

# LABOR ACTION

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MAY 5, 1958

TEN CENTS

## MAY DAY 1958

May Day 1958 is a time of opportunity for socialists, and above all for American socialists. In every area of American political and social life, except for the struggle for equality by the Negro people, and the struggle to roll back McCarthyism, public sentiment has been frozen at dead center for a number of years. But however long and forbidding the winter may be, spring is bound to follow. And the signs are that in the political and social sense, it is at hand.

For years the "great debate" on foreign policy in this country took place within a narrow range of assumptions shared by the protagonists. The voice of democratic socialists, urging a foreign policy based on support of the worldwide struggle of the peoples for freedom, was drowned out by such stirring concepts as brinkmanship, massive retaliation, and negotiations from strength.

But that is noticeably changing. In all sections of American politics voices are raised uneasily questioning the old assumptions and conclusions. The chance for socialist concepts to make their way becomes a real one.

Similarly in the field of internal affairs. While the bloom was on the boom, the socialist critique of capitalism could be dismissed as an anachronistic doctrine irrelevant to the new capitalism with its built-in "permanent revolution." Who could assert that with conviction in liberal and labor circles today?

And within the radical movement itself, changes have been taking place which point to the possibility of a new internal cohesion which can give it the strength to address itself to the broad labor and liberal sectors of the population with success. The Stalinists have not recovered from the Khrushchev revelations and the revolutions in Hungary and Poland. Their hegemony in American radicalism is gone. And while the regroupment of the socialist movement has been progressing more slowly, hesitantly and amorphously than many may have wished, it has been a time of re-consideration and re-evaluation for all. There have been definite tendencies toward a re-commitment to socialist activity by people who have for some time stood aside from the organized movement. There is a new feeling of ferment and confidence among the young people. With boldness and good-will on all sides, the past year of re-evaluation can bear the fruit of a definite organizational regroupment and resurgence in the year ahead.

So, May Day greetings to all fighters for socialist freedom! You have shown steadfastness and tenacity in the darkest hours of socialist isolation and repression. In the days ahead, tenacity and boldness can make socialism once again a real factor in American political life.

## Govt. Action Demanded As Slump Dives Deeper

By GORDON HASKELL

The recession continues to deepen. Millions of families all over the land are prey to insecurity, fear, a feeling of helplessness, and deep economic distress. While the slump causes ever-widening and deepening rings of misery throughout the country, the government continues to sit stolidly on its hands doing nothing but to urge optimism and confidence.

The Democratic majority in Congress has been talking a good fight against the recession, but as usual when it comes to *action* on social measures, it has been tied in the knots of the conflicting strands and tendencies in the party.

The first knot has been the mutual non-aggression pact between the Democratic leadership in the house and the administration on the subject of tax-slashing. Though liberal Democrats have been calling for a major income and excise tax-slash to release purchasing power to those who would use it most immediately, the party leadership in Congress has taken a position on this question which is almost indistinguishable from that of the White House. They are still waiting to see if the recession isn't "bottoming out," if not in March, then in April, May or some undefined month in the future. This despite the fact that six out of eight economists testifying before the Joint Congressional Economic Committee last week stated that they see no early end to the recession, and urged vigorous and sustained government action against it.

### PURE SOCIALISM

Second is the strong opposition inside the Democratic Party to extend and ex-

pand unemployment compensation benefits as an emergency measure for the unemployed. Representative Howard W. Smith, Democratic chairman of the House Rules Committee has branded as "pure socialism" the proposal to appropriate one and a half billion dollars for this unemployment relief, while President Eisenhower has led the Republican chorus in opposing it on the grounds that it is a "pure dole."

**A dole! In the year 1958 in the richest and strongest capitalist country in the world we are faced with the need to raise a dole for millions of willing workers for whom our "modern capitalism" can provide no work. The regular unemployment compensation has proved insufficient as a "cushion" or "stabilizer" in this slump. What the liberal Democrats are proposing to do is simply to add a short-term pump-priming boost to the economy, and to alleviate some of the misery of the unemployed and their families by giving out a dole via the machinery of unemployment compensation. However telling an indictment this may be of the capitalist system, including its modern additions and accessories, it is the fastest, most efficient, and most dignified and painless way, from**

(Turn to last page)

## Struggle Over Labor Law Strains Union - Dem. Ties

By SAM BOTTONE

In an unexpected turn of events legislation to control the internal operations of labor unions came to the forefront in the Senate in the latter part of April. This along with the recession will be the main domestic issues dominating the remaining months of the 85th Congress.

The new push behind the anti-labor legislation comes as the aftermath of the year-long hearings before the McClellan Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor-Management Field and the recommendations in the Committees March report. At the time of the AFL-CIO convention last December, Secretary of Labor Mitchell announced that the Eisenhower administration was going to propose legislation regulating the internal functioning of the labor movement.

AFL-CIO leaders probably expected that the administration proposals and similar bills would be bottled up in the Senate Labor Committee long enough to make any chance of passage unlikely. But they reckoned without the political ambitions of Senator Knowland, Senate Republican leader.

The Democratic congressional leadership, sensing a Democratic tide in the fall elections was not going to rock the

boat inside the Democratic Party by pushing for any major labor legislation, either for or against unions. Given the general political situation, it appeared likely that only a bill for public reporting of union welfare and pension funds would see the light of the Senate floor.

**However this was non-controversial since the labor movement had already indicated its support for it. Most, if not all, of these funds are kept apart from union treasuries, and typically they are under joint union-management control. In fact the opposition to public disclosure of the operation of welfare funds came not from the unions but from employer groups and the insurance companies.**

But when the welfare fund bill came to the Senate floor, Senator Knowland announced that he was introducing a series

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## PROCESSES THAT DON'T TERMINATE

**"You can't justify processes that don't terminate. The public begins to think it is a game."**

U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers

That is a sentiment, Mr. Attorney General, which we can heartily endorse. Of course, we are dismayed that your department has yielded to its feeling of frustration in one case to the extent of snatching a harmless individual off the street and flying him to Finland in an effort to terminate his legal processes.

We are dismayed, Mr. Attorney General, and we cannot for a moment condone such a hasty and high-handed procedure which abridges the legal rights and safeguards of individuals. But we must admit that although we do not condone it, we are readily able to appreciate the feeling of frustration which led your agents to commit this illegal and, according to Senator Jennings of Missouri, "un-American" act. For, as we pointed out in some detail in the last issue of LABOR ACTION, your department has given us a sample of "processes that don't terminate" full measure, beaten down and running over.

But we are glad to be able to think that our period of frustration must now soon be at an end. As we pointed out in the last issue, it is almost ten years since we first attempted to start proceedings with your department with regard to our inclusion on the "list of subversive organizations." It is five years since we filed formal protest with your department and instituted proceedings for de-listing. AND IT IS NOW EXACTLY FOUR MONTHS SINCE YOU RECEIVED THE FINAL BRIEFS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS PROCEEDING. Surely four months is a long enough time in which to make up your mind on a proceeding which has lasted ten years!

It would be too bad, would it not, if the public were to get the impression that the Department of Justice is playing a game, even if a rather grim one, in this important area of civil liberties?

# California SP-SDF To Run Thygeson For U. S. Senate

By L. G. SMITH

The state convention of the California Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has decided to run Fritjof Thygeson for the United States Senate. The form in which the California SP-SDF has decided to run their campaign is by cross-filing on the Democratic ticket in the primaries, which will get the name of their candidate on the official ballot. Since the SP-SDF expects that their candidate will not succeed in winning the Democratic nomination, they propose to run a write-in campaign in the final election.

Up till now, the Socialist Party in California has never resorted to the state's unique cross-filing law which permits candidates of any party to cross-file onto the primary ballot of any other party, without in any way indicating support or sympathy for the ticket onto which he has filed. California's petition requirements are now so stiff that it is practically impossible for any minor party, without enormous popular or financial backing to get on the ballot in its own name. Up till now, the California Socialist Party had believed that it was impossible to cross-file from a party which was not itself on the ballot to one which was. But the state attorney general ruled for the Constitutional Party last February that in fact it is possible to do this. Thus Thygeson will be able to cross-file as an official SP-SDF candidate onto the Democratic ballot.

