

# More Consumer Goods Promised Soviet People

By Daniel Roberts

In a new concession to the Soviet working people, the Soviet government Oct. 16 ordered an immediate increase in the production of consumer goods to meet the "ceaselessly growing" demand.

The value of consumer goods produced in 1961, the government announced, will be about 42% higher than that of last year's output. The government also promised new designs for everything from lamp shades to refrigerators and improvements in quality "to match the best foreign samples."

If the promise is kept, 1961 Soviet consumer-goods production in most lines will be about two-thirds that of the entire seven-year period from 1952 to 1958.

according to an estimate of the New York Times.

The Soviet government's announcement followed a two-week campaign initiated by Khrushchev as he returned from his American and Chinese visits. Khrushchev spent two weeks barnstorming in Siberian cities on his way back to Moscow. It was given and taken between Khrushchev and his audiences on the subject of more consumer goods.

### Market for Shoes

Thus at the Bratsk Dam and Power Station on Oct. 9 Khrushchev was asked by construction workers when prices on consumer goods would be lowered. He answered not until production and labor productivity increased further.

"Perhaps there are among you some who are wearing boots but who would like to buy a good pair of shoes," said Khrushchev.

"There are, there are," a number of voices shouted.

But another electric power station needs to be built nearby, said Khrushchev. "The more power we get, the more easy and productive the peoples' labor will be, the less muscular energy will have to be spent."

In Vladivostok, Khrushchev took the popular side. He reported a conversation with a woman he stopped on the street to ask how things were going. She told him: "Because you are coming, they brought shoes, fabrics, milk and many other things into the stores. Come and see us more often; then there will be more to buy."

Dressing up the city for his visit did not strike him as funny, Khrushchev said. "That's not the right way to do things, Comrades."

Elsewhere, Khrushchev promised.

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# Crowd Defends Woman Against St. Louis Cops

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 13 — Two police dogs, "Fang" and "Duke I," were used here yesterday to break up a crowd that gathered in the Negro community when cops appeared to be threatening a 55-year-old woman whom they "suspected" of having committed a stabbing.

The dogs were brought to the scene after more than a hundred people gathered in front of the home of Mrs. Lucille Hendrix when police began shouting at her on the porch and sought to push into her home. Some stones were reportedly thrown at the cops.

The police later explained they had yelled in grilling Mrs. Hendrix because she is hard of hearing. They said they had received a report that she had stabbed someone in her home.

Police dogs were also used in the Negro community Aug. 17 when several hundred people acted to prevent two cops from shooting down a youth singled out as a suspect in stealing a purse.

# Socialist Fund Campaign Gets Off to a Good Start

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

Fall has arrived in New York, bringing in a wave of crisp, pleasant air. The change of season also ushered in the \$16,000 Socialist Publications Fund which was undertaken by the recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party. It's truly a "worthy cause" and this paper is backing it all the way.

Unlike fall, I can't report that the fund drive opened with a wave of crisp greenbacks. But a good modest start has been made. (It's some kind of a law that socialist fund drives begin with ripples and gather momentum as they go along.) On the basis of this law, as demonstrated by past performance, I'm confident that we'll meet the December 15 deadline in full and on time. After all, the money is going to help sustain a program of socialist publications in preparation for a hard-hitting 1960 socialist presidential campaign.

I suppose the weekly scoreboard (see page 2) is the best barometer of a fund-raising campaign. But the letters that usually accompany the contributions are even more interesting because they put you in touch with the human beings doing about the hardest job in the world — fighting for socialism in the U.S.A.

For example, the scoreboard will tell you that the San Diego branch of the Socialist Workers Party has sent in \$45 on a \$245 quota. But I think the letter enclosing the contribution gives a much better picture of what San Diego's final performance will be.

There hadn't been an SWP branch in San Diego for many years but recently a new one was chartered. It's a lusty baby. "Last Saturday we held our first SWP fund-raising social in recent years. We are happy to report that the event was very successful, both from the stand-

point of new friends and financially. Approximately 35 people attended and after all expenses had been deducted we netted \$43.

"Since this social was successful beyond our expectations, we plan to hold others. We feel that parties such as this may open the door to winning new supporters and provide fund-raising prospects that we have been unable to attempt previously because of the newness of our branch and small numbers. In other words, we are beginning to feel our strength."

### "Enclosed Find . . ."

Other letters are equally revealing, even though some of the authors seem to be convinced that brevity is the soul of eloquence. For example, there are two letters from Detroit. The first one says, "Enclosed find check in the amount of . . ." The second one makes exactly the same point in exactly the same words. The two checks put Detroit up in fourth place. That money was collected while the Detroit comrades were gathering 32,000 nominating petitions to put a socialist presidential ticket on the Michigan ballot.

From Berkeley came a note enclosing a check for \$97 toward the Bay Area quota. Since the scoreboard shows \$97 for the Bay Area there's no question that Berkeley has the lead over San Francisco and Oakland. But I'm sure they're going to have to fight to stay ahead.

R. French in Allentown dropped us a note of apology for tardiness in remittance and an assurance that "we'll make it."

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# Taft-Hartley Move Fails To Soften Steelworkers

## Chicago Rally Calls for End To Cold War

CHICAGO, Oct. 19 — Nine hundred people filled the Grand Ballroom of the Hamilton Hotel last night to hear a group of prominent unionists discuss "Labor and the Cold War." The meeting was sponsored by the American Forum of Chicago.

The speakers included Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast Longshoremen's Union; Sam Pollock, an official of the Cleveland Butcher Workmen's Union; Ernie Mazey, a long-time member of the Detroit United Auto Workers and Jack Bollens of the American Friends. Cecil Patrick, chairman of the Chicago Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, presided.

Bridges attacked the AFL-CIO leadership as one of the principal props of the cold war. A recent registrant in the Republican party, he gave the Democrats second place among the warmongers and the Republicans third.

Urging support for the projected East-West summit meeting, he called for an end to atomic tests and advocated visits to the USSR by trade unionists.

Declaring the demilitarization of Germany essential to world peace, Bridges advanced the argument that a rearmaged Germany might eventually aim against the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union.

Pollock pointed to the fact that some sections of the capitalist class are now going along with the idea of "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union in order to be able to present the Republicans as the "peace" party in the 1960 elections. He warned that this peace posture could be dropped after it had served its usefulness in the elections.

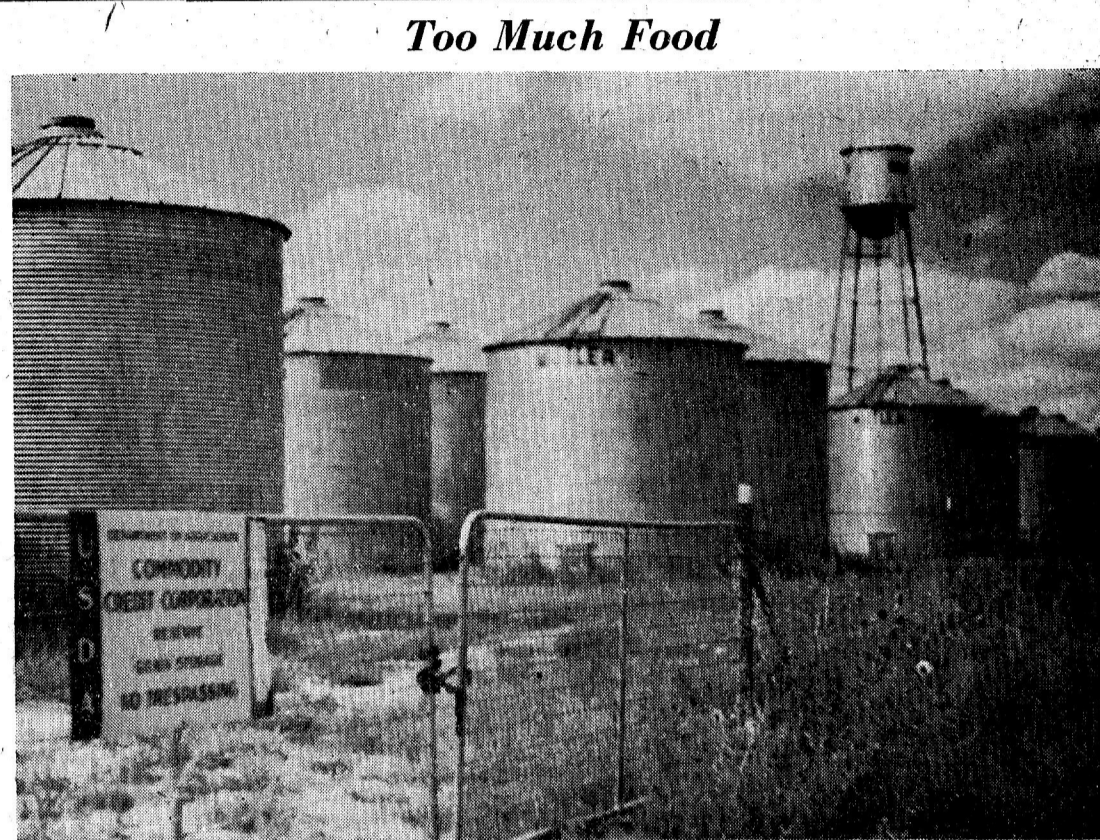
He held that the central task was the building of a labor party and cited the disastrous results of labor support of capitalist politicians.

He urged that radicals oppose any efforts to thwart the development of labor independent political action under the guise of "peaceful coexistence." His stress on the need for the unions to break with the Democratic party was warmly received by the audience.

Jack Bollens discussed the horrors of nuclear war and said that labor must make the struggle for peace its primary concern.

Ernie Mazey urged support for "peaceful coexistence" but said he favored nomination of independent labor candidates in key areas. He praised President Eisenhower for extending the invitation to Khrushchev to visit here.

