

Nationwide Rally Answers Attack On Castro Gov't

Cuba's workers and peasants are rallying in reply to the heavy attack mounted against the Castro regime by U.S. capitalists, their press, and governmental servants as the sixth anniversary of Castro's initial uprising against the Batista dictatorship approached.

On July 13, scarcely two weeks before the July 26 anniversary, Admiral Burke, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, told the National War College in Washington that "the revolution is being used by the Communists and the danger is still great in Cuba that the Communists will take over."

The next day the former commander of Castro's Air Force, Major Pedro Diaz, who fled to the U.S., appeared before the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee to charge that "Communists" were seiz-

ing power in Cuba, with Castro's help.

At his July 15 press conference Eisenhower chimed in, though more ambiguously, saying that the U.S. was watching the whole Caribbean area.

On July 13 Cuban President Urrutia joined the chorus in Havana, saying Communists "are doing horrible damage to Cuba . . . trying to create a second front against the U.S. and in favor of Russia." Wall Street had pinned its hopes of turning back the tide of the Cuban revolution upon Urrutia.

Castro energetically repulsed this reactionary offensive by formally resigning as Premier, denouncing Urrutia as a near-traitor, and calling upon the people to demonstrate for the revolution. Over one-half million responded in Havana, forcing the president's resignation. Castro designated a new president in his stead.

All week his supporters have been preparing a vast mobilization of the peasants. They have been marching from both ends of the island for days to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the July 26 movement.

The anti-revolutionary elements are trying to halt the application of the agrarian reforms and the expropriation of American companies. The agrarian laws provide that no person shall own more than 600-odd acres. The government will soon take over 400 cattle ranches totalling millions of acres, many of them owned by American or mixed Cuban-American companies. Castro has given the big sugar planters a year's grace before expropriation.

The landowners have run into headlong conflict with the peasants and workers who are pressing Castro to proceed without delay to implement the radical measures of improvement he has promised.

Cuban Unions Call National Token Strike

The powerful Cuban Workers Confederation has called a one-hour nationwide work stoppage for July 24 to back up Castro and demand his return as premier. The labor confederation's chief, David Salvador, urged workers to hold meetings during that work stoppage to hear their leaders stress the importance of Castro's resumption of office.

The former premier was also informed that the thousands upon thousands of peasants now streaming into Havana by train, bus, truck and foot would stay there until he withdrew his resignation.

This demonstration of unity between the workers and peasants is designed to set the stage for an overwhelming demonstration of loyalty to Castro and his program on the July 26 celebration.

"Self-Defense" Debated By NAACP Delegates

By George Lavan

The official record of the NAACP's Fiftieth Annual Convention states that the delegates voted "unanimously" to uphold the suspension of Robert F. Williams, the North Carolina exponent of self-defense by Negroes against racist attacks.

This is technically correct, for under the unit rule whereby area votes are cast as a whole, all seven geographical regions of the NAACP voted to uphold the national office's suspension of Williams. But the vote doesn't tell the whole story nor indicate that the victory was hollow.

Williams came into the convention with two proposals: (1) that the delegates go on record in support of Negroes defending themselves against racist attack in those areas where the law fails to give equal protection; and (2) that the convention rescind the remaining three - and - a - half months of his suspension by the national board for having made his "meet violence with violence" statement.

In an attempt to "outflank" the widespread support for Williams' self-defense position, the resolutions committee presented, and the convention accepted, a preamble which contained the following statement: "In rejecting violence, we do not deny, but reaffirm the right of individual and collective self-defense against unlawful assaults."

While thus conceding Williams a victory on the principle involved, the NAACP leadership by unprecedented measures pressured all but a handful of his hardest sympathizers from registering their votes for his reinstatement.

Firing the first shot, the national office gave all delegates upon registration a printed pamphlet entitled "The Single Issue in the Robert Williams Case." According to the pam-

phlet, "There is no issue of self-defense. There is no issue of free speech." It claimed the "single issue" to be a call by Williams for mob action and lynching.

To arrive at this, the national office singled out from the numerous statements and interviews a single UPI-reported news story. A few hours after that dispatch originally appeared, Williams publicly stated that he was not calling for initiation of violence or retaliation. Nonetheless the leadership's strategy was to ignore Williams' statements and endlessly to accuse him of urging the lynching of whites.

As a result, news stories from the convention, such as that sent out by the N.Y. Times Service on July 17, appeared under headlines describing Williams as a "Lynch Advocate." Supplementing this public attack were rumors among delegates that Williams "was helping the White Citizens Councils," had been "sent to the convention by the White Citizens Councils," etc.

In answer to the national office's propaganda, delegates who favored Williams put out a mimeographed statement: "The Real Issue in the Robert Williams Case."

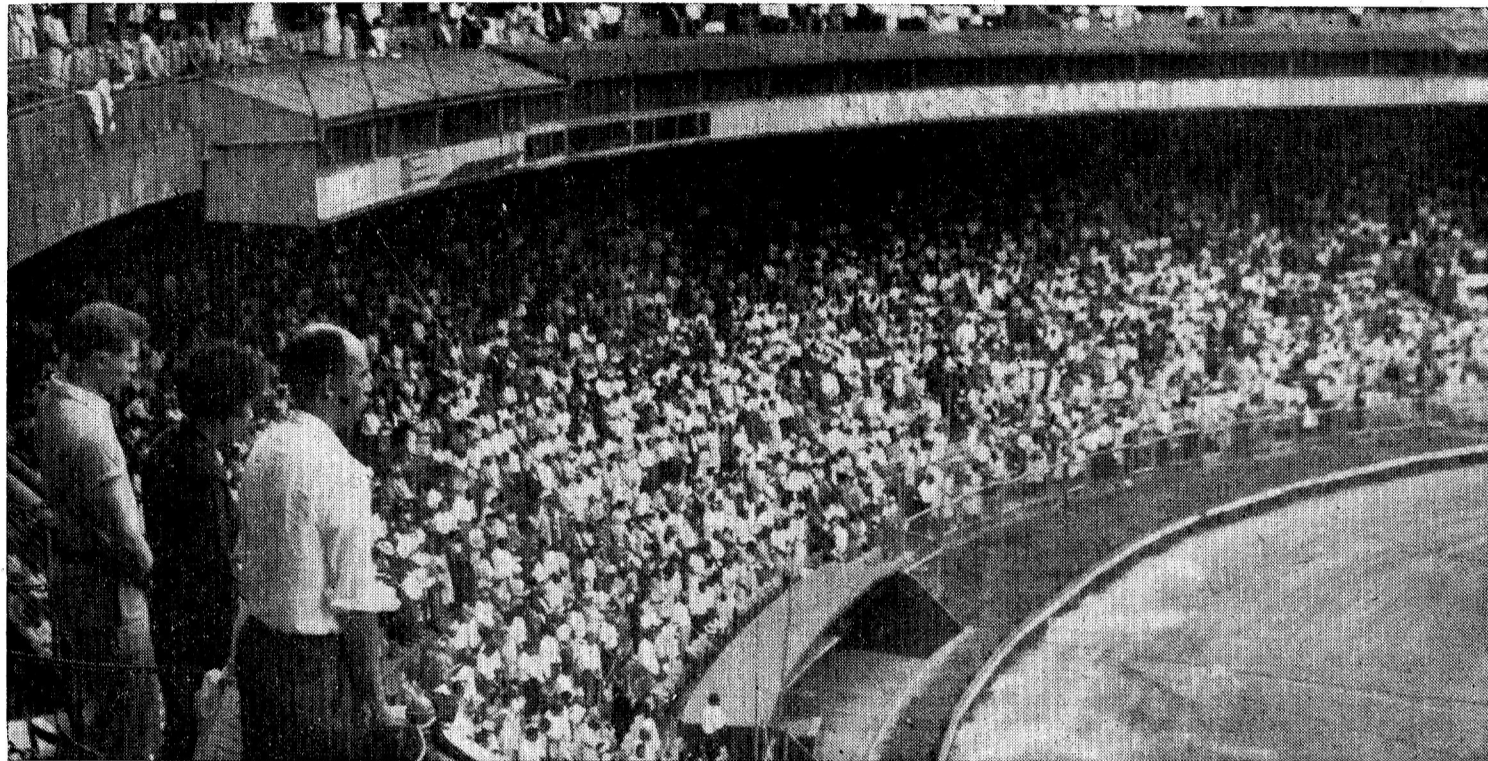
On Thursday, the convention's fourth day, Williams was permitted to appear before the resolutions committee. He and his attorney, Conrad Lynn, an alternate delegate from the Spring Valley, N.Y., branch, were allotted ten minutes each.

The impact of Williams' position even on this well-screened committee is shown by the

(Continued on Page 3)

Steel Pickets Spearhead Fight for Labor's Future

NAACP Rally at Polo Grounds in New York



The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wound up its Golden Anniversary Convention July 19 with a mass rally at the Polo Grounds. Some 18,000 turned out in a demonstration of determination to wipe out racial discrimination. Heaviest applause went to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell when he denounced hypocritical Northern liberal Congressmen who speak for civil rights but refuse to do anything effective to help win them.

Humphrey Joins Network Drive To Destroy Freedom of the Air

JULY 23 — Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota has lent himself as principal front-man in the fraudulent drive of the big broadcasting companies to destroy the federal "equal-time" law.

Fully aware of the repercussions its act would have on Congress, CBS denied air time to Humphrey on July 16 on the ground that he is a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. This carefully staged announcement came 24 hours after the Senate Commerce Committee had unanimously endorsed a bill to rip the guts out of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act.

This provision requires that when a candidate is granted radio or TV time, equal time must be given to other candidates for the same office.