In considering the advisability of this campaign, the California SP-SDF took into consideration the confused state of labor politics in this election in California. While with regard to most offices the campaign will be pretty well drawn between the forces of the labor movement and the Knowland "Right to Work" group, this is not true of the U.S. Senate race. The Democrats have nominated

Clair Engle, a consistent Taft Hartleyite, and this has started a wholesale revolt of liberal and labor votes away from the Democratic ticket. Though the State CIO swallowed hard and endorsed Engle so as to keep the Democratic ticket intact, the State AFL endorsed both the Republican and the Democrat as equal choices.

**In the general revulsion among liberals and labor people to this situation, the SP-SDF hopes to be able to present a clear-cut progressive choice in such a way as to make a protest vote most clearly and easily available. In running a socialist campaign, they hope to be able to dramatically point out the shortcoming of the liberal and labor forces in the state in having failed to get a candidate on the ballot who in any sense can be said to represent their interests.**

The state convention of the SP-SDF also passed a unanimous motion to invite the support of the Independent Socialist League and LABOR ACTION for Fritjof Thygeson's campaign in California. In a letter addressed to the ISL, Vern Davidson, convention secretary of the SP-SDF indicates that while his organization realizes that it would have been preferable to give all democratic socialists concerned some time to consider all aspects of the campaign before making a final decision, once the comrades of the SP-SDF had made up their minds on the matter they were faced with a situation in which less than one week was left in which to raise the filing fee and gather the petitions. This precluded the possibility of prior consultation on the advisability of the campaign from the point of view of the number of people and other resources available to the Socialist movement in California.

After considering the invitation of the California SP-SDF for support and endorsement of their campaign, the Political Committee of the ISL has decided to urge the California members and friends of the organization to do everything in their power to support the campaign, as well as to lend the support of the national organization of the ISL through the pages of LABOR ACTION.

## ELECTRICAL WORKERS

### GE Gets Tough at Schenectady

In Schenectady, 5000 GE workers shut down the world's largest turbine building for four days, April 8-11. (GE employs 27,000 at the plant, of whom about 11,000 are members of IUE local 301). The strike challenged management's insistence upon the unilateral right to assign jobs. For months, it used the recession as a pretext for speed-up.

The union finally hit back. On March 31, the company sent a shop steward home for refusing to work outside his own classification and do his own work besides. In solidarity with him, 120 workers in the department walked out, stirred into action because the union had previously processed similar grievances through the regular procedure in vain.

GE refused to back down from its speed-up demand. On April 3, after a formal strike vote, the entire Turbine Department walked out. The union picketed the department but permitted work to continue in the rest of the plant. It was the first major strike of Schenectady GE workers since 1946.

The company bombarded the public with anti-union propaganda, threatening

lay-offs if the union did not capitulate. The union retorted with a threat of a plant-wide strike; but on April 12, both parties agreed to arbitrate.

Some observers look upon the strike as a dress rehearsal for the fall when negotiations open on employment security questions. IUE militants say that the strike aroused union consciousness and solidarity in a section of the membership.

An interesting sidelight: Some former UE leaders opposed the strike hoping to play ball with management (This local switched affiliation from UE to IUE in 1954). Their opposition, added to the general apathy of the membership which is dominantly Republican and conservative, probably explains why there was no plant-wide strike.

After the strike, GE reiterated its "management responsibility to assign work to best utilize time." And so, another test of strength between union and company is likely, and soon.

### Business Is Business

Insurance companies, which have a great deal of money invested in tax-exempt school bonds in the South, apparently have been worrying about the effect of laws—such as the one recently passed by Georgia—which would permit states to make public schools "private." But, reports Cleveland Amory in the *Saturday Review*, a reassuring bulletin has just come along from the American Mutual Liability Insurance Company of Boston. "Southerners are intelligent and realistic," the bulletin said. "Integration is one thing. Credit is another."

From *Let's Be Human*

## AUTO WORKERS

### Bold Move in Negotiations

By LARRY O'CONNOR

As we go to press, the negotiations between the United Auto Workers and the Big Three of auto have taken another turn. Walter Reuther has proposed that the contracts be extended for three months without any pay increases, on condition that the car companies drop the prices of their cars in an effort to pare down the enormous stock of over 800,000 1958 models. In addition, he has offered to help the industry get Congress to cut the excise tax on automobiles.

Reuther's proposal is obviously designed to meet the widespread propaganda which is seeking to convince the nation that a prime cause of the recession is wage increases wrung from the employers by powerful unions, which are then alleged to force price increases. Eisenhower and top business and "public" spokesmen have said recently that "holding the line" on wages and prices is a prime requisite for getting out of the slump.

### HOLD THE LINE

Thus the UAW is now saying in effect: all right, we are prepared to hold the line. But the employers raised prices on their cars when the new models were introduced even though we got no wage increase at that time. Let them drop prices now, and start moving the backlog of cars which is loading the industry down like a millstone. Then, by fall, when we have done our part and given the economy a chance to recover, and when things are, presumably, looking up for all of us, we

can take another crack at the contract.

The reaction of the corporation chiefs has been as violent as could have been predicted. As we go to press, they have bluntly refused a three-month extension, and are demanding a two-year extension of the contract as it stands, including its built-in productivity and escalator clauses. Further, it appears that they are trying to scare the union's negotiators by setting a early "take it or leave it" deadline.

The companies, and their paid and unpaid propagandists are denouncing the new "Reuther plan" on the ground that it would simply put off contract negotiations to a time which the union hopes will be more favorable to it. That, of course, is true, if the recession has bottomed out before then. But in any event, what is wrong with it? If there is pick up in the fall, the employers should be glad to give their hard-pressed workers a share in the renewed prosperity and profits. And if there isn't . . . they will have lost nothing since the union's position would be no better after an additional three months of recession than it is now.

Of course, what they are really howling about is that the UAW leadership, in a very tight corner and playing it close to the vest, has once again succeeded in exposing the employers' greedy, anti-social attitude to the whole nation. Though this may be just one of the twists in the road of these negotiations, it is a twist which can only strengthen the union's political position, and its bargaining position to boot.

## LABOR SCOPE

### RACKETEERS COMMITTEE SPLIT

It was expected and here it is: the McClellan Committee is, at least, in its crisis, precipitated by the Kohler hearings. For a long time, the Committee was preoccupied with exposing racketeers in unions and a surprising thing happened. As the crooks and grafters were paraded before the public, the prestige of Reuther and Meany rose. For the first time, it seemed as if the power of the corruptionists within the labor movement might be wiped out. But it became more and more pointless to senators like Goldwater, Curtis, and Mundt. They didn't get into this act in order to boost the prestige of Reuther and undermine his rivals, many of whom turned out to be good Republicans like Hoffa and Beck. The scandals even splashed over to another prominent labor-Republican, Maurice Hucheson of the Carpenters Union.

Goldwater and his friends are eager to get away from trivialities and come right to the point: Reuther, you see, is the real danger because he seeks to undermine our whole way of life; on to Kohler and the war against subversive unionism which is nothing short of communism and terrorism!

But it doesn't work. Even the conservative daily press is alarmed; the days of McCarthy are over and no one wants another three-ring Senatorial performance. Barnum and Bailey will open in New York, not in Washington.

The right-wing Republicans would like to investigate the shotgun blasts at Perfect Circle in order to bring out the fact that the UAW is a worse danger than Russian dictatorship. But the others, with varying degrees of interest, would like to chide the labor movement for allowing high officials to dip into the till.

One question is: can these gentlemen maintain enough common purpose to continue their committee?

But far more important is this: will the labor movement—let the Committee come or go—persist in its drive to destroy the power of corruption in the unions?