"Last spring the chances that the United Steelworkers of



Granaries like these dot America's agricultural areas. The government has about \$2,500,000,000 tied up in stored wheat, \$1,800,000,000 in surplus corn, and is paying \$370,000 a day just to store more than a billion bushels of it. This year's crop poured a new cascade of grain on the mountains already heaped up despite official efforts to keep down production. In capitalist society owners choke from surpluses while workers are denied the product of their own labor. In a socialist society extra food like this would be used to feed the hungry and to bring down living costs.

## Too Much Food

# Picket Lines Respond Angrily To Moves to Break Their Union

OCT. 20 — Yesterday, as President Eisenhower moved to force the steel strikers back to work, a group of supervisors turned up at the plant gate of U. S. Steel's Fairless Works in Motrieville, Pa., to enter the mill as they have been doing since the strike began.

But this time a mass picketline turned them away. A union spokesman said the local had ended its policy of permitting supervisors to enter the plant because they had been violating an agreement to restrict themselves to maintenance work.

The incident reflects the mood of increased militancy being generated among the steel workers by the strike-breaking moves of the companies and the government.

Reports from the major steel centers show general recognition among union ranks that the days ahead are crucial in the defense of their organization. They are ready to strike again at the end of the 80-day injunction rather than accept a company plan to gut the union.

A. H. Raskin, labor specialist for the New York Times, has carefully followed strike developments from the outset. Two days ago he offered this estimate:

"Last spring the chances that the United Steelworkers of

America could survive a protracted walkout without signs of internal stress and possible revolt seemed slight . . .

"Now that the hour of decision has arrived . . . what is the standing of the teams?"

"The union's morale appears firmer than ever. The lost wages and the hardships of feeding and clothing their families with no money coming in have brought no hint of readiness to capitulate on the rules issue. On the contrary, the sentiment in the mill towns is to 'stay out forever' rather than let the industry have its way."

Discussion with Pittsburgh pickets yesterday confirmed Raskin's appraisal of their mood. "Some muttered," he reported, "that none of the men would 'bust their backs' working under the back-to-work mandate. They scoffed at the notion that the lure of premium earnings under incentive wage systems would prove more powerful than any tendency to hold back in protest against the forced labor decree."

He quotes a worker at the Homestead mills of U.S. Steel: "We loused ourselves up by breaking all production records in the six months before the strike . . . We're not going to be stupid enough to make the same mistake now that they're making us go back under this injunction."

In the first week of this month, when the steel barons made a phony settlement "offer" and the government made its first move for an injunction, Raskin noted the hardening sentiment of the strikers.

Ed Southward, president of Local 1196 at the Allegheny Ludlum mill in Tarentum, Pa., told him: "We took an informal poll among our 4,000 members and we found that they're almost 100 per cent against this latest offer. You can bet that if we aren't offered anything better we'll be out on strike again as soon as the Taft-Hartley Act runs out."

William Graham, a welder at the Irvin Works of U. S. Steel, said: "All I know is that if they don't come up with a better offer, we'll be back on strike. This offer insults my intelligence."

In Gary, Ind., a striker with five children said, "It's been a long strike and all of us need the money. But if we don't get what we want at the end of the 80-day period we'll walk out again."

WHO IS MORE EXPERT? New York officials have hired experts to investigate subway economies said to be undermining safety. The same experts recommended the economies.

The men at Great Lakes Local 1299 have a long tradition of struggle, both against the company, a subsidiary of National Steel, owner of the still open-shop Weirton Steel Company, and against the union bureaucracy.

A temporary "peace" was achieved in September, 1955, after 20 months of wildcat strikes set off by unsettled grievances. At that time McDonald and Paul Carnahan, then president of Great Lakes, addressed a mass meeting of the company's employees.

In line with his "co-trusteeship" theories, McDonald reminded the members that "We, union and management, are partners as only we in America can be partners."

High Recommendation In turn, Carnahan (under whose signature as chairman of the company the offensive letter was sent out last Saturday) praised McDonald in the following glowing terms: "If I was looking for a banker to lend me money to build a new steel plant, the man I'd choose from his appearance would be Dave McDonald."

Eugene Debs, America's outstanding socialist leader in the days before World War I, gave his opinion of the meaning of this kind of praise when he said, "Put it down that when the capitalist who is exploiting you credits your leader with being safe and conservative and wise, that leader is not serving you."

Great Lakes members were not long in undergoing further experiences of the type that led Debs to make his observation. In the February, 1957, election for the union presidency, a sizeable protest movement for the opposition candidate, Rarick, developed at Local 1299. Although McDonald recorded a two-thirds victory over his opponent at Great Lakes, many rank-and-file militants placed a big question

# Bitter Defiance Noted Among Rank and File as Court Issues Injunction

By Tom Kerry

OCT. 22 — Steelworkers across the nation are bitter and defiant over the attempt to force them to return to work under a Taft-Hartley injunction issued at the behest of Eisenhower. The rank and file are determined to continue their fight to preserve their union against the strike-breaking move.

In a last-minute effort to stave off the injunction, attorneys for the United Steelworkers went into court to argue that the application of Taft-Hartley to the present steel strike was immoral, illegal and unconstitutional. Since the adoption of the slave-labor law no court has ever refused to grant the government an injunction upon request.

"If an injunction is granted," said the union brief, "the great sacrifices which the steel workers have suffered will have been largely in vain. Their strike will have been broken. They would, it is true, be able to renew their strike after the injunction is dissolved, but in the interim the steel companies will have replenished their customers' stockpiles of steel and the economic pressure which the strike so far has caused will be neutralized."

Everything thus far has gone according to plan. The steel tycoons have dictated the policy of the government from the very beginning. Eisenhower set the stage at the outset of negotiations by warning against "inflationary" wage increases. This gave the steel barons the issue they needed to play the role of guardians of the public welfare.

Under cloak of the crusade against "inflation" the money-grubbing monopolists sought to impose upon the steel workers terms of unconditional surrender of union working rules and conditions.

With negotiations deadlocked, the union leaders appealed to Eisenhower to set up a fact-finding board to weigh the issues in dispute. The corporations, raking in the greatest profit board in history, were against it. Eisenhower, extolling the virtues of "free" collective bargaining, rejected the union plea. There was, he said, no "national emergency" justifying government intervention. This fitted in nicely with the plans of the steel bosses.

In preparation for the forced strike the steel corporations had entered into an understanding with the big steel users to stockpile enough steel for at least three months. By that time they counted on Eisenhower to discover that a continuation of "free collective bargaining" would "imperil the national health and safety" and call upon the courts to club the strikers back to work with a Taft-Hartley injunction. "Injunction Ike" did not disappoint his cronies.

What now? The corporation heads, their stooges in government, the kept press and professional labor haters, are having second thoughts. They had hoped that the buffeting the Steelworkers were taking would break their spirit and force their capitulation. Nothing of the sort happened.

There has been no "back-to-work" movement, no mood of capitulation or surrender, no sign of a break in the ranks. If anything, the men of steel are more than ever determined to resist any further encroachment on their already badly mauled working rules and conditions. The weakness of the McDonald leadership, its tendency to retreat, to pare down the union demands, to avoid a militant showdown struggle, is no reflection of the mood in the ranks. On the contrary, the sentiment of the ranks has prevented the retreat of the top leadership from turning into a rout.

The question posed by an injunction is: What will happen after it is dissolved? The general consensus based

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# Detroit Steel Pickets Answer Company's Letter

By Jim Avery

DETROIT, Oct. 18 — Further evidence of rank-and-file solidarity in the steel strike was shown this week in the most heartening way when a spontaneous massing of strikers at the Great Lakes Steel plant gates prevented the thousand-odd supervisory personnel from entering the plant Wednesday morning, Oct. 14.

The demonstration was touched off by a company letter to each of its striking employees last week end hypocritically expressing concern over their economic plight, falsely claiming that the company's proposals were fair and just, and attempting, to saddle blame on the union leaders for the strike.

An added fillip was the outrageous claim that all the company seeks is a "non-inflationary" settlement and "improved efficiency" of operation.

This was the third time in 92 days that the pickets have taken such action. Increasing bitterness in the past two weeks over an increase in office help and supervisors helped motivate the action. "The men decided they'd had a bellyful. They especially resented the company feeling sorry for us," said George Kenyon, grievance chairman of Local 1299.

Although the local's officers appealed to the pickets to observe the "pass" agreement with the company, the men simply replied, "We'll think about it."

The pickets showed resourcefulness. They allowed only the fire department, safety, and plant-protection men into the plant. At the same time they picked up the passes of many foremen and office help who have acted provocatively during the months of picketing.

Hearings on this injunction will take place next Tuesday. Injunctions, Injunctions . . . The Michigan Militant Newsletter this week took note of the injunction and of similar moves by companies in other strikes by suggesting an effective way of responding:

"Injunctions to the right, injunctions to the left, injunctions all around — and all against labor. Against the steel workers and longshoremen nationally, against auto workers at Cross, restaurant workers at Sno-White, mailers at the three daily newspapers."

"These injunctions prove that the courts are tools of big business and should remind us there is nothing sacred about injunctions. It is better to defy injunctions and win a strike than obey and lose it. That was the philosophy of unions in the past. We'd better return to it if we want to have unions in the future."

mark over the accuracy with which the vote was recorded.

Nine, Months Receivership In August, 1957, a two-week strike shut the plant over the same question that prompted the "peace" pact of 1955. This was the policy followed by plant superintendents of filing grievances in the wastebasket. McDonald's response was to put the local in receivership for nine months until he could establish a more compliant regime there.

The extended record of sell-outs and bureaucratic dictatorship did not suffocate the spirit of militancy as last Wednesday's action again demonstrated.

PROFITS SET RECORD Profits of manufacturing corporations for any one quarter reached a peak in the second quarter of 1959. Profits jumped to \$9 billion before taxes and \$4.9 billion after taxes. Previous high was \$4.3 billion after taxes in the fourth quarter of 1956.