The Commerce Committee amendment would exempt from the equal-time statute the appearance of a candidate on a newscast, news interview, news documentary, on-the-spot coverage of news events or panel discussions.

A similar bill is being processed in the House. If enacted the equal-time law would become a dead letter since the networks could obviously claim that any appearance by a can-

didate falls under this sweeping "news" category.

According to Senator Humphrey, Democratic majority leader Lyndon Johnson has promised him the bill will be acted on by the Senate this week.

The desire of the broadcasters to restrict free time to big business candidates was given renewed vigor by their thoroughly dishonest exploitation of the Federal Communication Commission's now celebrated Lar Daly decision. The FCC had ruled that Daly, an America First candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1958, was entitled to time after the incumbent enjoyed several appearances on TV newscasts that clearly advanced his candidacy.

The commission ruled in essence that news programs were not exempt from the equal-time statute. This decision was long overdue since the stations have frequently favored particular candidates with use of their facilities under the guise of "news."

With the connivance of the press and a host of congressmen, the broadcasters set out to deceive the public. The ruling meant, they said, that any time one candidate's name was mentioned, all other candidates would have to be granted equal time. This would necessarily mean a blackout on political

news since the stations could not grant time to a legion of "crackpot" candidates, claimed the broadcasters.

This hoax was used to justify the restrictive legislation introduced into Congress. The Humphrey episode was staged to ram the legislation through.

In denying Humphrey the time, CBS deceitfully sought to imply it would have the Vegetarians and Prohibitionists at its door. But if the network had granted Humphrey the time, the most that would have happened is that other contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination could have put in their bid for equal time. And that doesn't mean any individual who arbitrarily decides he is a candidate for the nomination.

In fact, Section 315 is already so rigged that the stations don't have to offer equal time to anyone. It must be claimed by other candidates, who, if their bid is rejected, must appeal to the FCC. In any such appeal the burden of proof for establishing that his candidacy is legal rests with the claimant.

The exploitation of the Humphrey case was so raw that New York Times correspondent W. H. Lawrence was compelled to report on July 17: "Although CBS said it had acted regretfully with relation to Senator Humphrey,

there was a feeling in Washington that politics had not been totally absent from the decision.

The dispatch added: "One thing is certain. None of the announced or unannounced Presidential aspirants will vote against the revision of the communications law that is sought by the broadcasters."

This damning admission from its own sources didn't prevent the Times from declaring in a July 21 editorial that Humphrey was one of "the victims of this absurdity" of the equal-time law.

Nor did the fraudulent CBS stunt deter Humphrey from cynically declaring: "If CBS wanted to lobby for this bill, they didn't have to lobby with me. I'm going to vote for it."

TV and radio time is almost totally monopolized by paid and unpaid spokesmen for Big Business. Elimination of the equal-time clause would stop up the minimal access to the nation's principal communications media still open to minority political views.

Such a curb can easily be extended to all voices speaking on behalf of labor or the racial minorities. All supporters of democratic rights ought to speak up now against this conspiracy to destroy freedom of expression on the air waves.

Corporations Plan New Moves to Break Down Hard-Won Union Gains

By Tom Kerry

The men of steel are in an angry mood. The brazen demand of the steel corporations that the unions surrender working conditions won over decades of struggle has solidified the ranks of the Steelworkers as never before.

To the men in the plants, union conditions mean the difference between human dignity and crawling servility. There can be no compromise on this score. There can be no return to the preunion slave conditions in steel without a bloody struggle and, as an inevitable consequence, a major social crisis.

The steel corporations are spearheading a general employer offensive against labor. The Steelworkers, now bearing the brunt of the attack, are labor's front-line fighters.

As one union paper so aptly puts it, the "steel shutdown appears to be the start" of the big business offensive against labor. "The preliminary barrages have been going on for a long time," says the July 16 National Maritime Union Pilot in a front page editorial. "This is what the billion-dollar smear campaigns against labor have been aiming at." The editorial concludes by emphasizing that "the battle the steelworkers are in today is the fight for the future" of labor.

The official convention call of the AFL-CIO, asserting that "the labor movement is under its heaviest attack in more than a generation," declares: "The very right of the unions to survive is at stake."

In this battle for survival, the boss-controlled political machines are lined up solidly with the employers. Eisenhower sparked the employers' "anti-inflation" campaign at the very beginning of contract negotiations. Since then the employers and their kept press have played variations on this theme in every key.

The attempt to foist upon the Steelworkers responsibility for inflation, induced in large measure by monopoly price-gouging, is a cruel hoax.

As for labor's "friends" in public office, they play their usual perfidious role. Following the ill-considered proposal of David McDonald, they clamor for Eisenhower to invoke his powers under Taft-Hartley to set up a "fact-finding" board to adjudicate the dispute. Eisenhower plays coy. Now is not the time, he says, there is no national emergency — yet!

In this he follows the lead of the steel barons. They are in no hurry. For months prior to the strike they piled up huge reserves of steel. Even if the plants reopened tomorrow there would be little demand for steel. Wait until accumulated inventories are depleted, then — then the time will be ripe for the "fact-finders."

Historically the role of government fact-finding boards, especially since Taft-Hartley, is to supplement the employer offensive against labor. So long as the advantage appears to be on the side of the employers, there is, you see — no national emergency. When the scale is tipped in favor of labor the fact finders are brought in to whittle down labor's demands, to throw the weight of "public opinion" onto the scale in order to redress the balance in favor of the corporations.

Labor can emerge victorious only if it sheds any illusions about the impartiality of the boss-class government and its agencies and relies on its organized strength and the fighting qualities demonstrated in action by the men of steel on their picket lines.

At the NAACP's Golden Anniversary Convention

By Lillian Kiezal

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wound up its Fiftieth (Golden Anniversary) convention with a mass rally at New York's Polo Grounds Sunday. Some 18,000 people gathered to hear, among others, Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Premier of Eastern Nigeria, Mayor Wagner, Jackie Robinson, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.).

The growing importance of the Negro vote was amply demonstrated at the convention. Governor Rockefeller and Senator Hubert Humphrey, presidential aspirants in the Republican and Democratic parties, treated the delegates to demagogic speeches on how they are allegedly championing the Negro people's struggle for equality.

At the Polo Grounds Roy Wilkins indicated his awareness of the Negro political potential by reminding the Democrats: "The time may come . . . when Negro

citizens, sick and disgusted over the Dixiecrat chairmen in the House and the Senate, may have to decide to try to vote the party out of office which permits these men from another age to choke us to death."

Who will replace them? "We know that the Republican party is not perfect," Wilkins continued, "and that it has its shifty operators also . . . But if a change should be made, at least we have the men of the Republican Party in states where we can vote for or against them, according to their records. At present, we cannot vote for or against Eastland."

Thus he voiced the dissatisfaction of the delegates while sticking with the NAACP policy of supporting the two-party evil. The leadership is not even considering the possibility of a break with the two boss parties. The refusal to turn to independent political action makes a mockery of the Political Action Resolution passed by the convention which declares:

"As our objective for 1960 we

call upon our branches to double the number of registered voters in each city or county where there is no interference with the right to vote." And "That we increase our financial expenditures to promote registration-and-vote campaigns in the South and that all the facilities of our organization be used to make registration and voting a top priority project."

The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell won the most applause at the wind-up rally on the theme, "This is an hour . . . to let the chips fly where they may."

"Let this also be known," he said, "to the whole world, even behind the Iron Curtain, that lynching is legal in the United States. The Attorney General of the U.S. Department of Justice has refused to testify in favor of an anti-lynching bill; has refused to call for an anti-lynching bill . . . yet at the same time he piously wrings his hands after the lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville, Mississippi, and says — 'We can do

nothing!'"

Powell claimed that he has lost confidence in liberal congressmen and senators . . . liberalism is a sham and hypocrisy in the North today. There are no true liberals left."

He cited as an example an amendment he introduced to the labor rackets bill now being written by the House Committee on Education and Labor of which he is a member. The amendment should prevent unions from barring from membership anyone because of race, creed, color or national origin.

"I knew," he said, "that the Southerners on the committee would vote against it but to my complete surprise . . . self-proclaimed liberal Democrats voted against it also . . . Like Wilkins, however, Powell offered no positive suggestions on how to run these 'hypocrites' out of Congress."

In a vote of confidence Saturday, the convention had agreed to uphold Roy Wilkins and the NAACP leadership's suspension of Robert F. Wil-

kins, President of the NAACP branch in Monroe, N. C. Williams was suspended for six months for advocating that Negroes defend themselves against racist violence. Powell referred to the suspension as a one-sided action:

"Just as the National Office of the NAACP purged the President of the NAACP chapter in Monroe County, N.C. I believe they should purge these phony northern white liberals who are completely insincere and utter hypocrites and who use the NAACP to mask their true feelings. The NAACP must stop coddling phony northern white liberals." The last sentence drew stormy applause.

The convention passed a number of resolutions on pressing problems which confront the Negro community, including the fight for school desegregation; the struggle to end discrimination in public and private housing; the defense of academic freedom and civil rights.

The NAACP reaffirmed its opposition to the so-called "Right-

to-Work" laws. "These laws not only endanger the organized labor movement but have a bad effect on the rights of colored wage earners and the economic well-being of the entire Negro community."

The Labor and Employment Resolution warned the Negro people that "The 'Right to Work' laws are not fair employment practice laws and are supported by the opponents of genuine FEP Laws."

Advising the membership to join the union in their industry the NAACP at the same time declares:

"The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee has failed effectively to enforce AFL-CIO policy resolutions against discrimination as these racist practices continue in many crafts and industries throughout America." Trade unionists are urged to "raise these questions sharply within organized labor and to press for more effective and vigorous enforcement procedures by the national leadership of the AFL-CIO."

