Time to Revive the Spirit of Militancy!

222

Big Business Started It; Now Let's Roll Up Our **Sleeves and Finish**

An Editorial

Let's revive the spirit of militancy! This is the keynote sounded by workers from coast to coast as they Vol. XXIII - No. 35 assemble to demonstrate the power of America's union movement on Labor Day.

It's high time. Big business has mobilized its forces in a nationwide effort to dismember the unions. The bankers and monopolists have selected the steel industry as the first major battleground, hoping that a victory in this key sector will set a pattern enabling them to pull the unions down one by one.

In Congress' a coalition of labor-hating Democrats and Republicans is readying laws that go far beyond the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" Act. As excuse, they have sought to picture the labor movement as an enterprise of racketeers, gangsters and thugs.

The White House is cold-bloodedly calculating the best time to swing the axe against the Steelworkers through Taft-Hartley injunctions.

The courts that backed up Roosevelt in his attempt to break the United Mine Workers Union during the war are lining up for their part in this union-smashing drive of 1959.

Labor has no choice but to fight back!

Some of labor's top leaders, alarmed at the corporation drive against the unions, decided to mobilize on Labor Day.

In New York City, where a Labor Day parade has not been seen for twenty years, the unions decided to producers and refiners have stage an all-out demonstration.

As Justice, the newspaper of the International Ladies' states to strike for a new con-Garment. Workers' Union, said: "The parade up Fifth tract. The bulk of the strikers Avenue will be a huge picket line against those who are Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. seeking to undermine unions at the bargaining table or in the legislative halls."

The AFL-CIO executive council followed up these Copper, Phelps Dodge, Anaconplans by designating the holiday as "Support the Steel- da Copper, Magma Copper and workers Day." They called on every union to demonstrate """" the American Smelting & Re-fining Co. The Kennecott strike "arm-in-arm solidarity" with the 500,000 strike-bound also involves 2,300 members of members of the steel union. They announced plans for a the United Steel Workers and nationwide fund drive to aid the steel pickets. And at 600 members of the International the San Francisco AFL-CIO convention to be held in a Association of Machinists. few weeks they set aside a full day as a "national rally" to consider ways and means to help the Steelworkers.

These actions must be supported to the hilt. Let this ing for a 15-cent wage increase Labor Day open a new chapter of labor militancy in and fringe benefits variously es-America, a revival of the will, the courage and the readi- timated as running between 15 ness to fight that built the unions in the first place.

Let the old-timers recall how they organized the an hour. Other demands in-CIO and beat back the union-hating bosses in the thirties. clude supplementary unemploy-Let them show the young generation of workers how ment benefits and elimination of the power of numbers and labor's strategic position in wage differentials. the economy can be brought to bear with invincible force against the enemy.

And let the new generation demonstrate how youth tional competition" prevented and energy and enthusiasm can overcome the pessimism them from passing a wage inand apathy that have accumulated over the years, slowed crease on to consumers. down the unions and made the bosses think labor is ready for the undertaker.

On this Labor Day let our slogans and our banners, ample, is demanding elimination

Congress and President Lead Assault on Unions

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1959

THE MILITA

Copper Firms Force Strike

20 States Following the example of the steel barons, the top five copper

forced 30,000 workers in 20 are members of the independent Between Aug. 10 and 20, the mion shut down Kennecott

Seeking a three-year renewal of a contract won after a 40-day strike in 1955, Mine-Mill is askand 30 cents an hour. Current

Copper spokesmen rejected the union proposals as "exorbitant." asserting that "interna-

As in steel, the companies are

striving to undermine union job conditions. Kennecott, for ex-



Knife Civil Rights Legislation

to curtailing the power of the for strong GOP support of a ance." House Rules Committee to civil rights measure," says the Weighted heavily on the side hamstring legislation. This body Times. Unlike the Landrum-

All Labor Must Help **Steel Workers Combat** Threat of Taft-Hartley

By C. Thomas

The AFL-CIO has called upon its member unions to demonstrate on Labor Day their solidarity and support of the embattled steel workers.

NT

Price 10c

Ten days later the third annual AFL-CIO convention convenes in San Francisco at what is admittedly a turning point in the history of the American movement.

The day following the opening of the convention has been set aside for an emergency conference of union leaders to consider measures to counter the venomous big business-government anti-labor offensive.

The recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in New York voted to mobilize organized labor's "full strength for the showdown battle with the big business-reactionary political alliance that is seeking to dismember the labor movement."

The deadliest enemy of the union movement in the coming showdown is the capitalist government in Washington. Yet the union leaders gingerly evade any mention of the government as such. Instead, they point the accusing finger at what they call the "reactionary political alli-

have been saddled." **BI-PARTISAN ENEMY**

Wall Street Paper **Crows About** Anti-Union Drive

The growing arrogance of big business is reflected in the Aug. 24 issue of Barron's, a weekly Wall Street publication. After a gleeful comment on current anti-labor legislation, the magazine adds: " . . . what is happening in Washington cannot match what is happening in factory and mill throughout the country . . . Collective bargaining . . . has grown unwontedly hard. By the same token . . . it is no longer a one-way street. For instead of merely granting one concession after another, as had been the custom, employers today are pressing demands of their own. Specifically, they are seeking to change the restrictive union work rules with which they

Striking steel workers march to their picket stations at the main gate of the big U.S. Steel Corp. works at Gary, Indiana.

Democrats, GOP in Congress

our floats and brass bands, and above all the massing of of a contract clause requiring of liberal Democrats elected is headed by Southern Demo- Griffin bill, civil rights is not our ranks show that labor can become the mightiest that three men be assigned to last fall as "friends" of labor crat Howard W. Smith (Va.) included in President Eisenpower in the land!



By George Breitman

When a left wing is formed in the Amreican labor barring the union from prevent- stituents only further exposes Senate . . . but to defer a (III.), attacked the Times' removement, I think it should have, and will have, a point ing foremen from crossing the the sham. in its program about the salaries and expense allowances picket lines. (It failed to get the

Now of course cutting the

(Continued on Page 2)

of union officials and staff members. Namely, that they are too high, and should be re-duced to the level that work-panacea that will solve all in-cers to run men through.) ternal union problems, restore ers get as wages.

In no other country is there such a gap between the incomes of union officials and the incomes of the workers they are supposed to represent. Some pay which softens up the bu- contract if any foreman is fired House. top officials get \$1,000 a week, reaucrats and increasingly sep- for respecting the picket lines. and more. That's not counting arates them from the members; expense allowances. In the UAW, which is not the worst example, the president's salary runs around \$400 a week.

Even the lower ranks of the union bureaucracy get much more than the workers. In the auto union, international staff representatives get \$153 a week. On top of that they get a flat allowance of \$35 a week in would make union posts less their home city. Not counting attractive to careerists and opout-of-town allowances (\$13 a portunists. It would make it day plus hotel costs up to \$10 a day and all travel expenses), buy off opposition elements by their weekly incomes are \$188 a week. This is approximately twice as much as the average auto worker gets.

What happens when officials posts that pay more than they and staff members draw ten or can earn in the plants helps to four or even only two times as turn them into yes-men and much as the workers? Not much that is beneficial. reaucrats.

BECOME CONSERVATIVE

Being paid much more, they tified by a single thing-that off." stop living the way workers it would give the union officials live, and tend to stop thinking greater incentive to fight for the way workers think. They wage gains for the members, move into more expensive neighborhoods, mix in new rise only when that happened. circles, and begin living the There is no reason to wait lion in unpaid wages. way the middle classes do. for a left wing to be formed They become more conservative. The lower members of the staff lose their independence, if they had any. They become part of a bureaucratic caste. whose interests no longer co-

ers,

stripmining shovels and two to and of civil rights, the 86th - a racist and the father of hower's must legislation. Next bulldozers. It claims that the Congress is winding up its the Smith "Gag" Act. machinery has been made more first session by clubbing the Last week, word got out that the GOP might feel freer then continued support to the soautomatic and that each can now labor movement over the head Rayburn said it was "impos- to engage in vote-getting manbe operated by one man less. Adopting a tough attitude, in the back. There will almost legislation through the House Kennecott ended previous strike | certainly be no civil rights law this year. "The present [Demoagreements under which super- this year. A last minute flurry cratic] strategy," reports John visory personnel entered plants by some Senators and Repre- D. Morris in the Aug. 18 New only with a union pass. On Aug. sentatives to make a showing York Times, ". . . is to steer a football angered the Republi-

11, it sought a federal injunction for the benefit of their con- 'moderate' bill through the cans. Minority Leader Dirksen

The liberals forgot their cam- until next year." injunction. The judge told Ken-necott officials that they could Congress got under way. Civil sored by Johnson, is simply a civil rights." On Aug. 26, Sen.

first defeat in January when 1957 Civil Rights law. The lib-When several foremen who most liberal Democrats, with- eral Democrats are not resist- the Senate to take a civil rights gress that brought into existence union democracy, make the of- refused to cross the picket lines out a serious struggle, knuckl- ing Rayburn and Johnson's ficials fully responsive to the were threatened with loss of ed under to Lyndon Johnson strategy.