# They Heated the Open Hearths On Account of the 'Cold Snap'

By Pearl Spangler

MORRISVILLE, Pa., Oct. 20 — The papers reported that the pickets at the big U. S. Steel plant at Fairless Hills stopped all maintenance personnel from free access yesterday, so I went down to see what was up. At the gate, where ten seasoned pickets were on duty, I talked with Frank Ford, chairman of publicity. He told me the story.

When the strike began, the pickets closed the plant down tight, letting no incoming traffic go through. On Aug. 4, however, the company signed an agreement not to attempt any production work during the strike. In return the union permitted officials to come and go for "essential maintenance."

Yesterday members of the union grievance committee entered the plant and discovered that six open-hearth furnaces had been heated up to 1,800 degrees. Since steel can be tapped at 2,400 degrees and at capacity production they run at 3,000 degrees, the men saw that the company was attempting "to jump the gun," anticipating Eisenhower's use of a Taft-Hartley injunction.

And so the pickets decided to bar the gates. If a company official comes out to change his underwear, as one did, he can't get back in.

U. S. Steel, naturally, was highly indignant. Corporation spokesmen claimed they were only warming up the furnaces on account of the cool weather. "The bottoms of the open hearths could have cracked in this cold snap," an official told the press.

While I was in the area, I dropped in to see some of the strikers' families and to leave some socialist literature for them to read.

This is a relatively new housing development, built around 1950 when U. S. Steel bought some 4,000 acres of farm land to put up one of the biggest mills in the world. Homes average about \$10,000, quite a mortgage to carry. Schools are crowded and taxes are heavy.

One family with three children moved in last March after a year's unemployment at McKeesport. But they are sticking tough. "The injunction won't settle anything for the work-

ers," the husband said. "They ought to let us stay out until the union wins."

At another home a woman was busy ironing. You could tell by the way she handled the iron that she had had it. She complained about the strike and her husband not working but at the same time she said, "They go back and there'll be no peace for the men." She needs money, she said, but she also wants a man.

A few doors away, a striker displayed considerable interest in the Militant. The local papers, he said, are lousy. They don't give the real facts.

Another striker said, "Ike's injunction is coercion. It's too much politics. Neither the Democrats or Republicans will help."

He agreed with my suggestion that labor should have their own representatives but he thought that it would sure be a tough fight to win something like that.

At another home a striker said, "Why haven't I seen this paper before? Someone supports us all the way!"

I knocked at one door and the lady kept me waiting. She had both radio and TV on to get the news. When she finally came to the door, she said that the company was firing the ovens and that there was mass picketing going on. She wasn't any too lady-like in her remarks about the company.

Generally speaking I found that the Fairless workers are shaking the piggy banks and concerned about Christmas coming up. But not one worker or his wife felt that the union was asking too much or being stubborn. Their anger is directed entirely at the company.

Sure they are sore about the quality of surplus food products obtained from the government. One comment I jotted down was that "if this is the corn meal and flour we send overseas, no wonder we haven't made any friends."

They are more sore, however, about the injunction. "Eighty days and then what?" That is their attitude. They are not pleased with interference from the government. Without it, they are convinced, "we can win this strike."

# Clearing Away a "Mountain of Dead Dogs"

By Murry Weiss

The Prophet Unarmed, Trotsky: 1921-1929, by Isaac Deutscher, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959. 490 pp. \$9.50.

In this volume Deutscher has succeeded in presenting a fascinating blow-by-blow account of the struggle initiated by Lenin, and continued by Trotsky, against the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Deutscher's original plan was to devote this volume to completing the story of Trotsky's life and work from 1921 to 1940 as a sequel to the *Prophet Armed*. Fortunately he altered his plan. The present work ends with Trotsky's banishment from the Soviet Union in January 1929 and a third volume, the *Prophet Outcast*, will "cover the stormy twelve years of Trotsky's last exile and . . . give the final assessment of his role."

What we have in this book is a self-contained work which is decidedly more than a fragment of a biography; it is among other things the first comprehensive contribution to a history of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, its inner struggles, its relations with the Zinoviev-Kamenev group within the United Opposition and the character and role of its outstanding leaders whose names constitute the honor roll of revolutionary giants of Lenin's Bolshevik party: Rakovsky, Radek, Preobrazhensky, Yoffe, Antonov-Ovseenko, Pyatakov, Serenbriakov, Krestinsky, Ivan Smirnov, Muralov, Mrachkovsky, and Sosnovsky. Vividly sketched individual portraits of this remarkable group pass before us as the story of the Opposition is told.

The book is one of the most absorbing and agonizingly tense accounts the reader is likely to encounter for a long time. One feels inexorably drawn into personal participation in a great historic drama in which the fate of mankind is at stake. The barrier of time and falsification crumble as the reader senses the immediacy and urgency of the struggle.

Deutscher's indubitable skill certainly accounts for much of this impact. The main reason, however, is that the true history of the Trotskyist Opposition's struggle is of current and urgent significance and is playing a crucial part today in the profound changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union. We need only consider what the publication of Deutscher's book (not to speak of the major works of Trotsky) in the Soviet Union would imply to realize this.

The vitality of Trotskyism has become so evident that even someone like Bert Cochran, who not long ago sneeringly dismissed the "relevancy" of the old "Trotsky-Stalin dispute" now says in his review of Deutscher's book, "But this latter (Trotsky-Stalin) controversy has not passed into the limbo of academia . . . it still claims mankind's attention because it first grappled with a host of political, sociological, and moral questions which are only now being recognized and which still remain as the agenda of unfinished business of major portions of the globe."

Deutscher is fully aware of the currency of his theme and says in the opening lines of his preface: "Carlyle once wrote that as Cromwell's biographer he had to drag out the Lord Protector from under a mountain of dead dogs, a huge load of calumny and oblivion. My job, as Trotsky's

## Co-Founders of the Soviet Union



Lenin and Trotsky reviewing detachments of the Red Army. The two revolutionary-socialist leaders assured the success of the October 1917 Revolution which established the first workers' state in history. When the bureaucratic degeneration set in, Lenin organized a struggle to remove Stalin from office. After Lenin's death, Trotsky continued the fight despite mounting odds against victory.

biographer, has been somewhat similar, with this difference, however, that when I set out to assail my mountain of dead dogs great events were about to strike at it with immense force. I had concluded the *Prophet Armed*, the first part of my study of Trotsky, while Stalin was still alive, and while his 'cult' appeared as indestructible as the stigma attached to Trotsky appeared indestructible . . .

"Then came Stalin's death, the Twentieth Congress, and Khrushchev's 'secret' speech. An earthquake shook the mountain of dead dogs, scattering half of it far and wide; and for a moment it looked as if the other half too was about to be blown away. Historically truthful references to Trotsky's part in the Russian Revolution began to appear in Soviet periodicals for the first time in three decades, although the paucity and timidity of the references suggested how close the connection between history and politics still was in this case, and how delicate the problem."

Soon thereafter, Deutscher says, Stalin's heirs took fright and the "assault on the 'mountain of dead dogs' was halted in its tracks. The Khrushchevite historians replaced Stalin's systematic and crude total lies with a modified and softened system of half-lies. In Deutscher's opinion this historiography of "hide-and-seek" which reveals a little but conceals a lot has already gone too far to halt the march of truth. "The new party leaders," Deutscher says, "have in fact done virtually everything that was needed for Trotsky's rehabilitation. Now all their attempts to banish him once again from the annals of revolution are vain."

Deutscher has many disagreements with Trotsky on the nature and meaning of Stalinism. He is obviously in sharp disagreement with some of the views of the Trotskyist movement today. For our part, our disagreements with Deutscher are considerable, both as to method and conclusions and in due course we will discuss them. This does not, however, prevent us from recognizing the enormous merit of his work which has that simple (but so rarely encountered) virtue of stating the facts.

within the Bolshevik party itself flourished in comparison with even the mildest period of Stalin's regime. In this connection Deutscher says, "Only the blind and the deaf could be unaware of the contrast between Stalinism and Leninism."

Trotsky's role in calling for a necessary tactical retreat a year before Lenin came to agree with him and to institute the New Economic Policy, did not prevent him from immediately seeing the danger of the growth of a capitalist restorationist tendency based on the Kulak (rich peasant) and the Nepman (speculators in small trade). Against this danger which inevitably arose from the NEP, Trotsky was the first to call for a policy of planning, industrialization and collectivization of agriculture.

The rise of the Stalinist bur-

eaucratic faction in the party is then accompanied by the reappearance of a powerful right-wing faction headed by Bukharin which expressed the pressure of the Kulak within the party. The right wing and the Stalinists heap ridicule and scorn on Trotsky's "visionary" schemes of planning and industrialization. He is reviled as a "super-industrializer" and an enemy of the peasant.

Later, when the right-wing policies, fully supported by the Stalin faction, brings the country to the brink of disaster, and after the Left Opposition has already been expelled from the party, Stalin takes over the program of the Trotskyists only to carry it out with reckless bureaucratic ferocity, which again puts the fate of the revolution in jeopardy and leads to new bureaucratic zigzags in policy.

## Lenin Opens Fight Against Stalin

It was Lenin who opened the struggle against Stalinism. Newly published material in the Soviet Union, documents circulated by the Opposition and the hitherto unpublished material in the Trotsky archives at Harvard amply testify to this fact. As Lenin fights his growing illness and then faces death he turns with ever greater insistence to Trotsky, urging him to act for both of them in launching an all-out struggle against bureaucracy in the state and particularly in the party itself.

For Lenin, the bureaucratic menace was personified by Stalin. The objective of his proposed struggle is to destroy Stalin's newly formed bureaucratic machine and to remove him from his key post as general secretary of the party. This was Lenin's last great battle as well as literally his Last Testament. And after thirty years of falsehood it was officially admitted at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Union.

