developing into the kind of newspaper which the labor movement needs in this country: an all-round national newspaper, independent, courageous and imaginative. Though less like a house organ than most American trade union papers, it was still too much like one to have the broad appeal such a paper

needs if it is to perform a really vital function.

The answer, however, is not to abandon it, but to improve it. It may be that the labor movement has not yet reached the political maturity which would make such a paper possible, and indispensable. The shame of it is, however, that the probable collapse of *Labor's Daily* will be used as "proof" in the future that the idea of a labor daily is "visionary" and "impractical."

**GENERAL ATMOSPHERE.** It must be said that in the fight against the racketeers the debate and general atmosphere of the convention was far more democratic than this writer recalls it to have been at the CIO conventions at which the Stalinist-led unions were defeated and ousted. Opponents of the official position were given the floor, and spoke as long as they wished. There was no booing or cheering, except in the debate on expulsion of the Bakery Workers, and that came from the rebel delegates in the galleries. No delegate was left standing unrecognized at a microphone, and no resolutions were rammed through by a fast gavel. Of course, the opposition was generally recognized to be more widespread than appeared on the floor, but this was not due to any curtailment of the democratic process, but rather to the fact that though there may be many ways to protect and defend crooks, public and open debate is hardly foremost among them.

**SUMMARY.** This convention had to settle the question of whether or not the American labor movement is going to remain the happy hunting ground of crooks and racketeers. That it did. In doing so, many questions were opened, such as the greater power the Executive Council has taken unto itself, which will also affect the future of the labor movement.

It was the nature of the central issue, and of the troubled and difficult period in which the labor movement feels that it finds itself, that this convention did not gird the united labor movement for big new advances on the field of political action, organizing the unorganized, a broad advance of wages and conditions or other benefits for the union workers, or even for a large role in the struggle for equality for Americas Negroes. Although resolutions on all these subjects were adopted, they were in the nature of formalities. But this convention faced the issue, above all others, it had to face, and did a pretty good job of it. That is a good sign for the American labor movement, and for its ability to face the other great issues which will confront it in the months ahead.

## HELP!

A group of young Negro and Puerto Rican workers distributed leaflets at the entrance to the United Labor convention at Atlantic City calling on the AFL-CIO to expel the Distillery Workers and "labor protection racketeers."

One of the leaflets entitled "An Appeal to the AFL-CIO Convention" began: "We are workers. We work in New York City sweatshops for \$1.00 per hour. We are the victims of the vicious LABOR PROTECTION RACKET set-up by the bosses to prevent us from joining legitimate AFL-CIO unions."

"This LABOR PROTECTION RACKET is worked by the bosses, together with certain hoodlums like DOMINICK PAPE who has a charter in the DISTILLERY WORKERS, MARVIN GOLDMAN, IRVING HOROWITZ, FRANK GOLD, and JAMES MATIENZO who have charters in the JEWELRY WORKERS, BURTON HYMAND and ARCHIE KATZ who have a charter in the UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS, and HARRY REISS, DOMINICK SANTA MARIA, and BENNIE 'THE BUG' ROSS, who have been kicked out of the labor movement."

"We appeal to the AFL-CIO convention to expel those hoods who still have AFL-CIO charters."

Another leaflet signed by the "Waldorf Pen Co. Strike Committee," said that it was being distributed by workers who had been "sold into bondage four years ago by their boss, Dominick Pape, who runs the so-called 'union' Local 138 of the Distillery Workers," and asked for immediate expulsion of this outfit from the AFL-CIO.

"Even yesterday, the leaflet said, Dominick Pape was bragging that he could buy off the AFL-CIO and prevent the scheduled expulsion of the Distillery Workers from the AFL-CIO." The distributors were brought to Atlantic City by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

The support of the AFL-CIO leadership for these workers was undermined by the fact that no attempt was made to remove them from in front of the convention hall where they were distributing their literature. This despite the fact that LABOR ACTION distributors were threatened with arrest by the Atlantic City police if they distributed on the boardwalk which passes in front of the convention hall, and were denied permission to distribute inside the lobby by convention officials on the grounds that "We don't let anyone distribute anything here."

Perhaps the day is not far off when the growth of democratic practices and traditions in the labor movement as a whole would make such an attitude toward the distribution of literature as unthinkable for the AFL-CIO as it has long been for unions like the United Automobile Workers.

## Chicago Forum Hears Zeidler

The newly founded Democratic Socialist Forum in Chicago initiated its activities on December 13 with a lecture by Frank Zeidler, mayor of Milwaukee and national chairman of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, on the subject "A City Plan for Chicago."

The new forum was announced last week in a statement signed by representatives of the three sponsoring organizations: Peter Meyer for the SP-SDF, Max Weinrib for the Independent Socialist League, and Morris Polin for the Jewish Labor Bund. The sponsors propose to conduct forums of public interest

representing all tendencies of democratic labor and socialist opinion. The Forum has already obtained as future speakers the following: Charles Chiakulas, assistant director of the Borg-Warner Division, United Automobile Workers, who has just returned from an assignment as representative in Cyprus of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers; Norman Thomas; Max Shachtman, and Erich Fromm.

The talk by Chiakulas, which will be a comprehensive analysis of the Cypriot struggle for freedom and the state of the trade union movement in Cyprus and Greece is scheduled for January 10 at Altgeld Hall of Roosevelt University.

Comrade Zeidler's talk was received with great interest by the audience because of his complete mastery of the subject of current municipal problems. He took up, with a wealth of detail, both the general problems of American big cities and the specific problems of Chicago. His analysis traced the main shortcomings as due to the political strength of those forces not concerned with the interests of the common man, such as the real estate lobby, highway lobby, manufacturers, etc.

In addition, his talk was noteworthy for linking up the problems of city life with the overshadowing threat of the H-bomb. An H-bomb war, Zeidler pointed out, means the total destruction of all important cities, so that fundamentally the city may be improved or even preserved only if a democratic socialist world order insures peace.

CHICAGO  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST  
FORUM

CHARLES CHIAKULAS  
Just returned from his mission as representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

### REPORT ON CYPRUS

Friday, Jan. 10 8:00 p.m.

Altgeld Hall  
Roosevelt University, 430 S. Michigan

Sponsors:  
Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, Independent Socialist League, Jewish Labor Bund

# A Setback Or a Challenge — —

(Continued from page 1)

the motormen, even the most rabid among them had to draw back. Mayor Wagner promised no summary discipline of strikers; and that charges would be settled by an impartial referee. In the end, there may be penalties imposed upon some of the men; but hearings will not even begin for two months; tempers will cool down; other mitigating factors will come into play. There will be no reign of terror against the men. On the contrary, they are promised that their grievances will be investigated with care.

Motormen were able to conduct a peaceable strike despite the law. They were unmoved by threats; they were ready, as a speaker declared at a strike meeting, "to fall together if necessary." It was a declaration of the right to strike for city workers, a courageous defiance of arbitrary and high-handed management. The tragedy is that it was accompanied by a set-back for industrial unionism on the subways.