By Lillian Kiezel

wishes of the members, etc. We their jobs, the three striking and Speaker Sam Rayburn At the same time, the Aug. stifled. know that things are not that unions at Kennecott jointly an- (both from Texas), the majority 24 N.Y. Times revealed that simple; that it's not only high nounced they would not sign a leaders in the Senate and Republican Congressmen were opposed to civil rights legisla-At that time, Johnson block- tion in either house this year

It is generally assumed that ed a move in the Senate to because of a deal between them that there are other powerful the terms of a steel settlement change Rule 22 by means of and the Southern Democrats to sponsibility is yours." pressures and corrupting in- will be a major factor in the which Dixiecrats can filibuster get the union-busting Landrumfluences exerted on them by pattern of an ultimate agree-capitalist society. In comper. In Criffin bill passed. "... con-the House, Rayburn said "No" ditions are therefore not good civil rights? In the new of the low of the beau of the beau of the low of the low of the beau of the low of the lo

year is an election year and

and knifing the Negro people sible" to get any civil rights euvers involving civil rights.

WHO? US?

The charge that they were using civil rights as a political

rights legislation suffered its rehash of the all-but-toothless Javits (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Case (R-N.J.) filed a motion asking bill away from the Judiciary a Democratic committee, headed Committee where it is being by a great American, John Mc-

Javits' purpose in making the anti-labor bills. move? As he explained it, the motion would in effect tell Lyndon Johnson "Now the re- breaking Taft-Hartley injunc-

prompt in walking out."

Section 3 of the contract gives

Who says the Republicans back to the mills when the heavy

captain, a crane operator. "Why January to July."

In American labor politics this That is the source of the real phrase is applied to the alliance threat to labor. If the union between the Dixiecrats and the leaders are serious they must Northern Republicans to justify prepare to ward off that threat. The workers have no moral obcalled liberal "friends of labor" ligation to yield to laws of a in the Democratic Party. There flagrant class character. The can be no talk of effective action AFL-CIO convention should call in defense of labor unless the policy of tying the unions to the Democratic Party is abandoned. The Republican Administration and the Democratic Congress are working hand in hand ment.

showdown on the House floor until next year." This "moderate" bill man declared, "The Republican "I would remind the Deputy

"I would remind the Republican Party," boasted Lyndon Johnson on the Senate floor, "that it was a Democratic Con-Clellan," which prepared the ground for the current crop of | yet too late to enter independent

like a six-hour day with no cut incentive plan, so that the men

(I remembered the drive ment by John Morse, one of the

Eisenhower has already antions. nounced he will use the striketion to herd the steel workers

upon the labor movement to back the steel union in defying any and all strikebreaking attempts by the capitalist govern-When the showdown comes labor can expect to see Republicans and Democrats lined up solidly against them. To halt the Taft-Hartley trend and erase all anti-labor laws from the statutes labor must have its own representatives in Congress. For that it is necessary for labor to have its own political party. It is not

labor candidates in the 1960 elec-Defy the Taft-Hartley injunc-

tions! Build an Independent Labor Party! With these weapons



"We've got a tough manage- with us," said the picket cap- workers were fired when this this strike would have one main against another. We feel the By Henry Gitano ment here," said another picket. tain. FAIRLESS WORKS, Pa.

5116."

union."

that this plant has about \$3 mil-

We came around to the sub-

harder for the bureaucrats to Parked near the fence by the 'Grievances about plant conditions are piled sky high." offering them staff jobs. It main gate of the huge U.S. Steel

The pickets then began discusmight restore some independ- Fairless Works was a bus carryence and initiative among staff ing a handwritten sign: "On

We asked the picket captain arrand boys for the top bu- how things were going. "The dry milk could be mixed with a shack with TV for the pickets, strike is going all right," he said. And if it accomplished noth- "It's rough on big families, powdered eggs to bake cakes. but the atmosphere is different ing else, it would still be jus- though, when their pay is cut "How do you separate the yolk this year.

from the white in powdered eggs?" someone asked. The prob- duty picket captains over beer Another picket checked in. His first question was: "Anything lem remained unsolved. because their own pay would new on the pay?" We were told

Two barbers were coming to Fairless Works. I asked them free haircuts, and Penn Fruit

It started raining and we sing the government surplus went into the parked bus, which food they had received. Surplus contained a bed, shelves and members, whose fear of losing Strike. Local 4889, 5092, 5030, cheese and pork, they all agreed, chairs. It was donated by a steel were very good, only there worker who normally uses it for wasn't any available. The yellow hunting and camping. One of the corn meal was recommended for pickets mentioned that in the mush and possibly muffins. The 1956 strike the company donated

Later, we talked with two off-

DIFFERENT THAN '56

at the Country Lane near the of robbing poor widows - you

know, the stockholders. I don't town from Philadelphia to give how they felt about the strike. understand why stockholders into an early grave because of "It's a relief, a safety valve," don't organize a revolution. We the incentive plans," said the had donated coffee for the one of them said. "You can ac- have one foreman for every five crane operator. "They say that

before this issue is raised on ject of negotiations. A picket pickets. The strike committee tually feel like a man. During men in Fairless. And they're since last Christmas there have union floors; on the contrary. asked: "What negotiations? had also contacted stores, banks the life of the contract, all the talking about featherbedding! been 45 heart attacks in this The next important union con- There are no negotiations. Only and finance companies. "As a grievances build up, but there These foremen are nothing but mill. The company's best watchvention coming up is the talk and hedging around. They rule, as long as you notify them isn't much you can do about it. deadwood.

pay scale."

UAW's in October, where, it is want to take away from us, not that you're on strike before pay- If you participate in a wildcat "We make decent wages, that's There are 900 different plans for incide with those of the work- reported, the leadership is go- negotiate. They want to bust the ments are due they have been stoppage or slowdown, you true, but they're canceled out by 4,300 workers. The company out of the mill until we get a pretty good about going along might get fired. Eighteen steel layoffs. We were hoping that uses them to work one man good settlement."

forces now. They're talking worker community. We saw that the companies did not plan about featherbedding; we clusters of one-family houses alto force open the mills "unless couldn't featherbed even if we most resembling a ghost town, the strike goes on for a very wanted, because they can add Three and four empty houses long time and there is a revolt anything they want to your job next to one another with brokamong the membership.' as long as it's not in a higher en windows and bare insides.

strike began for being too demand; something concrete union should negotiate a single

"Management says it wants in pay. That would provide a will cooperate instead of fighting

the right to direct the labor 25% increase in employment. one another and hurting the

them the right to direct work through Fairless Hills, the steel- corporation lawyers, who said

"They're out to bust the union, all right, but they won't succeed," said the crane operator. "The strike's hurting. But we figure we'll never get rich anyhow. We're willing to stay

I asked them about a state-

"The men work themselves on strike for job security, better working conditions and stronger safety regulations."

"We've been under the company's thumb for three long years," said his friend. "Now dogs are the incentive plans. we're standing up again, and not a bucket of steel is coming

These deserted homes are me-

The other picket captain morials to the recession.) broke in: "They're accusing us

force," said fhe other picket Last year I was laid off from union."





... Union Officials Get Too Much Pay Class War and the Policy of Collaboration

timely if delegates there were to propose that the officials' pay be reduced to the highest wage paid workers in the auto industry. And educational too. I think.

Because the pattern at recent UAW conventions has been something like this: The Reutherite constitutional committee comes in with proposals for substantial pay increases for officials and staff members. (At the 1951 convention, Reuther's salary was raised from \$10,000 a year to \$11,250; to \$18,000 at the 1953 convention: no change at the 1955 convention; and to \$22,000 in 1957.)

A number of brown-noser then grab the floor. They say that the increase is too small that Reuther is worth much more, that he should be paid \$25,000 - \$50,000 - \$100,000. They even quote the Bible, urging the delegates to "do unto others as you would have occasion a delegate said, "I think we should force this one down Reuther's throat and liberal objection. make him take it." Which reminded me of the Marx Brosome brandy down my throat!")

ther to take the floor against ed worker. If they had to live their opinions. "excessive" salaries. Voice on that, maybe they wouldn't throbbing, he assures the dele- find it so easy to forget the gates, "I am working in this problems workers face." union because of what is in my heart, not what you put in my pocketbook." Then he hints K. Kelsey to make the follow-ing comment in the Detroit About Pay for that he had to be pressured be- News: "True; but it might be fore he accepted even the constitutional committee's proposal, but "if you go beyond that, would serve as mayor for the I will not be bound by any commitments I made to any- she is." one, and I will fight." And so, in the name of opposing excessive salaries, he defends the still us all with its monetary excessive salaries proposed by values 24 hours a day, it isn't his committee as providing "an always successful. There are acceptable salary structure."

say, if some delegates at the out, who don't consider the



To keep up with the real meaning of big events at home and abroad, you need the Militant. Try it for six months. Send your name and address and \$1.

