# **British Communists** And the Intellectuals

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# At \$46 Billion **Democrats Say Eisenhower Skimps on Arms Spending**

Military Budget

By Alex Harte

The annual rooking of the American people by their big-business-dominated government was spelled out in dollars and cents on Jan. 18 when Eisenhower presented his new budget to Congress. It+ called, as usual, for gigantic hat 69% of the whole budget is

sums for the brass hats and relatively little for projects and services beneficial to the working people.

Eisenhower asked for a total appropriation of \$79,816,000,000 for government spending during the fiscal year July 1, 1960 to June 30, 1961. Of this, 57% or \$45,568,000,000 is directly and admittedly for military and military-connected purposes.

amount is added to the admitted fare. military appropriation, it is seen

### **Defy Blacklist** In Hollywood

Producer-director Otto Preminger disclosed Jan. 19 that Dalton Trumbo had done the script for his screen version of the novel "Exodus." This marks the first time that Hollywood's blacklist has been openly disregarded

Like many others in the inblacklisting as a violation of le-

beliefs.

for military costs. Yet Democratic criticism of the budget, led by presidential aspirants John Kennedy and Stuart Symington, is that it skimps on military spending. A 7% slice is for ag.iculture - with the big farmers, farm corporations and food-processng companies sure to get the

lion's share while the family farmer gets the crumbs. All other government expenditures Actually the amount is even out together account for only higher, for wars - past as well 16% - this includes myriad as future - take their bite of functions such as running the this budget in the form of ap- federal executive department, propriations to the Veterans Ad- courts. Congress, the promotion ministration (7%), interest on of business by the Department the national debt (11%), and of Commerce, conservation, debt retirement (5%). If only Central Intelligence Agency half of the last two items (al- (whose appropriation is hidden though well over half of the na- under various fake headings untional debt is for past military disclosed even to Congress), and expenditures) and the VA last and least - labor and wel-

Out of the close to \$80 billion, only \$4,569,000,000 or less than 3% is earmarked for labor, welare, health and education. Even his figure is deceptive for, with evealing psychology, the administration lists \$48 million the cost of running federal pris-

Editor:

paper workers.

cial loss to themselves.

plants.

phone calls."

ons - as a labor-and-welfare expenditure. Moreover, part of the labor appropriation will be used against unions under the anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law.

Eisenhower's arm is out of joint from patting himself on the back over a projected surplus of \$4.2 billion. This he says

dustry, Trumbo was blacklisted should be used to reduce the for defying the House Un- national debt. Since the 1959 American Activities Committee. deficit was almost three times Preminger said he viewed such this amount, the hoped-for surplus is not world shaking. But gal rights akin to lynching and even this depends on Congress he saw no reason for inquiring upping the postal rate a penny into a script writer's political and the gasoline tax a half cent basis. - unlikely in an election year.

Antiwar Students Fight Japanese Cops Some 3,000 Tokyo students fight steel-helmeted police at the International Airport in an

attempt to stop Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi from leaving for the United States. Kishi departed for Washington Jan. 16 to sign a new U.S.-Japanese military pact. The Japanese Socialist and Communist parties, the SOHYO labor federation and Zengakuren, leading student organization, have been waging a vigorous campaign against renewal of military ties with the U.S.

### On Tour Premier Kishi Thugs Attack Pickets Put on Plane In Newspaper Strike In Sneak Play

Portland, Oregon ist policy. It is a grim threat to the labor movement, com-About as slick and sinister an antilabor scheme as I have

seen has been cooked up by the newspaper bosses in this city. It combines a move to merge the local capitalist papers into one monopoly organ and a simultaneous unionbusting attack on the news-With a hue and cry against "featherbedding" the bosses have forced the mechanical and editorial workers out on strike. They are publishing the

distributed. Oregonian and the Journal as The union paper describes a joint newspaper on a scab According to union reports.

### By Lillian Kiezel

parable in its implications to the attack by Wilson and Co. on the packinghouse union. Workers in the Portland

area sense the danger to themselves and have been coming to the aid of the embattled newspaper unions. The AFL-CIO has issued a special edition of the Oregon Labor Press to tell the strikers' side of the story and spike the lies in the scab press. Some 300.000 copies of the special edition, an unprecedented number, were

the boss attempt at wholesale

# **Democrats, GOP Bow To Rule of Lynch Mob** Justice Dept. Has No Plans Anti-Fascist

# Anger Rises In Germany

JAN. 19 - The flareup of anti-Semitic vandalism sparked by neo-Nazis in West Germany has ntensified popular pressure in lynch mob.

that country for the ouster of Nazis from the Adenauer regime. Meanwhile there have been two new cases of police reprisals state laws on murder. The lynch Church Groups against anti-fascist demonstra-

tors. yesterday with students demand- ica. ing the removal of Nazis from government. In Hamburg, Washington and the leaders of mounted police attacked anti-

the Democratic and Republican fascists who broke up a meeting parties have announced no plan of the neo-Nazi German Reichs of action to punish the brutal party. Thirty anti-Nazis were ar- murderers of Mack Charles Parkrested on charges of disturbing the peace.