### TAFT-HARTLEY STYLE UNION BUSTING GOES ON

The Kohler strike began in 1954. On April 5, it entered its fifth year, with no end in sight. It is the longest of its type but there are others:

The strike of the United Rubber Workers against the O'Sullivan Rubber Co. in Winchester, Va., began in May, 1956. After the company had recruited enough scabs it petitioned for an NLRB decertification election. The NLRB held an election in October last year in which no strikers but only scabs were allowed to vote and the union was decertified. But the union did not end the strike, although the Taft-Hartley Law barred it from demanding collective bargaining rights. Picketing continued and a national boycott began. But now, another blow is struck against the union. NLRB General Counsel Jerome D. Fenton has filed charges against the union before the NLRB. He contends that the picket line and the boycott constitute illegal "coercion." This fight is almost two years old.

In Cleveland, a small union—national membership 500—has been out for seven months. 130 members of the Wire Weavers Protective Association (AFL-CIO) are on strike against the Lindsay Wire Weaving Company. The issues: bargaining rights at a new company plant and protection of their craft skills against division into separate operations. The very existence of this small international union is at stake.

A steel workers local is in danger, too. In May last year, Local 5520 of the United Steelworkers Union in Huntington, West Virginia, went on strike for a 5 cent increase against the Armstrong Products Co., stove manufacturers who paid an average hourly rate of \$1.35. Scabs were hired; one injunction limited pickets to four; another injunction ordered teamsters to cross the lines. When a few more scabs are recruited, the stage is set for the Taft-Hartley union-breaking formula: an NLRB election for scabs only.

### YOU'RE INVITED

to speak your mind in the letter column of Labor Action. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

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# May Day Greeting to Labor Action and the Challenge

**To Our  
Loyal Supporters**

EDITORIAL BOARD  
LABOR ACTION

**For  
Democratic Socialist  
UNITY**

Cleveland • ISL

**Greetings  
to LABOR ACTION**

... from ANVIL

**For a United  
Democratic Socialist  
Movement in the U. S.**

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE  
National Action Committee

**May  
Day  
Greetings**

PHILADELPHIA • ISL & YSL

TO ALL SOCIALISTS EVERYWHERE

PITTSBURGH • ISL

## **On May Day 1958**

**We Honor the Hungarian Working Class  
For Its Heroic Fight  
Against Stalinist Tyranny  
We Hail the Struggle  
Of Fighters for Democracy and Socialism  
Everywhere in the World**

Bay Area Branch • ISL

**The Fight for  
A Socialist America  
is the Best  
Defense of Democracy**

New York • Independent Socialist League

**May  
Day  
Greetings**

READING • ISL

**Forward to  
Socialist Freedom**

Detroit • ISL

**Socialist Greetings  
On Labor's  
Day of Struggle**

Newark • ISL

**For a Meaningful  
and Durable  
Socialist Unity**

Bay Area • YSL

**To the Future of  
Democratic Socialism  
And the Third Camp**

New York • Young Socialist League

**Greetings to our Comrades  
Everywhere**

Seattle ISL • Seattle YSL

**For World Wide Peace  
And Freedom Through Socialism**

Chicago • Independent Socialist League

**Socialist Greetings**

from

Los Angeles ISL • Home of the Dodgers

**For a United  
Democratic Socialist  
Youth Movement**

Chicago • Young Socialist League

## IUSY Bureau takes Strong Stand For Disarmament, Against Imperialism

The Bureau of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), the international organization of democratic socialist youth, met in Vienna, March 27-29. Challenge prints here several of the political resolutions passed at this meeting.

We also wish to inform our readers that this meeting of the Bureau admitted the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), youth affiliate of the SP-SDF, to membership. The application of the Young Socialist League was not acted upon favorably because the Bureau felt that the good possibilities for a single, unified youth organization through the merger of the YSL and YPSL would guarantee ample representation to the American socialist youth.

Challenge is particularly happy to note the strong stand taken by our comrades of the IUSY in defense of the right to self determination and against imperialism.

### Disarmament

Without a relaxation of the controversies in world policy and an extensive controlled disarmament the peace of the world cannot be ensured. On the contrary, the senseless armament race with its modern destructive means of our time leads to the danger of a completely ruinous atomic war.

### FIRST STEP

For these reasons the IUSY demands stronger attempts to end the Cold War. Proposals such as the Gaitskill and Rapacki Plans must be unconditionally and thoroughly examined and used for an international relaxation policy. All governments are called upon not to make political decisions which could hinder the attempts at relaxation.

As first step towards disarmament IUSY demands the abolition of all tests

### WITH THE YSL

The National Action Committee of the YSL recently chartered a new unit in Denver, Colorado. This is the fourth new unit chartered since the YSL Convention last July.

Michael Harrington, National Chairman of the YSL, will speak at Boston University and at Brandeis University this week.

George Rawick, editor of *Anvil*, is currently engaged in a mid-west tour. Comrade Rawick will speak at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, Washington University (St. Louis), the University of Chicago, and Antioch College.

The New York unit of the YSL will hold a book bazaar near the end of May. All friends and comrades of the YSL are invited to donate books and to come to the bazaar. Time and date will be announced in the next issue of Challenge.

Seattle young socialists (including members of the YSL and of the Democratic Socialist Club) were recently active in the student elections at the University of Washington. Challenge hopes to have a report on developments there shortly.

and production of nuclear weapons and the creation of an atom free zone where international controversies are worst.

Atomic power may only be used for peaceful purposes and must be placed under an international control organ.

The ending of nuclear armament and a world wide disarmament also of the conventional weapons are essential provisions for peaceful co-existence of all peoples. IUSY therefore welcomes all attempts which aim to end the atomic armament craze and it particularly welcomes the efforts of the German and Japanese Socialists against nuclear armament.

### Algeria

IUSY notes with concern that the Algerian situation has continuously deteriorated since the Congress defined the stand of IUSY. IUSY believes that determination to resolve the Algerian issue through recourse to arms is the main cause of the prolongation of the conflict. Success of French arms in Algeria would be victory of oppressive imperialism against freedom and self-determination.

IUSY reiterates the stand taken by the Congress at Rome and demands the withdrawal of French military forces from Algeria, free elections under U.N. control and that the French authorities enter into negotiations with the leaders of the Freedom Movement.

The IUSY unequivocally condemns the so-called policy of "Zone Interdite" that is being pursued by French military authorities on the Algerian-Tunisian border.

The forcible transfer of large numbers of people from their ancestral home is carried out with total disregard to human suffering and misery.

IUSY calls upon member organizations to do their utmost to help the victims of French Imperialism and contribute liberally to the Algerian Refugee Fund to be set up by IUSY.

### Tunisia

IUSY protests against continued French violation of the Tunisian border which is a matter of concern to all. The IUSY offers its deepest sympathies to the victims of the most detestable aspects of French militarism. The brutal bombing of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef came as a shock to civilized mankind and showed French Colonialism in its real form.

The IUSY salutes the heroism in resisting French aggression and self-restraint in the face of the gravest French provocation, displayed by the people of Tunisia.

### Morocco

The IUSY pledges its support to the Moroccan people in their determination to sidestrip their soil of the last vestiges of foreign rule and feels confident that the Freedom Forces in Morocco will triumph over Imperialism.

IUSY which has steadfastly stood by the Moroccan peoples' struggle for independence deeply deplores the action of the Moroccan Government in transferring Spanish soldiers who had deserted Franco's Fascist army because they did

not want to fight against the Moroccans on Franco's side.

### Latin America

The IUSY, facing the Latin American problems notes that Latin America under the double influence of imperialism and local capitalism includes under-developed countries essentially mono-productive and having:

a) foreign monopolies such as those of the U.S.A., which control the exploitation of the natural raw materials;

b) an agrarian system based on exploitation and semi-feudal social and production relations;

c) Industries mainly established and owned by North Americans, allowing capitalism to make great benefits, which go to the metropolis, depriving thus those weak countries of the products of their work;

d) an economic policy initiated mainly by North Americans, limiting foreign trade to certain markets and causing on one hand lower prices for raw materials and on the other hand high prices of the metropolis' manufactured products.