TOWARD THE 1960 ELECTIONS

(The following resolution on the current economic and political situation and the tasks facing the American socialist movement in 1960 was passed at the Eighteenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. — Editor.)

In the Theses on the American Revolution adopted at its 1946 convention soon after World War II, the Socialist Workers Party anticipated the cold war with the warning: "In their mad drive to conquer and enslave the entire world the American monopolists are today preparing war against the Soviet Union." But the bid for world supremacy comes too late, the Theses added. "U.S. capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary consequences of world capitalist decay than the older European capitalist powers."

Whatever the exact course of history may be, the imperialist drive toward war "will not cancel out the socialist alternative to capitalism but only pose it more sharply." Subsequent events on the world arena have confirmed this analysis.

By means of the cold war American imperialism sought to clamp an economic boycott on the Soviet Union and to surround it with an iron ring of military bases while preparing a full-scale attack. However, in the post war period the imperialist encirclement was breached by immense social upheavals: the Yugoslav revolution, the Chinese revolution, the colonial revolution and the expansion of Soviet property forms into Eastern Europe. In addition the Soviet Union was so strengthened by advances in scientific, technological and industrial potential that it now challenges the military superiority of imperialism.

At present neither the imperialist powers nor the Soviet bloc countries hold a decisive advantage; the world power struggle remains stalemated. The Kremlin bureaucracy has responded to this situation by launching a new campaign for a status-quo deal with imperialism. American imperialism, faced with increasing pressures to slow down its war timetable, cannot easily reject the Kremlin's peace overtures outright. Some form of temporary, uneasy truce must therefore exist, be it with or without formal diplomatic confirmation.

Whatever diplomatic accommodations may be made in the stalemate, a prolonged maintenance of the international status quo is excluded. It is precisely against the status quo that the masses of the world are rebelling. Among the world masses, groping intuitively toward socialism, there will be repeated outbreaks of struggle against existing conditions. These mass interventions will upset the diplomatic equilibrium. Furthermore, American imperialism is driven toward war by economic contradictions, even though every successful revolutionary struggle makes the launching of war more difficult.

Until capitalism is abolished everywhere, above all in the United States, mankind will face the danger of nuclear war. American imperialism will continue its arms build-up, the maintenance of extensive military alliances and far-flung military bases. The American people will face heavy taxes, a mounting public debt and the consequent inflationary pressures. The people's needs will remain subordinated to diversion of public funds for war purposes.

Witch-Hunt Subsides

The capitalist government can be expected to keep the witch-hunt laws and decrees on the books and to enforce them. But the recent setbacks to imperialist foreign policy have somewhat eased the pressures of national political reaction. Critics of the war policy and of the government's neglect of social needs may anticipate a more ready response within the mass movement.

Class tensions may be expected to increase, reducing the effectiveness of the witch hunt against radicals, particularly as the world contradictions of capitalism further sap the economic foundations of American imperialism.

Since the depression of the thirties the American economy has depended increasingly on the basic prop of government spending for war and preparations for war. Within this framework relative economic stability has been maintained through a series of boom-recession cycles. The first postwar boom received stimulus from the pent-up consumer demands and reconstruction tasks arising from World War II. Saturation of this general market and a temporary decline in military spending led to the 1949 recession.

The economy got a fresh boost from the Korean war, only to fall back into the 1953-54 slump after the Korean truce. Since then boom tendencies have depended largely upon a qualitative increase in arms production and upon new capital investment for plant and equipment. The capital involved in plant expansion has been derived mainly from record corporation profits, rebates in corporation taxes and government-financed enlargement of private facilities.

By 1957 a trend toward leveling off in new capital investment developed. Capitalist production is nearing a point where excess capacity imposes serious limitations on further investment for expanding production, thereby losing in ability to stimulate boom conditions. Further loss in boom potential results from the contraction of the world market. International tendencies toward capitalist economic crisis, inter-imperialist rivalries and Soviet penetration of the world market operate to reduce U.S. trade abroad. This is reflected in a drop of about one-sixth in 1958 export trade compared with 1957.

At a time when arms production assumes ever greater importance as an economic prop, advances in military technology narrow the economic effects of government spending for war purposes. Relatively few guided missiles armed with nuclear warheads begin to supersede manned aircraft, tanks, artillery and other weapons previously required in vast quantities. Arms production tends to center in a smaller segment of manufacture, thrusting some industries toward greater reliance on the normal consumer market. The armed forces are evolving toward basic components of skilled technicians. Consequent reductions in total military personnel add to the civilian labor force seeking jobs and accelerate the long-term growth of chronic unemployment in industry.

Although the fundamental course of the economy remains screened by cyclical ups and downs, a severe crisis of overproduction accompanied by deep-going unemployment is in the making. Each periodic recession tends to go deeper as the booms decline in momentum, leaving more pronounced residual effects from each downturn.

The basic trend toward severe economic crisis affects ever larger sections of the working class. As the last recession began, unemployment stood over a million higher than at the start of the previous slump. Subsequent layoffs were greater than usual in volume. Joblessness continues to run high despite a sharp new rise in production. Conservative government figures indicate the country entered 1959 with over four million workers, at least six percent of the labor force, still unemployed. Meanwhile rapid extension of automation continues to whittle down employment and swell the jobless rolls. A steady rise in chronic unemployment has thus become a distinct feature of the American economy.

Layoffs loom as a continuing threat to all workers. When these occur, family income is usually reduced to utterly inadequate jobless benefits which may be exhausted before a job is again available. Economic security is further endangered by inflationary attrition of mass purchasing power and heavy taxes. With federal spending, primarily of an inflationary military character, accounting for some twenty percent of the gross national product, the consumer price index climbs higher and higher. Further price rises are implicit in new government spending of some \$11 billion to help overcome the previous slump. New state and city taxes are being piled on the growing tax burden.

To assume that the onset of depression invariably and immediately engenders intensified class conflicts while, on the contrary, the return of the boom has a pacifying effect, would be one-sided and false. It is the instability of living conditions, the uncertainty and economic insecurity inherent in the sharp swings of the capitalist boom-recession cycle that becomes the motive force impelling the working class on the road to struggle.

This applies to periods of boom as well as to periods of recession. It affects the political conditions under which the workers live. For many workers the tenuous economic security of the postwar period has become gravely disrupted and the

Six Main Points in SWP Resolution

- (1) Despite the present sharp rise in production, a severe crisis of overproduction accompanied by deep-going unemployment is in the making.
- (2) Behind the smokescreen of a probe into bureaucratic corruption in the unions, the capitalists and their government are conducting a bipartisan conspiracy to weaken organized labor and reduce its living standards.
- (3) Because of their energetic intervention into the three-year ferment of American radicalism precipitated by the Khrushchev revelations, the forces of revolutionary socialism have registered tangible gains.
- (4) The crisis produced in the American Communist Party by the Twentieth Congress has about run its course.
- (5) The hopes raised by the huge Democratic majorities in the 1958 Congressional elections are already being dissipated among the populace, affording greater receptivity to independent political action.
- (6) The SWP favors a broad united socialist presidential ticket next year if sufficient cooperating forces make it feasible. Meanwhile the SWP will go ahead with preparations for the 1960 campaign so that the message of socialism can be brought to the American people.

class in general has come to feel less and less secure. Sharpening class antagonisms leading to more intense class struggle are implicit in the changing objective situation.

During the radicalization of the thirties the mobilization of the workers as an independent class force stopped short at the level of union organization. Independent political forms like the CIO's Political Action Committee and the American Labor Party in New York were misused to support capitalist politicians. Organized labor remained under capitalist political domination within a multi-class coalition.

Buttressed by the long period of relative economic stability that followed, this political entrapment served to permeate the labor movement with class collaborationism. The labor bureaucracy grew in strength. During the long witch hunt it consolidated its dictatorial rule over the rank and file. Radicals were purged from the unions, oppositions knocked down, and union democracy severely restricted. Strike authority was taken from the workers. Collective bargaining was weakened through concessions to the bosses far outweighing concessions won by labor. The bureaucracy joined with the capitalists to discipline rebel workers fighting to defend their class interests.

Class-collaborationist norms must give way to class-struggle moods as the capitalist contradictions deepen and employer concessions become more difficult to obtain. Relations between the workers and bureaucrats are changing as pressures for union democracy mount in the ranks. An upward curve in labor militancy is reflected in recent strike struggles. Solidarity of employed and unemployed as manifested in Detroit freshwaters a trend toward demands for reduced working hours in industry and toward increased social demands upon the capitalist government. A further rise in militancy can be expected as the latent capitalist crisis unfolds.

The Capitalist Offensive

The capitalists are preparing an offensive intended to weaken organized labor and force a reduction in mass living standards. To preserve high-level profits under conditions of declining production the employers and their government are mounting an attack on the alleged "wage-price" inflationary spiral. Employers manifest growing unity in strikes and lockouts. Union demands are met by employer counter-demands calculated to impair labor conditions. Blows are dealt organized labor through decentralization of industry.

Behind the smokescreen of a probe into bureaucratic corruption in the unions, the government is preparing a bipartisan campaign to enact harsher anti-labor laws. Although the union officials can not be trusted to stand resolutely against the attack, they will not find it easy to capitulate as cravenly as they did to the Taft-Hartley law in 1947. The union campaign against "Right-to-Work" laws in the recent elections indicates that considerable political friction will arise in 1960 over attempts to further impair labor's rights.

Confusion among the workers as to the real aims of the government's labor probe will begin to disappear as the anti-labor drive hits home in the unions. Recognition will grow that, to win their democratic rights and safeguard their class interests, the workers must defend themselves more vigorously against both the union bureaucracy and the capitalist government. Bureaucratic corruption will be seen to stem from the greater leadership crime of class collaboration, for which the workers pay in speedup, economic insecurity and the danger of nuclear war.