The Militant 116 University Pl. New York 3, N.Y. Enclosed is \$1 for a sixmonths trial subscription. Name

(Continued from Page 1) next convention were able to "best" is not only devoted, hon-ing to ask for a substantial set the discussion off on a dif- est and so on, but technically dues increase. It would be ferent footing. Even if they competent to fulfill the office. I didn't carry the convention think Sarah Lovell answered this time, they would start the this question two years ago in members thinking in a healthy her remarks about qualificadirection. And I think a move tions for public office, which to pay the Reuthers no more apply equally to union office: than a worker's wage would "The most important qualiquickly strip him of the pose fication of any candidate is his that he has been taking his program . . . Don't be taken \$400 a week with reluctance. in by meaningless slogans like (When a union once voted Eu- 'Honest,' 'Fearless' or 'Experigene V. Debs some money he enced,' which capitalist politididn't want, he didn't make cians use instead of a program.

pious speeches and take the These people also like to make money; he simply refused to a public office seem so mysteritake it and it's still in the ously difficult that only a superman could hold one. That's union's treasury.) Besides raising this question nonsense. There are thousands in the unions now, we should of men and women in the city

apply the same principle to all who could make a better mayor public office, from the national or councilman than Cobo or to the local. Socialists should Miriani. Of course there are make it part of their platform technical problems which rein every election campaign as quire experts, but the officewell as in their general propa- holders don't solve these probganda lems by themselves. They hire

An example of how to handle experts. I can do that too, and this issue was provided in the so could you. These experts Socialist Workers Party's may- would probably be even more them do unto you." (On one oralty campaign in Detroit two willing to work for an adminyears ago. It is worth citing istration which wouldn't let big because it evoked a common business politics interfere with technical progress."

"I think the top city officials In conclusion, I think the are overpaid," said Sarah Lov- proposal is correct, progressive thers picture where Groucho, ell, SWP candidate for mayor, and healthy; can be explained half-fainting, thirstily remem- in her campaign literature, and defended to large numbers bered to suggest, "Quick, force "The salaries of the mayor and of workers; and can become common council should be cut popular. I hope other readers This sets the stage for Reu- to the average wage of a skill- of The Militant will express

This prompted columnist W. K. Kelsey to make the followhard to find candidates as dewages of a proofreader, which

I've got news for Mr. Kelsey, Although capitalism tries to inplenty of people in this world, had to be done at workmen's It would be educational, I in the labor movement and wages," and because "plain making of money the major dared to infringe upon the gov-

object of their lives. In fact, I can name hundreds of such 'natural superiors,' and, under people in Detroit alone. If they are not candidates for office to- difficulty, performed this work day, it's not for lack of "de-votion," but for other reasons. efficiently" at these wages. "Granted that there are many 'devoted' people," some will say at this point. "But transform themselves from "the don't you have to offer high salaries if you want to attract masters of society," said the the best people to run for

them?" What they mean by Advertisement Labor Politics

Jefferson, Lincoln and Dewey

from foreign domination, and the Emancipation Proclamation that freed the

slaves. Has this revolutionary kind of democracy been outmoded in the United

States of today? The followers of John Dewey claim that it has. For a stimulat-

ing defense of the view that the fighting tradition of America's earlier days

has become more vital than ever, read Jefferson, Lincoln and Dewey by Wil-

In Addition:

of the biggest issues in the world today. What is the best way to prevent atomic

annihilation? Daniel Roberts suggests that the various answers to this crucial

question have already been tested - in World War II. As a contribution to the

discussion he offers an analysis of that conflict, demonstrating that it was far

more complex than is ordinarily assumed and that to get the right perspective

on the efforts to prevent World War III you have to begin with World War

Cannon. The struggle for full equality in America has taken its guiding ideas

wherever it could find them. A surprising number can be traced back to the

leaders of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. If you are unfamiliar with

world power more rapidly than any other country in history. Today it challenges

even the mighty United States. Do the great successes of the USSR signify that

socialism will soon be achieved there as Khrushchev has promised? Tom Kemp,

a British economist, analyzes the goals of the Seven Year Plan against Soviet

capacities. This article will help you understand what Khrushchev wants from

give the inside story about the assassination of Leon Trotsky, including the

martyred socialist leader's most intimate thoughts. The publishers sought to

convert the book into a best seller. Joseph Hansen, a former member of Trot-

sky's secretarial staff, deflates the pretensions of the novel and gives a true

picture of Trotsky, his major interests and what his exile in Mexico was like.

International Socialist Review

taining these articles, plus book reviews, send 35 cents.

116 University Place

For a copy of the summer issue of the International Socialist Review, con-

Troisky "Psychoanalyzed" by Joseph Hansen. A recent novel purported to

this aspect of the Negro struggle, you will appreciate this informative article.

The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement by James P.

Socialist Equality by 1965? by Tom Kemp. The Soviet Union has risen to

Three Wars in One by Daniel Roberts. The danger of nuclear war is one

liam F. Warde. In the summer issue of International Socialist Review.

II. A lucid and highly readable presentation of a difficult topic.

American democracy gave us the Declaration of Independence that freed us

France, 1891.) "Which Way for Labor:

By Tom Kerry

The American labor movement today is once again being taught the lessons of social reality laid down in the Communist Manifesto written over 100 years ago by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

According to Marx and Engels — and all genuine Marxists following them - modern society is divided into social classes with irreconcilably opposed interests. In the Marxist definition of the term, classes are determined by their relation to he means of production.

In a society based upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. capital is king. The capitalist class holds in its grasp the reins of economic and political power. The workers, having only their labor power to sell, are compelled to organize into unions to defend even a minimum standard of living against the organized power of capital.

SERVE CAPITALISTS

Political parties represent the interests of definite social classes in society. Under our twoparty system both Democratic and Republican parties serve the interests of the ruling capitalist class: A government made up of representatives of these parties, peaceful compromise and coop-leaders vehemently deny re- bor is fighting for survival therefore, can only function as eration. Their bargaining con-

capitalist class as a whole.

theory of the class struggle to strike, dragging out the setwhich provides the key to an tlement, and then enlistment of understanding of historical development, including the current eruption of the class struggle in this country symbolized by the mobilization of class forces around the steel strike.

As against the class struggle the top union leaders preach and Karl Marx hailed the Paris practice the theory of class col- that could be sold to the ranks Commune of 1871, the first laboration. According to this workers' government, because it concept there is an identity of decided that "the public service interest between capital and labor in preserving the so-called 'free enterprise" system. Or, as working men for the first time some of the labor statesmen' put it: "Preserving the Americanernmental privilege of their way of life through labor-management cooperation." While circumstances of unexampled they are ready to admit that class divisions exist in Europe and that class struggle is a common feature of that benighted Friedrich Engels, noting the continent, the American "demotendency of public officials to cratic tradition" has supposedly dissolved classes into the people servants of society into the as a whole. The workers have been as-

Commune had fought this tensured by their union leaders, in dency by providing that "all season and out, that the most efofficials, high or low, were paid fective method of achieving a only the wages received by other workers." (Introduction constantly improving standard to Marx's The Civil War in of living is through the medium of labor-management coopera-

Democratic Party or Labor Party?" by Murry Weiss. Bulletin No. 3 of Marxist



sponsibility for any such "un- against heavy odds. The situathe executive committee of the sists of presenting the unions American" doctrine. The real tion is desperate. What to do? with an ultimatum -- "Take it, culprits says the article, are "To-These, in very brief, are the or else!" As Reuther puts it in day's resurgent right-wing inbasic tenets of the Marxist his speech "forcing the workers tellectuals [who] have declared a kind of class war."

"If," the article continues. "our right-wing intellectuals have declared the class war and laid The union tops are very undown its theoretical framework, happy about this development. our business leaders have not They long for a return to the lagged in putting the theories to good old days when some clever the test. union negotiator would emerge

Then it wasn't Karl Marx but from a collective bargaining sesour unnamed "right-wing intelsion with some small concession lectuals" who laid down the 'theoretical framework" of the as a great victory. Those days class struggle and class warfare. are gone! Today the employers How silly can you get? not only refuse to grant con-

goes on to say:

The IUD Digest article gets cessions but demand that the down to brass tacks when it union surrender concessions presays: "Hardly a week goes by but that some prominent indus-The union heads find themtrialist mounts the rostrum to selves impaled on the horns of declare war against our unions dilemma. It is impossible for and their members." The industhem to yield to the employers' trialists not only talk but they ultimatums without provoking a act. The virtual lockout of the major revolt of the ranks. Yet steel workers is evidence of the they fear to mobilize the ranks fact. This is the reality.

for militant action in a struggle In the face of this reality for union survival which could whimpering sermons on the evils not be confined within the of class war are worse than useframework of their class collabless and can only lead to the orationist policy. For it is on disarming of the workers in the the foundation of class collabordeclared "anti-labor war" of the ation that the union bureaucracy employers. Yet, the union tops has built its machine and that ling like a leech to the illusions its elaborate structure of power of "class peace" as the accepted deal of the "American way of life.'

THE ANTI-LABOR LAW Twist and turn as they will, n repeatedly endorsed the the unions spearheaded by the the union bureaucrats cannot es- en down. Management has de-Commune's standard on steel corporations solidly backed cape the reality of the class clared war on labor. The Na als' pay as one of the by the organized employers? struggle. Their tortured explanational Association of Manufacns of combating bureau- How explain the strikebreaking tions seek to conceal their dread turers and big business have allegedly been "duped" into ism in a workers state. role of the government which is of engaging the enemy in open combat. The employers and their alleged to be an "impartial" launching a class war. The cap-Advertisement body representing ALL the peogovernment have declared war italist government is solidly

and privilege rests.

strikebreakers."

viously gained.

some new mechanism in America, on a voluntary basis where labor and management, consumer groups, people from the field of education, can come together periodically and talk about the broad problems that we face as a free people."