How the ups and downs of Lenin's illness and his death played a major role in the timing and the tactics of the bureaucratic usurers, regulating their advances and retreats, their hesitations and panic, makes gruesome reading.

Deutscher is highly critical of Trotsky's tactics in this period, holding that he failed to destroy Stalin's political power when he had the chance to. He disciplines his discussion, however, by carefully noting all the basic social and political factors that were at work: the ebb in the international revolution, the post-Revolutionary exhaustion and apathy of the working class, the pressure of capitalist elements in the peasantry and the cancerous growth of the bureaucracy feeding on these reactionary social forces.

As the main stages of the momentous struggle unfold, we see Trotsky's tactical error, we see Trotsky's role as Lenin's closest collaborator in the Communist International. We see him as he draws the lessons of October from the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution; as he falls ill in the critical period of Lenin's own illness and then is kept out of commission while the first stage of the frenzied campaign against "Trotskyism" is unleashed. We see him fighting the infamous opportunist policy of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee which provided the British trade-union leaders with a left cover for their betrayal of the 1926 General Strike.

We see him waging a struggle for Leninism, as the tragic consequences of Stalin's Menshevik course unfold and the Chinese

role of Trotsky and Trotskyism is not yet settled. In January, 1956, the aforementioned Cochran described Deutscher as the product of "Marxist training wedded to Anglo-Saxon common sense" and said that this "has produced an effective combination." But this book by Deutscher, together with some of his other recent writings, testifies rather to an inner conflict between the Marxist scholar and the Anglo-Saxon empiricist. Just as Deutscher wrestles with the problems and dilemmas besetting the Trotskyists in approaching issues of the revolution, so he wrestles with his own dilemmas and the problems arising from an inconsistent approach to the revolution.

The impact of recent events in the Soviet Union is clearly evident in the way Deutscher tells the story of the early struggle against the bureaucracy. The very texture and tone of his treatment bears the imprint of the upheaval in the Soviet orbit in recent years and the first intimations of the entrance of the modern Soviet proletariat onto the stage of history.

A "right-wing" critic of Deutscher, A. J. P. Taylor, reviewing his book in the Sept. 26 *New Statesman*, perceives this discord in Deutscher from his own right-wing and somewhat pro-Stalinist standpoint. "There is a deep equivocation in Mr. Deutscher's approach," Taylor writes. "Emotionally, one might say, he wants Trotsky to win; and he cannot help hinting that Trotsky will win posthumously at some time in the future. Yet, when he looks objectively at the circumstances in the nineteen-twenties, he also cannot help admitting that Trotsky's ideas were impossibly romantic. The tone of the book is constantly changing gear; and the reader, like Mr. Deutscher, ends by being bewildered. Ought he to let his emotions run away with him and admire Trotsky's heroic stand? Or ought he to sympathize with the puzzle-headed Stalin, doing his best for the revolution in difficult circumstances?"

Essentially, Taylor is complaining that Deutscher has not been consistently "Deutscherite" in his book, in the sense that "Deutscherism" has come to mean crediting Stalinism with a historically "progressive" role, despite its barbarous methods. For our part, this conflict between Deutscher and Deutscherism is welcome. It seems to us to reflect, in the last analysis, the deepening contradiction in modern Soviet society between the proletariat and the bureaucracy.

It is to be hoped that Deutscher, in his further work, in addition to seeking to present the facts in the important field he has chosen for research, will favor the tendency he has displayed in this volume of looking at the big issues from the viewpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

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## Business Manager's Desk

# "You Get a Fine Feeling Something New Is in the Air"

By Karolyn Kerry

From the desk of the Militant's Business Manager, you get a fine feeling these days that something new is in the air. New subs are coming into the office every day with encouraging comments about the paper. Even more significant is the growing interest developing around our sister publication, *The International Socialist Review*.

More inspiring than anything that has happened in a long time is the story of the Socialist Trailblazers. For the first time since 1945 when Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes set out on a hitch-hiking trip selling Militant subs, two young socialists took the road to introduce socialist literature to pioneer territory. Let me report some of the results after two short weeks in New England.

At Yale and Trinity College, 24 students subscribed to the *ISR* and the *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, and some subscribed to the Militant. In addition to this, several subscriptions to the Militant, along with other literature, were sold in front of a church in New Haven.

In Massachusetts, where they barnstormed Harvard and Brandeis Universities we now have over 70 new subscribers.

Now wouldn't you think that was enough for two young men in two short weeks? But, no, in

addition they sold considerable literature and over 150 copies of the Militant, *International Socialist Review* and the *Young Socialist*. Now they are off to new territory and new experiences, so tune in next week for the latest report.

The Twin Cities, as usual, are among the first to report a mopping up job on renewals. Helen S. says: "Our September sub drive for Militant and combination subs was most rewarding. The appearance and content of the paper and magazine are genuine 'persuaders' to push the circulation of the press; and the readiness of former readers and new friends to subscribe shows this to be a good field for action."

"A sub drive," she adds, "is bound to be an inspiring and successful campaign. During September we got 35 Militant subs and with the use of the combination offer stepped-up the *ISR* circulation considerably."

Now from way out west we get an indication of a welcome change. Don Parrott just wrote us about increased sales on all the Los Angeles newsstands and a new order for *D & C News* at 508 South Hill. He writes that: "We do not know the cause but we notice that newsstand sales have been increasing over

the past five months."

Louise Manning writes that Los Angeles will be getting 150 subs in the next period and that they have set up a committee to handle the work.

Here on the East Coast New York is making another record. We don't have the results yet but they started their drive for subs by holding a "red sunday" mobilization last week. Equally important is the distribution they conducted at the recently concluded UAW Convention. Everyone who participated came back enthusiastic.

One distributor commented: "After the distribution I went up in the balcony of the auditorium to observe. Looking down on the delegates, you could see Militant mastheads everywhere. They all wanted to keep the paper, too. One delegate ran after me for a copy and complained that he tried to get one from a friend who had finished reading it but the guy wanted to take it back with him. I'm sure we'll be getting subs from that distribution."

Now for all our friends all over the country who have been sending us subs — Keep up the good work and we'll soon have a good readers list in all the states in the union. Not just one but dozens, then not just dozens but hundreds. Yes, there's something new in the air.

# ... Socialist Fund Campaign Starts

(Continued from Page 1)  
And in a similar vein, David Stevens, who is directing the drive in nearby Philadelphia, clipped a note to a check. It reads (the note, that is) "I know that this is a slow start, but we will pick up steam and make it in full, I'm sure." We're sure, too.

The scoreboard shows that our loyal St. Louis supporters are in third place. But that doesn't mean it comes easy. Oscar C. writes: "One of our members has been in the hospital undergoing surgery and has just returned home — no contributions from him until he gets back on his feet." Here's hoping for a

speedy recovery. Others can make up the contribution. But we need every socialist fighter in good health.

For last place in the fund mailbox, I've saved a "short, nasty note" from Cleveland that makes it very clear why this fund drive is going to be a success. Fund director Gene Fine says: "Enclosed is a check for \$75. I wish it were three times that amount. The effects of the steel strike are hitting our comrades and friends but we are more than ever determined to fulfill our pledge on time and in full."

And now, a final brief point. About that "General" listing on the scoreboard. In the picture, "The Inspector-General," Danny Kaye asked, "What do they do, inspect generals?" Well, in case you've been wondering about who "General" is — it's not an anonymous brass hat contributing to the fund. It's you and all the other readers of the Militant who want to help assure effective socialist participation in the 1960 presidential campaign. How about sending in a contribution? Help keep "General" up with the rest of them so he'll look real sharp for each week's inspection.

## Introduction to the Real Trotsky

By arranging the available data in painstakingly accurate yet popular and comprehensible form, Deutscher has performed a valuable service in spreading the truth. It must be recognized, too, that for many radicals emerging from the ideological jungle of Stalinism, dazed and bewildered by the shattering of Stalinist mythology, Deutscher's book may well be the first introduction to the real Trotsky. By then going to the works of Trotsky and Lenin, the serious revolutionist will be equipped to judge matters for himself — including the opinions and critical assessments of Deutscher.

Some of the most striking points in Deutscher's account of the Trotskyist Opposition's struggle, which will come as "new" to those who have so long been force-fed on a diet of lies, can be listed as follows: In the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the struggle against Stalinism, the Soviet state has just passed through three years of civil war. Industry and transport are at a standstill and the urban working class, which was the main force of the revolution, has virtually disappeared due to physical decimation and the eco-

nomical strangulation of the country. The Bolsheviks are compelled to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat — without the active presence of a politically organized proletariat.

This paradox, brought about by imperialist intervention and internal counter-revolution imposes severe hardships on the young workers' state. Workers' democracy is curtailed and at times totally inoperative. The methods of military rule developed in the period of "war communism" have become entrenched.

In this situation Lenin's party faces the choice: shall we attempt to maintain the conquests of the revolution despite the fact that the unprecedented difficulties have imposed civil-war methods of rule; or shall we surrender to capitalist counter-revolution? Lenin and Trotsky didn't falter. They chose the revolutionary path. But at no time did the Bolsheviks hide the harsh truth from the workers either within Russia or abroad. They never proclaimed that emergency civil-war methods were normal practices of socialist democracy. Furthermore, in the period of the worst hardships, the practice of democracy

## FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 285	\$ 122	46
Connecticut	100	40	40
St. Louis	80	30	38
Detroit	600	205	34
Allentown	110	35	32
Boston	350	110	32
Twin Cities	1,700	467	27
New York	4,200	1,047	25
Los Angeles	4,400	1,018	23
Chicago	1,000	220	22
Cleveland	750	156	21
Milwaukee	300	57	19
Philadelphia	400	73	18
San Diego	245	45	18
Bay Area	800	97	12
Denver	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Seattle	500	0	0
General	150	1	0
Total through Oct. 20	\$16,000	\$3,723	24

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Monday, October 26, 1959

**A Problem for the NAACP**

Last week the Militant commented editorially on the failure of the top leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to sound the alarm about the Supreme Court's unfavorable decision last November on the pupil-placement laws in the South.