Union bureaucrats of the Hoffa-Beck type who have been the initial targets of the McClellan probe are notorious for their thievery, gangsterism and other corrupt practices in union office. But their removal is the internal business of the unions, not a matter to be left to capitalist politicians whose aim is to undermine the unions themselves on the pretext of fighting bureaucratic corruption. When other bureaucrats, foolishly hoping to purchase immunity, support the McClellan attack, they commit a crime against labor.

However, in the very act of capitulation they create a new factor inside the unions. A differentiation begins within the bureaucracy, serving to split its monolithic front against the rank and file. On the negative side, the resultant expulsion of some unions from the AFL-CIO weakens labor's united power. On the positive side, the rupture of the bureaucratic monolith facilitates the fight for union democracy.

Although the bureaucratic grip over the unions is less firm, internal rebellion has not mounted to the point where militants can push forward without serious danger of reprisal. Protest moves which directly challenge the officialdom can be contemplated only with assurance of adequate mass support locally and with due regard to the national situation. Premature action can still lead to victimization and the loss of later opportunities for successful intervention. Each concrete union situation will require careful study to determine where it is realistic to play a limited role and also to avoid going off half-cocked. In every case policy must be closely attuned to the actual relation of forces between rebel workers and union bureaucrats.

The main work of militants in the unions should continue to center on propaganda advancing the program of transitional demands and the labor party perspective. These propaganda efforts, under conditions of sharpening class antagonisms and growing demands for union democracy, will help prepare the way for a new left wing in the unions oriented towards a class-struggle program.

Possibilities exist for activity in the struggle for Negro equality. Conflicts between the pressures of the Negro people and the dilatory policies of the capitalist politicians are sharpening. Parallel antagonisms arising from growing mass militancy within the general confines of conservative NAACP policy indicate the need for alertness to opportunities to break through the legalistic boundaries of present NAACP policy and advance toward mass action. Contact with wider circles made in regroupment work can serve to reinforce activity of this kind. In addition persistent efforts should be made to win labor support of the struggles. Our propaganda should strongly emphasize the need for independent political action and an alliance between labor and the Negro people.

Mass aspirations for changes in governmental policy were reflected in 1958 in the election of big Democratic majorities to Congress. These aspirations are already being frustrated. Close attention to the Democratic record will provide valuable materials for labor party propaganda. Study of labor's campaigns against "Right-to-Work" laws in the recent elections will further help to enrich socialist propaganda, as will careful analysis of the political characteristics inherent in the developing unemployed movement. Although the SWP does not at present expect a labor party development in 1960, propaganda for such a political alternative can help win adherents for support to a socialist ticket.

Regroupment Balance Sheet

The shattering impact of the Khrushchev revelations at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in 1956 tore many people loose from their former allegiance to the American CP and made it imperative to offer these dissidents a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism. The SWP's proposal was to regroup the socialist forces in a bigger and broader revolutionary organization.

From the outset our capacity to link this propaganda political campaign with concrete issues of the class struggle was severely limited by the objective situation in the country. With the union movement still dominated by conservatism and passivity and mass action at a low ebb, regroupment activity centered primarily around the discussion of programmatic questions and proposals for united electoral campaigns on a minimum socialist program.

Some of the dissidents who had already been critical of the CP's electoral policies here and there agreed to collaborate with the SWP to promote independent socialist political activity. This in itself represented a step forward in American radicalism because in the United States a break with capitalist politics remains central to the solution of the basic historical problems.

In the course of the continuing crisis of Stalinism and the energetic intervention of the SWP, the relation of forces within the radical movement shifted to the advantage of revolutionary socialism. The Communist Party of the USA has been reduced to a hollow shell of its former self, though it will remain a dangerous obstruction to the development of a class-conscious socialist movement so long as the bureaucratic fountainhead of Stalinism holds power in the Kremlin.

In opposition to the trend toward revolutionary regroupment headed by the SWP, the crisis of Stalinism promoted a counter-trend for amalgamation of Social-Democratic elements on an essentially pro-imperialist basis. The Shahtmanites were liquidated and absorbed into the SP-SDF in this retrogressive process.

The SWP's regroupment initiative led to fraternal discussions and united actions on specific issues with dissident elements where we found common agreement. Cooperation was strengthened in a number of defense cases. But the main trend in the first phase was toward symposium discussions, symbolized by the launching of the American Forum for Socialist Education.

The most responsive radicals soon became dissatisfied with mere discussion and new possibilities emerged for socialist activity. This culminated in the 1958 united socialist election campaigns in some states and in greater support to SWP tickets in others.

In the united campaigns the SWP could put forward only part of its program. But this did not cancel out their value as a means of drawing broader socialist forces into positive action on the key issue facing American labor — independent class political action as against support to capitalist parties. Former Stalinist supporters were mobilized in direct opposition to CP policy in an electoral coalition with SWP members and supporters, among others.

Those who have moved toward limited political collaboration with the SWP did so in a contradictory way. While they have shown a partial capacity to take class-struggle positions, they also retain class-collaborationist illusions long inculcated into them by Stalinism and American empiricism. Some believe that the single fact of running on a capitalist ticket should not disqualify a candidate from socialist support. Illusions remain about the recreation of a Wallace-type capitalist third party. Lack of class-struggle pressure tends to retard further immediate advances in clear-cut class politics. Many who have turned away from the CP cling to fundamentally Stalinist attitudes on such basic issues as support to the struggles of the Soviet workers against the bureaucratic caste and the form the conflict must ultimately assume, namely, the political revolution for Soviet democracy.

In united actions with such radicals the SWP sought to emphasize points of agreement rather than reject collaboration because of remaining differences. While maintaining and exercising full freedom to present and defend its entire program in the press and public, the SWP joined in action with them on agreed political issues and hoped to influence them further toward full revolutionary views. We saw in the crisis of Stalinism a chance to strengthen revolutionary socialism and better prepare the vanguard leadership for the next wave of mass radicalization.

Encouraging Gains

The revolutionary socialist movement has registered a number of tangible gains as the result of the SWP's intervention in the ferment of American radicalism precipitated by the 20th Congress:

(1) Free discussion among socialists of varying views, which had for thirty years been prevented by Stalinism, was revived and carried on vigorously for many months, extending into Stalinist circles from which the ideas of genuine Marxism had been completely debarred.

(2) The CP proscription of "Trotskyism" was broken and the SWP's right to participate in activities and discussions within American radical circles was recognized and established in practice.

(3) The precedent-breaking common campaigns in the electoral field and other spheres contributed to the revival of independent socialist political action and solidarity in struggle against capitalist reaction.

(4) A significant number of former members and sympathizers of the CP were recruited and integrated into the ranks of the SWP.

(5) The SWP acquired more power as an initiating center within the radical movement and more attractiveness as the decisive organized force pressing for socialist objectives.

(6) The impact of the shakeup in American radicalism plus the alert and continuing intervention of the SWP on the scene brought into being a nationally organized revolutionary-socialist youth cadre for the first time in a generation.

(7) As a consequence of all these developments over the past three years, the ability of the revolutionary-socialist forces to head off American Stalinism in contending for leadership in the next upsurge of American labor militancy has been measurably improved.

While American radicalism has been experiencing an uninterrupted decline owing to adverse objective conditions, the revolutionary socialist tendency represented by the SWP is the only one that has gained ground and strengthened its relative position over the past three years. This is attributable to the correctness and effectiveness of its regroupment policy. By a negative outlook and attitude, merely repeating previous formulas and criticizing from the sidelines, the cause of revolutionary socialism would have gained nothing but would most certainly have lost ground.

An opportunity to revitalize the ranks of revolutionary socialism arises from changes beginning to take place among the youth of the country. For many years all radical groups have subsisted primarily on aging cadres. Winning the youth has become one of the most urgent problems of the day for revolutionists. Signs of restiveness are observable on the campus. Young workers, too, begin to be disturbed by the insecurity inherent in the swings of the boom-recession economic cycle. Above all, the youth as draft-bait are much concerned about war, militarization and the H-bomb menace and are looking for clear answers to the profound issues facing mankind.

Interest in radicalism is stirring among students who are usually the first to reflect such trends. In time radical moods will increase among worker youth as well. The regroupment policy has helped channel the first contingent of youth toward revolutionary socialism.

These accomplishments in regroupment work have set the stage for stepping up counterposition of authentic Marxist views to those of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats, advanced in interrelation with the propaganda approach to the mass movement.

Among the central issues involved are: The burning need for independent socialist and working-class political action. Revolutionary opposition to imperialist foreign policy. The socialist answer to capitalist economic insecurity. Workers democracy — within the revolutionary party, the highest and most conscious form of class organization through which the class leadership must be forged; within the mass organizations, particularly the unions as a basic instrument of organized class power; within the workers states as the indispensable prerequisite for the advance to a socialist society. All this is required to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the American workers to socialism.

The SWP cannot bank on any immediate basic change in the mass movement, nor can 1959 be expected to provide scope for united political campaigns even to the extent possible in 1958. Limited avenues for concrete actions are available through civil-liberties cases and through work in the Negro struggle. The party should neglect no realistic openings for activities in the unemployed movement. Its primary task in the unions at the present time is to lay propaganda foundations for future work in accord with the real pace of national and local developments. Concentration upon the expansion of press circulation will help prepare the political ground for future left-wing activities in the mass movement.