The men who supported the MBA were out to break the crafts away from the industrial TWU. The TWU with the backing of the local AFL-CIO denounced the strike. Subway unionism is split. In the face of this rift in the ranks of the workers, even under the cover of making concessions to the motormen, the state legislature may harden and strengthen the laws against strikes. Who is responsible for the split and why? That is a long and devious story. When the

## New York Press Starts on Hysterical Note

3. *The Press*: The New York Times and the Herald-Tribune became literally hysterical in their attacks on the strike. The New York Post quipped: "it seems to us a matter of life and death that the subway strike be settled before the Herald-Tribune calls for the death sentence for the striking motormen. It could happen any moment." The Post was sympathetic to the strikers. On the first day the Times, normally staid and stogy, exploded in an orgy of rabble-rousing: "violent outrage"; "rebellion"; it called the strikers "bad actors"; it denounced "cream-puff discipline" it demanded severe punishment and discharges. But even the Times and the Tribune cooled off by the time the strike ended. But working reporters on the daily press were won over by the strikers, and news columns revealed their sympathy.

4. *Union representation*: The strike was precipitated by a decision of the Transit Authority to conduct a system-wide collective bargaining election, which meant almost certain victory for the Transport Workers Union, its right to represent all subway workers and the exclusion of the MBA, under TA rules, from all bargaining rights. The strike showed that the MBA had the support of a big section of the motormen, prob-

## Republicans Promise Aid to Motormen

Republicans promise aid to motormen: Mayor Wagner and Governor Harriman, both Democrats, came under attack from leading Republicans who expressed a certain sympathy for the strikers. Naturally, the Republicans are happy with the chance to steal away some of the Democrats' labor support. But if that is possible in this case, it is only because there is a prevailing feeling that the cause of the motormen is just.

Republican State Senator MacNeil Mitchell of Manhattan, chairman of the State Committee on City Affairs, played a key role in settling the strike. He pledged to introduce legislation stripping the city Transit Authority of control over labor relations on the subway system and transferring the designation of bargaining units to the State Labor Relations Board. The practical effect of such a measure would be to question the TWU's exclusive rights and give the MBA an opportunity for recognition as the representative of the motormen. It was Mitchell's public declaration that induced the strikers to end their stoppage. Harriman and Wagner are in a quandary. If they refuse any concessions to the motormen, they will be accused of stiff-necked authoritarianism. If they yield, they will be criticized by the state CIO

blame is distributed, many men must receive their share.

2. *Motormen's Wages*. With surprise, the public learned that motormen's pay, after deductions, averaged about \$75 a week, their top hourly rate is \$2.32. It was not news, but public opinion takes note of such matters only when workers bring them forcefully and dramatically to the front pages. That was one of the strike's outstanding successes. The strikers argued that their wages were lower than private rail crafts; lower than skilled men in other industries with less responsibility.

They argued too, like craftsmen in many industries, that the differential between their wages and the unskilled had been drastically reduced over the years. This argument always gains popularity among craftsmen when their own wages are too low and diminishes in appeal when wages are generally rising. It can be compared, for example, to the argument often made for raises for teachers—why a teacher earns less than a truck driver—it is said. An element of aloof superiority is there; but it is founded on the bed-rock of genuine grievance. Craft or no craft, \$75 a week doesn't go very far.

In one way or another, the motormen have convinced most people that their pay is too low. Intelligent industrial unionists will not ask the crafts to curb their demands but support every fight for improved conditions as a first step behind which all workers will follow.

ably the majority. The MBA called for a boycott of the elections and when they were held on December 16, the TWU had suffered a drastic cut in authority and strength among subway workers.

Only 15,000 of the 31,000 eligible voters went to the polls, less than half. The TWU claims 18,000 members but received only 10,000 votes—less than one-third of the eligible voters. Over 4,000 votes—half of them write-ins, were cast for other unions.

The TWU had enjoyed exclusive bargaining rights for years. In a previous election in 1954, 25,000 of the 27,000 eligible voters cast their ballots and the TWU got 92 per cent of the votes cast.

Now, its moral position is terribly undermined; yet, under the terms of the December 16 election it is supposed to get exclusive right again and Quill is insisting upon just that, without compromise. Any agreement the TWU signs now will be contested in the courts. The TWU contract with the Transit Authority expires on December 31. If it is not renewed by then, the TWU threatens a new, bigger and more effective subway strike. At this point, the TWU may be compelled to strike to prove that it can still count on the support of an overall majority of subway workers.

which has been solidly behind the TWU. The Republican party has nothing to lose, especially since no one now insists upon vindictive retaliation against the strikers. It is free at last to benefit from an ostensibly liberal attitude toward striking workers.

But warning signs appear. Liberals saw the strike as a movement against government officiousness and inner union bureaucracy; and they welcomed it as a sign that free men were determined to fight for democracy. The N. Y. Post and its labor reporter, Murray Kempton, were typical.

But there are others. Conservatives are happy at last to get a chance to stick a knife into the CIO and the Democratic Party which it supports. The mayor and the Governor, it should be recalled, are Democrats. In an editorial on December 19, the New York World-Telegram approves of "fairer treatment" for the MBA. But its presumed concern for justice—under the heading "GOP to the Rescue"—is tempered by a call for a hard-hitting anti-strike law. "Why don't the legislators firm up the Condon-Wadlin law," it asks, "forbidding strikes or slowdowns by public employees so that it can't be conveniently ignored?" Like others, the W.T. weeps for the sub-

way-worker only to demand that they be punished with vengeance—next time!

Now, the strike is over. Cutting through the claims and counter claims, the charges and replies is one simple fact: from now on, the subways will be a little better to work in. Before the strike, three top appointees on the Transit Authority and one once-powerful union president imagined that they could conveniently arrange anything to their mutual satisfaction with little or no concern for the working man below. Now the man on the job gets attention. And in every union, there will be a little more respect for the democratic rights of the membership. The motormen have shown that a group of determined unionists, with little experience at independent organization, with no apparatus, with no big outside connections, with little money—that under favorable conditions they

## Industrial Unionism and Craftsmen's Demands

Let there be no mistake about it. These men are not just mildly willing to have their own craft union. They are crusading for it with a sense of fighting for democracy, for freedom, against injustice. At their union hall and strike meetings men are inflamed by the same spirit that inspired the CIO in the old days. They hate Quill with a fury. Negroes and white are together, cheering together at the same meeting; one of the four jailed MBA leaders is a Negro. This was not a movement constructed somewhere above and foisted upon them. It wells up from below and carries the leaders along with it. Their leaders are inexperienced men, new to such problems; that is why their attorneys—Louis Waldman notably, played a prominent role in their strategy. But the decision to strike and to stay on strike came from the workers.

This was a set-back for industrial unionism, there is no doubt about it. Undoubtedly, this was in the mind of CIO leaders who interceded with Wagner for the TWU to stop concessions to the MBA. They do not want to see the TWU destroyed. Such a concern is justified and understandable; but how to preserve industrial unionism at a time when thousands are going over to new craft unions; it is a terrible dilemma.

Industrial unionism is an effective form of organization for the workers. But it is not a principle to be rammed down anyone's throat by intimidation, bureaucracy, threats and sanctions. Skilled workers weren't forced into the CIO; they flocked to it with enthusiasm. They, like all workers, must be convinced by argument and experience that industrial unionism is the way for them. Subway motormen are little different from hundreds of thousands of skilled tradesmen enrolled everywhere in the industrial unions of the CIO. If now they have their doubts, the solution must be sought not in the club but in compromise. Besides, if they want to pull out of the TWU after their years of experience, why?