The failure, said the Militant, "raises the question whether or not they... have secretly reconciled themselves to going along with token integration in the South." The pertinence of this observation was confirmed even as our editorial was being written.

Up to Oct. 9, an NAACP official as prominent as Gloster B. Current had continued to predict, as the Militant noted, that the Supreme Court would yet declare the pupil-placement laws unconstitutional in ruling in two test cases before it.

On Oct. 12 the Court blew Current's prediction sky high by refusing to review the cases. One would imagine that this would finally impel the NAACP top leadership to reassess their course. Vain hope! The Board of Directors passed a resolution Oct. 15 "expressing regret" at the Court's latest action. But instead of branding the decision as another blow to school integration, the drafters of the resolution could only say that the "court action encourages" school boards to "make no effort to desegregate the school system," and "relieves" them of "their constitutional obligation to initiate steps to desegregate with 'all deliberate speed'."

As if frightened at such "critical" language, the drafters hastened to add that "it need not mean the end of the public school desegregation process..." Indeed! What process? The South's process of substituting token desegregation for full desegregation?

What is the Court's intent? The authors of the resolution give their interpretation, "... to a significant degree the Court's action shifts the burden from the school authorities to Negro parents."

So what should the NAACP locals do now? They must "encourage a larger number of parents to request transfers" for their children to non-segregated schools. How do you "encourage" parents in view of the discouragement from the Court? It's simple. You educate them. As the resolution puts it, "the advantages of non-segregated education must be made clear to parents through an intensive educational program..."

This reaction indicates unmistakably that the NAACP heads are thinking of going along with token integration. A suicidal perspective! It really means giving up the struggle for genuine integration. We don't think the membership of the NAACP will go along with that. They already know about the advantages of non-segregated education. The problem now is to give the NAACP tops an intensive education on the fact that it is not enough to rely on the courts. You've got to add militant mass action.

**Dr. Perry Faces Prison**

On Oct. 13, the same day that the Supreme Court again upheld North Carolina's "pupil placement" law designed to circumvent integration, the tribunal struck another blow at civil rights by refusing to review the conviction of Dr. Albert E. Perry of Monroe, N.C.

Dr. Perry was part of the new militant leadership in Monroe that rebuilt the NAACP on a fighting basis. In the summer of 1957, he led a struggle to desegregate Monroe's municipal swimming pool.

One answer of the racists to this courageous action was a KKK invasion of the Negro section of town during which they fired on Dr. Perry's home. This attack was beaten off, however, by the defense guard organized by Robert Williams, local NAACP president.

Shortly afterwards Dr. Perry was indicted for allegedly having performed an abortion on a white woman. The date of this crime was, curiously, purported to have been Oct. 4, 1957, the same day the KKK staged its attack on Dr. Perry's home.

Dr. Perry denied the charge. The sole "evidence" against him was the testimony of the white woman in question. The jury took four hours' deliberation before finding Dr. Perry guilty. This circumstance alone, later said the Carolina Times, crusading anti-Jim-Crow paper, "lends weight

to the doubt that Dr. Perry is guilty... no jury of 12 white men would take four hours to deliberate over the case of a Negro physician performing an abortion on a white woman if there were not some doubt in their mind as to his guilt."

While appealing his conviction, Dr. Perry continued to fight Jim Crow. He figured prominently in the successful drive to free Hanover Thompson and David Simpson, the two Monroe children, nine and eight years old, who last winter were sent to a reformatory for kissing a white-girl playmate.

Dr. Perry won a reversal of his conviction from the North Carolina Supreme Court, which ordered him retried. He was again found "guilty" and sentenced to two to three years in prison last November. This is the conviction the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review.

Dr. Perry's case "has taken the status of a struggle between southern prejudice, backed by Ku Klux Klan influence, and progressive Negro leadership," wrote the Carolina Times last December. The racists have won a battle in this crucial struggle with the help of the Supreme Court. But this will not prevent new, militant leadership from coming to the fore in the South, from continuing Dr. Perry's work and from defeating the racists in the end.

**Straw in the Wind**

La Verite des Travailleurs (Workers Truth), a French Trotskyist paper, reports it has learned that the Soviet government recently issued a bulletin containing a selection of articles dealing with the USSR from the Trotskyist magazine, Quatrieme Internationale (Fourth International).

Six or seven thousand copies of the bulletin were distributed. Among the places receiving it was the University of Moscow.

Official comments on the articles were included. These aimed at "proving" the "falsity" of the Trotskyist position on the Soviet Union.

This is a significant development. In Stalin's time, Trotskyist writings were completely proscribed. The penalty for circulating, or even reading them, could be death. The vilest lies about Trotsky's views were circulated on a mass scale decade after decade. The co-founder of the Soviet Union, who was finally murdered by an agent of Stalin's secret political police, was pictured as a "fascist mad dog."

By admitting some of Stalin's crimes at the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1956, Khrushchev with one blow toppled this framework of slander. The question inevitably arose among Soviet intellectuals, students, thinking workers and members of the Communist Party, "What about Trotsky?"

Khrushchev has maintained an embarrassed silence since then. Even his famous speech at the Twentieth Congress has not yet been published for general consumption in the Soviet Union. But the demand to know the truth about Trot-

sky and his position has grown just the same.

By making this bulletin available, limited though the number of copies is, the Khrushchev regime has recognized the existence of the demand and made a limited concession to the pressure.

We greet the concession as another indication of the fresh political currents stirring in the Soviet Union. We are sure that the bulletin will be avidly studied, and that those fortunate enough to receive it will know how to read between the official comments.

Many students, in fact, may indicate their interest in reading more such samples of the Trotskyist position. They might even be curious about how the Trotskyists would answer the official comments, if granted the freedom to do so in the Soviet press.

The interest in Trotskyism is growing as some foreign correspondents have noted. For example, Harrison Salisbury reported in the Sept. 10 New York Times: "Russians used to blanch at the mention of the name of Leon Trotsky. Even today you do not hear it often. But a young man in a provincial city brought Trotsky's name into a discussion of books on Russia. Another joked about his own physical resemblance to Trotsky and a third said:

"We have begun to talk about Trotsky a little, but we still don't write about him."

Trotskyism is due for a big revival in the Soviet Union — and in the not distant future, we believe. Publication of this bulletin is another straw in the wind.

**British Labor Sizes Up the Election Defeat**

**The Struggle Will Shift To the Industrial Front**

By Gerry Healy

LONDON, Oct. 13 — The general election is over and the Tories are back in power with a majority of over 100 members of Parliament. The rank and file of the Labor movement are at present stunned by this unpleasant surprise. Not even the Tories anticipated such a large majority.

The British Communist Party lost heavily at the polls and their 18 candidates just managed to scrape 30,000 votes between them. The worst defeat for the Stalinists came in their former stronghold of West Fife where Lawrence Daly, who broke with the Communist Party over Hungary, polled over 4,500 votes, against just over 3,000 for the Communist Party candidate, its national organizer, William Laughlan.

The results of the general election mark a new stage of the political situation in Britain. Political life since the end of the war has been dominated by the electoral struggles between Tory and Labor. All the big guns of Right-Wing Labor have been brought to bear upon the rank and file of the movement in an effort to persuade them towards a policy of restraint in their struggle against the employers. The Right Wing placed all their eggs in the basket of a new Labor government. Profits went up and up and the Tories gradually grew stronger in Parliament. Now there is no way out except through industrial action on a scale that will far surpass anything that we have seen in Britain over the past three decades.

As Mr. Bevan remarked after the election was over, the eyes of the working class will now shift from Parliament to the wage packet.

**How Did It Happen?**

"How did it happen?" is the question which is most commonly asked. Could the defeat have been avoided if Labor had a socialist policy? Was the Labor Party's organization to blame?

The answers to these questions are not available to people who think in terms of today's politics alone. The right-wing swing in Europe, beginning with the coming to power of Dr. Adenauer in West Germany; the gradual deterioration in France culminating in the establishment of the De Gaulle regime; the continuation of Franco's dictatorship in Spain and the defeat of the Hungarian revolution — all these factors have gradually strengthened the forces of reaction in Western Europe, climaxing in the swing to Toryism in Britain.

Each successive retreat of the working class in Western Europe restored the hold over the middle class which the Tories lost during the war. The strengthening of Western European capitalism as a result of the treacherous leadership of Stalinism and Social Democracy lies at the heart of the Tory election victory.

This swing cannot be halted now except through a working-class offensive and it may well be that the turn of the tide

against reaction will commence in Britain in the days that lie ahead.

**Partial Defeat**

The defeat is a partial one for the Labor movement. It is not definitive. The industrial working class in Britain is a powerful body, enjoying a standard of living without parallel at any time in British history. The Tories can win the election, but it will be quite another matter to defeat the working class.

The issues before Labor's Left Wing now become crystal clear. The party was defeated on policy, but it must be said that even if it had acquired a socialist policy on the eve of the general election it may have suffered an even greater defeat. What is needed above all in Britain today is mass propaganda and campaigning for socialist policy.

Capitalist nationalization has been thoroughly discredited by the Tories on the one hand and by the Labor leaders on the other. The electorate is confused. To have won this election the Labor Party would have had to continue a consistent campaign for nationalization since it took power in 1945. Instead it abandoned all pretext of further nationalization as long ago as 1948.

Consequently a new campaign on socialist policy will be absolutely necessary as part of the strategy for turning the tide against the Tories.

It will be useless for the Right Wing to argue the traditional excuse of organization. The Labor Party was never better organized. In the town of Reading the leading Bevanite, Ian Mikardo, had 150 motor cars on election day. His supporters had canvassed every house in Reading. They had a majority of the promises on their canvass cards and yet, among the 2,000 people who promised to vote Labor some actually went to the poll, riding in Labor cars, and voted Tory.