At present the 1960 presidential elections loom as the next major political action. A complex of factors outside the SWP's control make a united socialist presidential ticket an uncertain prospect. If sufficient cooperating forces can be brought together in agreement to make the effort feasible and worthwhile, the SWP favors putting a broad socialist ticket (on acceptable lines) in the race in order to advance and popularize the idea of independent socialist political action. However, in view of the difficulties and uncertainties of realizing this under present conditions, the SWP will make all the necessary preparations to run its own candidates so that in any event the message of socialism can be brought to the American people in the 1960 elections.

Crisis in the Communist Party

After 30 years of steadfast struggle for revolutionary-socialist positions, objective events have come powerfully to the aid of the Marxists in exposing the bankruptcy of Stalinist theory and its political treachery. Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin shattered the ideological structure of the Communist Party, further discrediting it politically and morally. Trotskyism thereby won fresh vindication in its long, principled opposition to Stalinism and gained immeasurably in ideological, political and moral capital. The SWP is no longer at the tremendous disadvantage before Stalinism that operated during the radicalization of the thirties.

Until the Kremlin bureaucracy is overthrown by a worker's political revolution establishing socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc, the American CP will remain a rival against which the SWP must wage unremitting combat. The temporary restabilization of bureaucratic rule reflected in the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU gives Stalinism both there and here a further lease on life. But the position of the Soviet bureaucracy remains unstable and insecure. Thus the life expectancy of the American CP as a Kremlin agency grows shorter. The SWP's prompt and aggressive intervention has helped to forestall a CP resurgence and to speed its further decline.

The crisis provoked by the 20th Congress disclosures has about run its course in the United States. The remnants of the die-hard Stalinists have been reorganized on a considerably reduced basis. The great bulk of functionaries and members who have left the party in the past three years have failed to set up any semblance of organization, except for the ultra-Stalinist Vanguard group. They have either retired from active radical politics altogether or are playing Democratic Party politics learned in the Stalinist school.

Although a large number of pro-Soviet sympathizers are no longer under direct domination by the CPUSA, they are displaying a more and more uncritical attitude toward the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet bloc. Moreover, many of them, in the absence of any extensive mass pressure for independent political action, exhibit a stronger disposition to support "progressive" candidates on capitalist party tickets in order to beat some "reactionary at all costs."

The regroupment policy will probably retain its validity as a method of approach to new break-away currents reacting to another big shakeup in the Soviet orbit or, more importantly, as an approach to new transitional formations which may arise out of the mass movement in the early stages of coming disturbances within U.S. capitalism. Meanwhile, all the fraternal relations and common enterprises which have been established with so many people of different tendencies in the past three years should be maintained and extended, wherever possible. But it would be unrealistic to persist in our campaign for organizational regroupment along previous lines. The significant changes in external circumstances noted above curtail the prospects for organizational fusion with forces now visible on the scene.

Everything that has happened since the outbreak of the crisis of Stalinism has served to confirm the position of Trotskyism as the only genuine revolutionary tendency in our own country and on a world scale. There has been and there is no reason whatever to abandon or modify the basic programmatic positions worked out by our movement and consistently defended in struggle since 1928. Over the past three years the SWP has again shown in practice its willingness to cooperate with socialist-minded individuals and groups of differing political views in specific issues involving civil rights, the labor movement, the Negro struggle and the cause of socialism. The party has exchanged ideas on programmatic questions without raising ultimatum conditions which would have shut off discussion before it could start. Our party intends to continue along this line.

But this method of approach, which we first applied in the revolutionary socialist regroupment activities of the 1930's, does not imply and has never implied any intention on our part to build a politically heterogeneous organization at the expense of revolutionary principles without which no effective and enduring revolutionary vanguard party can be created. As explicitly stated in its original declaration on socialist regroupment in the U.S., the SWP has been guided by the undeviating aim of promoting the ideas, programs and methods of revolutionary-socialism in opposition to the programs and practices of Social-Democratic reformism and Stalinism or any other political formation sharing their ideas to one degree or another.

As evidenced by our fusions with revolutionary socialist currents of different origins in the past and by our efforts over the past three years, we are not organizational fetishists. We ask only that whatever party organization may emerge from such an unavoidable process of collaboration and eventual merger of socialist elements should meet the test of revolutionary principles which alone can give a new and broader party historic significance.

We are convinced, as our 1946 Theses on the American Revolution stated, that the class struggle in the United States must necessarily culminate in a social revolution, and the indispensable instrument to lead and organize this necessary social revolution is a proletarian socialist party of the kind we have consistently advocated from the beginning of our movement. To those searching for the best means of conducting organized socialist activity today, we extend an invitation to join the SWP. In our party they will find both an instrument for militant action and the means to work along principled lines for the broadest possible regroupment of American revolutionists.

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Monday, July 27, 1959

Steel Profits and Inflation

In their propaganda campaign against the steel workers, the Steel Companies Coordinating Committee, the general staff of the steel magnates, has placed full-page scare-ads in the press from coast to coast, screaming: "Steel Union On Strike. For More Inflation."

Bidding for public sympathy, the corporation heads claim that this is "the real issue at stake in the steel strike." Another wage increase, they say, would set off similar increases in other industries and add to "the deadly inflation spiral."

This high-level effort to blame wage-increases for inflation has just been thoroughly exposed in a report on "Inflation-Cause and Cure," issued by the Conference on Economic Progress and written by Leon H. Keyserling, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers under Truman.

The big concentrated industries who control prices in their fields have been chiefly responsible for the rise in wholesale prices in recent years, Keyserling says. These have been headed by the steel monopolists.

Since 1956 and 1957, Keyserling points out, the prices of food and clothing products, unmonopolized sectors of the economy, went down slightly at wholesale. But the prices charged by the big "administered price" industries like steel soared.

Why did this happen? The "official" explanation, Keyserling notes, is that a

"cost-push" occurred when wage rates rose faster than worker productivity. This supposedly obliged the big companies to raise prices to maintain their profits. "This argument," he says, "has been the basis of the systematic nationwide campaign to blame price inflation upon wage increases."

In fact, says Keyserling, "this campaign has no merit. The price increase which took place in key industries (in 1956-57) were not necessary to sustain an adequate level of profits, but instead resulted in an excessive expansion of profits. This profit expansion far outran wage rate increases."

Between 1956 and 1957, he notes, when the chief price hikes occurred, "profit increases were more than 14.5% in iron and steel, more than 24% in motor vehicles and equipment, and more than 22.5% in electrical machinery. In petroleum products, the profit increases were more than twice as great as the wage increases."

The anti-inflation crusade of the steel barons is a fraud designed to cover up their own profit-gouging and their attempts to drive down the living and working standards of the workers. "In the name of protecting the country against price increases," Keyserling concludes, "[this campaign] has spawned policies which have inflated the prices and incomes of those who need help least and deflated the incomes and well-being of those who need it most."

No Class Struggle in America?

Steelworkers now on strike should have time to do some thinking about the merits of the past conduct and current policies of the union leaders.

Not so long ago USA Pres. McDonald had his arm around the shoulders of the steel corporation presidents and was visiting plants from coast to coast with the head of the U.S. Steel trust. This supposedly signaled the dawn of a new era of harmony between the union and the bosses. Only die-hard socialists, not safe-and-sound American union leaders, still talked the language of class warfare.

Even McDonald should now admit that the steel strike is a manifestation of class conflict. And this is only one part of the big business war upon labor. The anti-labor bill now before Congress is another.

"We are today witnessing in America the greatest barrage of anti-union propaganda that any nation has ever witnessed," Elmer Holland (D-Pa.) declared in the House last week during the debates on this bill.

"The present situation is tragic," he said. "Are we not making the class-warfare predictions of Karl Marx come true?"

Walter Reuther hit the same note in his keynote address to the third Conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department in Philadelphia last month. "The National Association of Manufacturers are waging a class struggle in America, precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged," he moaned. "They are working overtime to prove that Karl Marx was right."

Another Khrushchev Revelation

(As we were about to fill this space with some opinions of our own on the topic, we received from our usually reliable observer a report on the following conversation between two members of the Communist Party in a New York cafeteria. Since their viewpoint is not likely to win consideration elsewhere, we thought it only democratic to turn the space over to them.)

"Did you see the paper this morning, Stanley?"

"The Worker doesn't come out until Friday, Max."

"I'm talking about the bourgeois press. Khrushchev has endorsed Jack McManus for Governor of New York."

"Max, the election was last November. And you'll recall we vigorously opposed McManus as an anti-Soviet ultra-leftist who consorts with Trotskyites and was giving objective aid to Rockefeller. You've been drinking."

"Not me. It reports Khrushchev's endorsement right here: 'To me it's all incredible. What is the difference to the workers between a Rockefeller and a Harriman?'"

"You've been reading the Militant again. The Worker carefully noted there was no qualitative difference between the two. The workers do have that illusion. We merely went through the experience with them. We knew that life itself would verify the validity of our Marxist ap-

proach. You'll recall we carefully refrained from an official endorsement of Harriman. We simply concentrated our fire on McManus and Rockefeller. They had to be stopped at all costs."

"Stanley, this isn't the Militant. It's the July 17 New York Times. And here's another paper with an AP story reporting the same thing. Khrushchev says he told Harriman that it's 'incredible' that anyone thought there was a difference. He repeated what he said to Harriman to some Polish miners."