Take Mike Quill. Here is a man who opposed AFL-CIO merger, which was his democratic right and no one proposed to penalize him for it. But in his own TWU, Gustav Faber, once TWU secretary-treasurer, had the gumption to argue in favor of merger at a CIO

## Needed: Industrial Unionism Plus Democracy

Now, skilled men are tragically breaking away from the TWU. But their own problems just begin. They will find that it is not so easy to negotiate a satisfactory agreement when a dozen fully independent unions confront the employer as sovereign powers. They will rediscover the need for unity. In fact, the Motormen are already casting about for affiliation with some international and are looking for some form of cooperation among the subway crafts. Will the labor movement try to win them back to the united federation? Will it try to restore industrial unionism to its full strength on the New York subway system by reaching an accord with the crafts or will it try to rely upon repression?

The fight on the New York subway

can put up a militant and effective battle for their rights. That will be in the minds of all from now on.

But, regrettably, there is more to the story. The tragedy is that these militant men did not choose to fight within the union that once was theirs, the industrial Transport Workers Union. In one way or another, in the course of the last years, they reached the unfortunate conclusion that it was impossible; that the industrial union did not or would not fight for what they deserved. They decided that they had to have their own craft union, to supplant the TWU among motormen.

And they were not alone. Signalmen had set up their own union; conductors and towermen too. The danger is not simply that one or two crafts will be carved out of the TWU but that the industrial union will be cut to pieces.

convention. Quill could not tolerate it. He quickly forced Faber to resign. If such is the fate of a high-placed union official speaking on behalf of the regular, official, respectable merger, what was the fate of an ordinary rank and filer who dared to speak out against Quill, perhaps sometimes not too diplomatically? What half-way intelligent unionist is in doubt about the prevailing mood in such a union? If Faber could not speak, could a lowly motorman?

Obviously, Quill had lost touch with the situation. He ridiculed the movement among the crafts as a crackpot diversion. He sneered that the strike was a bluff; he predicted that it would have no effect on the train schedule; he boasted that he would win the collective bargaining election by a grand majority. All false. He had cooperated with the Transit Authority in cutting down on the work force; he had consented to a cut in sick pay; in general, he claimed recognition as a man who stood for "responsible" labor relations, a term often misused and in this case certainly so. And in return for his responsibility, the Transit Authority wanted to give him exclusive rights so that their task of running the road at lowest cost would be facilitated.

It wasn't good enough. What was on trial was not industrial unionism as a principle but this kind of union leadership. The skilled men increasingly felt that they could get more. Motormen are a powerful craft group; if united, they alone could hold up the subways. In this they resemble key groups of skilled men in every industry. A decent, intelligent responsible industrial union leadership knows how to use this sense of power as a battering ram to break down the barriers to wage demands and to form a vanguard behind which the whole working class can march. The UAW knew how to use its skilled tool and die workers to win the battle against Homer Martin; at its last convention the UAW faced a growing restiveness among its skilled workers who felt that they could fight for more; the UAW gave them special representation on bargaining committees and the right to a separate vote on contracts. It is possible to utilize the power of the skilled man to defend the rights of all but for that you need union leadership and not a mere machine which sits tight on its power.

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## One Out of Every Three Prisoners of War in Korea Cooperated With the Stalinists

# Why Did They Collaborate?

By MEL STACK

Four and one-half years have passed since the end of the Korean War. And in this short span of time, the war has become part of the dim past, rarely mentioned or thought about. Now, Eugene Kinkead has written an extensive article in the October *New Yorker*, dealing with the behavior of American prisoners of war in Korea. The article is startling, fascinating, fantastic, and important for the light it can throw upon the events of 1957 as well as 1952.

The gist of Mr. Kinkead's report has been commented on previously in LABOR ACTION, (Aug. 29, 1955), but it deserves further reviewing on two accounts: (1) Kinkead brings to light new facts that make the entire situation even more tragic; and (2) the lessons of relying upon military containment to defeat Communism are even more urgent today with the crash program to develop our own Sputnik.

At the end of the Korean hostilities, the American people were shocked to hear that 21 Americans refused to be repatriated. Overall, their initial reaction was, "How can that be? Becoming Communists when they have been brought up in America, the land of milk and honey, the land of the brave and the free?" And immediately following was the inevitable psychological reaction to such a disturbing thought: "They are TURNCOATS! THEY HAVE BEEN BRAINWASHED!"—and the professional ideologists almost became frenzied in their denunciations of these 21 Americans.

The Army even went further. When it was first announced that the 21 did not want to be repatriated, the Army (while officially promising nothing) gave the impression that if the 21 returned, they would not be punished. Then, when some did return, the Army immediately began court martial proceedings—and even sentenced one of the returnees to life imprisonment (they later cut the sentence to 20 years).

But besides the simple cries of "traitor" and the harsh sentences by the Army, there were long scholarly tracts attempting to explain why the 21 had remained in North Korea. Most concluded, like Harold Lavine in *Commentary* (July, 1954), that they were not from "a stable middle class family," and thus lacked "security, companionship, the feeling of being part of something, a purpose in life." They had turned to the Army to find a home, and had found a not unsimilar one in the Stalinist prison camps.

### MASSIVE STUDY

The investigation remained at this level and slowly disappeared from the newspaper headlines. But meanwhile the Army was conducting a massive study of the problem and in Aug. 1955, President Eisenhower issued a Code of Conduct for the Armed Forces—the first such code to be formally issued in American history. The answer to the problem was to instruct the soldier to give no more than name, rank, serial number, and date of birth in case of capture—and to remind him that he is "an American fighting man . . . (who) will trust in God and in the United States of America."

Eisenhower's answer was typical of his Madison Avenue advisors, but it was merely a hastily constructed escape from the serious problems that the Army study had raised. For what the Army study began with were the following startling facts:

● One out of every three prisoners collaborated with the Stalinists to one degree or another.

● Not one prisoner escaped from a prison camp—the first time this had happened to an American army in war—and there were 7,190 men taken prisoner.

● 2,730 men died in captivity—38 per cent of the prisoners, a percentage higher even than during the American Revolution. And while this can partially be blamed on Stalinist brutality, even the Army admits it was mainly the result of the "ignorance and the callousness of the prisoners themselves."

● And, of course, the 21 Americans who refused repatriation—"the only time in history that American captives have chosen not to return home because they preferred the enemy's form of government to our own," or at least so it would appear.

Obviously Eisenhower's answer was not a serious attempt to solve the riddle: the question still remained unanswered; why did the American prisoners so spectacularly break down?

Before giving our own analysis, let us see a little further what the Army study had produced and what answers they came up with.

Kinkead extensively quotes in his article interviews he had with Hugh Milton II, assistant secretary of the Army for manpower and reserve forces. Milton headed the Army commission that studied the behavior of the American prisoners of war in Korea.

### RIVAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

Milton understands, in his own way, that the U. S. was up against a rival, aggressive social system in Korea, one that had a powerful ideology. He remarked to Mr. Kinkead that the American Army in Korea "had been confronted by an enemy who attempted to manipulate the minds of prisoners."