To Walter Reuther all problems can be neatly solved by holding a broad, all-inclusive gabfest. With the enemy reaching for your throat, what could be more calculated to throw him off balance than a reasonable proposal for a talkathon! A perfectly logical approach if you proceed, as Reuther does, from the premise that the identity of interests between labor and capital are more lasting and fundamental than any transient differences. According to this reasoning, class warfare between partners in the free enterprise system can only be the result of a misunderstanding.

The most elementary function of the labor unions is to defend the living standards, working conditions and well-being of the workers against employer-government assault. Organized labor and organized capital are today locked in mortal combat – not over "the cause of human freedom in the whole world" -but over the division of the national income.

The organized American working class stands athwart the greed of the employing class grasping for an ever larger REUTHER ADVOCATES TALK share of the national income.

Higher profits for the bosses The reality is class war - for means a lower standard of livvhatever reason — whether the ing for the workers. The assault union tops like it or not. But upon the living and working some proceed on the premise standards of labor calls forth the that if reality doesn't conform resistance of the workers. This, to their preconceived notions in essence, is the reality of the then so much the worse for class struggle.

reality. After detailing the Labor has the potential power breakdown of peaceful co-exto win if it sheds the illusions of istence bargaining in his speech class collaboration and engages to the IUD conference, Reuther the enemy with every weapon at its command. That is the road,

"I believe we need desperately | and the only road, to victory.



In 1912 the "Debs for President" campaign caught the imagination of the American labor movement; and the vote for socialism reached its high peak. What was the secret of Debs' success? Can militant trade-unionists of today learn something from this great American socialist leader?

Read the balanced political appraisal by James P. Cannon in Eugene V. Debs - the Socialist Movement of His Time -Its Meaning for Today. 40 pp. 25 cents.

Do you know what's being done today in the tra-The old pattern of collective dition of Debs? Here's a sampling from the writings bargaining has admittedly brok- of James P. Cannon that will help bring you up to date:



City Zone	Studies. 22 pp. 25 cents. Pioneer Publishers		
State	116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.		

New York 3, N.Y.

ple REUTHER EXPLAINS

Confronted with this dilemma, Valter Reuther, one of the more Anti-Labor War.' vocal practitioners of class col-

laboration puts his finger on Carrying forward the theme of what he considers the crux of employer responsibility for the trouble - the class struggle. "proving Karl Marx right," the article begins: "President Eisen-In a keynote speech to a recent conference of the AFL-CIO In- hower told newsmen at a regudustrial Union Department, Reu- lar White House press conferther explained: ence last spring that he was dis-

"The National Association of turbed by evidence of what he Manufacturers and big business called a 'tendency' to adopt the are waging a class struggle in theory that class warfare is inevitable between workers and America, precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged. They employers.

are working overtime to prove "Mr. Eisenhower branded such that Karl Mary was right" ideas 'un-American.' He urged If there are no class divisions cooperation between labor and

in America, then against whom capital to advance the well-bewould the NAM and big business ing of all citizens.

be "waging a class struggle?" "The President's implication," And for what, purpose? Just to the article complains, "was that prove that Karl Marx was labor bears a major portion of right?" Hardly! The NAM and the blame for fomenting 'class Big Business are motivated by war.'

weightier considerations. Stung to the quick, the union Not to be trapped into prov-

ing Marx right, Reuther goes on to warn: "If we begin to respond in kind, then we are going to do really serious damage to America and the cause of human freedom in the whole world . . ."

While the NAM and Big Business are primarily concerned with such mundane aims as squeezing greater profits out of the hides of the workers, Reuther, you see, is occupied with the loftier considerations of "the cause of human freedom in the whole world . . ."

COMPROMISE SHATTERED

Taking a hard look at reality, Reuther is forced to admit that the old pattern of collective bargaining has been shattered. Bargaining, as it has been practiced by the union officialdom, rests on the principle of compromise. Compromise is of the essence of class peace, or, as the labor statesmen would have it, "labormanagement cooperation." But the employers have summarily rejected the offer of

on labor. This is acknowledged aligned with the employers. Lain an article published in the summer issue of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department Digest, significantly entitled: "The

It Takes Vision

Advertisement

The far-sighted ones can see that the world will eventually go socialist. If you agree that this is a good thing, you are probably willing to help the process along, for it means enduring peace, international cooperation and abundance for all.

Have you thought of taking up the cause of socialism as a way of life right now? There's no goal more worthwhile.

To find out more about it. send for The Socialist Workers Party-What It Is-What It Stands For by Joseph Hansen. 54 pp. 25 cents.

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Pl. New York 3, N.Y.

Combination Offer

Get acquain alist Review and save tion to the Militant onal Socialist Review — only \$2.

The Militant 116 University Pl.

New York 3, N. Y.

Yes, I want to take advantage of your combination offer. I am enclosing \$2 for a six-months subscription to the Militant and one-year to the International Socialist Review.

Street	
City Zor	ne State

Notebook of an Agitator. A collection full of humor, irony, anger and heart-lifting vision of the socialist future. 362 pp Cloth \$4; paper \$2.50.

The History of American Trotskyism. The story of the difficult struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party in the heartland of world capitalism. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75; paper \$2.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party. A companion book to the History of American Trotskyism. Cloth \$2.75; paper \$2.

America's Road to Socialism. A lucid presentation of the prospects for socialism and a stirring forecast of what socialist America will look like. 78 pp. 35 cents.

Socialism and Democracy. The Marxist view on a topic that is under vigorous debate today. 21 pp. 15 cents.

Leon Trotsky was murdered by Stalin's secret political police 19 years ago, but his name is still constantly in the press. There are two reasons for this. (1) You can't understand the contradictory character of the Soviet Union unless you take Trotsky's analysis as your starting point. (2) Trotsky's name is synonymous with the program of revolutionary socialism which is moving more and more toward the center of the world stage. For an introduction to Trotsky's outlook, we suggest:

The Revolution Betrayed. A comprehensive analysis of the conflicting social forces in the Soviet Union. Explains the reasons for the difference between the socialist norms of Lenin's time and the reality under Stalin. Projects possible future roads. Thoroughly objective. Trotsky at his best. 308 pp. Paper \$2. Cloth \$3

The Chinese Revolution - Problems and Perspectives. A sampling of Trotsky's views on a subject that finally shook the world. 22 pp. 35 cents.

Literature and Revolution. The suppression of Pasternak's 'Dr. Zhivago" once again raised the question of the place of the artist in a workers state. The attitude of the Soviet government in Lenin's time is explained in this stimulating book. Forbidden reading in the Soviet Union today. 256 pp. \$1.98.

Trotsky's Diary in Exile: 1935. The most personal writing available from Trotsky's pen. Offers rare insight into his private life. From Erich Fromm's review: "This is a modest man; proud of his cause, proud of the truth he discovers, but not vain or self-centered . . .'

And here are some books and pamphlets you might want to add to your library:

The Irregular Movement of History, by William F. Warde. A highly readable explanation of the laws of uneven and combined development, with striking examples of how they work out. 51 pp. 25 cents.

Introduction to the Logic of Marxism, by William F. Warde. Lectures on dialectical materialism that make it easier to understand a difficult subject. 73 pp. \$1.

The Power Elite, by C. Wright Mills. A much discussed book on social relations in America today. 423 pp. 85 cents.

The Wall Between, by Anne Braden. The absorbing story of what happened when the Bradens helped buy a home for a Negro family in a white neighborhood. 306 pp. \$3. (Regularly

Pioneer Publishers **116 University Place** New York 3, N.Y.

Paperback.

								Socia
mo	ne	y to	o. A	s	ix-n	nonth	s sul	oscrip
		one		r	to	the	Inte	rnatio

Advertisement

America.

Street



The AFL-CIO and Khrushchev

By a vote of 22 to 3, the executive council of the AFL-CIO, under pressure from Meany and George M. Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, decided Aug. 20 to boycott Khrushchev on his visit to the United States. It was "out of the question," declared labor's top officialdom, for the federation "to give recognition to the head of a government which does not permit its own workers to have any free trade unions."

The three dissenting votes were cast by Reuther of the United Auto Workers, James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and O. A. Knight of the Atomic, Oil and Chemical Workers International Union. Their view did not differ in substance from that of Meany and Harrison. They thought that refusing to talk with Khrushchev about ways and means of ending the cold war would "isolate" labor from all the groups seeking to achieve peace. They thought it shrewder to meet Khrushchev and tell him to his face what they thought about him.

In the official statement seeking to justify this attitude, the executive committee accused the Kremlin of a "drive to conquer the world and remold it on the pattern of the Soviet tyranny." They pointed to prohibition of free trade unions in the USSR, the existence of slave-labor camps and the "murder of thousands of Hungarians fighting for their national independence and freedom." The Soviet regime, they said, "has destroyed all democratic rights and liberties in its own country" and is "now seeking to subvert and destroy the rights and liberties which we Americans cherish dearly in our country."

If the AFL-CIO officials are so sure of their position why do they refuse to meet with Khrushchev? Even if they couldn't convince the head of the Soviet government, they could gain wide publicity on how the restoration of democratic rights in the Soviet Union would help achieve peace.