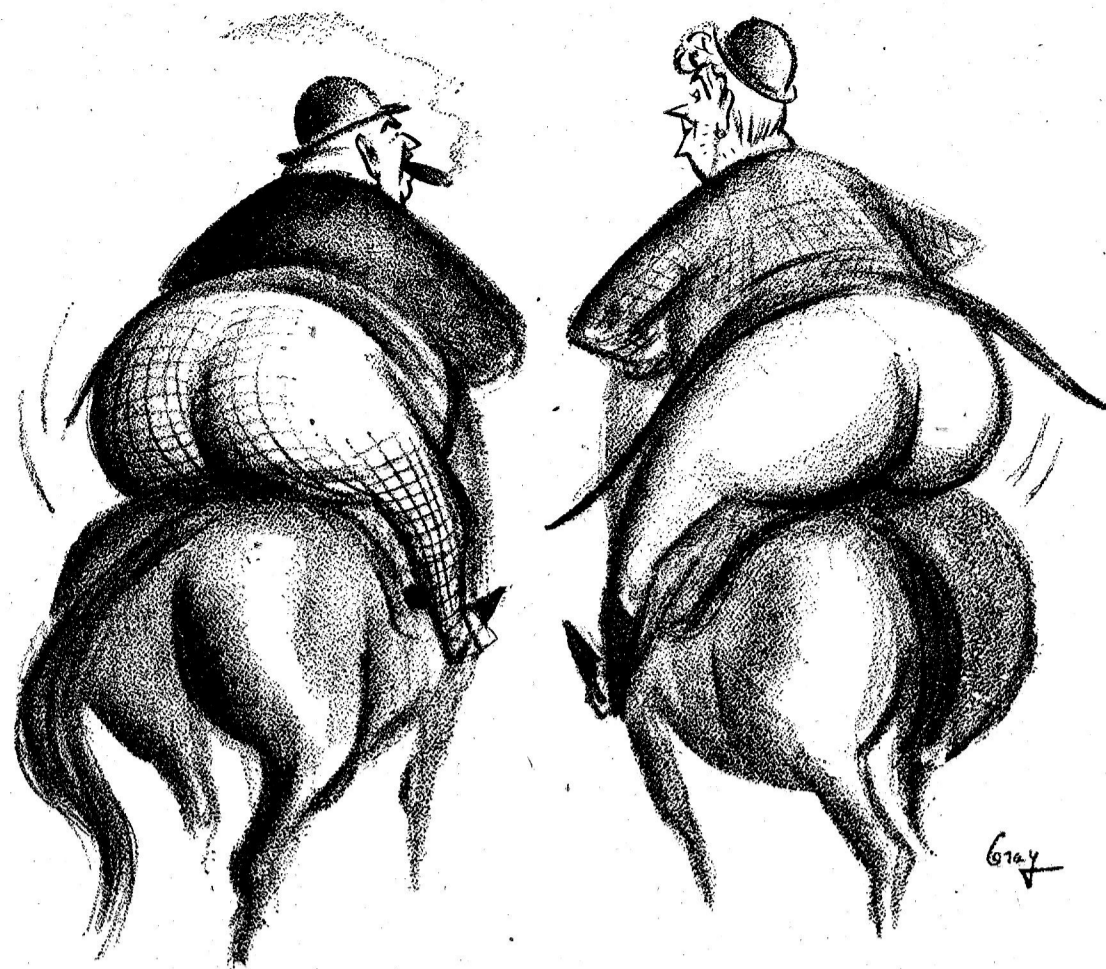
"I've often wondered about him. After that speech about Stalin some highly responsible comrades indicated he might be a Trotskyite. But anyway this certainly exposes the lie that we're slavish followers of Moscow ideology."

"That's right, Stanley. But I hear Duclos is working on another airmail special-delivery."

"Let me read that story for myself. —Aha, you tore it out of context! Why didn't you read where Khrushchev told Harriman he even drank brandy with Rockefeller and it proved there is no danger from contact between capitalist and Communist."

"You mean if we keep pitching in the 'mainstream' we might get to drink brandy with Harriman and Rockefeller?"

"Max, you're getting more cynical than ever."



"If those steel strikers think they can make us look like horses' necks, they've got another think coming!"

New Turbulence in Iraq Faces Kassem Regime

The revolution in Iraq, which began on July 14 a year ago with the overthrow of the royal family's dictatorship, continues to erupt. The turbulent political situation confronts Premier Kassem and the Iraqi Communist Party with serious problems of decision, both in their relations with each other and with insurgent workers and peasants who are intent upon safeguarding and carrying forward the revolution.

In an effort to hold down the revolutionary forces, Kassem recently ordered the Peoples Resistance Militias, formed during the uprising, to turn in their arms and submit to army control.

He dismissed 11 alleged Communist officers from the army. He denounced proposals put forward by the CP to set up a national-front coalition of political parties upholding the new regime, and told the nation the time was not ripe for unrestricted political life.

The Communist Party, which has powerful support among the masses, has been demanding direct representation in the government. Its growing friction with Kassem, who in this situation is leaning upon the well-to-do and middle-class elements in Iraq, was reflected in its press which dropped the title of "unique leader" with which the CP has described the General since he took power.

Shortly thereafter, in a surprise reshuffle of his cabinet, Kassem gave three of the lesser posts to CP followers, al-

though the party itself has not received any official representation. This move has been diversely interpreted, as a mere sop to the CP, and as evidence of the increasing penetration of the regime by the CP.

In a speech on the first anniversary of the revolution Kassem pledged an end to army rule, free parliamentary elections and a new constitution to Iraq within a year. He also promised to permit the resumption of party activities by Jan. 6, Army Day.

In the same speech he called upon Iraqi laborers to work beyond the standard eight-hour day for the future of Iraq. He also asked Iraqi farmers to increase agricultural production while the republic's new land-reform law went into operation.

Wealthy landowners of the Shiite Moslem sect, unhappy over the agrarian reforms, have reportedly been involved in the fighting which broke out in Kirkuk, an oil center in north-eastern Iraq.

Censorship has prevented receiving a clear picture of what took place in Kirkuk where units of the Iraqi army went over to the side of Kurdish tribesmen. One thing is plain. The Popular Resistance Forces went into action, apparently on their own initiative, indicating their disregard for Kassem's order to disarm.

At the same time, in Baghdad, government troops were called on to suppress Communist-led forces which had des-

troyed the most outspoken anti-Communist newspaper and manhandled an army officer they considered responsible for disarming the people's militia.

In a speech condemning the Kirkuk uprising, Kassem took the occasion to warn the militia and its supporters that the government army alone had the responsibility for dealing with opponents of the revolution.

"There are those who say," he declared, "there must be no liberty or freedom for the enemies of the people. I tell them that the enemies of the people are known only to the lawful authorities. They cannot be known to individuals scattered here and there."

RISE IN JEWISH SCHOOLS

Enrollment in Jewish schools increased 131 per cent in the past decade, according to a recent survey. Over a half million students are now attending 3,367 Jewish religious schools in the country. The survey noted that the "holding power" of the schools — three to four years — was "poor."

Headlines in Other Lands

Franco Puts Bite On U.S. Treasury

The Spanish government is being saved from insolvency by the grant of at least \$75-800,000 in credits from a group of U.S. banks, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the International Monetary Fund.

In addition, the U.S. is letting Spain use the equivalent of \$123,000,000 of counterpart funds for 1959, which have been created by the sale of our surplus farm commodities for local currencies.

Since 1953 Franco has received close to a billion dollars in American nonmilitary aid alone.

His government has devalued the peseta and is preparing further steps to implement its economic stabilization program. Nothing is being done to "liberalize" the dictatorship.

The new credits, the revised currency rate, and other measures are designed, it is said, to bolster up Franco's weakened regime and pave the way for Spain's admission to NATO.

African Nations Plan "Community"

At a four-day meeting, the heads of Liberia, Guinea and Ghana, the three independent Negro nations of West Africa, agreed to hold a conference next year to set up "a community of African states."

The decision to delay unification was a setback to Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah who wanted "union now." The president of Liberia opposed any unit until Nigeria, now a British colony, and the neighboring French Cameroons and Togoland achieved their promised independence in 1960. Nigeria is bigger and more economically powerful than Ghana, Guinea and Liberia combined.

The American Way of Life

New Challenge to the Russians

Leading spokesmen for American capitalism are willing to concede nowadays that the Soviet Union represents a most serious challenge in the advance of the physical sciences and technology. But, they proudly point out, the Russians are still far behind in the production of consumers goods.

A striking example of the latest achievements in America on the consumer front was reported in the July 19 New York Times. The world's most expensive restaurant will soon open its doors to the public.

Located in the new Seagram building on exclusive Park Avenue, equipment and furnishings alone for "The Four Seasons" will amount to \$4,500,000.

It will be "one of the most opulently decorated dining establishments in the United States," according to the Times.

The decor will synthesize the best features of town and country. The annual budget for seasonal planting inside the restaurant will be \$50,000.

"This includes the care of four 17-foot ficus trees, members of the fig family; two giant podocarpus; a cheese plant . . . which took two years to produce, a fiddle-leaf plant, and five philodendrons with self-supporting trunks that measure two to three inches in diameter."

Culturally minded diners will appreciate a stage curtain painted by Picasso, tapestries by Joan Miro and murals of the abstract-expressionist school. A sparkling touch is a 24-foot pool lined with white marble.

As for food, this is where the consumer really comes into his own. The restaurant will have its own herb garden.

Dishes will include "farm-house duckling with fresh sage, shashlik with wild thyme and fish flamed with dried fennel. Other rare items on the menu include suckling pig in pastry, coq au vin made with genuine cockrels, and wild mushrooms, such as chanterelles and morels."

(Mycophagists who may worry about the restaurant's mushroom hunters getting the poisonous clitocybe illudens mixed up with chanterelles, or the doubtful gyromitra esculenta with morels, will probably be able to get the chef to send out to the nearest chain store

for a few buttons of the common agaricus campester.)

"In keeping with the restaurant's name," continues the Times, "waiters' uniforms, menus, landscape plantings and even the ash trays will change with the passing seasons."

In contrast to some restaurants, which happen to be lagging on the consumer front, the service will be top drawer.