A Jan. 18 New York Times dispatch from West Berlin reports: "The clashes demonstrate what is rapidly becoming a major consequence of the recent outbreak of anti-Semitism in West Germany. Public pressure is building up rapidly against the retention of Nazis in the Government and

judiciary." During the West Berlin demon tration, students raised black posters bearing the names of two

JAN. 19 - It took 5,500 cops federal ministers, two lesser ofo get Japanese Premier Kishi ficials and Chancellor Adenout of his own country so that auer's state secretary. All were he could sign a military pact in ranking Nazis.

Washington yesterday that will Joachim Lipschitz, police chief keep U.S. troops in Japan for at in West Berlin's Social Demoleast another decade.'A militant cratic administration, who was demonstration of Japanese stu- addressing the rally, immediatedents against signing the agree- ly charged that the poster-bearment compelled the premier to ers were East German "agents." sneak to the Tokyo airport by a Cops plowed into the crowd of 3,000 to tear down the posters ound-about route.

Some 2,500 steel-helmeted and dragged off ten students. cops fought for several hours to Other students sought to defend evict 700 students from the air- them, shouting at the police, port terminal while 3,000 police "Gestapo" and "You are Nazis, along the route to the airport too." Those arrested, all identitried to hold back another 1,200 fied as West Berlin students, students who sang, waved red were later released.

# To Punish Killers of Parker By John Thayer

When the federal grand jury in Biloxi, Mississippi, closed the Parker lynching case on Jan. 14 by failing to return any indictments, and the judge congratulated the jurors before sending them home, it was proved once again that the most powerful institution in the South is the

Last year the county grand jury refused to even hear

evidence in the case, proving mob is now shown to be beyond In West Berlin, police clashed federal prosecution. The lynch mob is the supreme law in Amer-

**Voting Rights** The federal authorities in WASHINGTON, D.C.-Three major organizations here have

er. They have said nothing about at which voteless Negroes from legislation to make such mur- the South will testify on Jan. 31. ders a federal offense. The two They are the Baptist Ministers capitalist parties who run this country have bowed to the lynch

mob. Newspaper accounts from the ters Union of Washington and social jungle of Mississippi re- Vicinity and the Elks Civil Libport that witnesses were afraid erties League of Washington, to talk before the grand jury.

witnesses to withhold evidence from a federal grand jury is a federal offense. But there is no likelihood of any FBI agents tracking down the offenders. The stories to an unofficial Volun-FBI dropped the Parker case teer Civil Rights Commission FBI dropped the Parker case

more involvement. Nor are there any loud demands in Congress for an antilynch law. Democratic and Republican liberals are leisurely and courteously discussing with the Southern gentlemen who run Congress their need for another toothless "civil rights" measure for votecatching next November.

NAACP leader Roy Wilkins has wired Attorney General Rogers "to release to the public the complete text of the FBI report on that lynching so that the

world may know who the sus-

joined as sponsors of a hearing Conference of Washington and Vicinity; the Methodist Minis-D.C. Seven leading pro-inte-Threatening or even inducing gration organizations in the South had previously announced sponsorship of the event. Negroes denied the right to

Price 10c

vote in the South will tell their over a year ago and wants no headed by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. Their statements will be recorded and presented to Congress in an effort to influence passage of civil rights legislation.

The hearing will begin at 3:00 p.m., on Sunday, Jan. 31, and will be held at the Asbury Methodist Church, 11th and K Streets, Northwest, Washington, D.C. The public is invited to attend.



the country.

### Wilkinson and Braden Appeal to High Court

#### By Harry Ring

JAN. 18 - Reaffirming a gaged in aggressive opposition to dangerous new ruling that would the continued functioning of the make it a crime to urge aboli- [House] Committee." Thus his tion of the House Un-American activities "presented a more di-Activities Committee and other rect threat to the national securlegislative witch-hunting bodies, ity than those of which Barenthe U.S. Court of Appeals last blatt was suspected." The Suweek refused to reconsider the preme Court last June upheld "contempt-of-Congress" convic- the conviction of Lloyd Barentions of Frank Wilkinson and blatt who in 1954 refused on Carl Braden. They were sen- First Antendment grounds to tenced to 12-month terms for answer questions about alleged defying the House committee "Communist affiliations."

during 1958 hearings in Atlanta. In the Braden case, the Ap-Both convictions will now be ap- peals Court reinforced in effect pealed to the Supreme Court.

Wilkinson, said the Appeals state legislative committees Court, "admitted that he was en- which are using the House com-

# Witch-Hunters

When the House Administra-Burlson (D-Texas) attempts to integrationist." get another appropriation for the Un-American Activities Com- staged the Atlanta hearing to aid mittee at the end of January, southern racists in their camthey may meet a snag. At least paign to smear fighters for intethat's the hope of the Los An- gration as "Communists" and geles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

national campaign for a flood of for the Southern Conference letters urging congressmen to Education Fund, an interracial vote against the expected re- organization in the South workquest for another \$327,000.

are conducting a telephone cam- ously defeated attempts of Kenpaign which will reach 5,000 peo- tucky authorities to frame them ple there, giving them the facts for the bombing of a Louisville and asking them to write their home which they had purchased congressman.