What is their alternative? War on the Soviet bloc?

America's labor bureaucrats are not in very good position to criticize the Soviet bureaucrats. They run their own unions in a tyrannical fashion that is not much different from Kremlin practices. Dissidents can expect anything from summary expulsion, with its accompanying deprivation of a livelihood, to a working over by the strong-arm squad. Democracy is not something that Meany and the rest can point to in the unions they rule.

As for politics, the American trade unions are among the least free in the world. They have been tied by the bureaucrats to the Democratic machine. As members of the same party as the lynch-minded, labor-hating Southern bourbons, Meany and Reuther make a sorry spectacle calling Khrushchev to account for the suppression of the Hungarian workers.

And tied as they are to the political policies of American big business, Meany and Reuther are in no position to accuse the Soviet Union of a "drive" for world conquest. They were among Wall Street's most vociferous propagandists in World War II. They backed the cold war from the beginning. They favored Truman's plunging America into the Korean conflict. They have stood among those pressing most persistently for stockpiling atom bombs and rattling the H-bomb against the Soviet Union.

They appear to fear that the exchange of visits between Eisenhower and Khrushchev signifies a thaw in the cold war, a relaxation of international tensions, that might be reflected in a drop in armaments contracts.

From their viewpoint, this would be a disaster, for it would mean a dip in would mount on the bureaucrats to open up a political alternative to supporting live under socialism." the capitalist system.

whether or not they agree to talk with memory serves us right, Bul- trade, Khrushchev. The head of the Soviet gov- fore he was purged. And Kozernment would be quite justified in lov repeated it on his recent listening to them with ironic contempt. tour of the country. Why deal with the house servants when the master of the house is willing to talk?

The declaration of the AFL-CIO executive policy is an expression of the bulously wealthy America! federation's foreign policy. It echoes the aims of American imperialism. As a reflection of the reactionary domestic politics of the union brass it should serve to remind militants how pressing the need their grandchildren are in pois for a new leadership in the labor movement.

Advice to Job-Hunters

If you're job-hunting, it's best to purchase, they were scrutinized, especial-



"Time off to march in the Labor Day Parade? Why, you're living off the fat of the land!"

They'll Thank Their Grandparents For Making Forecast Come True

By Alex Harte capitalism has achieved. So | Who can look forward to a As Khrushchev makes his long as capitalism continues to comfortable living in old age? tour of the United States, it is exist in the major industrial What about racial prejudice passed out again. fairly safe to predict that in countries, socialism cannot and police brutality? These insecurities continual-

one town or another, while come into existence. banqueting with one or an- At best socialist principles ly gnaw at peace of mind. other industrialist, banker, or can be applied only partially People capable of thinkingthe prosperity based on spending for war, Democratic or Republican chief, and one-sidedly in isolated and that is the big majority in and feet. I was in the First joker of any blame, but later workers would be laid off, and pressures he will say something like countries. Under Lenin and the long run-have no choice Precinct Station. Pain seared a grand jury indicted Williams this: "I can prophesy that your Trotsky such principles were but to probe for the causes my entire body as though for manslaughter. grandchildren in America will applied in the Soviet Union that prevent us from enjoying someone were constantly pourand they still continue to ex- a planet free from war and ing boiling water over me. ist there in the form of plan- poverty and hate. Khrushchev said it before-in

As ardent supporters of American a program televised in 1957 for ned economy and the governcapitalism, it makes little difference the American audience. If ment monopoly of foreign

ganin said it still earlier, bethat came to power under stead of for the profits of a Stalin, distorted and deformed handful of billionaires. these measures so that they are scarcely recognizable as channel of socialism. When ing the peace by being loud to pay the family \$2,750. Each time, the press has re-

connected with socialism. sponded to the prophesy as if Even at that they, proved grandchildren will live under it had been given the hot foot. their intrinsic dynamism. Des- socialism, his prediction will Ridiculous! Never! Not in fapite the parasitic bureaucracy, undoubtedly come true. which is primarily interested And the editors carefully explain that American workers in its own privileges and pow- thank their grandparents for being carried out. One of the lords were brought into court enjoy such a high standard of er, planned economy enabled living that they will continue the Soviet Union to overtake chev's as well as Wall Street's took me by the head and were bitten by rats. They were to reject socialism long after European capitalism in record time and even to begin chalsition to decide questions of lenging the supremacy of the United States. government.

In arguing that the Soviet The argument reveals more than the editors perhaps in- bloc is a socialist system, the tended. They clearly associate capitalist press takes advantage the movement toward social- of the propaganda of the Kremism with the wishes of the lin bureaucrats who claim that ocialism has



Thank God for Our Sense of Humor

Milton Celestin, a 25-year-old spastic infantile paralysis victim, tells in the Aug. 22 Pittsburgh Courier how five carloads of New Orleans police pulled up to a bus on which he was seated after+

they had been called by the temples, which caused me to driver, Celestin had ventured go blind temporarily. I swung to remonstrate with the driver out wildly and was knocked, - a new one on the line - down, kicked and beaten some about paying an uncalled-for more. "Still blinded, I was led to

extra fare. Two of the cops came into the bus and said, "What's the rouble?"

the desk. The sergeant told me he was going to let me go home. They seated me in a "Meanwhile," the crippled chair and tried to calm me.

Negro writes, "the other po-"One policeman, back of the licemen were shouting, 'Bring desk, said, 'Shoot him and the black s.o.b. out here!' I he'll be one nigger less in the was shoved to the door where world, and nobody will care.' a young officer rushed me and "I turned around, afraid to leave, afraid of being shot in kicked me in the groin.

the back. The desk sergeant "I doubled up in pain, I fell to the street and was kicked told me to go ahead, he wasn't and punched as I lay there. I going to let anybody shoot me. I left the precinct, went to a tried to explain that I was a spastic cripple and they didn't nearby club and called a friend who took me home. have to kick me. I was kicked

That the New Orleans cops again, this time in the chest, are not the only racists who which cut my breath. I began to tremble violently from too appreciate this kind of humor is proved by an Aug. 25 Assomuch excitement. My nerves ciated Press dispatch from Rawere shattered; I had no conleigh, N.C. col over my body.

Roger Earl Williams, a 38-"I was dragged to a car, then knocked unconscious by a year-old white farmer was blow from a billy wrapped in charged with manslaughter "in a handkerchief . . . I felt my-self being dragged from a car, he had shot as a joke . . ." then struck and kicked time Williams told the court that the Negro, William Person, 28, and time again. I was numbed. "had been a friend of his and I couldn't even cry out. All I could do was grunt until I that he had fired at him in fun to make him run faster. The bullet struck Mr. Person in the

"The next thing I remember back. was lying on a floor with about eight policemen standing on my body, arms, hands, legs

"I begged to be left alone.

to see what abundance our industrial system could pour out tained by my pleadings. The But the Soviet bureaucracy if it were run rationally in- desk sergeant asked what charge he should place against Such thoughts "run in the know'; another said, 'Disturb-

Khrushchev prophesies that our and boisterous." "I was thrown into a cell, I

can't stand being closed in. I lost consciousness again. When But, they will, we think, achieving it-and over Krushresistance.

A magistrate, a humorist himself, cleared the practical When the case came up, the

judge appeared to think that the joke had misfired some-It takes no great imagination It appeared that the officers what. He gave Williams a suswere being amused and enter- pended sentence of three to five years.

He tempered this exercise of justice with mercy for the me. One officer said, 'I don't dead Negro's wife and four children by ordering Williams

- Paul Abbott

JUSTICE WITH MERCY

Two New York slum land-I regained my senses I was officers who had kicked me, after children of their tenants rammed both fists into my fined \$50 each.



Africans Angered

Page Three

have a "cold and hungry" look. This is the advice of Lawrence Farrant, financial writer of the N.Y. World-Telegram.

Farrant says the corporations use psychiatrists to screen "crackpots." They want applicants "bright enough to plug in the right plug but not such geniuses that they would get bored doing it."

Up to a hundred years ago, candidates for positions on Southern plantations were placed on the block. Before . ploiter sees it.

ly for crackpot tendencies such as inclination to rebel.

America has made some progress since then, but the auctioneer's block seems only to have been streamlined.

So where the union has no say, a job-hunter might apply past experience. Try to look as strong as a mule, meek as socialism would be very much a sheep and intelligent as an ox. That's still the model worker as the labor ex-

Behind the Polio Epidemic

Four years ago the world heard the thrilling news that Dr. Jonas Salk had perfected an anti-polio vaccine. As the vaccine went into general use the number of polio cases dropped sharply. Everyone was confident that one more plague was being eliminated. But this year there has been a frightening increase of polio. Why?

Did the vaccine prove less effective than expected? Was it impossible to produce it in sufficient quantities? Is there a shortage of doctors and nurses to administer the inoculations? Definitely not. Many children are now crippled and some are dead simply because the powerful medical trust placed profits before human welfare.

This was exposed in an Aug. 19 article by the widely-read Washington reporter, Drew Pearson. The article was entitled, "Fear of 'Socialization" Is Cause of Polio Rise."

The official explanation of the U.S. Public Health Service for the increase in polio is that community inoculation drives, spurred by the increased outbreaks of the disease, have brought about a shortage of the vaccine.