It was not organization and it is a realization of this which makes the position of the Right Wing almost untenable inside the Labor Party.

**What Lies Ahead?**

The next question which arises is "What will be the character of the industrial struggles in the period to come?" One thing is certain here that these struggles must have a greater political content than on any previous occasion. The struggle against unemployment in the coal mines raises immediately the whole question of capitalist nationalization and the necessity for workers' control. The struggle against unemployment raises the need to nationalize those industries which cannot provide work for the people formerly employed in them.

The program for the Left

**Tory Leader**



Macmillan, head of the Conservative party since Churchill's retirement, capitalized on refusal of Labor party leaders to press the socialist program in Britain. He can now hold office for as long as five years.

Wing in the Labor Party must be formulated in conjunction with the industrial working class. All the blueprints of the "New Thinkers" which are drawn up without any contact with reality have not even debating value at the present time. The Left Wing in the Labor Party must ally itself as closely as possible with the trade-union rank and file. Out of this alliance will emerge a program of action which will combine industrial and political demands.

**Socialist Labor League**

The growth of the Marxist movement in Britain is revealing itself constantly in the development of the Socialist Labor League. There is a clear demand for its propaganda. Hundreds of workers are daily attending its open-air and indoor meetings.

The Socialist Labor League is organizing a National Assembly of Labor which will bring together students, shop stewards, coal miners, Labor Party workers and supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in order to discuss the five-point program which is as follows:

- (1) An end to the manufacture of the H-bomb.
  - (2) The strengthening of the fight for the 40-hour week, higher wages, defense of jobs and defense of shop stewards, against rent increases.
  - (3) A fight for the extension of nationalization.
  - (4) A fight against oppression in the colonies and against racialism in Britain.
  - (5) A fight against the bans and proscriptions inside the Labor Party and trade unions.
- This program will undoubtedly play a powerful part in the regroupment of radical forces which is now on the order of the day in Britain.

**Right-Wing Leadership Proves Costly Burden**

By Tom Kemp

HULL, England, Oct. 13 — The third successive electoral defeat of the British Labor Party marks a turning point in the postwar history of the British working class.

How decisive it will be, whether it marks the beginning of a succession of defeats or will prove the limit of the retreat imposed on the party by the Right-Wing leadership, will depend on many factors.

Certainly the heavy responsibility of that leadership for the debacle is being widely recognized by many of the most active elements in the party. Many accepted the watered-down reformist policies of the Gaitskell-Bevan coalition as an electoral necessity. Now that these have not paid off even in votes they are in a mood to re-examine the whole policy of the party in recent years.

**Propped Up Capitalism**

This policy during the 1945-51 period was not understood. But now the truth looms larger. Objectively, at that time, the Labor government propped up the tottering structure of British capitalism by nationalizing the most decrepit industries and satisfying popular criticism with extensive social reforms. They thus laid the basis for the recovery and prosperity of the next decade of Tory rule.

During that time the Right Wing have tailored party policy to the taste of the most unstable and politically uncommitted of the British public — the so-called "floating voter" in the marginal constituencies. In this spirit of timidity the electoral campaign was waged, backed up by the fatuous optimism of the machine bosses in Transport House about the chances of victory.

Consequently there was no bite in the attack on the Tory government and, in any case, on major issues the policies of the two parties were indistinguishable. There were, for example, the great unmentionables, of which armaments were the most important.

When challenged to explain how their vote-catching social-reform program could be paid for, no Labor leader ever said from the cost of arms. Instead it was maintained that it would come from "economic expansion" — under existing ownership and assuming away all the problems of capitalist crisis.

We can run capitalism better than you, was, in fact, the unexpressed claim of Gaitskell and Co. And this at a time when a series of major City scandals give ample material for attacking the foundations of capitalism.

Foreign policy was also kept in the background, or when brought in was concentrated on past misdeeds of the Tories, especially Suez. On current policies no serious difference could be discerned. And the same was true of unemployment policy and, indeed, many social issues.

**Issue of Nationalization**

As for nationalization — which for many people typified the differences between the two major parties — this was carefully kept out of the electoral campaign by the Labor leaders whenever they could. They ran away from the Tory challenge here, and no wonder! For months the big concerns threatened with a state-take-over have been waging a subtle campaign of press advertisements, culminating in an expensive public opinion poll on a loaded questionnaire. This re-enforced the constant attacks of the millionaire press.

In fact, of course, the nationalized industries have come to be part of the bureaucratic machinery of the capitalist state, bossed by representatives of big business to a very large extent. Their defense can only be carried on in terms of workers'

power over these industries and over the state itself, and their use as the basis for a fully planned and nationalized economy.

Such a conception has been attacked by the Right Wing for years: for them further nationalization was contemplated not at all, or only with reluctance. At the same time they defended the nationalized industries as at present constituted, leaving the impression that this was the "socialism" for which they stood.

There was nothing here to inspire anybody — certainly not the hesitant middle-class voter, or even the working class. This was especially so for the younger workers whose memories do not extend back to the hungry thirties and who, in many cases, have been enjoying considerable prosperity. On the other hand, this prosperity has gone hand-in-hand with a consciousness of industrial power and a struggle in the workshop — which the Labor and trade-union leaders have tried to keep entirely separate from politics.

**Working-Class Following**

However, if there are still some millions of working-class Tory voters — and there was a fall in Labor votes in some prosperous towns — the Labor Party kept its mass working-class following. If anything there was hardening of the class lines which are characteristic of the British electoral map. Basically the solidity of the Labor vote arises from the acceptance by working people of the party as theirs.

It was customary to hear this from housewives and old folk going to the polls, as well as from the workers themselves: "Labor is the party for the working class." "People of our class shouldn't vote for any other party." This regardless of policies, electoral promises or leaders.

The Labor Party retains a tremendous capital derived from its deep historical roots in the working class and the intensive loyalties it has evoked in half a century of struggle. Its position has, of course, been re-enforced by the nature of the British Parliamentary system; but that is not the main factor in its stable following. However, it is now being presented, in an even sharper form than ever before, with a choice which will determine more than its own future.

**The Choice**

That choice can be put as follows: Is the Labor Party to become the party of reformed capitalism, playing the parliamentary game of ins-and-outs, as many of its "friends" outside the party are advocating? Or will it go further and the road mapped out for it by the leadership in recent years? Or will it go forward on the way indicated by the militant Left Wingers, the class-struggle road to socialism?

The mortal threat which the genuine Lefts represent to the leadership has been shown by the witch-hunting of the Socialist Labor League in recent months. The uncommitted rank and file was pretty lukewarm on that. Now, as said at the outset, a new ferment is beginning in the party; a mood critical of the policies and leaders which have dominated the party in the recent period is finding growing expression. In those circumstances the opportunities, as well as the historical responsibilities, of militants within the party have grown enormously. The next few years will be a testing time in which the whole future of the British working class is at stake.

**Guide at U.S. Moscow Fair Sees Soviet People Hopeful**

Alex Kucherov, a member of the Board of Editors of U.S. News and World Report, was a Russian-speaking guide at the U.S. exhibition in Moscow last summer. In the Oct. 12 U.S. News he reported on his impressions.

Asked if the Russians seem to like their system, Kucherov replied:

"I would say that most of the people there do not picture a different system. The capitalist system, for example... They are dissatisfied with many as-

pects of their system, but they look to improvement within the framework of the system. They want more freedom. They want more consumer goods. They want fewer 'corrective labor colonies,' as the concentration camps have now been renamed... They don't see why they have to change the system in order to get rid of these things. "Q Do people feel they can get ahead under the present system?" "A Yes, I think they do feel that way. The atmosphere is one of hope."

**... More Soviet Goods Promised**

(Continued from Page 1)

used to "report to the government" in Moscow about the urgent consumer goods problem, but he reiterated the warning that prices will come down only as labor productivity increases.

At the same time as Khrushchev toured the Siberian cities, the Soviet papers stressed long-standing complaints about waiting lists for consumer items, poor service, shortages and inferior quality. In addition to numerous articles, the letter columns allowed the Soviet people to voice some of their grievances.

Though the outcry about consumer goods was stage-managed, there is nothing artificial about public demand for better living standards. On the contrary, this demand has long been repressed and was permitted a limited expression at this time only because the Soviet Communist Party leaders felt compelled to add to the concessions already extended in 1956 and earlier this year.

Feeding the pressure for better living standards are the achievements of the Soviet economy in heavy industry and rocketry. These successes are based on the hard work and sacrifices of the Soviet working people.

**Are Sputniks Needed?**

The Soviet workers know that in planning production, the government must strike a careful

balance between heavy industry and consumer goods, between military preparedness and civilian needs, between social services (schools, hospitals, libraries, museums, scientific research, etc.) and individual consumption. But on an increasing scale the masses want a revision of the plans. They don't believe the bureaucratic regime gives a high enough priority to their welfare. This has led to doubts even about the need for putting sputniks in orbit at this time.

**What About Shoes?**

A letter quoted by Sovetskaya Rossiya stated, "Enough of covering ourselves with sputniks and [air and sea] liners. Let's get down to the most ordinary half-shoes. I have one pair, and already for four years. Why? Because it is from the West. It has a foreign stamp. I personally don't need a TU-114 [giant turboprop]. The trolley is enough for me. But I want to live and dress well."

Sovetskaya Rossiya denounced the author of this letter as being "alone in his fabrications... dirty ideas... lies, slander and cowardice..." Popular recognition for the need of sputniks, atomic power stations and mighty planes "is the embodiment of our maturity, our force, our capability to satisfy more fully the demands of the people," said the periodical. This brings the question right back to consumer goods, however, for

Soviet workers are not satisfied with mere "capability"; they want the actual satisfaction of their demands.