In addition the committee has white neighborhood. mailed out 20,000 folders na-Wilkinson is executive secre-American Activities Committee Freedoms which has been in the forefront of the national camand calling for its abolition.

secretary of the Los Angeles Un-American Activities Com- signing up scabs at the struck about workers striking for betcommittee, is now on a national mittee. organizing tour to promote actions similar to the one in Los were announced Wilkinson went bargaining agent.

Angeles.

mittee model for a drive to smash the NAACP and other Mobilize to Halt smash the NAACP and other civil-rights organizations. "One rights of union members. who is known or believed to be a Communist," the court asserted, "and is suspected of being engaged in Un-American Activ-

the growing number of southern

typical of present-day capitalities does not acquire immunity tive Committee, headed by Omar by adopting the role of a racial The House committee had

(Continued on Page 4)

"subversives." Braden was hauled before the committee because

In Los Angeles 200 volunteers wife, Anne Braden, had previ- union has been on strike at the Minn., plant Nov. 1.

for a Negro family in an all-

plants and which the company ter conditions has not been dis-When the Atlanta hearings desires to have certified as the closed.

Meanwhile, 61 strikers at Al-

the bosses are financing their years. It outlines the harsh emattack through a \$1-million ployer demands on the unions: strike insurance policy. On this an open shop: a no-strike basis they have already spent pledge; super-seniority for two months trying to starve scabs; revision of work rules; out the workers without finanand a five-hour increase in the work week with no increase in On top of that professional strikebreakers have been im-

Every demand is calculated ported through the Schleppeyto set the clock back to pre-Klein firm which specializes in union times; and the last one union-busting in newspaper turns upside down one of the most burning social needs of Brutalities faced by union the day. pickets at the hands of the

Automation, mergers and rehired thugs are described by the Oregon Labor Press: lated trends in industry have been steadily whittling away "They have been attacked at employment, undermining with cars, bottles and baseballthe economic security of worksize rocks. They have been ing people. Job uncertainty threatened with sawed-off looms for more and more men shotguns, rifles and late-night and women who have spent As usual the cops are genmost of their lives producing super-profits for some boss erally blind to acts of violence only to be thrown on the scrap against the pickets. The capheap as the victims of techitalist politicians ignore union nological change. demands to take legal action

It is not scientific progress against the strikebreakers and that is wrong but the brutal safeguard the constitutional fashion in which the capitalist turns such progress entirely to' The strikers face the kind his own advantage at the of union-busting-in-the-raw workers' expense. No worker which is becoming ominously (Continued on Page 4)

Wilson Company Moves To Bring in Scab Outfit

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 16 - bert Lea were cited for con-The Federal Mediation and Con- tempt-of-court last week alleg- class was in a favored position. ciliation Service announced yes- edly because they violated an in- It exercised a virtual monopoly The group has been sparking a of his activities as field secretary terday that it was calling off junction issued by the Freeborn of the world market. The war contract negotiations it had pro- County District Court against in- had shattered the economy of moted between the United Pack- terfering with scabs. All of the its major imperialist rivals. Out inghouse Workers of America strikers pleaded not guilty. They of the super-profits amassed ing for integration. He and his and the Wilson Company. The face trial Jan. 24.

Perhaps to show he is "imcompany's six plants since it was partial," Judge Cahil then turned locked out at the Albert Lea, down a company request for an order barring the union from

The reason offered for break- using the slogan, "The Wilson ing off mediation is that the Label Disgraces Your Table." National Labor Relations Board Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.).

has been called on to determine chairman of the Senate subcomtionally, documenting the in- tary of the Los Angeles Citizens whether the Wilson workers are mittee on improper labor activtional Brotherhood of Packing- situation at Albert Lea. Whether

(Continued on Page 4)

elimination of union rights won in struggle across the flags and banners protesting the treaty. The declared purpose of out at the Nazi rally when sevthe student demonstration was eral hundred of those attending praise the quality of justice adto prevent Kishi from leaving turned out to be anti-Nazis who ministered in the state of Mississhouted, "Out with the fascists." sippi."

At the airport, the demonstrators, including 100 women, erect- the previous "Nazis Get Out" by four Negro organizations ined barricades of tables and demonstration of 40,000 West cluding the Southern Christian The ruling reversed a decision chairs and made the cops' job Berlin youth give added impact Leadership Conference and Ala- of the Unemployment Compenmore difficult with liberal doses to the Jan. 14 declaration of Dr. bama Christian Movement for sation Commission in the cases of red pepper.

The premier's departure had general of Germany's Central little of the dignity that is sup- Council of Jews. He warned, Negroes were pondering "wheth- fired by Westinghouse Electric. posed to be associated with his "Anti-Germanism abroad is as er their patriotism should be The court said, "The possible office. Official limousines were wrong as anti-Semitism in Ger- measured by the protection they abuses of such a doctrine are can expect."

The anti-fascist actions, and The same demand was voiced

Hendrik Van Dam, secretary Human Rights,

tions.

In pursuit of this task, the

Workers' Resistance

So long as select teams of

(Continued on Page 3) many.