"However, what the people aren't being told," says Pearson, "is that the alarming increase of the crippling disease, plus the vaccine shortage, might have been avoided, or at least lessened, if many local medical societies had not blocked mass Salk vaccine immunization."

One of the worst outbreaks of polio this year hit Des Moines, Iowa. Two years ago, Pearson recalls, the Iowa State Medical Society went on record against "mass immunization . . . without (doctor) fees for administration."

"In other words," Pearson added, "the Iowa Medical Society wanted Iowans to go to the office of each individual doctor and pay a \$4 or \$5 fee for each is jerry-rigged. A major cut in Salk vaccine shot, rather than have the shots administered on a mass, .cut-rate basis by nurses under the supervision of doctors."

to public immunization drives, Pearson its argument is the popular charges that this fact has been covered misconception of the nature of up by the director of the U.S. Public Health Service, Dr. Leroy Burney.

But members of Burney's staff, says racy, the end of free trade Pearson, are less discreet: "They are emphatic that had the medical societies of all states cooperated in mass inoculation programs, instead of crying about 'socialized medicine,' there would be no polio epidemic today."

Shortly after his vaccine was first announced, Dr. Salk was asked on TV if he intended to patent the new discovery. The scientist looked at the interviewer cialism is an international sysin astonishment and replied he would no more dream of doing so than he would try to patent the beneficial rays of the sun.

But that's not the attitude of the men who control the medical societies. They are willing to see children on crutches or in wheel chairs for life rather first article, "A Step Ahead in of the power of socialist ideas than give up the \$5 fees.

week A full-scale federal campaign of mass inoculations against polio is urgently needed. And it would also be a fine idea, we think, if the American people told the other two articles will discuss medical association that socialized medi- the U.S. State Department's cine-from public inoculations to a gov- charge that the Communes repwhat they want.

working class. And they relate the power of these wishes to the Soviet Union. **By French Plans** The capitalist propagandists

the standard of living the do not dispute this claim. They workers enjoy. For Sahara A-Tests So we need only visualize a accept it and use it against acturn of events that undermines ceptance of socialism here. African hatred of French the standard of living and Clearly, the lies of the bureau- imperialism is being deepened propels the working class into crats injure the defense of by the decision of the de Gaulle mass political action to see that what is progressive in the Soregime to go ahead with plans viet Union.

for atomic tests in the Sahara The economic system in the despite widespread protest. The on the agenda in America. Soviet bloc is transitional. The independent nations in Africa For example, if the economy capitalists have been displaced, and those becoming independplunged into a major depresplanning has been instituted, sion like that of the thirties, but socialism still remains to by Morocco and Tunisia in then socialism would rapidly be won.' opposing the scheduled exbecome a central issue in The Soviet working people American politics. plosions. Both of these coun-

have shown in many ways that tries still have French troops Is such a possibility fantasthey will never return to capi-The recession of 1957-58, tic? garrisoned on their soil. Tunitalist rule. Their drive is for- sian President Bourguiba, who like the previous postwar reward to the final goal of sohas been seeking to obtain cessions, was another warning cialism. The revolts that oc- withdrawal of the troops by sign that American prosperity curred in East Germany in conciliating French authorities, 1953, in Hungary and in Pogovernment spending for armnevertheless supported the aments could precipitate a land in 1956 showed this in other African nations in concrisis far deeper than any in the most dramatic way. demning plans for "releasing These revolts demonstrated a new terror on Africa."

the past. that the workers under Krem-What the capitalist press Citing other examples of resistance banks on in trying to put over lin rule want democracy such Jail African Women as they enjoyed under Lenin. They want an end to special For Protesting privilege and to the whole socialism. Socialism, they. tell bureaucratic drag on their Government Curbs us day in and day out, means planned economy. the total destruction of democ-

They are all for having their Africa jailed 118 women Aug. unions, oppression of national grandchildren live under so-19 after they declared they cialism but they see no reason minorities, a one-party system, why the present generation were either unable or unwillpersonal dictatorship, thought ing to pay \$28 fines imposed should not enjoy its benefits. control, a secret political pofor demonstrating against new Similar tendencies are evilice, purges, frame-up trials dent in other parts of the restrictions on the entry of and slave-labor camps. Africans into cities and towns. world. The popularity of the As "proof" they point to the

Soviet Union and the People's They also protested increased Soviet bloc. There, they insist, Republic of China throughout is a living example of socialthe colonial areas is but a way with babies strapped on their ism in practice.

of expressing a desire for so-This is simply not true. Socialism right now. In Europe, too, the working class since the tem based on what world-wide end of World War II has re-

peatedly demonstrated a ten-A Discussion of dency to end capitalism and establish socialism. China's Communes

The capitalist press has a point when it cites the weak- demonstrations in which the The Militant is currently featuring a series on China's Comness of the socialist movement in America today. But its fear on farm workers to strike for munes by Daniel Roberts. The

shows every time it buries Karl the Revolution" appeared last

Another article, "China's other day during the week and twice in each Sunday supple-Hard Struggle Against Nature," will appear next week. The ment.

American workers live in in- 42 pounds of meat a year and class Iranian: "Why doesn't security. Who knows how long drinks only 52 quarts of milk. America give money only for billion dollars, repayable in 40 before we are plunged into The average daily intake of those things that really help years at 2% interest. The conernment-financed health insurance plan resent "slavery" and the claim nuclear war? Whose job is calories is just a hair above the people, and then keep track trasting Soviet and American of certain radicals that they guaranteed? How many enjoy the 2,500 minimum necessary of every bit of it so it won't approaches has intensified the that covers everyone fully — is exactly or certain raticals that they guarantee at automatically keep to sustain the strength of a go to government officials and popular demand for an end to up with the cost of living? working man. This average generals who just put it in U.S. ties. genuine communism.

where the standards of living "Americans don't look to see is lowest, millions don't get whether a regime has any enough to eat. popular support . . . There's no These facts were revealed Aug. 20 in a report of the political parties here. Forget

| means that in Southern Italy, | banks in Switzerland?

democracy . . . There are two them; they are both set up by Central Authority of the European Common Market. It the government and no real

found that a day laborer in the opposition is permitted.' Po River delta region eats Leaders of Iragi meat once every two months. For breakfast he has only a **Communist Party** cup of imitation coffee made of roasted wheat and barley. For Kowtow to Kassem

Top officials of Iraq's Com-

munist Party have warned

country. An official declaration

reaffirming this stand was pub-

lished in the party's official

Baghdad newspaper and re-

printed approvingly by Pravda,

ent this year are being joined lunch, it's bread and sardines. The evening meal is usually a thick potato soup. Agricultural workers in the south and on their supporters that they have Sardinia subsist on even less no intention of leading a nourishment. workers' bid for power in that

Baghdad Pact (Without Baghdad) Gets New Name

voice of the Soviet Communist . The U.S.-sponsored military Party, according to an Aug. 21 alliance in the Mideast has un-Christian Science Monitor disdergone a change of name. It patch. will now be called CENTO,

The statement told the CP short for Central Treaty Ormembership that it must accept ganization. the "necessity of a long coex-It used to be called the istence" with the government Baghdad Pact, because its kingof Premier Abdel Kassem.

pin was the tyrannical regime There will be a "gradual of King Feisal in Iraq, whose purge," extending from the CP captial is Baghdad. ranks into the leadership, of When the Iraqi masses over-

those unwilling to accept longthrew the monarchy last year, term collaboration with Kasthey demanded that the new sem's military regime. government pull out of the

pro-imperialist alliance. The Soviet Aid Offer

The political crisis of the pro-U.S. Bolivian government has been sharpened by a Soviet offer of financial aid to that country's hard - pressed state-operated oil industry. Al-

Washington's efforts to supthough American business inoress national-independence asterests pumped out Bolivian pirations in Iran through the resources for years, Washingdictatorial regime it helped in- ton has been cutting back on stall there is only deepening its extremely limited aid propro-nationalist, anti-U.S. senti- gram. It has refused to grant ment, writes a Wall Street funds for the urgently-needed Journal correspondent Aug. 24. re-equipment of Bolivia's nationally-owned oil and mining

taxes. Many went to prison Baghdad) was forced to change its name. The government's ban on workers coming into cities was U.S. "Aid" Helps Generals, Not

enacted to force Africans to accept work from white plantation - owners at starvation Iranian People

wages. Two Africans were killed when the police attacked women sought to put pressures higher pay.

Racist authorities in South

Marx-which is about every Millions in Italy

backs.

Undernourished He reports the following reac-The average Italian eats only tion of a conservative, middle- industries. The Soviet Union offered a loan of about a half

government complied, and the Baghdad Pact (now without To Bolivia Puts U.S. on Spot

Letters from Our Readers

\$235 for Your Second Toe

Editor:

Act in Washington is a weird better deal for industrial-accidard prices for each part dis- ing down to Olympia and swapmembered. The injured worker, ped jokes with our various libfor the second or third toe when state legislature. And they acgreat toe and less for the fourth ed.

or fifth toe. anatomy has a fixed retail price, they did some horse-trading. plus a limited extra amount for They swapped off some Old-Age hospitalization, doctors and med- Assistance provisions for two ication.