### FACTORS

The IUSY realizes that these factors and policies have resulted in unbalanced economic processes and semi-feudal exploitation of the soil together with a capitalistic industrialization mainly introduced by the metropolis. We note, further that in this respect American

(Continued on page 5)

### U. OF CHICAGO

## Struggle Over Student Rights Heats Up

Student Government elections at the University of Chicago have come at a strategic point this spring. SRP (Student Representative Party) which has had the majority in the last government is fighting the University administration on two fronts at once. Student Government is waging a petition campaign against the administration's student off-campus housing file, demanding that discriminatory listings be dropped. The Dean is stubbornly opposed to such a proposal and is using the 'student' newspaper, *Chicago Maroon* as its own propaganda sheet to discredit the whole idea of a non-discriminatory file.

### PRINCIPLES

The dean's office is making further use of the *Maroon* to quell student protest over its proposals for a new student code. These proposals, toughening liquor and chaperonage requirements, cracking down on off-campus advertising and non-student participation in campus organizations and regulating requirements for the officers of more important clubs, are felt to be unnecessary, and interference in strictly internal affairs of the student organizations. The questions being asked most by students are: what was wrong with the old regulations? and, what has happened to U of C's tradition of treating students like adults? CORSO, the

SG committee on recognized student organizations, considered turning down the dean's proposals immediately but decided to pass a general resolution in SG instead. The resolution finally passed stated that SG indorses the following principles:

The university administration has no right to make rulings concerning student organizations except when a question of legality is at stake. Further, that Student Government has no right to interfere in the affairs of student organizations except when the student Bill of Rights is violated.

Both the petition campaign against the discriminatory housing file and the SG stand on the Student Code are being fought by the dean's office and the more conservative students. SRP is being heaped with all kinds of abuse in this campaign for not doing enough in the past government and for antagonizing the administration. Charges of mismanagement are being used to cover up the real issues at stake in the election.

### VAGUE PROPOSALS

The administration tells students, through the *Maroon*, that a non-discriminatory housing file would cut down the number of listings and hurt the majority of (that is- the white) students. And, it would be unfair to the discriminatory landlords too!

The dean's proposals for the code have been stated as vaguely as possible so that he never has to answer directly for them. Every time they are attacked on one basis, the dean insists that they have been misunderstood. One proposal reads as follows:

All events held on campus must be:

(1) within the educational aims of the University;

(2) non-profit;

(3) all proceeds must stay in the hands of student organizations and cannot go to outside groups.

The dean refuses to say what is meant by this, or to define any of the terms, stating that it is strictly a legal matter. The activities office is trying to deal with the students through its lawyers it seems, and SG is considering hiring a few of its own. The local Alderman, Leonard Duprés, is investigating the matter for the students now. Since Corso has no intention (if SRP has the Majority in the next gov't) of writing any of the dean's 'suggestions' into the code, the dean has been asked what he will do in such an event. He has scrupulously avoided any clear answer, but many fear that a really bitter fight is yet to come.

The university was once a leader in academic freedom. It would be sad to see this freedom decline just as that of other schools is slowly being increased. But many recent moves of the administration seem to indicate that it is determined to change the very character of this institution. And the students become uneasy about their future as they sense this change coming. They can get no clear statement of policy or even of perspective from the administration... only small clues.

Here at the University of Chicago, so long considered outstanding for its liberal approach both to education and the student, one can only ask—what is happening, where are we going?

# young socialist CHALLENGE

## Not in the Headlines

## IUSY Bureau Resolutions — —

(Continued from page 4)

policy is assisted by the national bourgeoisie, which has pursued a policy of internal division and struggle in order to favor foreign capitalism and at the same time has served as a political instrument of the State Department tying the countries to American policy, which supports armament and military agreements. Also, it arms all oligarchical and undemocratic regimes.

This situation is becoming increasingly serious because of the inflationary process which occurred after a deep structural crisis.

For this reason, the IUSY declares itself to be in favor of the Latin American Socialist struggle and of all the other progressive movements and recommends:

1) To institute Latin American cooperation under the Socialist sign, to realize an agrarian reform, to plan industry according to the interests of the national majorities of workers, to pursue an adequate policy which will put all great production centers, which are usually under the control of foreign capital, at the disposal of the people.

2) To reject all the imperialist pacts, and oppose all other forms of subjection and armaments.

The IUSY resolves:

1. to reaffirm its position on the fight against capitalistic imperialism dis-rejected by U.S.A.;

2. to condemn the dictatorial regimes, militarism and clericalism (political super-structure of Latin American economic regimes);

3. to salute the Latin American socialist movements in growth and the similar movements of anti-imperialistic and revolutionary nationalism which are the forces representing the aspirations and the interests of all these peoples.

### Cuba

IUSY, considering:

1. the policy of terror and death instituted by the dictatorship of Fulgencio

Batista against the people and students of Cuba thanks to the help of national and foreign capitalism;

2. the heroic struggle of the Federation of University Students of Cuba and their revolutionary direction, the two presidents were assassinated by the governmental police, comrades Juan Antonio Echevarria and Fructuoso Rodriguez, and the not less decisive action of the guerrilleros of Fidel Castro;

3. the policy of military support given by the State Department to this dictatorship.

**Decides:**

1. to repudiate the dictatorship of Batista, his policy of destroying the revolutionary insurrections amongst the people and defending the interests of national and foreign capitalism;

2. to help the students and the Cuban people in their struggle for liberty and social justice in Cuba, and express all the respect for all their martyrs, and especially for Juan Antonio Echevarria and Fructuoso Rodriguez;

3. to recommend all the revolutionary forces of Cuba to form immediately a Party representing the working classes, which will be a strong political weapon;

4. to exhort Latin American Socialists to give all the possible material and moral support to the struggles against the dictatorship and to work in order to form the Socialist Party necessary for the evolution of this country.

### Strikes in Spain

The IUSY views the strikes of the workers in Astoria and the demonstrations by students in Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa, and Séville as irrefutable evidence that in spite of the 21 years of tyranny the Franco regime has failed to extinguish the flame of freedom that burns in millions of Spanish hearts. The IUSY salutes these brave fighters who are hazarding every risk to restore freedom to their long suffering motherland. The IUSY assures the workers and the

students of its fullest support in their heroic struggle which has sustained our faith in the inevitable triumph of Spanish democracy and warns the Franco regime that its repression only hastens the end of its ultimate doom.

### Eastern Europe

IUSY stresses the need for all efforts to be made for a change in the present situation in Central and East Europe. It is necessary to adopt an international statute which will secure for this area independence and freedom of development as well as the unification of Germany.

Consequently, IUSY considers it necessary to have:

1) disarmament in this area which must be free of nuclear weapons;

2) a guarantee by the big powers and the United Nations, national independence and free elections under international control;

3) this area must include all countries under Communist domination as well as both parts of Germany whose re-unification will be speeded up through this.

IUSY is convinced that this status for Central and Eastern Europe is the best way to the lessening of international tension and progress in disarmament.

IUSY greets the oppressed youth living in the Communist dictatorships and assures that the IUSY will, also in the future, recognize the Social Democratic Youth organizations in Exile as the only legitimate representatives of the Socialist Youth in Central and Eastern Europe and that it supports fully their fight to restore democracy in their countries.

The Socialist Youth of the world united in IUSY stresses once again its full solidarity with the Youth in Central and Eastern Europe and declares their fight for freedom to be one of its first aims. We will continue our work and fight until the Youth all over the world will attain their freedom and will be united with us in the IUSY in one free Socialist Youth Movement.

### Chicago Politics Club

#### Hears I. F. Stone Talk

I. F. Stone, noted Washington publicist and independent socialist, spoke for the University of Chicago politics club on Friday April 18. His talk "Teller Testing and some new Nuclear Pearls" dealt mainly with the AEC's less than candid approach to the public, and some alarming facts about our nuclear weapons. This meeting was one of the last in the U of C's annual Academic Freedom week program. Earlier events included a concert by Paul Robeson, John Gates speaking on freedom of the press and the CP, Willoughby Abner of the UAW and NAACP on Academic freedom and Segregation in our schools, and various other panel discussions.