Ranks Want Firm nion

Antilabor Drive **Spurs Resistance** By Tom Kerry

initiative of the rank and file has The hitherto tranquil world been systematically throttled. of the labor bureaucrat is being The local union has been deshaken by the storm and stress prived of the right to act in deof mounting class conflict. The fense of the union contract. "get tough" attitude of the em-"Unauthorized" work stoppages ployers has generated a growing to halt management abuses are mood of resistance in the ranks. outlawed. A fossilized grievance Caught between these opposing structure has become the gravepressures, the labor statesmen yard of workers' grievances. The ache for a return to the golden entire edifice is crowned by an days of harmonious labor-man-'impartial" abitrator, whose agement cooperation. It seems word is law.

impossible for them to reconcile themselves to the fact that those days are gone forever.

For a decade following the

'negotiators" were able to rewar, the American capitalist cord regular gains, opposition

during and after the war big business was able to grant a series of concessions to the or-

ganized labor movement. Despite the uninterrupted inmined to maintain its profit flation and increased taxation, plateau by debasing the standthe workers' standard of living was maintained at a relatively people. stable level. The ability of the

The assault on labor's living unions to garner morsels from the groaning banquet tables of standards and working condi- policy, the court ruled, violates creasing opposition to the Un- Committee to Preserve American represented by the UPWA or by ities, also got in the act. He sent big business, enabled the labor tions gives rise to resistance. the "boycott" provision of the jurisdiction and decide what an "independent" union, the Na- an investigator to observe the bureaucracy to solidify its po- The resistance of the, ranks new law. From now on union would and could not be included sition, consolidate its power and tends to strike a discordant note lithographers may be required in the union contract, the judge Frank Wilkinson, executive paign for abolition of the House house Workers, which has been he has found anything improper augment its priviléges. In ex- in the theme of labor-manage- to work with printing plates not only enjoined the union from change, the union bureaucracy ment harmony so diligently made in non-union shops. Emstriking the 15 large lithographic

performed many useful services trumpeted by the labor bureau- ployers may have part of their shops for these demands but for the employers - not the cracy. Just as the harshest sound work done in low-wage shops also outlawed contracts already All the packinghouse locals in least of which was to discipline is the braying of an ass, so the abroad and still carry the union reached with other shops that the workers on the job and crudest expression of labor-1"bug" on the finished job. (Continued on Page 2)

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ruled Jan. 19 that unemployment compensation can-

not be denied to industrial workers fired as "security risks."

of Paul E. Ault, fired by Bethle-This statement said Southern hem Steel, and Evelyn Darin, shocking to imagine."

teach them the "virtue" of see- management harmony is David strong leadership in unions. A ing management's point of view McDonald's formula of "mutual number of recent reports to the in disputes over working conditrusteeship." Federal Mediation & Concilia-

Despite the lessons of recent tion Service from regional of-

experience the labor heads still fices have noted this. One comcling to the illusion that it is mented that union officers are possible to restore the "labor-management harmony" of yes-issues in dispute because of terycar. This is giving rise to rank and file pressures. Another membership expressions of dis- said this has a 'disrupting incontent and moods of opposition. fiuence at bargaining tables.' The Dec. 26 issue of Business What this indicates is that Week reports that: the select negotiators are no "Despite the apparent solidar- longer given a free hand. So

ity in the ranks of the United long as the negotiators registered Steelworkers and other major gains at the bargaining table unions, there's a lessening of (Continued on Page 4)

### Landrum-Griffin Invoked In Lithographers' Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17 - | Unionists may also be forced moods and movements found In a decision that will affect all to work on jobs sent in from little soil for nourishment and growth. But times have changed, unions, a federal court here has struck shops under the judge's applied the Landrum-Griffin law ruling that the union's tradition-Faced with mounting competition abroad, with the prospect against the striking Amalga- al "struck work" clause is ilof a declining rate of profit at mated Lithographers Union. legal. He also brushed aside the home, and with a shrinking Federal Judge William T. Swei- union's argument that the Lanworld market and the threat gert decreed Jan. 13 that certain drum-Griffin law is unconstituof unbridled inflation, the Amerwork rules, traditional in the tional because it exempts the ican capitalist class is deter-

legal. Chief among these is the rule ard of living of the working that work bearing the union Union attorneys argued this is

label must be produced in its discriminatory against other laentirety by union workers. This bor bodies. Declaring he would retain

industry for years, are now il- building trades and the garment industry from the "trade shop" and "struck work" provisions.

#### Page Two

# The Record of John L. Lewis *Revolutionary Politics and the Intellectuals* According to "The Worker" By M. L. Stafford -

Since Khrushchev dealt the Stalin cult its death blow at the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist party, the American Communist party press has displayed commendable reserve in praising the late dictator. Its treatment of important historical material has altered little, however; it still seems to be playing the sedulous ape to the most brazen fabricator, slanderer and frame-up artist the world has known.

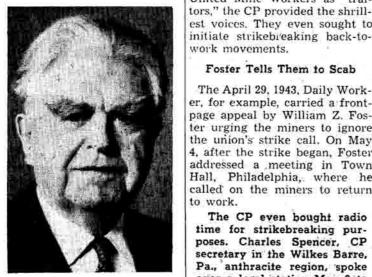
This may sound like an exaggeration. Yet it can be proved without much difficulty. As an example, let's take the Dec. 27 issue of the Worker which considers the career of John L Lewis. What the Worker says can be checked from the record in this country; we don't have to know the intricacies of Russian history and politics, or probe for the internal contradictions in charges levelled in a Moscow purge trial to discover the truth.