If a worker is killed in an in- act. dustrial accident, his widow or nearest of kin will receive \$7,500 out of which she can pay burial ance personnel." The second asexpenses. But it really doesn't sures the replacement of eye pay for the worker to get killed glasses broken in industrial acoutright. He is worth consider- cidents. ably more on the installment plan - an eye now, a finger worker will now be if he haplater, a toe, maybe a hand. Not pens to be a janitor who gets his only is the total payment higher glasses broken when the elevabut he also enjoys a much need- tor falls on him. ed rest in the hospital. And his friends get to bring him flowers

while he is still alive. The setup is considerate of Thinks Socialists his employer, too. If a worker is injured or killed on a job his employer can't be sued for damages. The worker is entitled only to the amount stipulated in the Editor: law.

Congratulations on the com- did in 1776. The employer pays a small prehensiveness of the Socialist monthly stipend for this service Workers Party convention reso-

She is only three and a half. With her

blonde curls and pixy face, wiry little body

that is never still, Nancy commands a great

and enfolding love from everyone who belongs

to her. All of her family, including her almost

contemporary cousin, shower this child with a

special kind of love - almost as though each

was trying to protect her from a danger she

to be.

lily white.

saw troubled me.

doesn't know exists. And this should not have

handicapped in any way. She has perfect

vision, straight and sturdy limbs, a bright mind.

ledge without understanding is going to hurt

her. For, despite her blonde curls and apricot-

friends and nursery school mates are all colors.

Yet somebody, probably a child, has already

tormented this baby with the fact that she isn't

consciousness one night recently and what I

nestled in my lap for a bedtime story. We went

through Mother Goose, Captain Peter, the Three

Little Pigs and Raggedy Anne. Then came the

new book - about three little girl kittens, all

and-cream complexion, Nancy is partly Negro.

Nancy is a perfectly normal little girl, not

Yet she is moving into an age when know-

"She has no conception of "color." Her

L caught a brief glimpse into her awakening

Rosy and clean, her hair brushed, she

which saves him thousands of | lution, "Toward the 1960 Elecdollars in damage suits, lawyers tions," published in your July 27 issue. It was a work of fees, etc. After considering all these thorough analysis.

facts, our local union leaders de-I realize that in such docu-The Workmen's Compensation cided to do something about a ments a socialist convention can not cover all of the crimes study in vivisection, with stan- dent victims. They went lobby- of the capitalist profiteers, but a paragraph including some of the points made in your columns for example, will receive \$235 eral Democratic "friends" in the does seem missing. For example, the way production is cut back amputated. a little more for the tually got a couple of bills pass- just to increase or hold the line

on prices. The steel monopolists After days of hard struggle in provide a good example of how munity in St. Louis last week So it goes. Every part of the the Olympia cocktail lounges, to circumvent the law of supply prevented two cops from shootand demand.

Which reminds me of the corespondence, etc., in your columns about the need for a third various parts of the country new clauses in the compensation party, which is 100% correct as have acted to curb police vio-

J. K.

Pennsylvania

The first provides coverage to a program. While I am a strong "certain janitorial and maintenbeliever in socialism (even the realistic USSR variety) I think the name of a socialist party Just think how fortunate a

Seattle

both in plain clothes, pursued would also be attractive to our daily-gypped c o n s u m e r s and were firing revolvers at him.

Jack Wright less.)

Should Make Bid **To Consumers**

By Marvel Scholl

at a picture.

began to ery.

kitten - the black one.

the big problem behind it.

by color, creed, or national origin.

knowledge that no one is their master.

taxpayers. I'm not ingenious People quickly converged on enough to devise a name, but it the cops shouting, "Don't shoot should have an immediate ap that boy." In a matter of peal to consumers, workers and minutes Jones and Strate were taxpayers alike, if possible. (The pinned against a cab by more word "progressive" is meaningthan 500 people who were apparently unimpressed by the

Today in Pennsylvania, three explanation that they were podifferent government divisions licemen. require tax documentary stamps "It was the first time that I on deeds. This alone would juswas scared since I joined the tify a "revolution" by small force," Jones said later.

lence.

home-owners - as such taxes A squad of policemen, some carrying riot guns, used police dogs to disperse the crowd. A police spokesman asserted that 'more drastic" action would be taken if citizens continued to

VOLUME XXIII

Crowd Stops

Police from

Shooting Boy

Members of the Negro com-

ing down a Negro youth. It

was the fifth time in the past

The St. Louis incident came

Aug. 17 when patrolmen Rich-

ard Jones and Donald Strate,

two months that Negroes in

Police said that when reina shower of bottles and abuse.

All children have an inalienable right -It was also on Aug. 17 that but a right which no child born under capitalism world where worth is determined by action, not wife not to submit to a cross-ex-

That is what we who love her want for amination about why she was in Nancy. That is one of the reasons we are all a Negro neighborhood. The incifighters for socialism for a world where greed dent reflected long-smouldering and profit no longer exist; where education, indignation against harassment culture and economic security are taken for of Negroes by St. Paul police. granted; where all children can grow and live The anti-Negro bias of the and learn and expand. Not be cowed, fearful cops was crudely but plainly and inhibited as capitalist society seeks to shape them.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1959

NO

ONTRACT

NO

WORK.

San Francisco **Truck Drivers Extend Picketing**

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 25 — More than 60% of truck freight shipments in and out of the Bay Area was blocked yesterday as San Francisco Teamsters Local 85 extended its picket lines into |

courts.

Bail Is Granted

NEW YORK, Aug. 21

The National Association for

the Advancement of Colored

People this week guaranteed

bail of \$2,000 for Willie Reid;

fugitive from a Florida chain

gang, while his fight against'

extradition continues in the

Reid escaped several years

The U.S. Court of Appeals

To Willie Reid

Oakland and other East Bay points where member firms of two struck truckers' associations operate out of long-haul terminals.

Today, Local 85 members on strike set up picket lines at ten of the biggest truck terminals in the East Bay area.

All work at these terminals stopped. Loaded trucks were permitted to pull into the yards and park, but were not permitted to leave.

ago from Lake County, Fla., Extension of picketing came where Sheriff Willis McCall, after Superior Court Judge Orla the "Negro-killing" officer is St. Clair modified an injunction boss. Both Governors Harrithat limited picket lines to San man and Rockefeller ordered Francisco and San Mateo counhim returned to Florida - a ies. move that could well mean

Meanwhile mass picketing and death for Reid. patrolling of streets and public highways here by the 5,000 striklast week ordered Reid freed ers has been largely curbed. Union officials are pressing on bail while his attorneys file a petition for a review of the members to respect the ban on case by the U.S. Supreme such picketing stipulated in the Court: injunction.

RANK-AND-FILE REVOLT

The strike began Aug. 7 after revolt by the local membership against the union officials' proposal that it accept a new three-year contract with two associations representing the city's major truckers. The men want a one-year pact. Such a short-term

agreement would give them greater protection against stead- New York State Conference on ily rising living costs and job Independent and Socialist Poosses from automation.

meeting with federal mediators 9736.

Of Events NEW YORK





litical Action in 1960. Sat., Sept. In addition, the rank-and-file 26, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and Suntruck drivers want a \$2:50 wage day, Sept. 27, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. increase. Wages now range from Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. \$19.80 to \$21.80 a day. They also | 48th St., (Off Times Sq.) New want a guarantee of eight hours York City. Auspices United Inwork for a helper when he is dependent-Socialist Committee. called to work and improved For more information write or holiday and vacation provisions. phone for a free copy of the Both the truckers association UI-SC Newsletter. 799 Broadand the union heads are now way, New York, 3. Phone Gr. 5-

who moved in on the strike For a cool, informative and without invitation by either side. interesting evening, attend the So far no tangible result of this Penthouse Starlight Forum, Sunintervention has been reported. | day, Aug. 30, 8 p.m. 59 W. 71 St., A further threat to the success N. Y. C. (Penthouse 10A) Ausp. United Independent-Socialis

of the first of the regular Friday

the Militant Labor Forum. Fri-

day, Sept. 18, 8 p.m. at 116 Uni-

DENVER

"interfere" with police. On the same day in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., a group of Negroes prevented policemen from arresting and manhandling a Negro youth. The cops claimed move along and not block the sidewalk.

ed. "I'm not black! I'm not black!" And she fied persons snatched the prisoner from officers. A small incident - yes. If it were not for

SAINT-PAUL INCIDENT

St. Paul police used dogs and enjoys — the right to a decent, prejudice-free fire hoses to disperse some 300 licemen from roughing up a All children should have another right - to Negro man. The cops seized hold their heads high and proud. Secure in the him after he had told his white

Nancy is lucky. She has a socialist family meeting of the St. Paul NAACP and hundreds of socialist friends to help her called to discuss the incident. understand the world she lives in and the world Proetz bluntly stated that he

Which World for Nancy? suddenly her little finger darted out to point he had ignored an order to "That's me," she said.