The Stalinist technique simply consisted of the following: on the basis of an introductory investigation, they divided the prisoners into two groups, the "progressives" and the "reactionaries," and separated them into different camps. Then they used an intensive indoctrination campaign among the first group, combining reward and punishment with their ideological program. But the main emphasis was on ideology: they had the prisoners attend classes five hours a day. The method succeeded.

The method not only made ideological recruits, it also broke down all the conventional patterns of behavior:

... some of the POW camps deteriorated to an every-man-for-himself situation. . . . Morale decayed to the vanishing point. . . . Bullies persecuted the weak and sick. Filth bred disease and contagion swept the camp. So men died for lack of leadership and discipline.

And one of the majors remarked to Kinkead—he was also a doctor who had served in the prison camps—that he believed it was a result of failing to adjust to a primitive environment. "The prisoners lacked the old Yankee resourcefulness . . . (and) it was also, I think, the result of some new failure in the childhood and adolescent training of our young men—a new softness." Perhaps, but far worse conditions existed in some German and Japanese prison camps—yet nothing similar happened. We can thus discount this bit of psychiatric analysis.

One of the Army officials interviewed by Kinkead, Colonel Perry, suggests the model of the Turkish Army to prevent a recurrence of the events in the American prison camps. He proposes them as the model because among the Turkish prisoners, no one was demoralized or recruited by the Communists. Why? Because of the strict authoritarian structure of the Turkish army, the rigid discipline and organization of the chain of command.

Still, in the main, the American rulers are a long way off from resorting to these techniques (even though they drift in that direction). And so, Colonel Perry refers to it just in passing. The real alternative for the Army is expressed by Mr. Milton.

But before the general strategy, let us look at the tactics the Army is proposing. A Major Segal, chief of the Neuro-psychiatric Consultation Service at Walter Reed Army Hospital, explained it to Mr. Kinkead. The answer is silence.

Talking is always the first step toward collaborating. Once a man starts talking, there is no escape from more talking. And the more he talks, the greater his guilt and anxiety become. . . . If a man doesn't talk, he can't incriminate himself. Or anybody else. Or give information. Or be duped.

And then Mr. Milton takes over giving the general strategy: "esprit de corps and a feeling of comradeship are great aids to morale. So are faith in democracy and adherence to religious beliefs." And Mr. Kinkead adds (without at all realizing the tragic irony), that after months and months of soul-searching and writing over a million pages of data, after all this, the Army decided to adhere to its policy of giving the enemy nothing more than name, rank, serial number, and date of birth.

### NO REAL CHANGE

Finally, Mr. Milton concludes, sounding just like President Eisenhower:

You can argue about such things till doomsday, but the Communist challenge has got to be met. . . . It's a truly national problem. . . . The Army would like to see every American parent, teacher, and clergyman work to instill in every one of our children a specific understanding of the differences between our way of life and the Communist way of life, and, even more important, give every child, in the blunt, old-fashioned spirit, a firm regard for right and an abiding distaste for wrong.

But where in this glittering rhetoric is the change? Have not the American boys always been brought up cherishing home, hearth, and church? Are they not always taught the difference between right and wrong? Are they not constantly barraged

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with the better way of life we live under and how terrible Communism is? Where is the concrete change that Milton says he is proposing?

The answer is obvious: there is no change being proposed. And the reason is simple: the necessary change would mean a new and different approach to communism. It would mean adopting a democratically oriented foreign policy, a democratic political opposition to Communism, instead of trying to militarily contain the Stalinist nations. But that is exactly what American capitalism cannot do: it is to intimately bound to the status quo.

And in the case of Korea this was obvious. Take the first level of indoctrination used by the Communists in the prison camps. Kinkead reports:

They were told that the South Koreans had attacked the North Koreans as a direct result of the machinations by President Truman and Syngman Rhee, that these machinations had been instigated by Wall Street capitalists intent upon starting a third world war in order to raise prices on the stock market, and so on.

Now even if we grant that the argument is ridiculous, the American government's position is not easily maintained either. For in fighting to preserve the rule of Rhee, you start with two strikes against you—even when your opponent is a Stalinist. Certainly a poor soldier who does not know why he must fight to maintain the rule of a dictator the people obviously hate, and can certainly see no sense in fighting a stalemate war on the hills of Korea, is at an even greater disadvantage.

### MILITARY CONTAINMENT

The United States relies upon the theory of military containment to combat Communism (and by a curious twist of fate, the liberal has become the most vocal practical exponent of this theory with his call for a massive effort to build the intercontinental missiles). Not only is the result a never-ending spiral of armaments building, not only does it mean relying on the dictators of the world from Chiang to Franco, it even necessitates the support of the old imperialist powers in Asia and Africa. But to change to a democratic policy would mean giving support to the peoples' movements in Asia and Africa—and that would shake the status quo. So the American government is bound to the policy of military containment and it is no wonder that the American prisoners were stumped by the demagogic phrases of the Stalinists.

## READERS TAKE THE FLOOR

To the Editor:

Ahmed Bekhat, General Secretary of the French federation of the Independent Algerian Worker's Federation (USTA) gave his life to the heroic fight for Algerian independence and Third Camp socialism. (The *New York Times* of October 29 presumes he was murdered by the right wing Algerian FLN.)

The USTA and the Algerian left-wing independence movement (MNA) will continue their valiant struggle for democracy in opposition to both French imperialism and the FLN bourgeois-Stalinist alliance.

In memory of Comrade Bekhat, I propose that each *Labor Action* reader contribute one day's wages to a Bekhat Memorial Fund to help win the Algerian freedom for which Ahmed Bekhat courageously gave everything.

Enclosed is a check for one day's wages.

Fraternally,  
Tryve Christensen

*Labor Action* will forward all funds received to the Algerian Worker's Federation (USTA) in France. The Editors.

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Assoc. Editor: HERMAN BENSON  
Business Manager: Mel Stack

Editorial Board:

GORDON HASKELL  
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# Young Socialist CHALLENGE

December 30, 1957

Edited and Published by the YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

TEN CENTS

## Students and Intellectuals in Mao's China

# The Stick and the Carrot

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Recent reports indicate that the Chinese Communist Government is in the midst of a stick-and-carrot campaign directed at the students and intellectuals. On the one hand, severe, draconian measures have been announced, apparently designed to stifle all dissent, on the other hand, it has been made plain to all who are willing to conform that they will be handsomely rewarded for their obedience.

The campaign of discipline against students and youth is incredibly broad: in a single Chinese university 39.6 per cent of the teachers and workers have been sent to work on the collectives. Eighty thousand youth from the middle and high schools were taken last September from the Pangpu and Fuyang Administrative Districts; fifty thousand from the Nantung Administrative District. Behind this figure is a massive program to transfer huge numbers of students from their schools to the collective farms. And to understand this very important development, it is necessary to keep a complex of factors in mind.

First of all, last year was marked by extreme student unrest in China. The news of the Hungarian Revolution made a deep impact on the nation (conceded, for example, in Mao's famous speech of last February), culminating in student riots on June 12th and 13th at Manyang in Central China. As a result, an order of the Communist State Council on July 17 provided for a security check on the political background of all students in institutions of higher learning. Those with "seriously anti-socialist ideology" were to be liable for "labor reform." That this policy is being followed up with a vengeance is apparent in the recent announcements of the "enthusiastic" rush of students to leave school and go to work on a farm.