The Worker's labor editor George Morris, praises Lewis for his role in forming the CIO in the thirties and for accepting the aid of Communist party members in the organizing drives. Lewis, of course, won his place in history for his leadership of the movement that formed the CIO. And his permitting socialists and communists and other radicals to speachead the organizing drives was to his last night was a masterful inin the success of the CIO. Now ministration . . . watch the history that emerges

from Morris' typewriter: "But on the eve of U.S. entry into the war, Lewis made another of his 180 degree turns. He turned against the Roosevelt administration and its anti-fascist 17, 1941, William Z. Foster position, and aligned himself with the 'America First' group Roosevelt's use of federal troops among whom were former Pres- to break the North American ident Hoover and others who Aviation strike 'was a taste of wanted a negotiated peace with the Hitleristic terrorism that Hitler and support of his in- Wall Street capitalists have in vasion of the USSR. In the mind for the working class .... course of the war, Lewis became Roosevelt's use of troops at to be interconnected. First of all, a darling of the very reactionary Inglewood was . . . a considered the United Mine Workers Union forces who red-baited him during the CIO rise."

After the war, however, Morris continues, "Lewis' ties with big business became strained again. He came up against tough bargaining and vicious attacks ... A succession of strikes, some stretching for months, followed. Important gains were made - the most important in the union's history '

We could include more, but to



#### JOHN L. LEWIS

At the time, the CP was still Not Coming!"

Union leaders sympathetic to CP policies, showered congratulations on Lewis for his break with Roosevelt. Harry Bridges, head of the West Coast Longshoremen's union, sent an enthusiastic telegram, hailing Lewis for showing the "courage of a lion."

As its own contribution in carrying out the Stalin-Hitler pact, the CP directed heavy fire against Roosevelt. Thus, on June phase of a developing anti-labor is not exactly a model of demopolicy.

The Sunday Worker of June 22, 1941, featured a statement by party leader Earl Browder which declared: "The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to the reactionaries. The new Roosevelt course is essentially for America the same direction which Hitler gave for Germany in 1933."

June 22, 1941, the day on correct the omissions, distortions which this indictment of Rooseand outright fabrications in velt appeared, was of course the these few sentences will take same day that Hitler invaded about all the space available to the Soviet Union. On June 23

# They Indict?

By Alasdair MacIntyre United Mine Workers as "trai-Disillusionment with revolutors," the CP provided the shrilltionary politics has been a theme est voices. They even sought to

work movements. autobiographical accounts of dis-Foster Tells Them to Scab enchantment with Marxism have multiplied until we have all The April 29, 1943, Daily Workcome to believe that the history er, for example, carried a frontof British intellectuals between page appeal by William Z. Fos-1929 and 1956 was a kind of

ter urging the miners to ignore the union's strike call. On May 4, after the strike began, Foster addressed a meeting in Town Hall, Philadelphia, where he called on the miners to return to work.

The CP even bought radio time for strikebreaking purposes. Charles Spencer, CP secretary in the Wilkes Barre, Pa., anthracite region, spoke over a local station May 2 to tell the miners "not to follow Lewis in a treasonable strike."

Unlike George Morris, Harry proclaiming "The Yanks Are Bridges apparently realizes that to falsify history can be perilous

and that sometimes the less said about embarrassing events the better. In a tribute to Lewis in the Dec. 18 issue of the Dispatcher, newspaper of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, Bridges comments tersely that "We in the ILWU had our disagree-Arthur Osman of New York ments with Lewis, primarily

District 65 sent a similar tele- around the isolationism he demgram: "Your radio speech of onstrated during World War II." After seeing the record credit, for it was a key element dictment of the Roosevelt ad- straightened out, someone might ask, "Is Lewis, then, beyond criticism from the socialist point

#### "Same Direction" as Hitler

of view?" The answer to that is no. But historians still writing in the tradition of Stalin's frame-up system are incapable of making such a criticism. There are powwrote in the Daily Worker that erful reasons for this besides the need they feel to cover up their own record.

#### Lewis' Real Faults

find themselves driven out in

Lewis is open to criticism on cause for anxiety. two great counts which happen cracy. As a matter of fact, "communists" are proscribed - as is sioned. the case with many other unions in America to their shame. Workers who seek to exercise their democratic rights as loval union members are likely to

short order, if nothing worse happens. Leaders of the American Communist party would indeed look ridiculous criticizing Lewis about his ironhanded rule after their years of practicing the cult of Stalthe anti-Roosevelt line disapin and now the cult of Khrushchev, one of the hand-picked peared from the Worker and the heirs of the Kremlin dictator. CP became his most fervent and Secondly, Lewis never broke most uncritical supporter. The placards declaring "The Yanks from the two-party system. On It's quite true that somebody Are Not Coming!" were thrown discovering Roosevelt's real andid make such a turn. But it into the incinerator and union tilabor policies, he refused to was not Lewis and it was not leaders under CP influence take the road of independent on the eve of the war; it was the outdid all other sections of the political action. Instead he flopWhom Should ing about which class owned the means of production: in the fit means of production; in the fifties what mattered to them was which class put the tea in before the milk and vice versa. So the myth runs.