The Politics Club sponsored Stone as the first in a series of speakers being brought to campus by a variety of organizations in a campaign to Stop Nuclear Tests. Several of these groups are in touch with the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and literature distributions and sale of "sane" pins are planned as well as the program of speakers, posters and displays.

The Politics club is sponsoring Irwin Suall, national secretary of the Socialist Party and G. D. H. Cofe, the British socialist and economist in two other meetings this quarter.

## New York Student SANE Institute

The New York Students Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is planning an all-day Institute at Columbia University on Saturday, May 10. Registration starts at 10 in the morning, and the concluding session at 4:30 pm. This will be followed by a supper at six and social starting at eight in the evening.

Discussion groups planned for the institute are to deal with various aspects of education, international relations and science. Among the people who will participate in leading the discussions are

Trevor Thomas, executive secretary of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; John Alexander, assistant dean, Columbia College; Roy Finch, professor of philosophy, Sarah Lawrence; Jay Orear, physicist, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, and Don Peretz, Middle East specialist; Robert Gilmore, chairman of the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy will be the keynote speaker of the institute.

The Institute will be held at Earl Hall (East side, third floor) at Columbia University, 117th St. and Broadway. For information and reservations write: New York Students Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 237 Third Ave., New York 3, N. Y.

### 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

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# Myth and Realty of Workers' Leisure And the Growth of Social Consciousness

By FRED LANG

Marx's theory that workers would become more socially conscious as their leisure time increased, has, according to many liberals and even socialists, been proven incorrect. The American worker is particularly singled out to refute this theory. It is not odd that you most often find it is the "intellectual" socialist who goes to great lengths to give us this argument.

Leisure! To what are these socialists referring when they talk about the increased leisure of the American working class? What increased leisure, i.e., real and bona-fide leisure?

Do they mean the increased leisure that is ours as a result of our relentless industrial society as compared with the leisure of the Middle Ages?

## SERF WORKED LESS

I am not at all certain we have anything to rave about here. In fact I am inclined to believe that the serf worked less hard and far less intensely than the modern American serf. Note the quantitative and qualitative differences in the intensity of exploitation.

The serf may have labored 12-14 hours per day during the Middle Ages but he rested one day out of three. There were more holidays, feasts, and festivals than one could even begin to dream about today. In fact, it would shock our union employers (AFL-CIO), or for that matter the few socialists who are employers (socialist organizations) if they were asked to grant half the holidays the serf received. During the Middle Ages one third of the days of the year were given over to feasts and festivals.

Do these socialists mean the increased leisure that has come as a result of advances in technique? The eight hour day, two week vacations, and seven paid holidays? Do they mean the worker should be utilizing this "leisure" to become socially conscious or to devote himself to the "higher things in life" rather than participating in his favorite pastime, TV?

## ALIENATION

Aside from the intensity of exploitation, these liberals and socialists have heard of the theory of alienation, and in fact pay lip service to it. They know that industrialization has shattered worker's creativity and is driving it down the drain pipes with the force of jet propulsion. But yet, somehow, and in the same breath they bemoan the workers' lack of social consciousness and deplore his attention to TV. All of this "leisure," tempoed by the grinding wheels and racking noise of industrialization, going to pot in front of a TV set!

Can it be denied that the vast majority of our workers dislike their jobs, indeed, hate their jobs? Can it be denied that the worker would in no uncertain terms abolish modern society's jobs if it were not for the economic threat of starvation?

Threatened with starvation the worker is compelled to take these jobs, but what do these jobs do to him? They routinize his life; destroy his sense of self respect and dignity. They grind on his nerves until he is driven to take it out on his wife and children and friends, or in order to avoid this he takes up the leisurely and nerve-soothing pastimes of fishing, baseball, bowling, TV boxing, horse opera, whoring around, or in order to avoid the latter he fakes up the sport of TV sex.

Is this the "leisure" these socialists would like to see the worker spend at the "better things" of life? This "leisure" that reeks and smells of the boiling pot of industrialization.

## WHAT LEISURE?

Just how much of his "leisure" does the worker enjoy? He spends eight hours on the job, eight hours at sleep, an average of one hour going to and from work, and time related to chores preparing and ending the working day (washing, eating, etc.). This may leave the worker three to five hours for "leisure."

Five hours of "leisure." Five hours for allowing all the feelings of insignificance

*This article is a contribution to the discussion of an old and durable problem for socialists. While the author's references to the socialist movement itself are, in our opinion, unduly general as well as too harsh, they deserve thoughtful consideration by all socialists.—ED.*

and alienation to overwhelm and drive him into the creativity of social consciousness. But does he have five hours to ponder about his alienation and lack of social consciousness? Certainly not. After eight hours on the belt line he goes home to plop into his easy chair for a much needed rest. There is his wife in need of attention. There are his children in need of the shopping to get done. There is that letter that hasn't been written for six months. There is the home to patch and paint. There is the visit from the neighbor. There is the trip to the relatives. There is the infinite small number of boring things to get done like filing income tax returns. And we must not forget that all these things are being done with that persistent thought of the belt line preying on his mind.

Now, how much time is left, if any, for the worker to spend on education that would make him socially conscious? How much real leisure is left?

But let's say the worker does manage to overcome his feelings of alienation and insignificance and the bombardment of conformity that stalks his every step.

Let's say he becomes socially conscious and turns to his trade union to express this awareness. He discovers that his trade union is no more interested in his social consciousness than the guy who runs the corner beer saloon. In fact, if he insists and persists in being socially conscious many a union leadership will not hesitate to drive him out of his job. He discovers that many unions, like management, feel no pangs about committing economic murder.

## STONE WALL

So where does this beaten and helpless socially conscious guy go? Back to TV of course. "Why fight city hall?" he says. Why should he give up that precious "leisure" butting his head against a stone wall?

But, let's say that a spark of social consciousness still remains and he finds his way to the "socialist movement." Here he discovers that most socialists just don't speak his language. He discovers that socialists do not have a type of activity aimed at bringing him into the movement. He discovers that their usual form of activity is aimed at bringing his "intellectual superiors" into the movement—the theoretical language used by the socialists being above and beyond his understanding.

He discovers that socialists, despite their protestations of concern for the working man, all too often behave toward him with a stinking air of superiority and snobbishness, and frequently discuss him as though he were a mere abstraction. He discovers class differences, and bourgeoisie society, with all its ramifications, breathing inside the pores of socialists.

And then he discovers that many socialists, too many, lack a feeling of tolerance and friendliness (comradship) toward him, toward other fellow socialists, and toward human beings in general. He discovers that the guy on the belt line next to him, that guy who has lost all status and recognition in the collective anonymity of mass society, is still capable of more comradship than many a socialist he has met.

And so the worker goes back to the "leisure" of his TV and silently waits for better days—his day!

# SPOTLIGHT

## This is Democracy!

A measure of Soviet democracy and an indication of the way it works, was given by Nicolai Khrushchev as he began his speech before the two-chamber parliament on March 25.

He revealed that in the period of discussion on the proposed reorganization of machine tractor stations and the farm economy between March 1 and 25, a total of 576,879 general meetings were held on the topic, at which the total attendance was by 49,909,000 persons. The extent of participation was further indicated, he said, by the more than three million persons who took part in the discussions and brought forth their practical proposals in relation to the program.

In that period, continued Khrushchev, the central newspapers nationally and of the regions, TV and radio stations, received 126,000 articles and letters on the subject under discussion, of which 102,941 were published.

Thus the Soviet democracy works in reverse to capitalist, for example American, democracy. Here the discussions by the people are held to a minimum, with most speeches of a campaign character by politicians. Then the issues are stalemated in congressional committees or administrative channels for months while members of Congress talk endlessly. The USSR's parliament, however, met for only a little over a week to approve action on the basis of the sentiment already developed by the people.

From *The Worker*, April 27, 1958

But the real glory of "Soviet Democracy" lay in this: though "practical proposals in relation to the program" were voluminous, there was not a single meeting, article, letter or speech against the program itself. What greater proof of total democracy could one want?