### SECOND REASON

Just in case the point of the July 17 order on an enormous security investigation of all students was lost on a few of them, the regime then announced, on September 7th, that the three alleged ringleaders of the June riots had been executed.

The second reason for the transfer of students to rural work is, perhaps, even

more basic for it is intimately related to the general social and economic crisis of the regime as a whole. In 1956, the Chinese Communists announced a tremendous dash forward on a whole series of fronts—and one of them was education. But the program ran into serious checks, particularly in terms of peasant resistance to agricultural plans. By September of this year, Po I-po, chairman of the National Economic Commission, had to announce that the new Five Year Plan was being revised. And yet, the harm had already been done throughout the nation.

### SURPLUS STUDENTS

In the field of education, the cut-back necessitated by the drastic downgrading of the 1956 plans is spectacular. The 1956 college enrollment was 80 per cent over that of 1954—and the 1957 admissions showed a drop of 40 per cent from 1956. This means that there are many high school students who had been scheduled to receive university training who are now "surplus," and evidently part of Mao's answer is to ship them to the fields.

And finally, this new campaign is related to the continuing resistance of the Chinese peasantry to collectivization. The goal for agricultural production in 1957 had originally been set at 200,000,000 tons of grain; the goal was then scaled down to 191,000,000 tons; and the official guess of the Chinese Agricultural Ministry is that the actual yield will be 185,000,000 tons. There are three explanations for this failure given out by Mao's Government: drought in some areas; a slump in irrigation and manure-gathering work among peasants; the "open secret" that some peasants and cooperatives "still effected by old ideologies" look after their own private affairs at the expense of the state and have not revealed their true harvests so they can keep surpluses for their own use. In

short, the general crisis in the Chinese countryside continues unabated, and the regime is not only faced with the problem of individual peasant appropriation (an immemorial tactic against the urban oppressor), but with what has been officially described as a "blind exodus" from the farm to the city.

### STUDENTS FORCED TO PAY

Here, too, the students are forced to pay. Their being sent to the country is one of the ways that the regime can reinforce its lagging agricultural program, and at the same time keep an eye upon these students who, after a witchhunt so massive as to make America's own recent experience seem to be a happy state in comparison, are found to have "un-socialist" thoughts.

There will be, we can be certain, those outside of China who will read the official hand-outs from Mao about how the students enthusiastically rallied to depart themselves to the countryside and believe every word of it. But they can accomplish this willing suspension of disbelief (for it involves ignoring everything we have heard about students throughout the world) only by forgetting other official statements of the regime. The July 17th order for the massive political check on all students, with its orientation toward "labor reform" for those not found to measure up to the standards of patriotism set by the totalitarian state was not hidden under a bushel. It was announced by the regime, and only the naive can think that recent developments are unrelated to it.

But then, the Chinese Communists are not only using the stick to beat the students and intellectuals—they are also employing the tactic of the carrot to lure them into service to the regime.

It will be remembered that a period of open criticism was to take place this year. It was heralded in Mao's speech of February. After a few weeks of meek and extremely controlled "criticism" (often enough, under the official sponsorship of the government), Mao had had enough of blooming flowers, and he turned to the scythe operation of the campaign against the rightists.

### TENSION ROSE

It was during this sharp repression that some of the student tension rose to its height. Now, there is apparently an attempt at a new turn, one which will be capable of building up some support for the Communists among the students and intellectuals. (In one student riot, reported by "Chung Kuo Ching Nien Pao," a pro-Communist paper, two thirds of the students took the side of the demonstrators.) Even Mao, it would seem, understands that a campaign of sending students to do forced agricultural work is not likely to win him enthusiastic support among the victims. So along with the repression, there is a campaign of

flattery and cajolery aimed at the intellectuals.

In September, for instance, there were highly publicized inductions of intellectuals into the Party. A typical case, reported by Tilman Durdin in the New York Times, involved the reception of twenty-five scientists, engineers and writers into the Party, and praise for their having "established the Communist philosophy of life and activity" being given wide circulation in the press. As Durdin saw it from Hong Kong, "The Communist tactic plainly is to intimidate and discredit the intellectuals who have been critical of the Communist regime and, at the same time, to open for those who are cooperative a way to cement their relations with the Communist leadership and safeguard their professional careers."

### LOCK, STOCK AND BARREL

In all of this, it should be kept in mind that Mao took over, more or less lock, stock and barrel, the entire intellectual apparatus of the defeated Chiang forces in 1949. The New China News Agency announced in 1952 that "the public functionaries left by the Kuomintang reactionary regime were retained in toto by the People's Government at the time of the take-over." In other words, the regime has a long history of bribing functionaries, intellectuals and apparatus men, even those who were, the day before yesterday, "fascists." Moreover, they are attempting eventually to replace those elements which were inherited from Chiang with "reliable" intellectuals, and the current campaign of bringing new people into the Party is part of this process.

Thus, the Chinese Communist policy toward students and intellectuals; on the one hand, a program of ideological control, a monstrous "security" system aimed at stamping out every possible center of opposition or even criticism, and a method for making the new line stick, that of sending students to the collectives; and on the other hand, a wooing of those who are willing to accept the ideological conditions which the regime sets down for all who would make a "success" in "New" China. In both cases, we have a further growth and extension of the totalitarian power of the state—all of Mao's fine phrases about letting a hundred schools contend to the contrary.

### THE AIM OF THE YSL

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

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

—From the Constitution of the YSL

## Texas A&M Fight on ROTC

The Student Publications Board at Texas A & M College has upheld Joe Tindel, editor of the school paper, in publishing a story revealing the decision to make ROTC compulsory for freshmen and sophomores there. The Board, composed of four faculty members and three students, said the editor had acted "consistent with the best traditions of a free press." Dr. M. T. Harrington, president of the college, had requested an investigation as to the appropriateness of releasing the story prior to official release by the college. Compulsory ROTC at Texas A & M has not existed for students since the Spring of 1954.

An informal demonstration in which small groups of students marched through ROTC ranks to poke fun at the new regulation, plus a considerable amount of controversy in the editorial pages of the college paper *Battalion*, has taken place. On December 5 a group of students from two buildings "fell in" and marched to chow in a parody of ROTC formations. A three-column front-

page picture in the *Battalion* of December 6 shows the group standing at "attention" in formation. A youth in "command" of the group is wearing an army shirt buttoned all the way up, but hanging outside his trousers. He is wearing slacks, loafers, white dress gloves and an army fatigue cap with the rank of four diamonds, about five times normal size, on the front of the cap.

An editorial in the *Battalion* of December 4 asks, "Is the main function of A & M to mass produce military officers . . . or to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts?" The quotation is taken from the Federal Morrill Act of 1862, establishing land grant colleges, all of which must teach military tactics; the act does not, however, require compulsory training. The editorial goes on to point out that students not taking ROTC make higher grades. It ends with a recommendation to return to the system of non-compulsory training.

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# INDEX TO LABOR ACTION 1957

## HOW TO USE THIS INDEX

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

10-8, 6=Oct. 8, page 6.

\*Entries marked with an asterisk are from the *Young Socialist Challenge* section (for which see below). The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Names and personalities mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately.

Entries relating to foreign countries or places are always listed under the foreign geog headings, and not necessarily under any other subject heading.