Like all good mythology this piece of folklore contains a large element of truth. But it contains among British intellectuals ever some error and distortion, too, since Wordsworth. Since 1917 and it is important to realize this. Fortunately a number of studies of the history of the British Communist party have recently been published which make it possible to sift out the truth and the error. rake's political progress; gener-One of the most interesting is

ous young minds moved by pre-Dr. Neal Wood's new work on war unemployment and fascism 'Communism and British Intelwere drawn into the nefarious lectuals." (Gollancz, 21s.) From revolutionary clutches of the this one can draw some striking Communist party and imprisonconclusions about the role of the ed there until some particularly Communist party in British repulsive deed of bolshevism political life. The most importprought them back into the clear ant of these conclusions is that for the last thirty years the

In the thirties British intellec- Communist party has been an uals were concerned with argu- essentially conservative force.

### **Ritualized Pseudo Conflicts**

ight of liberalism.

avoided.

ary life.

Anthropologists have famili- fenders of Western civilization arized us with the idea that for whom the Communist party what looks like conflicts in a so- has been the chief target, not to ciety may not really be so. mention all the memoir writers Where there are possibilities of who cherish a secret nostalgia disruptive struggle, the risk of for what they like to think of as destroying the established order their red revolutionary days. So may be avoided by providing the tale must be carefully told. outlets in the form of ritualized And the first thing to be said is pseudo conflicts. The motions of that it was not always so. conflict are gone through and The founders of the British

by doing this the tensions are Communist party were authen: relieved and the real conflict is tic Marxists and revolutionaries. almost all of them industrial workers, held back by the sec-

This happens in some African tarian traditions of the small tribal societies and it has somesocialist groupings from which times been thought to be the function of British parliamentthey came, but immensely serious in going about their political But the imitation of conflict tasks.

It was their misfortune to be can be effective only if the imitation is plausible and if it se- overwhelmed by two catastrophes, the rise of Stalinism in cures the belief of the actors who have to carry it through. the Soviet Union and the events fails to satisfy this criterion. Yet, the British working class in the Stalinists. General Strike. if the larger political parties

Among the stages in the Stalhave ceased to head off and tame down the young disruptive | inization of the British party, two stand out. There is the fatal radicals, they have hardly had break with objective truth in

the acceptance of the Stalinist The Communist party has slanders about Trotsky; and done the job for them. Radical there is the fatal break with militancy has swept into the democratic control of the party party and by it been diverted, which ended with the Moscowdissipated, and finally disilluparty in 1929. This placed Harry

This contention will be so new Pollitt and Palme Dutt in powto most people that it will iner. And it transformed the evitably meet with strong re- party's Marxism into a prefabsistance; not just from present ricated strait jacket. Into this supporters of the Communist party came the intellectuals of party, but from all those de- the thirties.

#### University Reds of the Thirties

Dr. Wood's study describes theory by intellectuals; policy the social climate from which and theory were handed down most of the Communist intellec- to them.

## Talk Given over BBC

It will also give our radio

and TV fans an idea of the

quality of the programming

available to the public on the

The author, Alasdair Mac-

Intyre, is a lecturer in phil-

osophy at Leeds University.

He was a delegate at the Na-

tional Assembly of Labor held

in London November 15. (Re-

ported in the Militant Decem-

ber 7, 1959.) - Editor.

air waves in Britain.

We are republishing this article from the January 7 issue of the Listener, a British publication. It was originally presented as a talk over BBC under the title, "Communism and British Intellectuals."

Our readers will be interested, we think, in the subject, which happens to be one of the topics under intense discussion among radical circles in both Britain and the United States the past few years.

edge of which enables men to In this Stalinism coincided control their own destiny. So far with an entirely different veras social life is concerned, the sion of the same doctrine which manipulation of society is pos- flourished in Britain. This was sible to those who possess the the doctrine that the rational society would be run by sciensecret of these laws.

As Marx saw it, this doctrine tists. All that we needed was implies the sharpest of divisions the discovery by scientists of in society between those who the laws governing social deknow and those who do not, the velopment; and then these scimanipulators and the manipu- entists should be given power lated. Classical Marxism stands so that they might apply their in stark contrast to this: it discoveries. H. G. Wells, Sin does not consider the possibility wants to transform the vast Richard Gregory, Sir Julian that the intellectuals were cormass of mankind from victims Huxley and countless others all rupted because of the party's and puppets into agents who are expressed themselves in this desertion and distortion of masters of their own lives. sense.