## This is Socialism!

Thomas J. Shelly—thirty-five years a teacher of economics and history—attempted to explain the meaning of socialism to his Yonkers High School class as follows:

"John, you made a grade of 95; and yours, Dick, was 55. I shall now take 20

points from you, John, and give them to Dick. Thus, each of you has 75, adequate for passing.

"Here I have applied the socialist-communist principle as set forth by Karl Marx: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.'

"Now, let us examine this in practice. You, John, won't work because you have had your incentive removed. And, you, Dick, won't work because you are getting something for nothing.

"We can't exist unless we work and produce. Thus, in order to get the work done, we'll need someone with a whip or a gun. Socialism must lead to authoritarian controls."

From the front cover of *The Freeman*, March 1958.

*The Freeman is published by the Foundation for Economic Education, whose officers and trustees number among them such people as J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Company, Donald R. Richberg, and a galaxy of professors and corporation officers.*

## "With Malevolent Intent"

When the works' council was due for election at the Buda silk finishing factory, the election committee's spokesman announced that the president of the local trade union committee would fill the post of work's council president. A woman worker rose and asked, "Who, in fact, is president of our trade union committee? So far as we know it is Mrs. Baliko, and now we see someone else sitting in her place. We disapprove of all this." Another woman worker asked, "How can we have confidence when Mrs. Baliko, who was elected by us, is suddenly replaced without our knowledge and approval?"

The meeting was interrupted by a leading factory official who accused the speakers of backing the previous president "with malevolent intent." He closed the discussion by saying, "This is not the revolution of October 1956." These facts were confirmed on February 1, 1958 by the communist trade union paper, "Nep-szava," of Budapest.

From *ICFTU Spotlight*

## ISL FUND DRIVE

# Fund Drive Extended Two Weeks

As May Day approaches the Independent Socialist League fund drive has reached close to the half way mark. The pace is slower than it has been in recent years but according to the pledges we have received from various parts of the country most branches are confident that they will reach their quotas.

There is little doubt that the country has been hit hard by the recession. From what we hear, the effects are much greater than can be gleaned from the newspapers. Not only is unemployment widespread, but the number on part time is large. And in many plants where there have not been lay-off or short weeks, there has been downgrading as top seniority workers are bumping newer workers into less skilled categories. This means many have been forced to take pay cuts in the lesser skilled jobs.

Contrary to the great blurbs of the advertising men in and out of government we see how the American worker is participating in the Great American Celebration. This is how the heralded "free enterprise" or "peoples capitalism" works. Sure, there may be plenty of jobs with a fair amount of overtime for a couple of years. But then along comes the recession and all the savings are eaten up in a few short weeks and months.

We know that this has played a big role in the pace of our fund drive thus far, but we are encouraged by the determination to meet the quotas.

Therefore we want to appeal to our friends who have loyally supported *Labor*

*Action* and the *New International* in the past, and who are determined to dig down and make a contribution. Especially those who have been fortunate enough to have escaped unemployment.

In view of this situation we have decided to extend the fund drive for two more weeks until May 15, confident that our appeal will be heeded.

Just a brief word on an oversight. In the past St. Louis has been listed separately in our box score. This time it was inadvertently included in the total for the National Office. We have now been called to task for this by our St. Louis comrades. Therefore for the first time St. Louis will be included as a separate entry.

FUND DRIVE BOX SCORE			
	Quota	Paid	%
Cleveland .....	150	\$110	73
Bay Area .....	\$ 500	360	72
Chicago .....	2000	1333	67
New York .....	3800	2326	60
Pittsburgh .....	175	90	51
Seattle .....	150	70	47
Detroit .....	450	210	47
Newark .....	450	108	24
Los Angeles .....	650	141	22
Buffalo .....	150	30	20
Philadelphia .....	200	37	19
National Office .....	1150	95	9
Oregon .....	50	0	0
Reading .....	50	0	0
Streator .....	25	0	0
Mass. ....	25	0	0
St. Louis .....	25	0	0
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>\$10,000</b>	<b>\$4900</b>	<b>49</b>

# From the Prisons Of Syngman Rhee's Korea

We have just been informed that professor Yu Byong Muk, and possibly others of the Progressive Party have been released from prison in South Korea. Information is lacking at the moment as to what the reasons are for this turn by the Rhee government, and what role American authorities may have played in it.

The release of the Progressive Party's leaders on the eve of the election can hardly change the result. In any event, it in no way diminishes the interest we believe our readers will have in this little-known section of the socialist movement.—ED.

By JOHN HONG KEE

News of political developments in Korea have been in recent years reduced to small paragraphs in the back pages of the New York Times. For America as for the rest of the world, Korea has become a historical debacle of the past. Obscurity has also shrouded the little known socialist movement of South Korea. In fact the existence of such a movement is barely known or acknowledged by the news agencies of either the East or West.

But a social democratic movement does exist, and its present predicament throws a great deal of light on the meaning of American-Russian conflict for the people of Korea. For the last six months the leaders of the socialist movement of Korea have been imprisoned in the jails of John Foster Dulles's "Far Eastern bastion of democracy." The charges against them are that they are "agents of Moscow."

The political background surrounding the persecution of these men is as follows: On May 2nd of this year will be held the nation-wide elections to the National Assembly. This election would have seen the full scale emergence of the social democrats into the parliamentary struggle for power under the label of the Progressive Party. Instead, with the socialist leadership in prison, the election will test only the strength of the two conservative parties—the Liberal Party of Syngman Rhee and the Democratic Party led by vice president, Chang Myun and the tough, wizened Chough Byung Ok.

The Liberal Party is aiming at a two thirds majority in the Assembly so that they can block Vice President Chang's automatic accession to the presidency should Syngman Rhee die before his term runs out. In the advent of victory the Liberals would amend the constitution to enable them to elect the president without resorting to the uncertainty of a Presidential campaign thrown open to the bitter masses. At present the Liberals hold 131 seats in a 203 member Assembly, the Democrats 46, the rest being held by "Independents" among which number no few openly avowed socialists.

## Little Difference

Although the Democratic Party possesses a few genuine conservatives with a concern for civil liberties the majority, under the leadership of Chough Byung Ok, together with the Liberal Party, represent as backward and reactionary a crowd as Rhee's buddy, Chiang Kai Shek was ever able to collect. Whatever legislative democracy and political progress has been achieved in Korea must in all honesty be credited to the promptings and urgings of the American State Department in the 1947-1950 period. Politically the differences between the two conservative parties are small indeed. Personal animosity to Dr. Rhee seems to be the real dividing point.

## BOOKS ARE WEAPONS

- The Communist Party at the Crossroads, by H. W. Benson ..... .25
- The New Course, & The Struggle for the New Course, by Leon Trotsky and Max Shachtman .....1.50
- Stalinist Russia, by Tony Cliff .....2.00
- Is Russia a Socialist Community? Debate between Earl Browder and Max Shachtman ..... .50

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The Progressive Party, therefore, represents the one genuine alternative to the political sterility of the black marketeers and former Japanese police agents who abound in the two major parties. (Dr. Rhee's present minister of justice was formerly a Japanese police agent.) The program of the Progressive Party centers around the industrialization of Korea, the unification of Korea by peaceful means, a neutralization of the war torn peninsula, and political freedom for all parties in elections supervised by neutral nations of the U.N.

The imprisoned leader of the Progressive Party is Cho Bong Ahm. Cho, a graduate of the Comintern schools in Moscow, (Class of 1924), was an important leader of the Korean Communist Party and of the underground struggle against Japan. He broke from the communists in 1947 over the subordination of the Korean independence struggle to the needs of Russia's foreign policy, and served briefly as a member of Dr. Rhee's prewar coalition cabinet.

## Lesser Evil

During the Korean war he chose what he considered the lesser of two evils and actively supported South Korea against the Communist state to the north. In 1956 he regarded himself as a social democrat of the German or British school. His goal at that time was a socialist Korea definitely committed on the side of the West. He understood and even sympathized with the position of Nehru but could not see Korea as existing independent of the East-West power struggle.