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

AUTO WORKERS, under AFL-CIO, and under LABOR PROBLEMS.

*International Relations, Foreign Policy, Cold War.* Most articles relating to these subjects will be found under the headings ESENHWR ADMIN, FOREIGN POLICY; NUCLEAR WARFARE, and under the names of countries involved.

Entries are separated by periods; but successive related entries are separated by semi-colons. In some cases, related entries are grouped under boldface subheadings.

## ABBREVIATIONS

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BR—Book review.  
Disc—Discussion.

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The bulk of *Challenge* articles will be found under the following subject headings: ACADEMIC FREEDOM; EDUCATION; STUDENT LIFE; YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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## BOOKS AND IDEAS

### Howard Fast's "The Naked God"

# "Who Knows What We Thought?"

**THE NAKED GOD** by Howard Fast. Frederick A. Praeger Inc. N. Y., 197 pp. \$3.50  
By H. W. BENSON

How were so many creative writers drawn toward the Communist Party and why did they remain so long? These questions have been answered many times and yet we remain intensely interested when another writer addresses himself to them. Never before Stalinism was there so horrible a gap between the lie accepted by millions and the reality. But the writer thinks, criticizes, weighs, suspects, judges . . . how can he be taken in for so long? Perhaps the best reply is Fast's single sentence, "Who knows what we thought?"

He joined the Communist Party, like so many others, for justice, humanity and the end of the oppression of man by man. He left, like the others—writer and non-writer alike—when the truth was stark and ugly, and could no longer be conveniently tucked away into some mental pigeonhole.

But in the fourteen years between the beginning and the end, he was oppressed by gnawing doubts. He saw, for himself, the party bureaucrat contemptuous of all others and passing down directives to those below. He detected and analyzed the arts perfected by the successful party official: proper deference to those above, neutrality at proper moments, and sharp slashing criticism of those below when it was proper.

Fast watched while delicate questions of aesthetics were arbitrated and settled by William Z. Foster and "his grasp of divination." Everything that we know in general of a bureaucratic regime is presented here in its living embodiment.

He, himself, winced under the treatment. His writings came under microscopic scrutiny by party officials or self-appointed censors. They denounced him

when the characters in his novels would not act in accord with their own notions of party doctrine. In 1952 Fast felt the lash of the Daily Worker because Varinia, wife of Spartacus, violated the Stalinist reviewer's code of Communist womanhood.

Five years before, he was depressed and appalled by Eugene Dennis. "What does one do," he asked two comrades, "when he is part of a movement the leader of which is either an idiot or a madman?"

But he stayed on. More. He fought against expulsion, not once but several times; and not only fought, but maneuvered among the petty bureaucrats to outwit those who were out to get him. He was successful. "I think I did right through those years in refusing to allow myself to be expelled from the Party. If I had allowed it to come to that, as so many others did, I would have lost all power to influence the hundreds of thousands the world over who today see themselves in much the same position as myself."

But Fast himself is unaware of the most startling aspect of his success in avoiding party degradation. He does not seem to have been moved by a single big political issue or event of the times in his relations with the party—the Moscow Trials; the murder of Ehrlich and Alter; Stalinist murders of political critics in Spain; post-war purges in Russia and deportations of nationalities. In 1937, he relates, he read "The Revolution Betrayed" but it seems to have made no impression upon him until he read it once again 20 years later.

In his current book he writes, "In fact, certain Communists, some with long experience in Russia, some of great age and knowledge have lately assured me that Lenin in his last days was filled

with horror and fear by the developing nature of the Party, but this can only be taken as their own findings in the rumor mill." Yet, these "rumors" were amply documented years ago, notably by Trotsky.

If this is the story of Fast's personal experiences in the CP and a record of what moved him, it is obvious that the great political disputes and the outstanding political events passed him by. It was this that "saved" him from expulsion. But he flinched under the nagging, mental tortures and indignities inflicted upon his own person by stupid and coarse party Stalinists. It was this that made him acutely sensitive to what was to come.

And after the Khrushchev speech he knew. It was all lies; it was tyranny and not freedom; it was anti-socialism. And now, of all those who have left the Communist movement in its moment of disintegration Fast is one of the few who speaks out with passion against the rottenness he has discovered and for the justice he always sought.

If there is murder, he calls it by its right name. For him, tortures, beatings, dictatorship, destruction of national rights, are exactly what they are and find no refuge in euphemisms. He excoriates not "mistakes," "sectarian views," "opportunism" but anti-socialism.

However like others who have left the CP, he thinks there is something "socialist" in the Russian economy but he is not led into illusions about the nature of the regime. "In a land where poets and novelists can be tortured, beaten to a pulp, and then executed in silent degradation, freedom is a stranger." And if anyone believes that Stalin built socialism "he should read Khrushchev's secret speech and decide whether Stalin and the collection of hangmen and murderers around him were builders of socialism or terrible enemies of socialism."

## CROSSCURRENTS

### Phila Third Camp Forum

By M. O.

Philadelphia

Another step forward in the slow revival of radical politics in Philadelphia was taken Sunday evening when the Third Camp Forum, an informal grouping of democratic socialists and radical pacifists, sponsored a panel discussion on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. Sixty persons gathered at a downtown coffee house to hear three members of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania defend the outcome of that revolution while three persons, one each from the Independent Socialist League, Socialist Party-SDF, and Fellowship of Reconciliation, pointed out a variety of "short-comings."

The ISL spokesman hailed the Bolshevik revolution and pointed out that its failure does not mean the failure of socialism in general. In addition to historical reasons for the failure of the Soviet revolution, he said, there were the mistaken theories of "socialism in one country," and a tendency not to permit the fullest democracy under the revolution. Problems, he said, should always be decided in favor of democracy, even when efficiency is threatened.

The speaker for the Socialist Party pointed out that Stalinism was not faced by any serious opposition parties; the problem, he said, was that there was a lack of opposition groups. The Hitler-Stalin pact, he added, was the practical side of what was until then only a theoretical similarity. Simply the fact that there is no private property does not decide what socialism is—"Who controls?" remains the crucial question.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation speaker said that the problem of individual freedom had not yet been solved by either capitalism or socialism. Neither Little Rock nor Hungary, he said, are freedom. He concluded that "no status quo willing to kill an individual to achieve a farther goal can create a better society."

### CP SPEAKERS

The speakers for the Communist Party, all of whose fates are now in the hands of the local United States attorney's office, varied their general support of the present Soviet regime from one who said that "unfortunate errors have been committed; men are not perfect," to another who quoted G. D. H. Cole to the effect that Stalinist evils are now being "mitigated," to the concluding speaker who bragged that it was at least the Communists themselves who had exposed, at the 20th Party Congress, their own errors "for the first time." During the question period it was amply demonstrated from the floor and by the ISL speaker that this "first time" had come rather late.

Asked about the Hungarian revolution, one of the CP spokesmen, who had supported the "neither condemn nor condone" position of Gates at the time of the insurrection, said that "the people had wanted to get rid of socialism." The speaker for the SP promptly pointed out that this was the first anti-socialist revolution in history with mass workers' support and workers councils. "If this was a reactionary counter-revolution," he said, "I'm for more reactionary counter-revolutions, and in a hurry."