But Stalinism treated Marxist Sir Julian could speak in 1937 theory as the discovery of the of the need for "some sort of objective and unchangeable scientific control of society." H. directions. Both need to be exlaws of history, and glorified the C. Wells had argued as early as amined. Historians who take the party bureaucrats as the men 1966 for the management of so- first alternative for granted are who possessed the knowledge them to manipulate the rest of tists whom he named "the ish intellectuals to Marxism as Samurai." mankind

### Bridge Between Liberals and Stalinists

The cultural ancestry of this journey in the opposite direcview was, in Britain at least, tion. The British Communist entirely non-Marxist, but its party was therefore able to live propagation in scientific and in a climate which allowed its other circles provided just what intellectuals both to act as was needed to bridge the ideo-The life of parliament obviously that culminated in the defeat of logical gap between liberals and reaucrats and to share the es-

Russia's achievements were colleagues. presented as primarily those of scientific control and manipulation rather than of revolutionary participation. The rise of the bureaucracy in the USSR, from the standpoint of Marxist critics such as the Trotskyists, represented what had dictated reorganization of the gone chiefly wrong in Russia; this was not represented as the dominance of a Wellsian elite, although H. G. Wells himself tuals and the liberation of the clusion. In fact, the board is exwas never taken in.

Wells had tried and failed to transform the Fabian Society into a school for his Samurai. to what Stalinism was. What the conversion of those in power so that the masses might be raionally and benevalently con.

revolutionary impulses and beliefs.

That is, there is not only the much publicized exodus to the right; there is the as important - or more important - exodus to the left.

Most of those who left the Communist party over the Soviet aggression in Hungary left in this direction. They did so after a series of internal party revolts, the publishing of an internal opposition paper and an appeal to moral principle which one member of the party's executive described as "an immodest parading of conscience."

Almost all of them remain on the left in British politics; many of those who remained Marxists joined with their predecessors the British Trotskyists in founding a new Marxist revolutionary organization, the Socialist Labor League.

-Dr. Wood's book is limited because he does not consider this alternative with sufficient seriousness. He considers the possibility of the intellectuals being corrupted because of inherent defects in Marxism; he Marxism.

Intellectuals who have left the party have testified in both ciety by a small elite of scien- apt to see the relations of Brit-

But, if I am right in my argument, then to indict the British Communist intellectuals of the thirties is to indict the Marxism of Stalin, not the Marxism of Marx. Any encounter between British intellectuals as a group and authentic Marxism is a matter not of the past but of the future.

## ...Lithograph

(Continued from Page 1) embodied these clauses.

The union, which is prepared to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court if necessary, is also scheduled for a hearing before abolition of the proletariat, the the NLRB next week. Since the board itself sought and won the present injunction, the outcome of the hearing is a foregone conpected to declare additional contract clauses in violation of the antilabor law.

While union leaders are trying to figure out how to live with this extremely restrictive legislation, the strike is continuing into its seventh week. Although they realize the government has dealt them a serious setback, union members are still confident they can win wage in-

tuals inside the party. This is

mattered to the Fabians was tionary consciousness.

To do this the intellectuals must be prepared to accept the discipline of such a party creases and find ways to protect and to learn from the workers their jobs despite the courts and who will form the vast ma-Congress. jority of its members; but Prior to the court case, the they must make their own membership turned down an specifically intellectual contriagreement hastily reached by bution or they might as well the international officers. The not be there. An intellectual members felt the wage gains work cannot be chained down were too meager. Now they have by non-intellectual consideraset up a rank-and-file strike tions. committee and insist that it have Trotsky was not unfaithful to a voice in the negotiations. Lenin's views when he wrote

office boys for the Soviet busential outlook of their liberal I have already mentioned the uncreative role of the intellec-

of course entirely different from what Marx had intended. "Philosophy," wrote Marx in 1844, "cannot be realized without the proletariat cannot abolish itself without realizing philosophy." The liberation of the intellecworkers had to go hand in hand.

Lenin saw the intellectual as having an absolutely essential role in a Marxist party; without But Fabianism was a theory of Marxist intellectuals a workers' social manipulation similar to party can never attain more that which Wells advocated and than a trade-union consciousness, can never pass to a revolu-

#### Who Switched When?

us.

Let's begin with the 180-degree turn on the eve of the war. Communist party and it was labor bureaucracy in waving ped over to the Republican after World War II began. the red, white and blue.

From 1936 until August 1939, of "collective security."

precipitating the second world for democracy.'

war. The American Communist party leaders at once lost interest in "quarantining the aggressor" - as Roosevelt had named the preparations of American imperialism for war with Germany and Japan.

Instead the party leaders vowed that "The Yanks Are Not Business Week, have "the best party, antilabor political mon-Coming!" That is, they opposed no strike record," are "the most cooly we now suffer from. American troops going to the aid of the French and British vigorous advocates of laborimperialists in the war they had management cooperation," and declared on the German imperialists. Roosevelt, they said, was which support the President's jury to the American labor a warmonger seeking to take call for a national service act." movement as a whole. And it America down the road to fas- This act called for a form of did the mine workers no good. cism. (Does that sound incredlabor conscription.

What was Lewis doing during ible, the way the CP now practices the cult of "FDR"? Wait a this period? According to George moment and we'll cite docu-Morris, "Lewis became a darling mentary proof.)