"Weekly instructions on the service of wine has been instituted for the captains. There will also be daily indoctrination for the waiters . . . Personnel are instructed in the history, characteristics and character of wine, as well as the etiquette of pouring it."

All this for the consumer—and at a price quite in keeping with the American Way of Life. The average luncheon check will run around a modest \$6, not counting the wine or cocktails.

The average dinner check will be only \$10 or \$12, so that a family of five should be able to eat out for \$50 or \$60, drinks extra naturally.

True enough, New York's newest and most exciting restaurant will hold only 525 people, but it opens a new vista on what America can do for the consumer. Let the Soviet Union try to match it!

—Alex Harte

"Your Country Needs You"

A former army sergeant told a congressional committee last week of his experience as a personal servant to a major general. He gave this run down of his army duties: ". . . washing dishes, cooking, answering phones, baby sitting (for the general's grandchildren), cleaning up after and feeding the dog . . . washing ladies' lingerie and other details most men just don't do." His average day ran from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m. and as late as 10 p.m. "if the general's wife happened to have some social function." The ex-GI felt he "contributed very little to the war effort."

Kenyas Vote To Spread Boycott Of South Africa

The Kenya Federation of Labor, composed entirely of black Africans, unanimously voted to join the boycott of goods produced in white supremacist South Africa. African trade union leaders from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika will meet Aug. 15 to discuss extension of the campaign among East Africans.

The boycott movement was launched by trade unionists at the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra last December. It has already been endorsed by workers in Ghana and Jamaica.

Kenya Restricts Mboya's Actions

Kenya authorities have clamped down on the political activities of Tom Mboya, head of the People's Convention Party and an officer of the African Labor Federation. He has been forbidden to discuss political matters outside the capital, Nairobi, and in union meetings.

Mboya was searched for "seditious" literature at the airport on his return from a recent trip to the U.S.

Indian CP Rejects New Kerala Election

The national executive of the Indian CP turned down a proposal that Kerala's Communist government resign and hold mid-term elections on its own initiative. The party leaders held that the Kerala ministry should not only stay in office but should deal more sternly with the statewide agitation to unseat it.

Parades, mass meetings, picketing of schools and government offices, and obstruction of public transport have been

stepped up in an effort to put pressure on Nehru and the central government to intervene and force new elections in Kerala.

Iraq University

Premier Kassim of Iraq laid the foundation stone on July 17 of a new university on the outskirts of Baghdad. This \$70,000,000 educational institution will house 12,000 students.

Jimenez Police Admit Tortures

Former agents of Venezuela's National Security Police under the deposed Jimenez dictatorship, now on trial for their crimes in Caracas, testified there were special torture chambers for the questioning of political prisoners. Other witnesses charged that jailed leaders and members of opposition parties were murdered, in them.

When the Jimenez government was overthrown on Jan. 23, 1958, the National Security Police Building was the scene of a bloody ten-hour battle, during which the enraged people literally tore many of the hated police torturers to pieces. There is no capital punishment in Venezuela.

CP Twists In Australia

A good example of how the Communist Party's trade-union policies veer in accord with the winds from Moscow is given by the Australian mining industry, reports the Socialist, a new monthly paper there.

"In 1949, when Stalin was proclaiming the now famous doctrine of the main blow against social democracy, the Communist Party union leaders led the general strike of coal miners to the most disastrous defeat in mining history. In 1959, when Khrushchev is proclaiming peaceful co-existence as a principle, the same union leadership meekly accepts the brutal displacement of thousands of miners from the industry without making any effort to organize industrial action against the sackings."

What Makes Prison Inmates Go on Strike?

Editor: The workers in my shop have become keener to what's in the press since the barrage of propaganda on the steel strike began.

prison." After painting a picture of dangerous criminals bent on destruction, with hostages in their power, the last paragraph finally gives the unstated reason for the prisoner's grievances:

"In March 1958 prisoners rioted in a two-day frenzy of destruction to protest a six-day, 72-hour work week in the mines."

The union man's comment was, "How the hell would you like to work, 12 hours a day in a coal pit for fink wages!"

"Correction," added the guy who had been in stir, "No wages at all."

E. S. Chicago

On the Picket Line At Republic Steel

Editor: The steel strike began at the Chicago Republic Steel with the same calm self-assurance that prevailed in the plant prior to the strike.

On July 1 when the strike was originally scheduled, before it was postponed by McDonald to July 14, the feeling amongst the workers was expressed thus by one militant worker:

"What the hell. We have been talking to these arrogant steel bosses for 72 days. We know talk never moves them; so let's give them a dose of the

only language they understand. I can't understand the postponement."

By 11 p.m. 500 pickets massed in front of the Chicago Republic Steel plant at the site of the Memorial Day massacre.

The company police and the Chicago cops were amazed at the discipline and order that was quickly established by the pickets. Systematically and methodically they set up their lines, directed traffic and prevented any scabs from coming in.

At 11:30 p.m. Capt. O'Sullivan and Chicago's labor-detail police showed up and asked the local president what the union's program was in regard to picketing.

His answer was that the union intended to maintain an orderly picket line, but they would not tolerate any scabs trying to get in.

When questioned by the police captain regarding office employees, the local president replied that only office workers with union passes would be permitted to enter the plant. Foremen would not be issued passes because they were acting as scabs.

By 12 p.m. the pickets had cleared the parking lot of all cars and ordered the company police to close the gates. Thus the first day of the steel strike at Republic passed with a total shutdown.

S. L. Chicago

Detroit Steel Pickets Take Strong Stand

DETROIT, July 18 — The two major steel producers here, Great Lakes Steel (a division of George Humphrey's National Steel) and McLouth Steel, were completely shut down by Wednesday.

Feeling this year is very strong against any concessions to these companies. At a McLouth mass meeting of Local 2659 Tuesday Pres. Adolph Schwartz asked for approval of the midnight strike deadline. "We are fighting not so much for gains as we are to hold on to what we have," he said. "The companies have taken an uncompromising stand. We will remain on strike until economic and local conditions are resolved."

Every man in the audience of 1,000 stood up and roared approval. So bitter were their feelings that they, along with Local 1299 (Great Lakes Steel) refused to let any members enter the plants to do maintenance work.

The strike deadline was preceded by a walkout at the Trenton plant of McLouth on the midnight shift Tuesday morning, shutting down the division. This was another indication of the resentment over the refusal of McLouth, thirteenth largest steel producer in the country, to bargain. The men wanted contract changes to give more protection against an accumulation of penalties and abuses.

Safety conditions are such a sore point that the plant was shut down last January by a one-week strike after three workers were killed.

Here are some typical opinions expressed by strikers at the Great Lakes Steel plant in Escotse:

Paul Daniels, a member of the strike committee: "We are out to improve working conditions in the mill and I expect a long strike. Conditions in the mill are worse today than they were in 1952 when we were out 56 days."

Jake Haefler: "The company is trying to take away contract provisions for sensible working conditions. If they do we'll be little better than slave laborers."

Robert Godbey, who has been laid off or on strike for 22 months out of the four years he has worked for the company: "I'm ready for this strike. I hope the union gets everything possible for its members. I'd rather work than strike but certainly not for less money."

Owen R. Wilson: "Conditions have been getting steadily worse for the past three years. A grievance complaint now gets no consideration from the company and is never settled."

Sammy Qualls: "They want to juggle seniority to suit their purposes. I'm glad the union will not allow this. It takes organization to protect the individual and his seniority rights."

"You hit the picket line, we'll take the Integrated School!"



Mesabi Iron Ore Men Join Brothers on Strike

By Tom Leonard

MINNEAPOLIS, July 20 — The Mesabi Iron Range, historic scene of bitterly fought labor struggles, is deeply involved in the current steel strike. The United Steelworkers report that 13,606 of its members are on strike there. Another 6,036 iron-ore miners are out in upper Michigan and northern Wisconsin.

In addition, 3,700 unlicensed seamen members of the steel union are walking off as their ships reach port in Duluth. These seamen had been back on the job only about a week after participating in a series of unauthorized walkouts that crippled shipping in Duluth and Superior and forced several mines on the Iron Range to shut down.

Nonunion shipping will also be hit by the strike. The biggest unorganized outfit on the lakes, Interlake Steamship Co., which operates 33 ore carriers, has announced it will lay off most of its crews if the strike continues.

Railroads in the area, already hit by layoffs resulting from the recession and continuing automation, are chopping more workers from the payroll. The Duluth, Mesabi, Iron Range and the Great Northern railroads will lay off more than 3,000 men.

The effectiveness of the strike on the Iron Range is testimonial to the traditional militancy of the area. The Range has been hard hit by layoffs in the past two years and many miners have been jobless for more than a year. Yet they didn't hesitate to join the strike.

One exception is the Zenith underground mine at Ely, Minn., which employs about 250 workers.

Morale Is High Among Pickets In Chicago Area

CHICAGO, July 17—After picket duty today we rode over to see our brother strikers in the Indiana plants. We made our first stop at the two huge steel mills facing each other in Indiana Harbor—Youngstown Sheet & Tube and Inland Steel.

Approaching a big steel worker at the coffee urn set on the sidewalk at one gate, we started to identify ourselves.

"Just a minute," he said and called over the picket captain. The captain of the line gave us the once-over rapidly, shook hands, and introduced us all around. All barriers down, the brothers welcomed us warmly.

"How are things at Republic?" they asked.

"No trouble. A big gang was out the first night and Wednesday morning. Now we're settling down to routine. Nothing but nothing is moving in or out," we replied.

"We're all set here, too. Nobody gets into the plant proper. Just the office workers pop in and out of the administration building, that is set apart from the mill, for coffee.