Important sectors of his own party, however, stood to the left of Cho Bong Ahm in their insistence on a Third Camp position along with an emphasis on farmer's co-operatives and democratic workers' control of an industrialization program. This leftist group, it should be noted, gave critical support to the South Korean side during the war, never, however, surrendering their view that the whole debacle of Korea had been brought on by the clash of Russian and American interests, and that the only way out was a socialist Korea independent of both Russia and America.

In any case the points of division between the right and left wings of the Progressive Party are not decisive, though in 1956 there was talk of the left wing breaking to form a new party. There have been recent indications that Cho Bong Ahm has come around to the view of the left wing.

## Behind Bars

It should also be kept in mind that the Progressive Party is not a small, insignificant radical party. In every presidential election, even in the war year of 1952, the vote for Cho Bong Ahm, despite police terrorism and the Communist label hung on him by the Liberals, has been large. Many reputable observers of the Korean scene were of the opinion that the victory of Cho Bong Ahm would be only a matter of time. There were signs that 1958 would have been a significant year for the Progressive Party. With the entire Executive Committee of the Progressive Party behind bars that hope is gone.

Kim Sung Suk and Professor Yu Byong Muk, two leaders of the Third Camp socialists of Korea have already received prison sentences. The veteran socialist leader, Kim Sung Suk, has been sentenced to twelve years in prison; his younger comrade, Professor Yu, to six years in prison. Their case is separate from that of the other Progressive Party leaders, for these two men have been accused of accepting money from and sheltering known agents of North Korea. That the charges are true in view of the lives and records of these two men is unbelievable.

Kim Sung Suk was one of the early leaders of the Korean Communist movement. Educated in America he returned to the Orient after World War 1 to enter a long life devoted to the struggle for the liberation of Asia. Although known, respected and wooed by Zinoviev, Bukharin and Chou En Lai, Kim nevertheless broke from the communist movement as well as from "Marxist-Leninist" philosophy after a visit to Moscow in 1925.

## Humanist Reformist

From that time on he adhered to his own version of a "humanist, reformist-socialist viewpoint. He served as Minister of Social Affairs in the exiled "Provisional Government of Korea," first in Shanghai, later in Chungking. During the Korean war he was elected to the National Assembly on a socialist program by the

largest popular vote received by any candidate.

Hated and attacked by Rhee and his supporters, Kim Sung Suk was arrested for his socialist views in 1952. His release from prison was secured by the protests of members of the British and American Embassies. His deep antagonism to "Marxism-Leninism" is widely known. Kim Sung Suk is an elderly man in poor health. It is doubtful whether he will live through his prison term.

Yu Byong Muk was professor of Philosophy and German at Chungang University in Seoul. An active participant in the underground struggle against the Japanese, he emerged in 1945 as Minister of Public Information in the short-lived "Peoples' Republic Provisional Government" that the American Army found in existence upon their arrival in Korea. This government was immediately disbanded by order of the American general, Hodge, in favor of a provisional government dominated by rightist elements.

## Third Camp Group

In the years that followed Yu Byong Muk and the group around him consistently took political positions that gave support to neither Russian nor American policies. Their ranks decimated by assassination and terrorism initiated by both Dr. Rhee's hoodlums and the Stalinists, Yu Byong Muk and his comrades led uncertain, difficult lives, ending finally as the left wing of the Progressive Party.

The socialist movement of postwar Korea has led a strange existence. Since the South Korean police maintained a close surveillance of all correspondence with the "outside world," knowledge of western socialist parties was limited to faltering contacts by way of American journalists, sympathetic U.N. officials and publications smuggled in from Japan.

About two years ago, Kim Sung Suk sought to convey the following message to the social democratic movements of the West:

## Many Who Fight On

"You must tell them," he said, "that there are many of us who fight on. Some of us are Marxists; some of us are not; I for one, am not a Marxist. But what we Korean socialists are agreed upon is rejection of both the totalitarianism of Russia and the capitalism of America. What remains valid in the socialist tradition are the humanist values which will not permit one to regard men as a means to some abstract purpose; values that insist on political democracy as an inherent part of socialism. You must tell them that we fight on, that we desperately need all the support they can give us."

The man who spoke those words is now in prison. It is likely that he will stay there, for his freedom as well as that of the rest of the Korean socialist leadership would serve no interests other than those of the Korean people.

The North Korean government has recently proposed the unification of Korea through free elections under U.N. supervision along with a military neutralization of Korea. It would appear that this is another of those Soviet moves in the cold war that will reap considerable propaganda value for the Communists and embarrass the Americans, but will be devoid of any practical results.

## For Free Election

Syngman Rhee will take the position that the Republic of Korea cannot permit freedom for communist subversion. The American high command will sigh in relief that their military bases in Korea will remain intact. After all, the moving of Soviet jet bases and missile launching sites north of the Yalu would not entail the setback that loss of bases in South Korea would mean for the Americans. Moreover in making the proposal Russia has nothing to fear as long as Dr. Rhee and his friends remain in power.

The only ones who would really welcome free elections in a unified Korea are the socialists of the Progressive Party. "We do not fear the Communists," Cho Bong Ahm has said. "One has only to fight harder for human freedom than the Communists to defeat them, and that is an easy task for us."

## LABOR ACTION

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

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# Recession Dives Deeper

(Continued from page 1)

the point of view of the workers, of handing out a much needed, long overdue dole.

But week after week passes, and the coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats block the enactment of such a measure in Congress. Even if it passes, as now seems likely, there is a good chance Eisenhower will veto the bill, and that the final product, after further delays, will be far too little for too few.

## YOU AUTO BUY

In the meantime, anyone who happens to glance at the newspapers can hardly have failed to notice the American businessmen's answer to the recession, the great "You Auto Buy Now" drive. This is just the first shot in a campaign which is being organized to induce people to "have confidence" and spend the money which the businessmen have convinced themselves the consumers have in large amounts. The idea seems to be that while money is plentiful in all forms, consumers have just decided to be balky for reasons which are no more ascertainable than in the case of a donkey or a child. A clever advertising campaign, it is believed, can do much to coax them along and get them to start spending the economy back into prosperity again.

The Advertising Council, Inc. is starting a massive campaign under the slogan "Your Future is Great in a Growing America." This will stare at you from every newspaper, magazine, poster and car card, and will be dinned at you over the TV and radio. Following this inspiring slogan

## MEN OF VISION

Where is American industry headed in the coming decade? Ask any economist and more likely than not you'll get a gratifying answer. An astute politician will be quick to predict unparalleled prosperity for all, and on a clear day any advertising man worth his salt can see ahead to an era of universal leisure, with two helicopters on every roof and the entire population enthusiastically engaged in an uninterrupted orgy of consumption.

All this economic optimism is heartening to business men—but the fact is that most of it has come from observers, amateur and professional, who in the last analysis don't have to make their rosy predictions come true. What about the men who do? How do the men who actually control American industry from day to day—whose decisions largely shape the economic future—regard the prospects for their own companies and the national economy? For a reliable first-hand answer, DR&MI queried in confidence 110 presidents of key U.S. companies with assets totaling over \$27 billion.

The result: An overwhelming vote of confidence in the future of the economy as a whole and in the growth prospects for their own companies. Almost to a man, these 110 chief executives predicted record-breaking growth in company sales over the coming ten years. Most often the figure given was between 175 and 200 per cent of current sales levels. One president foresees his company tripling its current sales by 1967. None expects to lose ground, and one of the two least positive replies ("I cannot yet see 1 year ahead" and "I cannot guess the future") came from the head of a company whose sales have increased almost 17-fold in the past 16 years.

Not one of the presidents queried fears a major recession this year, and three out of four feel confident that no important economic setbacks will occur in the coming decade. Only a dozen see any likelihood of a major recession or depression during the next ten years, and seven of these twelve rule out this possibility until some time after 1960. One thinks he sees trouble ahead "in the form of inflation—not deflation."