Sunday's Forum was the culmination of three previous ventures in the field of "confrontation" by the Third Camp group. The first had been a "What's Ahead for the American Left" symposium early in the year. This had been followed by a private "conversation" involving a variety of socialist groups, plus Communists, Socialist Workers Party people, and pacifists. In the early summer A. J. Muste, the originator of the Third Camp movement in the U.S., had participated in a "family conversation" among third campers only. Representatives of the ISL had led in proposing a panel discussion with the CP, and final agreement was concluded only after lengthy conversations between a Third Camp Forum representative and the local CP.

The audience included a sprinkling of Communist Party sympathizers and a number of out-of-towners, notably a contingent of "Yipsels" from Millersville State Teachers College and a group of veteran Socialist Party members from Camden, N. J.

# NATO— Index to Labor Action 1957

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adjunct to getting started on the missile program. It is the sop made to the well-known revulsion against a renewed arms race.

In support of the compromise, Prime Minister Macmillan quoted Churchill's slogan that "We arm to parley." But the reality is that "we parley to arm." Even the American press is beginning to catch on to this maneuver. The New York *Herald-Tribune* in an editorial on December 20 lets its readers in on how it works:

"The conference . . . has stipulated a new meeting of the Foreign Ministers with the Soviets. This is something else Dulles did not want.

"But it was Adenauer also who helped bring this about. His own shrewd canny game is now quite clear. Beseet as he is at home by millions fearful of accepting rocket bases, he seeks to parley with the Soviets during the period while the NATO military experts are preparing the logical case and plan for basing rockets.

"If by that time the Soviets have again proved enemies of peace and disarmament, as doubtless they will, the old Chancellor will be able to say: 'Men cry peace but there is no peace. Can you imagine any people being so stupid as not to defend themselves by doing what the best generals in the world tell them is necessary?' He will then have an air-tight case for missiles.

"In sum, there are still more ways than one for skinning a cat."

The purpose of the Khrushchev-Bulganin stick and carrot approach is clear enough. They seek at every opportunity and in every way to weaken, to pry apart and shake loose the Western military alliance and thus strengthen their own hand in their drive for world domination. They encourage every form of neutralist, semi-neutralist and quasi-neutralist sentiment inside of the Western camp while vigorously opposing it inside of their own military bloc.

## SEIZE ON EACH WEAKNESS

They seize upon every weakness inside of the U. S. military bloc and every progressive and democratic sentiment to manipulate it to their own benefit. And they have had more than a fair amount of success due primarily, not to Dulles' bungling, but to the inability of capitalist America to develop a democratic foreign policy. The Stalinists have been able to affix themselves to the slogan of peace, negotiations and peaceful co-existence while the U. S. is firmly tied down to a military policy of building positions of strength.

The Stalinists have been able to maneuver around the slogan of negotiations not only because they represent a totalitarian dictatorship which doesn't have to consider the demands and sentiment of the people under its rule. More important is the fact that the U. S., concerned as it is with maintaining and expanding a military structure all over the world, wants to resist any attempt to undermine the sense of urgency behind the never ending military build-up. And especially today, when the U. S. feels that it is lagging in the missile race, there is the near solidification of this resistance.

But against its own desires, the State Department finds itself being drawn into another round of negotiations with the Kremlin. Once again both sides will assume their familiar roles — Moscow proposing deceptively simple and beguiling first steps toward disarmament and Washington firmly resisting because each step, while representing a weakening of its alliance, leaves the Stalinists in a stronger position.

The net result is that Moscow comes out of each conference appearing to be the champion of peace, while Washington appears as the iceman of the cold war.

Negotiations will remain a blind alley for U. S. foreign policy as long as the U. S. continues to bring into it the same old baggage. The inability of the U. S. to call Khrushchev's bluff on withdrawing all troops from Europe dooms our foreign policy to sterility. It enables the Stalinists to appear as the champion of European unity and the abolition of the arms race, as well as justifying their counter-revolutionary role in Hungary.