"Which one is you, darling?"I asked and forcements came to assist in pointed, beginning at the left, to the first the arrest they were greeted by Her little body flew up. "No, no," she storm- In the ensuing fracas, unidenti-

Forty men are assigned to

Strike-Relief **Fund Sought by** Aliquippa Local

PITTSBURGH, Aug. 18 -Financial aid may be forth- fered a bad back injury several coming for distress cases among months before the strike and has



PUEBLO, Colo., Aug. 21 - picket duty each day, and the

About 7,500 members of the women are working four-hour United Steelworkers are, on shifts at the strike headquarters strike here against the Colorado in the union's modern building. Fuel & Iron Corp. They are sol- Hot meals are served the pickets, idly organized in two locals - and the recreation facilities norpersons who acted to stop po- the production workers in Local mally reserved for retired mem-

> the cost is running about a \$1,000 a day for grocery vouchers which are accepted by local merchants. The feeling of the strikers about Colorado Fuel & Iron was

summed up by one 20-year man who calls it a "slave shop." A molder, 44 years old, he suf-



dressed up in their mother's clothes. One was black, one white, the other mixed black and white. We read along for a few pages and

we are fighting to build. She will grow up, proud of both her races, her head high. It should be so for all children.

Notes in the News

A FIRST-CLASS DOG - An army general's pet Irish Setter, and two sergeants assigned to care for him, sailed to Korea in firstclass accommodations on a troopship. Meanwhile 2,135 men, including two Korean doctors, sweltered below deck in quarters normally holding 1,698 berths. One of the men aboard wrote to a San Francisco paper describing the incident. Armed forces spokesmen said that many dogs are transported overseas for Army families and that it was standard procedure for "Korean males [to] go troop class." He added that the sergeants would have been given firstclass quarters even if they weren't sweeping up after the dog. The man who wrote the letter from the hold is a sergeant.

. . .

NOT RELYING ON CON EDISON - New York's power failure Aug. 17 could have caused a "disastrous breakdown" in municipal hospital service, warned Hospital Commissioner Dr. Morris Jacobs. On Aug. 22, he urged that the city equip 13 hospitals with emergency generators. Eight of 28 municipal hospitals have their own power plants. During the breakdown of Consolidated Edison cables five premature babies in electric incubators at one city hospital had to be rushed elsewhere. "We were lucky," Dr. Jacobs said. "If the power failure had been more widespread we would have been in one hell of a fix."

JIM CROW IN DETROIT PUBLIC HOUS-ING - The Detroit Public Housing Commission discriminates against Negro applicants for public housing, and those Negroes accepted are invariably assigned to segregated projects. A , study by the Detroit Commission on Community Relations found that 76% of all white applicants were accepted for project apartments whereas only 61% of the Negroes who applied were housed. An applicant's race "does affect . . . the chances of obtaining a dwelling unit," the report charged. This was denied by housing director Harry Durbin, who also claimed that assignment to specific projects was based on the applicants' choice. But the study showed that less than 2% of white applicants were assigned to projects not of their own choosing while 11% of Negro applicants were put in projects they had not requested.

ALABAMA LIBRARIAN FACES OUSTER - The Alabama Legislature's Segregation Screening Committee' is seeking the removal of Miss Emily Reed, director of the Alabama Public Library Service, because the organization had listed Rev. Martin Luther King's book,

2 2

"Stride Toward Freedom." The book is an account of the Montgomery bus boycott movement. State Senator E. O. Eddins angrily declared, "I asked Miss Reed if she believed in integration and she refused to tell me. She said that had nothing to do with running a library." The state librarian first came under fire for permitting circulation of the children's book, "The Rabbits' Wedding," in which a black rabbit marries a white rabbit.

RACIST GOVERNOR INSISTS KENNEDY IS "FRIEND." - Gov. John Patterson of Alabama is under fire from rabid segregationists because he endorsed Massachussets Senator John Kennedy for the Democratic presidential nomination. A committee of segregationists fired questions at him to prove that he is "being used as a guinea pig by the Communist- Jewish integrators." Patterson told the group that Kennedy "is a friend" and cited his own white supremacist record. He said no Alabama school will be integrated "unless they pass over my body."

'TEMPORARY HYSTERIA' - The plunge in stock prices following the announcement of the Khrushchev visit to the U.S. evoked newspaper advice to Wall Street. "The stock market's edginess over the possibility that peace might break out as a result of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev meetings was regarded as premature,' said the Associated Press. "Temporary hysteria" was responsible for the market drop said an Aug. 13 editorial in the Nashville Tennessean. Pointing out that the government does not intend to give up its multi-billion dollar arms program, the editorial suggested: "What the smart operators of Wall Street' need is tranguilizers that will sooth their nerves and keep them from jumping to unjustified conclusions."

TOWN FACES POLICE BRUTALITY. SUIT - Three residents of Lyons, Colo., are suing the township and its ex-marshall for \$105,000 for assault and false arrest. Lewis Mc-Laughlin charged that the marshall, Lester McFarland, stopped him outside the town limits, forced him to turn back, knocked him unconscious and threw him in jail. McLaughlin was later released with no charges made against him. Mr. and Mrs. Earl Smith say that the marshall came to their home and beat them after they attended a meeting of town residents to protest his behavior. The three victims also directed their suit against the town board because they said it had encouraged the "vicious, wanton and brutal behavior" of the marshall who resigned a few weeks ago.

had ordered his cops to stop any "suspicious" person and persons stopped were unwilling Mamula, president of the Jones or unable to produce satisfactory identification he said, the police were to arrest them by whatever means they deemed necessary

He further asserted that interrogation of white women in the Negro section was justi-

fied because they were "foreigners in the community." At this point the audience jeered, and many people walked out in disgust.

Police brutality against Nespontaneous protest actions in New York City. On July 13, a

thousand Harlem residents moved in to stop policemen from beating a woman prisoner local police precinct until they were convinced that the woman and another prisoner were not being beaten inside the station nouse.

> In the East Bronx, Aug. 9, 300 people hemmed in policemen who were beating a prisoner

both scared stiff."

Aliquippa Local 1211 of the from the state compensation demand identification. If the United Steel Workers. Nicholas commission. "When the union says they're

& Laughlin local, announced stepping up production with less yesterday that he will ask the workers, that's sure true around executive board to give the here," he said. "My injury came strike committee \$50,000 from about because of the speed-up. the local's general fund. It From the time you come in, it's

medical bills and other urgent You work harder than ever tryexpenses.

Mamula, who was a leader machines." of the dues protest movement here, said he would also progroes provoked two recent days after the present shut- It's a good morale booster.

of local income would go into the strike fund.

and then milled in front of the Three years ago, a \$2 dues

stitution bars local strike funds. with gun butts. Like the St. welfare officials reported that Louis patrolman, one of the 60% of the strikers applying two cops said later: "We were for relief are being accepted as against 44% in previous strikes.

the consequences of their bru- penniless to qualify for relief. tality they may become a bit Officials say last year's recesmore cautious about how they sion helped boost the number use their clubs and guns. of eligible applicants.



BOSTON epin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361 CHICAGO

Newark, N. J. Socialist Workers Party, 777 W Adams, DE 2-9736. Militant Labor Forum, 116 Univer CLEVELAND ity Place, AL 5-7852.

Socialist Workers Party 10609 Su perior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES

Forum Hall and Modern Book Shor 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-

9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hen-

the 12,000 striking members of been getting the run-around

would be used to help pay go, go, go, No breaks whatever. ing to keep up with new, faster

A daily strike bulletin answers company propaganda and is do-

down. Ten cents of each dollar

The international union has never set up a strike fund. hike was put through for a union "war chest," but nothing was ever set aside for strike benefits. However, Mamula contends, nothing in the union con-

. The need for financial action was underscored when county

NEWARK

NEW YORK CITY

OAKLAND - BERKELEY

PHILADELPHIA

Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave

Lectures and discussions every Satur-

lay, 8 P.M., followed by open house

SAN FRANCISCO

The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4

Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-

SEATTLE

ST. LOUIS

For information phone MO 4-7194.

1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. LI

7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

Call PO 315820.

brary, bookstore.

P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

If enough cops get scared of A striker must be absolutely



the strike has come from Committee. warehouses that have been shipping goods by rail to nearby The Khrushchev-Eisenhower cities and then transporting Meetings and the Prospects for them here by non-striking team-World Peace will be the subject

sters. union locals have pledged their night forum series sponsored by Longshore and warehouse cooperation to stop such shipments.

versity Place (Off .Union Sq.) Some trucks have now reappeared on the city streets, mostly moving government supplies, A Socialist Discussion Series medicines and perishables.

will be sponsored this fall by Sixty-five small trucking firms the Denver Militant Labor Forpose that a permanent strike ing a great deal to keep the hiring 170 drivers have signed um. For information write to: fund be set up by the local 30 workers accurately informed. up. But all the major employers Militant Labor Forum, Box 724, are still holding tough. Denver 1, Colo.

Celebrate Labor Day Week End At Mountain Spring Camp



Labor Day Week End Speakers, Sept. 5-7:

Dr. Annette Rubinstein, author and lecturer, "A Socialist Looks at American Literature." Tom Kerry, Militant staff writer, "American Labor at the Cross Roads."

Nat Weinstein, delegate to NAACP convention, "Methods of Negro Struggle - a Historical Approach.'

Rates: from \$6 a day, including meals. For reservations or information write Mountain Spring Camp, R.D. No. 1, Washington, N.J. In New York City call AL5-7852. Auspices Militant Labor Forum.