"Our Local president was asked about office workers," we reported. "He said that the union won't tolerate scabs. The office help can't cross the picket line either way and as far as the foremen are concerned since they've bedded down they can stay in there and rot. The company as a result laid off the office workers."

"That's a tough one," we interjected, "but they don't have room for all of you in jail, do they?"

"Dammit, we had a spokesman for us in the state congress," they replied. "He was supposed to argue against state money appropriations if the legislators didn't first discuss repeal of the Indiana Right-to-Work law. But the s.o.b. double-crossed us. Looks like these friends of labor are not on our side of the fence."

We agreed.

The feeling of real solidarity met us everywhere. Our new friends said goodbye warmly. It was a truly representative group—Negro, white and Spanish-speaking brothers.

"We'll drop over to see you guys at Republic one of these days," they chorused.

Seattle Striker Views Battle as "Showdown"

SEATTLE, July 17 — It's a rare day when the press gives a truthful presentation of labor's side of the story in a strike. But some of the truth about the steel strike did break through in a July 16 Post-Intelligencer interview with several of the 1,100 strikers at the Bethlehem plant here.

William McCaffery, a mill adjuster, was reported as saying, "This strike is a showdown. The company has taken a very unjust attitude... I certainly hope it's not a long strike, but the company has been trying to take away conditions from us that would put us back 25 years."

Another Bethlehem worker, Frank Krasnowsky, was interviewed as he joined fellow members of Local 1208 on the picket line at the conclusion of the shift.

"Krasnowsky pointed at the stream of automobiles leaving the plant last night and declared: 'Most of these cars are being bought on the installment plan. We'll just have to put off some of the bills for a while.'"

"Krasnowsky, whose wife just had a baby, said his wife may go to work temporarily to help stretch the family budget. But he wasn't downhearted.

"If we don't go out on strike, we won't have a right left," he said. "The mill was built by money made off us and we have a right to share in the company's gains."

STARLIGHT FORUM, SUNDAY, JULY 26—Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, 1958 Ind. - Socialist candidate for Lt. Gov. on "Individualism and Non-Political Protest Today." Contrib. \$1. The Terrace, Penthouse 10 A, 59 W. 71 St., New York City. (Future Starlight Forums on the Terrace, Aug. 9 and 16. Watch this column for details.)

SAVE THIS DATE

AUG. 22-24, Weekend at Camp Wingdale, Wingdale, N.Y. United Ind.-Socialist Committee 799 Broadway GR. 5-9736 New York 3, N.Y.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818.
DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

Billie Holiday

By Harry Ring

It was Sept. 25, 1955. Eight thousand people stood outside a Harlem church. Another two thousand were jammed inside. They were protesting the Mississippi lynching of Emmett Till. A chilling song that wrung the audience came over the loudspeakers:

Southern trees bear a strange fruit, Blood on the leaves and blood at the root, Black bottoms—swinging in the southern breeze, Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees.

Pastoral scene of the gallant south, The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth, Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh, Then the sudden smell of burning flesh...

The voice was that of the famed jazz singer, Billie Holiday. "Strange Fruit" was her theme song. She sang it everywhere—whether she appeared in a cheap gin mill, a swank night club or a Carnegie Hall midnight concert.

Billie died in New York last week at the age of 44. She was a beautiful, courageous and gifted woman who won the acclaim and love of millions for her songs and for her magnificent battle against discrimination. A two-fisted scrapper, she carried herself with a dignity that won her the very apt nickname of "Lady Day."

The story of her life is told in "Lady Sings the Blues," which she wrote in collaboration with William Dufty. The book is a searing indictment of the Jim Crow system.

Billie was born in Baltimore's Negro ghetto, the daughter of a 13-year-old mother and a 15-year-old father. She came to New York at 13 and went to work scrubbing floors. Her first singing engagement was in a Harlem club at \$2 a night. The joy this young girl put into "pop" tunes, the somberness of her "blues," caught her listeners irresistibly.

She was the first Negro vocalist to be

signed by a white band, that of Artie Shaw. In her book she pays tribute to the way this band fought any expression of Jim Crow while they were on tour. She also recalls with rueful amusement that it got a little wearing when they insisted on making it an NAACP case everytime she wanted to go to the toilet.

Billie never conceded an iota to the stereotype of a Negro performer. Her costume was always the same—a simple white gown and gardenias in her hair.

In the long, hard pull she became a narcotics victim and therefore, like all such victims, a ready target for the law. For a prominent Negro, who never hesitated to speak her piece about racist cops, the harassment was intolerable.

Her father died of pneumonia in Texas after being refused admission to a dozen white hospitals. By the time he got into one, the pneumonia had become acute. "It wasn't pneumonia that killed him," Billie said. "It was Dallas, Texas."

When Billie was stricken with a liver and heart ailment May 31, she got the kind of treatment in New York that had killed her father in Texas. She was shuttled from hospital to hospital, cursorily diagnosed as a "drug addict." When she was finally admitted, her condition was dangerous.

Then the police descended. They claimed they found "evidence" of possession of narcotics in the grievously afflicted singer's bed. She was arrested and a cop was stationed at her door. A court order finally freed Billie from the sight of this representative of "New York's finest" and she was permitted to die without the hateful eyes of the law upon her.

The legacy of recordings Billie Holiday left will warm the hearts of listeners for a long time to come.

Notes in the News

"A DIABOLIC ACT"—Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, who commanded the Asiatic Fleet when the Japanese bombed the gunboat "Panay" in 1937, died July 7 at the age of 83. The admiral is best remembered for terming Truman's use of atomic bombs "a diabolic act." Yarnell said that "the United States lost the moral leadership of the world when it dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki when Japan was at that time a defeated nation and was suing for peace."

"INSIDIOUS FAIRY TALE"—The Shreveport, La., Journal last week attacked a fairy tale, "Black and White," as "insidious interracial propaganda" and demanded an investigation of children's shelves in the state's libraries. The book, published in 1944, tells about a "black man, who lived in the black country of Wales" and a snowman who turned into "a white lady" so that the two could be married and live happily ever after. The indignant racist editor demanded: "How would you like for your little boy or girl to hear a bedtime story about a 'black man' and a 'white lady,' who brought happiness and gaiety into their lives by marrying each other?"

"WATCH YOUR EYES"—George Hunt, a 26-year-old Negro filling-station attendant in Richmond, Va., was arrested and convicted after some white women, who drove into the station with their skirts raised above their knees because of the hot weather, complained that he had stared at their legs. Another Negro, Charles Fitzgerald, was dragged off a bus in Philadelphia, arrested and charged with "assaulting an officer" because he observed two white girls in shorts doing some dance steps in front of a phonograph shop. According to three witnesses, the white cop saw Fitzgerald looking from a bus window. The cop rushed onto the bus and demanded, "Do you like what you see?" When Fitzgerald said, "Yes," the cop dragged him out.

"DO WHAT I SAY, NOT WHAT I DO"—Seven big-time Democratic and Republican politicians who hit the headlines with statements scoring the racist bias of exclusive clubs when Dr. Ralph J. Bunche was denied membership in the West Side Tennis Club, all belong to "white only" clubs. Mayor Robert F. Wagner, N.Y. City Council Pres. Abe

Stark, Queens Borough Pres. John T. Clancy, Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.), Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif.) all belong to the Elks which has a clause limiting membership "to white male citizens of America." Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) belongs to the Eagles which limits membership to males "of the Caucasian race" who are at least 18.

PROTEST COP BRUTALITY—More than 500 Negro residents of Jersey City held a five-hour street meeting July 15 to protest police brutality. Many carried strongly worded placards. The demonstration was touched off when three Negro men were arrested and beaten by three Jersey City policemen on July 12. Charges of atrocious assault and battery on behalf of two of the victims were filed by Raymond A. Brown, president of the local NAACP chapter, against Patrolmen Edward Sherry, Ralph Shepprow and George Langwehr of the Communipaw Avenue Police Station.

FIGHT FOR HIGH RENTS—According to James M. Udall, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, "The fastest step toward socialism is to keep the people on subsidized public housing." The champion of America's landlords made the statement in a speech July 18 at Durango, Colo., hailing Eisenhower's veto of the watered-down housing measure passed by Congress. "We asked the president to veto it," said Udall, "... and if the veto comes up for an overriding vote, the nation's real estate men will rise up again to fight it."

BROADENING AMERICANS — A few months ago Philadelphia transit experts reported that the average rider has broadened so much in recent years that it was necessary to order new car seats made nearly two inches wider. Last Sunday, This Week Magazine revealed that the seats in New York's new opera house, which will replace the Metropolitan built in 1880, will be made roomier: in view of the complaints about the tight grip of the old seats. The average American male of today, said the report, is about ten pounds heavier than his great-grandfather. Most of the weight seems to be accumulating in the ballast area.

Cleveland Steelworkers Tell About Grievances

CLEVELAND, July 18 — Almost 29,000 steel workers are on strike in the Cleveland-Lorain district. They are determined to settle a mountain of local grievances as well as help win a new national agreement.

The struck plants are Republic Steel, the American Steel and Wire Division of U.S. Steel, and Jones and Laughlin in Cleveland and the National Tube Works of U.S. Steel in Lorain.

At all the plants except Republic, agreements have been made to provide maintenance crews for the furnaces. At Republic the union is permitting no one but supervisors to enter the plant. Asked why maintenance was not being provided there, a Republic worker answered, "If someone kept kicking you in the face and then asked you a favor, would you do it for him? We got kicked in the face a lot of times."

"We have grievances that have been hanging fire as much as two years," another striker added.

The Republic workers have helped to expose some of the anti-union propaganda of the daily press. Last June 22, the Cleveland News ran a banner headline, "News Poll Finds Steelworkers Against Strike But Expect It."

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