Also feeding the mass pressure for more consumer goods at cheaper prices is the visible growth of inequalities. Living conditions have undeniably improved for all since 1953, but they have improved fastest for the privileged strata of Soviet society. The commanding personnel of the Soviet government and Soviet industry enjoy living standards comparable in many cases to those of business executives or trade-union bureaucrats in this country.

If Soviet economic growth and defense needs really require as many sacrifices as before, why are the bureaucrats living it up? And if sacrifices are not required on so great a scale why shouldn't all benefit equally? These questions, which the Soviet workers are undoubtedly asking themselves along with their questions about where a proper balance between sputniks and shoes should be struck, lead straight to revolutionary conclusions. They set up the demand for the right of democratic review of all plans — that is, for an end to bureaucratic control and for the revival of workers' democracy. It is this revolutionary demand that Khrushchev seeks to head off by promising a greater volume and a better quality of consumer goods.

Commuters Forced To Pay for Service Vital to New York

Editor:

I've been reading the New York Post's exposure of the deterioration of the city's subway system, but I've had the uncomfortable feeling that this liberal paper, despite its crusading journalism, etc., is going to help lead the crusade for a higher subway fare. I well remember when the fare went up from a nickel to a dime and then to 15 cents. I hope these articles are not the handwriting on the wall.

I would be interested in reading a series in the Militant on just how the subways are financed now, and how the original transaction which converted them from private to public property took place.

I understand that there are still people today who collect interest from the original purchase of the subways by the city even though the subways were bought because their private owners were unable to run them at a profit.

And if the city took over the subways because they could not be run at a profit but in fact ran at a loss why is there such a big hue and cry today that they be self-sustaining?

It seems obvious from many viewpoints that the subways should be largely subsidized by taxes. Like the mail and the public-education system, the subways benefit large segments of the population who may not even use them. For instance, store owners in New York City benefit by the possibility potential customers have for relatively cheap and quick transportation. Employers benefit by being able to draw from a large segment of the population for their work force. Congestion on the city streets is lessened.

It is possible for a city the size of metropolitan New York to exist at all only because of modern methods of communication and transportation which allow for the extreme centralization of work in Manhattan proper with the work force living in outlying areas. Yet the burden of paying for subway transportation falls more and more heavily upon that segment of the population who can least afford it — the subway commuter.

Many people like to talk about creeping socialism today but it is obvious that under the capitalist system even government-owned corporations operate for the profit of the capitalists at the expense of the ordinary worker. Carol L. New York City

Cheaper Funerals — For the Rich

Editor:

The Militant is wrong about Chiang Kai-shek not granting any concessions to his subjects. Note the following AP dispatch from Taipei:

"The Chi Loh funeral parlor, largest and most expensive in Formosa, announced lower rates for funerals. It said it was acting in response to the government's call for economy."

O. T. Road New York City

Amazing Interest In How Workers Spend Their Wages

Editor:

It's amazing to witness the interest that union pie-cards take in spending the workers' wages. If only they took as much interest in increasing those wages!

Four of Chicago's finest "labor statesmen" have joined the "Mercy Crusade." William A. Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Ray Schoessling, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' Joint Council No. 25; Earl J. McMahon, president of the Chicago and Cook County Building Trades Council; and Joseph Germano, director of District 31, United Steelworkers of America, have all gone in for charity just like the society moneybags. These union officials promised full support for the Community Fund-Red Cross drive so that it may achieve its goal of \$14,638,316.

McMahon said, "Our men will work as trouble shooters with Crusade of Mercy solicitors."

Lee said: "We must use every means available to make this year's campaign a success. One simple way of doing it is to insist that each firm adopt a payroll deduction plan for charity."

According to the Chicago Sun-Times, Schoessling said the Teamsters Union representatives would urge firms which have not already set up voluntary deduction programs for the drive to do so.

Germano promised to have Steelworkers Union representatives promote the payroll deductions plan among small firms in the machinery group. The larger steel companies have instituted such plans.

After receiving wages that are not near what they should be, working stiffies are told to kick in for charities that the government should take care of.

The steel strikers should be grateful for such plans for the community. But how can they

participate without paychecks? The state has even cut them from relief rolls.

It would be interesting to know how much the Director of the Red Cross contributes to this cause. He gets a salary of \$100,000 a year.

E. S. Chicago

In What Direction Is SP-SDF Going?

Editor:

The "Report on the National Conference of the SP-SDF" — held in South Haven, Mich., Sept. 5 and 6 — quotes Max Schachtman (one of the three principal speakers) thusly: "In many ways Labor's Committee on Political Education (COPE) today is an embryonic political party, unique in that it functions inside another party, the Democratic Party. The role of socialists . . . is to work with and in COPE . . . or in other organizations such as Americans for Democratic Action and to work among them loyally and honestly."

Strange words for a "socialist" — and coming nearly simultaneously with Meany's denunciation of the Democratic role in passing federal anti-labor legislation. And Prof. Samuel Berger (current ADA national chairman) said to delegates to the National ADA Convention held Oct. 10 (reported in the New York Times of Oct. 11): "The major deterrent to constructive legislation was the Democratic leadership's embrace of the President's dogma . . ."

While even the labor bureaucrats and the State Department "liberals" of ADA are moving away from the Democratic Party, the SP-SDF is moving towards it!

Further in the SP-SDF "Report," Norman Thomas says he "sought no labor party" and goes on to refute "the notion of nationalization as a panacea."

The SP-SDF and its youth group have virtually suspended all their publications in the past several months, and are in a continuing state of financial crisis. The organization should now dissolve itself, allowing its leaders to follow through on their proposals by joining the Democratic Party, an agency of reactionary capitalism and imperialism.

This would leave former SP-SDF members free to support the UI-SP (or any other socialist group that endorses independent political action) — the only correct and vital role American socialists can fulfill in our historical period.

Cynthia Spears New York City

A Warning to New York — Stop Being Heartless

By Constance F. Weissman

Can youth delinquency be curbed by more vigorous use of the club? Would it help to fine parents of youngsters convicted of vandalism? Prominent New York officials are saying "yes" to these questions. No less than ten bills for "tightening law enforcement" have been delivered to Governor Rockefeller by the city's legislative representative this week.

But Frank H. Hertel, general director of the Community Service Society, one of the city's largest welfare organizations, has registered a vigorous no!

In a report to contributors to the society, Hertel scores the cold, heartless metropolis and suggests that the solution to the delinquency problem lies in large-scale over-all planning.

"Inhospitable Jungle"

"How is it," he asks, "that we have reached this state? Why is it that the largest, richest and most energetic city in the world finds itself—and has found itself for too many years—to be an inhospitable jungle?"

"Anyone who probes even slightly beneath the surface of juvenile crime will usually find it is rooted in a depressing tangle of problems that have been either ignored or inadequately dealt with."

Among the "overlooked" problems, he lists "grinding emotional and economic deprivation, discrimination resulting in inadequate educational and employment opportunities, wretched housing, illegitimacy, physical and mental illness, parental neglect, and homes racked by divorce, desertion, death and separation."

Mr. Hertel advocates mobilizing all the city's resources to deal with the causes of delinquency rather than its symptoms. Such a program would

Defies Committee



Carl Braden, civil liberties fighter. He and Frank Wilkinson, charged with defying the House Un-American Committee witch-hunters, are appealing their cases.

Attorneys Assail House Committee In Court Appeal

ATLANTA, Ga. — Harrassment of individuals for their work in behalf of integration and civil liberties was vigorously assailed at hearings here Oct. 7 before the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The hearings were on appeal of one-year prison sentences of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson. They were found guilty of contempt of Congress last winter after refusing to answer questions before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Attorneys for Braden and Wilkinson charged that their clients were subjected to the inquisition because they are active in fields of which the House Committee members disapprove.

Braden, of Louisville, Ky., is a field secretary and editor for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a south-wide interracial organization working for racial equality.

Wilkinson, of Los Angeles, is executive secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, which is campaigning for abolishment of the House Committee.

Arguments for Braden were presented by John M. Coe, Pensacola, Fla., president of the National Lawyers Guild, and Leonard Boudin, New York, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Wilkinson's case was argued by Rowland Watts, staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

School Battles Padlock Drive of Racist Officials

By Bert Deck

Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tenn., has had its main building padlocked by order of Circuit Judge Chester C. Chattin. He ruled that beer had been available for sale in this building without a license.

The temporary injunction was invoked after a hearing in September on a petition by Attorney General A. B. Sloan to close the school as a "public nuisance." The injunction remains in force until the Circuit Court meets again in November to reconsider the state's motion to close the entire school. Meanwhile classes are being held in other buildings on the school property.

Interracial Workshops

Highlander Folk School was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton. Since then the institution has provided short-term interracial workshops for students of all ages who are interested in the problems of labor, integration and community organization.

In recent years the school has come under attack by southern reactionaries especially for its work in the integration struggle. The governor of Georgia described it as a "training school for communism."

In March of this year the Attorney General held hearings in Nashville, Tenn., under instructions from the state legislature to find a basis for closing the school. Although the legislature had voted \$5,000 for this investigation, no legal grounds could be discovered for attacking the institution.

Raid Staged

On July 31 Highlander was raided by a band of state troopers and sheriff's deputies. Mrs. Septima P. Clark, the school's Educational Director, was arrested for "the illegal possession of liquor." Three white men, who were working at the school, protested to the state troopers and were immediately arrested for "drunkenness, resisting arrest, and interference with an officer."

Although Judge Chattin later ruled that the raid and search were illegal, the case of Mrs. Clark and the three men has been referred to the November grand jury.

Following the raid, the Attorney General filed the petition with the Circuit Court asking that the school's charter be withdrawn. The petition charged that the school was a cen-

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

"Will Eisenhower Accept Khrushchev's Disarmament Offer?" Speaker: Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant. Fri., Oct. 30, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. (near Union Square). Contribution 50 cents. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Celebrate the forty-second anniversary of the Russian Revolution with the Militant Labor Forum. "Socialism Challenges Capitalist World Rule." Hear: Milton Alvin, National Committee Member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 7, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. Fourth St. Contribution 75 cents.