Dun's Review and Modern Industry,  
July 1957

for the future, which carefully refrains from mentioning the present, will be such interesting but irrelevant information as the number of babies born yearly in the U.S., the fact that there are (or were until recently) 15 million more jobs in this country than there were in 1939, and the assertion that "family income after taxes is at an all-time high of \$5,300—is expected to pass \$7,000 by 1975."

The Advertising Council begs businessmen to give out with any good news they may have, such as new products and investment. "Confidence - building new items," are requested, on the theory that "confidence will result if the good news overpowers the bad."

## MEDICINE MEN

Actually such campaigns of pumping up businessmen's courage and whistling past the graveyard would be harmless and even possibly have some positive effect if their diagnosis of a mass attack of anxiety (loss of confidence) were actually at the root of the trouble. In the situation which the country faces today,

# Labor Law Struggle Grows

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of amendments. These were defeated only when the Democratic leadership promised that they would be brought up later in May, after permitting committee hearings first.

## MASSIVE CAMPAIGN

Senator Knowland's interest may be colored by his ambition to become the Republican presidential nominee in 1960. But behind him stands a massive campaign to weaken the power and influence of the labor movement. It has been a cause looking for a leader since the death of Senator Robert Taft. For its long-range purposes, the existence of labor racketeering and the lack of democracy in some unions is of importance only because it serves as the sounding-board upon which to build up anti-labor sentiment. The McClellan committee hearings have been carefully nurtured along to fuel this sentiment. Anti-union forces have also sought to capitalize on the recession by blaming it on high wages and excessive union power.

While the real goals of this drive are "right to work" laws, restriction on union political action, and break up of industry-wide bargaining, the Knowland amendments behind which the anti-union forces have rallied appear to have little or no direct bearing on these purposes. In fact, the only relationship they bear is that they widen the principle of government regulation of the internal affairs of the labor movement.

The Knowland amendments have the general ring of wanting to democratize unions. (1) They require all unions to elect officers by secret ballot every four years. (2) They limit trusteeship of local unions by national officers. (3) They illegalize "sweetheart" contracts. (4) They authorize the secretary of labor to make public the financial reports of unions which are required by the Taft-Hartley Law, and provide penalties for inaccurate reports. (5) They require unions to give equal rights to all workers they represent by abolishing segregated locals and the work permit system under which some workers have to pay the equivalent of dues without getting membership rights. (6) They permit a worker who has been wrongfully denied a vote in his union's election to appeal to the NLRB to set aside the vote.

## ATTACKS UNIONS

However, in the Senate debate Knowland argued about the broad issue of labor and federal controls. He attacked "the use of the union structure as a political machine at the same time as that structure enjoys the statutory powers, rights and privileges of a legitimate organization."

"That is what certain labor leaders are doing and there is where the trouble lies. No one has to prove the existence of a labor political machine cloaked in the guise of a labor organization.

however, they are positively harmful. As long as people believe that the medicine man's incantations, aimed primarily at giving the patient confidence, are an adequate and reliable means of bringing about a cure, they refuse to listen to the doctor and follow the course he prescribes. And it is quite clear by this time that both the leading capitalists and the poor, trusting soul in the White House are putting their faith in incantations and time, who is supposed to be the great healer.

## DESPERATE TERMS

The labor leaders are talking in increasingly desperate and harsh terms. The labor movement is organizing one mass rally after another in state capitals and other cities all over the country. But so far these are for the most part the orderly assemblies of men and women who are urging a general program to fight the recession, not mass demonstrations by men driven desperate by the immediate plight of their families.

It is an old truism that the workers are

"Union officials should stay within the intent of the law and use their power for industrial relations, or surrender their legal privileges if they want to act like a political party. They should not be permitted to mount a political movement piggy-back on a law-supported, legitimate labor movement."

While there can be no doubt as to the purpose of this proposed labor legislation, there is a gap between it and the actual amendments introduced. Since he knew he was going to be defeated at this time, Knowland introduced only part of his general bill.

In addition, however, these bills reflect the curious conception held by conservatives and reactionaries of the relationship between the ranks and the leadership of the labor movement, and in a way, it is the reverse idea held by many ritualistic radicals. The Knowlands believe that the rank and file are conservative but it is the leadership controlling the union through undemocratic means which is forcing them into radical and socialistic schemes. Therefore eliminate the bureaucratic controls and there will be enough conservative sentiment in the ranks to pull the unions back into the path of "legitimate" trade unionism!

## SELF-STYLED FRIENDS

One of the most significant aspects of the current struggle in Congress is that it has led to an open break between the labor leadership and some of their "friends" in the government: Senators Kennedy and Ives signed the McClellan Committee report, and even Senator McNamara's dissent seemed motivated more by feelings of obligation to James Hoffa than by a stout intent to defend the labor movement. Throughout the struggle, the "friends of labor" have been silent, or they have put up a feeble and vague defense, or they have gone along with the idea that the only thing to be decided is the degree of government regulation of union affairs needed.

This has led to George Meany's public remark: "God save us from our friends,"

**New York  
Independent Socialist Forum**  
Friday, May 9  
**"CHILD OF THE REVOLUTION"**  
Speaker: Gordon Haskell  
Friday, May 16  
**WHY ARE  
THE YOUNG MEN ANGRY?**  
Speaker: Jules Sorel  
Friday, May 23  
**POLITICS TODAY:  
THE WEST INDIES**  
Speaker: W. Smith  
8:30 p.m. at L. A. Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

quiet during the downward swing of a depression. Those who are out of work are still desperately trying to find it, and have not yet fully absorbed the fact that the immediate problem is to find a way for themselves and their families to live, even if they remain unemployed. Those who still have work want above all to hang on to it, and are not in a mood to risk their position by militant action or large-scale demands. This is the phase through which the country is still living. But every indication now is that the recession has gone so far and deep already that even if it begins to slow down in the coming months it will have created a new political climate in the country.

The problem for the labor movement, for the liberals, and for the socialists is to re-orient themselves in this new atmosphere so that they can begin to give the kind of answers and the kind of leadership which the situation requires. That, together with the pressing issues in foreign policy, is the earnest task to which we need to apply ourselves now.

and to A. J. Hayes' attack, in a speech before the League for Industrial Democracy on the "self-styled friends of labor [who are] taking advantage of the current, cleverly cultivated wave of anti-labor hysteria to outdo each other in fashioning shackles for the labor movement."

While the top labor leaders may be excessively sensitive about some aspects of internal union administration, the fact remains that the proposed legislation, however innocuous or even satutory it may appear to be, in effect strengthens a system by which unions become licensed organizations which can function only under government control and surveillance. This would create grave problems even if the government and its agencies were staffed by people who are really concerned with the welfare of the workers and their organizations. But in practice it would put the unions increasingly under the jurisdiction and control of government bureaucrats whose background and connections are primarily with the business world.

Because of the terms in which it is being waged, this struggle is as confused and intricate as can be. Its outcome, both from the point of view of legislation passed, and from that of relations between the labor movement and the Democratic Party, will be of the deepest significance to the future of the labor movement in America.

## Collective Bargaining

Last year, by a decree signed on January 31, 1957 and published in the official journal, "Vedomosti," No. 4, 1957; procedure for settling labor disputes in the Soviet Union was introduced. The most important matters for the worker remained outside the jurisdiction of the courts or Labor Disputes Boards. The new "Statute on Procedure in Labor Disputes" made it clear that the newly created Labor Disputes Board should have no jurisdiction over the following matters:

- 1) determination of rates of salaries and wages;
- 2) dismissal, reinstatement in a post, transfer to another job, imposition of penalties or other disciplinary action;
- 3) calculation of the length of service required for establishing social insurance benefits and pensions, or the amount of these benefits and pensions;
- 4) allocation of housing.

All these matters are fixed by the Government and the employers, and are excluded from arbitration. The worker who doesn't like the working conditions, the long hours of work, the inadequate wages, the allocation of housing, or the interpretation of social insurance regulations, cannot do anything about it legally.

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