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- RUSSIA**—Russ line going hard? 2-25,1. \*Letter from Russ student 4-15,5; 6-10,5; complete text 6-17,6. Ehrlich & Alter after 15 years 5-6,4. Decentralization? 5-20,1. Khrushchev proposes mutual troop withdrawal 6-10,1. Khrushchev on way to supreme command? 6-10,6. Khrushchev purges Molotov, Malenkov etc. 7-15,1. Coming rev in Stalinist empire (ISL res) 7-15,3. Democracy & shake-up 7-29,1. \*Youth drawn to festival 8-12,5. New drive against Jewish minority 8-26,4. Crackdown on arts 10-7,3. After German elections 10-21,4. Mideast war scare 11-4,1. Zhukov: a symbol of crisis 11-4,1. Ideal of Russ rev remains 11-18,7.
- SP-SDF**—Announce unity conv 1-14,7. Merger goes through 1-28,1. Sponsors Kethly meeting 2-4,2. Faces an opportunity 3-18,6. And political action 3-25,7. Norman Thomas' letter in "the Jewish Daily Forward" 4-1,3. May day meet 5-20,2. And American Forum (Disc) 7-8,6. SP-SDF, Amer Forum & Crash Program (Disc) 7-8,7. ISL conventn endorses SP unity 7-29,2. ISL resolutn on unity & regroupment 7-29,6. Calif SP and ballot 11-4,5.
- SCIENCE**—See Nuclear Warfare—AAAS report on social aspect of science 1-14,4. Scientific management talks democratic 2-11,4. Three views on science & peace issue 3-18,4. Businessmen & golden goose 3-25,4. Leukemia & H-bomb testing 6-3,4.
- SECURITY**—See Civil Liberties.
- SEGREGATION**—See Civil Rights, Jim Crowism.
- SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION**—See SP-SDF.
- SOCIALIST PARTY**—See SP-SDF.
- SOCIALIST UNITY**—SP-SDF announce unity conventn 1-14,7; merger goes through 1-28,1. Socialist Unity with whom? 2-4,3. On Socialist Unity (Disc) 3-4,4. Clark-Haskell debate 3-11,1. \*YSL for soc unity 3-18,5. Los Angeles, Phila symposium on soc regroupment 3-25,2. Toward a rebirth of socialism 5-13,4. \*Socialist regroupment (Disc) 5-27,5. Shachtman debates SWPer on regroupment 6-3,4. Cleveland forum on soc unity 6-10,4. S.F. meeting discusses future of Amer soc 6-17,4. ISL resolution on unity and regroupmt 7-29,6. \*So-called youth "forum" appears in NY 8-12,5. Chi debate on free enterprise vs. soc 12-2,2.
- SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**—Shachtman nails a liar 1-28,4; SWPer "explains" 2-11,4. Socialist unity with whom 2-4,3. SWPer at campus symposium 3-25,4. Swaback-Shachtman debate 3-25,2. Denies Swaback quote (L) 5-6,4. Shachtman debates SWPer on regroupment 6-3,4. \*So-called youth "forum" appears in NY 8-12,5. SWP asks joint electoral action with CP 9-9,2. Militant & Ceylon Trotskyists 9-9,6. Senate hearings & labor movement 9-23,2.
- SOUTH AFRICA**—Treason trial of Apartheid opponents 1-21,1.
- SPAIN**—\*Barcelona students in van 1-28,5. Behind reshuffle in cabinet 4-1,2. Franco "reforms" 5-27,1. \*Aid for students fighting Franco 7-1,5. \*Look into minds of youth 7-8,5.
- SPUTNIK**—See Nuclear Warfare, Eisenhower Admin, For. Pol.
- STALINISM**—See also Communist Party (U.S.), individual countries—1956: year of revoltn 1-7,1. GDH Cole & Hungarian rev 2-11,8. May Day 1957: New struggle, new hope 4-29,1. Ehrlich & Alter after 15 years 5-6,4. Eighth annual pamphlet issue "Revolt Behind the Iron Curtain" 5-13. For soc freedom & democracy 1; Working class & totalitarian myth 2; Reform or rev in East Europe 3; Toward a rebirth of socialism 4; Gomulka Way in Polish rev 6; Rev impact on West & war danger 7; Role of youth in rev 8. Anti-Stalinist rev (draft res of ISL) 6-24,6. Mao's regime challenging Moscow? 7-1,1. Coming rev in Stalinist empire (ISL res) 7-15,3. Djilas: The New Class (BR) 8-26,1. Attempt to smash MNA unions 8-26,6. East Europeans want demo soc 11-4,6. World CPs issue Moscow declaration 12-2,1.
- STEEL WORKERS**—McDonald seeks to head off oppositn 1-14,2. McDonald wins in close vote 2-25,1. Beck & McDonald 7-8,8.
- \*STUDENT LIFE**—New Magazine at U. of Penna 2-25,5. Case of Schuschnig at U. of Colorado 3-11,5. Campus notes from Phila 3-18,5. Campus shows signs of perking up 4-22,5. CO testing right to refuse ROTC 4-29,5. Bomb test petitions go well at U of Chi 8-12,5. 10th congress of Natnl Stud Assn 9-23,5. Will silent generatn answer racists? 10-7,1-c. Soc clubs put controversy back on campus 10-7,3-c. Anvil has report on South 10-7,4-c. Pro-union sentiment strong 10-7,4. Little Rock students & integration 10-21,5. U of Chi activity sign-up lively 11-4,5. Berkeley meet attracts camera fiend 11-4,6. Political revival seen 11-18,5.
- SYRIA**—See Mideast—Another Guatemala in making? 9-23,1. Mideast war scare 11-4,1.
- TEAMSTERS**—See Labor Problems.
- AFL-CIO**—Beck case symbolizes racket issue 2-25,2. Rank & file teamsters in angry protest 4-1,1. UAW-Teamsters show contrast in unions 4-8,3. Beck gets boot; how Beck got there; SF locals revolt 5-27,2. Beck down, Hoffa on pan 6-3,3. Beck & McDonald 7-8,8. Hoffa's bid for union power 8-12,2. Pressure mounting against Hoffa 9-23,4. Hoffa moves fast to keep union card 10-7,2. Court blocks Hoffa from office 10-21,1. Give Hoffa's bum's rush 10-21,2. The Teamsters Union (BR) 12-2,4. Expelled from AFL-CIO 12-16,1.
- TROTSKY, NATALIA**—Denies rumors 5-6,1.
- UAW**—See Auto Workers.
- VIETNAM**—U. S. aid to Vietnam—a balance sheet 11-4,3.
- VIRGIN ISLANDS**—Who cares about Virg Islands? 2-18,4.
- \*YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE**—Three years of the YSL 2-18,5. YSL for socialist unity 3-18,5. Launches fund drive 4-1,5. Weekend camp rings bell 5-6,5. Debate on Russian "workers state" 5-6,5. Harrington debates Buckley at Fordham 5-20,5. Tour shows potentialities 6-24,5. Conventn looks ahead 7-15,8. Tours planned 9-9,5. Questions conventn report (L) 9-9,5. Program for meaningful youth movement 10-7,2-c. Challenges Russ YCL to debate 10-7,3-c; reply 12-2,5. Tour reports: Northwest, Berkeley 11-4,5. YSL vs Young Soc Alliance (L) 11-18,5.
- YUGOSLAVIA**—What was Djilas' crime? (Jennie Lee) 2-4,6. Limits of Titoism (Disc Libertini-Cliff) 2-4,7.
- WITCH HUNT**—See Civil Liberties.

## Louis P. Goldberg

We announce to our readers with sorrow the death of Louis P. Goldberg, national vice chairman of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on December 11, at the age of 68.

For many years comrade Goldberg was a leader of the Socialist Party, and was chairman of the Social Democratic Federation at the time of its merger with the SP last year. Between 1919 and 1939 comrade Goldberg ran for the State Assembly four times, for Municipal Court once, for Surrogate once and for the Supreme Court seven times on the Socialist Party ticket. During 1942-43 he served on the City Council as a candidate of the American Labor Party, and during 1946-49 he served in the same post as an candidate of the Liberal Party.

Goldberg was a leader of the socialist movement in Brownsville in the 1920's, when it was one of the biggest socialist concentrations in America. At that time he was counsel for tenants' unions in Brooklyn. His candidacy for various judicial offices on the SP ticket was often endorsed by the Citizens Union and the Brooklyn Bar Association. In 1935 he wrote the book "Lawless Judges." He was also active in various Jewish charitable organizations, and the League for Industrial Democracy.

Comrade Goldberg's devotion to socialism was underlined in the last years of his life by his leadership of the move to re-unite the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation. He persevered in this effort in the face of strong opposition and even hostility from a considerable number of his lifelong friends and comrades in the SDF. To have helped in laying the foundations of a re-united and revitalized socialist movement in this country, this indeed was a worthy close to a life devoted to socialism.

## Max Shachtman Speaks At Philadelphia Meeting

On Friday, December 13, Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, addressed an audience here on the topic, *Socialism in the United States*. More than 50 people sat spellbound for four hours as Shachtman traced the history of the radical political movements in the U. S., and answered questions by the audience. The meeting was the first of a projected series to be conducted under the joint auspices of the local ISL and the Phila. Young Socialist League.

The speaker emphasized the unique development of radicalism in this country. It did not spring from the protest of the peasantry as they were herded into the cities when feudalism crumbled, as in Europe. Even slavery in its plantation form was singular. The opportunities of the West always softened the plight of the workers in the East. Shachtman paid tribute to the great Democrat, Thomas Jefferson, and showed that his influence has been long enduring. Jefferson was nevertheless wrong on every economic concept; America has become great because it has diverged from the agrarian ideals of Jefferson. American radicalism: Populist, Greenback, Progressive, Utopian, and even 20th century Socialism has been tinged with agrarianism.

Shachtman stated that sectarianism has been the curse of the American socialist movement from the followers of La Salle (the Socialist Labor Party) through the Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement. Today we need not a collection of finished programs but a socialist movement. As a first step to the building of that movement the ISL has proposed merger with the Socialist Party. The speaker warned that this merger of two sects would not in itself give birth to the movement which every socialist desires.

Many in the audience heard the ISL chairman for the first time. They seemed to be particularly interested in the discussion period. Questions dealt with the ISL-SP-SDF merger, socialist democracy in the transition period, and other matters of socialist theory.

## New York ISL & YSL

# Gala New Years Eve Party

Tuesday, December 31 9 p.m.

Labor Action Hall, 114 W. 14th

Dancing . . . Refreshments

Socializing . . . All invited