School of International Socialism presents its fall lecture series: "The Dynamics of Trade Union Growth and Workers' Democracy." Sun., Nov. 1, 11 a.m.

"The Bureaucratization of the Trade-Union Structure and Worker Acquiescence." Sun., Nov. 8, 11 a.m.

"Resolving the Contradictions Between Bureaucracy and Democracy." Sun., Nov. 15, 11 a.m.

Lecturer: Arne Swaback, National Committee Member, Socialist Workers Party.

Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St., ANgelus 9-4953. Further lectures to be announced.

MINNEAPOLIS

"Youth in a Delinquent Society." Speaker to be announced. Fri., Oct. 30, 8 p.m., 322 Hennepin, 2nd Floor. Auspices: Twin Cities Labor Forum.

NEWARK

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary Socialist Workers Party, discusses, "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Friday, Nov. 6, 8:30 p.m., Workmen's Educational Center, 179 Clinton Ave. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. SWP.

Notes in the News

THINK THAT LAST PICTURE WAS A STINKER? — TV competition for customers is driving Hollywood to everything but better pictures. Columbia, for example, is wiring seats in several theaters with an electrical device to deliver sensations to audiences of its new thriller, "The Tingler." Another studio treats its patrons to a filmed hypnosis demonstration in which they are told they will experience horrors first-hand through the power of suggestion. Finally, there is Smell-O-Vision, a process that will release 35 odors in synchronization with the action in "Scent of Mystery." The audience will smell roses, garlic, bananas, a sooty railroad and the Mediterranean. It is reliably reported that they throw in an extra smell for the plot.

AUTOMATED MEDICINE — Automation is being brought into the doctor's office as a "matter of economics," according to Dr. Louis M. Orr, president of the American Medical Association. In an Oct. 14 interview he described an electronic computer being used in some offices. A patient enters and registers his complaint by pushing an appropriate button. The computer then directs the patient to a particular room for whatever tests may be necessary for the suspected ailment and the results are ready for the doctor before he sees the patient. Dr. Orr didn't say if a special computer has been developed to tally up the doctor's bills.

IWW STALWART DIES — Arthur Boose, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World for 50 years, died in Portland, Ore., at the age of 82. Well known in Portland as a persistent hawker of the IWW paper, the Industrial Worker, he was an active participant in the historic Mesabi Range mine strike and other Wobblies' battles. Arrested during the Palmer raids after World War I, he served five years in prison.

EXPECTANT MOTHER WINS PENNSYLVANIA JOBLESS PAY — The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled last month that an expectant mother in the town of McDonald, who was forced to leave her job, is entitled to unemployment compensation. Mrs. Thelma Kianiecki was compelled to resign from the Pittsburgh Coke & Chemical Co. because of a company rule that an employe cannot work beyond the sixth month of pregnancy. Reversing the Unemployment Compensation Commission, the court ruled that it was clearly apparent that Mrs. Kianiecki wanted to continue working.

CHANGES NAME BUT NOT LINE — The Canadian Communist Party, which for many years used the name, Labor Progressive Party, re-adopted the name of Communist Party of Canada at its recent national convention, ac-

ording to an Oct. 13 announcement. Party secretary Tim Buck said the change was made because people confused the Labor Progressive Party with the Progressive Conservatives. The party suffered heavy losses after the Khrushchev revelations when its leadership insisted on continuing as blind apologists for the Kremlin.

MECHANIZATION IN AGRICULTURE — The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor is compiling information on the extent to which machinery is replacing farm workers. It reports that in New York state this year 130 bean-picking machines are expected to go into operation, each machine replacing 50 to 100 workers. In New Jersey, 55 potato pickers, which halve 40-man crews, are already in operation. Cherry, cranberry and broccoli pickers are also being tried.

NEXT THE PIED PIPER? — A 450-block New York area, coinciding with the boundaries of the Negro ghetto in Harlem, has been officially designated as rat-infested by the City Board of Health. Each year many babies in the area are treated for rat bites. The Board of Health declaration means that landlords will be expected to call in an exterminator four times a year. The New York Times solemnly described this as a "crackdown."

HOW MANY MORE ARE FLYING AROUND LOOSE? — A Strategic Air Command bomber, carrying two live atomic bombs, collided with a refueling tanker over Hardinburg, Ky., Oct. 15. Eight of the 12 crewmen were killed but the bombs didn't explode. Defense Dept. spokesmen insisted there's nothing to worry about and that the odds are heavily against an explosion even if there are future similar crashes. No information was given as to the number of planes now flying over the U.S. with nuclear weapons or what the consequences will be if the odds prove wrong.

RADIOACTIVE VEGETABLES — The contamination of vegetables by fallout from nuclear tests has reached such a point that the U.S. Department of Health deems it necessary to regularly test samples from all parts of the country. The highest content of cancer-breeding strontium 90 found so far was in lettuce from California. The Health Department said the amount was below the "maximum permissible limit." Non-governmental scientists insist there is no such thing as a safe limit for strontium intake.

JUST A COINCIDENCE — In an anti-trust suit against five big drug companies, U. S. Attorney Lewis Bernstein charged that in bidding against each other on Salk polio vaccine, they had quoted prices identical to the fourth decimal.

... Taft-Hartley Move

(Continued from Page 1) on a press sampling of the attitude of the strikers is that the "last offer" of the corporations will be rejected—in which case the strike will resume after 80 days.

Having been put through the wringer once it is not likely that the steel workers will be amenable to a crash production schedule designed to stockpile enough steel for another long siege. In fact the sentiment for a slowdown is so widespread that attorneys for the government asked that the injunction be broadened to prohibit such action.

The prospect of a resumption of the strike after the 80-day injunction expires has sparked a host of plans, proposals and schemes to further castrate the labor movement and render it impotent against employer-government attack. These embody all the union-busting devices hatched over the years by the National Association of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce and other such outfits—compulsory arbitration, placing the unions under anti-trust laws, prohibiting industry-wide bargaining, etc., etc.

Having failed to crack the Steelworkers' ranks through direct economic assault, the corporations and their henchmen are now clamoring for Congress to do the job for them.

The two-pronged attack on labor spearheaded by the steel corporations was intended to gut the powerful steel union and by extension to impose open-shop conditions, first on

Swaback to Talk At L.A. School

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 17 — The School of International Socialism will open its fall lecture series here Nov. 1 with the first of three Sunday morning lectures by Arne Swaback, veteran trade unionist and National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The first lecture will be on "The Dynamics of Trade Union Growth and Workers' Democracy." In his next two lectures, Swaback will discuss the role of the trade-union bureaucracy and how the contradiction between bureaucratic practices and the need for rank-and-file democracy will likely be resolved.

In later sessions of the school, discussions will be led by Theodore Edwards, Milton Alvin and William F. Ward.

Each session is followed by coffee and informal discussion. The sessions begin at 11 a.m. on successive Sundays at 1702 E. Fourth St.

Loaded for Bear

The steel barons went into the negotiations loaded for bear. The demands of the steel union were rejected out of hand. Steelworkers President McDonald started running the moment the corporation spokesmen said boo! The demands of the union for improvements in wages, hours and working conditions were quickly jettisoned. The union demands were reduced to asking for an extension of the old contract.

Emboldened by the capitulatory mood of the McDonald leadership, the steel tycoons took the offensive. Not only did they refuse to grant any wage increase; they laid down an ultimatum that the union surrender established working rules and conditions. This became the main issue and transformed the entire character of the struggle. The strike became one for the preservation of the union and was understood as such by the steel workers.

When the employer-government assault on the steel union was coupled with the enactment by Congress of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy killer bill the entire labor movement became aroused. Financial support was poured in to prevent the steel strikers from being starved back to work. Promise of additional support has bolstered the determination of the steel workers to continue their struggle through and beyond the Taft-Hartley injunction period.

Where the employers and their stooges in government miscalculated was in interpreting the spineless, faint-hearted, craven conduct of the labor bureaucrats as a sign of weakness in the ranks. Recognition of this error has given them cause to pause and reassess their union-wrecking strategy.

The union militants can utilize this period to rally the ranks around a militant program of struggle designed to enlist the entire organized labor movement in mass action on the economic and political arena to stem labor's retreat and go over to the counter-offensive.

LABOR'S PAL

Senator Paul Douglas, a labor-endorsed Illinois Democrat, told the Illinois AFL-CIO convention that groups like the Senate rackets committee were often unfair and violated rights of privacy but had revealed facts about corruption that the AFL-CIO would not have been able to disclose.

Penn. Marchers Seek State Fair-Housing Law

By Ethel Peterson

HARRISBURG, Pa., Oct. 14 — Some 500 protesters, in an emergency march sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Council, walked into the State Senate today determined to win fair-housing legislation.

They came by bus and auto from various cities to confront the senators who had rejected House Bill 322 by a vote of 9 to 5 in the Republican-controlled Senate Labor and Industry Committee. The bill, which would prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of homes not occupied by owners, passed the House Aug. 4 by a vote of 131 to 66.

Before the walk up the capitol hill, a meeting at the YWCA was addressed by officials of the NAACP, the Democratic and Republican parties, Protestant churches and the United Steelworkers of America.

Leroy Ervis of Pittsburgh, a Negro first-term Democrat and one of the bill's sponsors, said "I'll be damned if I'm going to be elected as a Democratic official if the House Democratic leaders don't act to pass a fair housing bill."

While most of the speakers implied their support of the Democratic party by confining their criticisms to the Republicans, Henry Smith, Pennsylvania NAACP state chairman, warned, "We are no longer neophytes; we're learning how to split the ticket and vote for those who have lived up to their promises."

Many in the ranks were ready to go further, including acceptance of the idea of "an entirely new party."

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 1-1816.
DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 8737 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 3-5620.
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.