About a year later, Lewis also who red-baited him during the izing problems as automation. broke with Roosevelt. This did CIO rise."

not come suddenly on the eve of the war, as Morris asserts. CP-influenced union leaders chines have displaced miners by to the making of policy and trials on the other. The first crack appeared right who became the darlings of such the hundreds of thousands, and after the 1937 Memorial Day reactionaries as the editors of thrown uncounted numbers of Business Week. Lewis, in con- them onto the scrap heap. massacre of Republic Steel strikers by the Chicago police. Roose- trast, refused to go along with velt reacted to this cold-blooded Roosevelt's phony "equality of assault on unarmed workers in sacrifice" program under which a dispute between capital and the government froze wages labor by saying, "A plague o' while prices and profits soared both your houses!" and big business undermined Lewis, who had poured \$500,union conditions.

The miners refused to be 000 of Mine Workers funds into the 1936 Democratic campaign, shackled. They fought a series scored Roosevelt bitterly for this of heroic strikes during the war Not Coming!" interlude, they this appeal to Marxism not lis-"fine impartiality." Relations beand defeated the employer-gov- have been turning socialisttween the two became increas- ernment gang-up against them. minded militants into door-bell bureaucratic control of the party ingly strained thereafter. Finally, on Oct. 25, 1940, miners won portal-to-portal pay, since 1936. Consequently they all critics, especially Trotskyist Lewis ruptured relations for and, by breaking through Roose- are scarcely likely to start their critics; and partly because the good, and, in a nationwide radio velt's wage-freeze formula, won campaign for Democratic "lesser British party was no longer broadcast, declared his support a major gain for the entire evils" in 1960 by asking Morris Marxist. A Marxist vocabulary doctrines dominant in Europe - not for a labor party, as union movement. many militants hoped, but for In the concerted campaign of in Roosevelt's days to start a was used to express was quite According to this doctrine there as far removed from a liberal Wendell Willkie, the Republican presidential nominee.

party. Lewis is all the more to be They also became the most the top brass of the Communist rabid advocates of the "no blamed for this failure, since party backed Roosevelt and his strike" pledge. Harry Bridges with his enormous prestige war preparations in the name even went so far as to pledge among American workers and "no strike" after the war. The with the power he held as head On Aug. 24, 1939, Stalin sign- Negro people were callously of the CIO, he could have opened the pact that freed Hitler to told that the fight for civil rights ed up a completely new chapter begin his conquest of Poland, stood in the way of the "war in American politics, bringing a labor party into the picture. Long before now such a party

"No Strike" Hero Medal

congressmen and senators into Business Week on March 18. office, not to speak of winning 1944, 'noted, that the unions "identified as Communist-dominated" had "moved to the ex- fact we might well be enjoying treme right-wing position in the

local, city and state offices. In

the benefits of a Workers and American labor movement." CP- Farmers government in Washinfluenced union leaders, said ington today instead of the two-The conservative, even reac-

could have put a majority of

tionary political outlook of John their unions "are the only unions L. Lewis dealt momentous in-

Miners Suffer, Too

Through a labor party, the mine workers could have found of the very reactionary forces a political solution to such agon-

Instead, under the policy main-We have just seen that it was tained by Lewis, automatic ma-

> Communist party leaders, however, are just as unable to criticize Lewis on this issue as on democracy. They have done perhaps even more than Lewis to keep the American workers trapped in the infamous twoparty system.

Leaving aside the "Yanks Are appealed to Marxism. Why was In these wartime strikes, the ringers for the Democratic party and the ceaseless blackening of

government, employers and cap-italist press that branded the labor party. In the third of the The

tuals of the thirties came. They What then did they contri-came, like their more conformist bute? Part of the answer is presfellows, from upper middle-class tige. "In the heart of bourgeois homes and public-school back- England," boasted Karl Radek grounds. They were almost all in 1934, "in Oxford, where the products of Oxford and Cam- sons of the bourgeoisie receive

bridge, especially Cambridge. their final polish, we observe Some of the best of them died the crystallization of a group in Spain: David Guest, a young which sees salvation only to-Cambridge mathematician who gether with the proletariat." spent a year at Gottingen in Later, during the Spanish war 1930 and saw what National So- Communist intellectuals formed cialism really was; John Corn- the link between middle-class ford, son of a poet and a classi- liberalism on the one hand and cal scholar, himself a poet and a the forces of the Comintern at historian; and the best of them the other. This was the age

all, Christopher Caudwell, not when fellow-traveling on a large upper middle-class, but a journ- scale was born, and itself begot alist, an engineer, and a gencountless journals and organizauinely original thinker. tions.

Caudwell stands out from the The usual picture of a fellowtraveler is of a milder, slightly British Communist intellectuals of the thirties as one for whom less committed supporter of the Marxist classics were an in-Communist party policies than centive to, not a substitute for, is the card-carrying member. thought. And the existence of What Dr. Wood suggests is that Caudwell's work illuminates by party members in the thirties contrast the passivity of most were merely slightly extremer other Communist intellectuals versions of fellow-travelers.

It is the fellow-traveling ethos "Passivity!" those who rethat predominates. Indeed, it had to be. Stalin had put revolumember the period will exclaim with horror. And they tion into cold storage. The wickwill recall the endless meetedness of the Trotskyists in ings, the Daily Worker selling, the posters and the circulars, the ceaseless round of activity. Spain for example, to carry But what they could not re- through a revolutionary pro-

call — despite much authentic gram. anti-Fascist heroism — is a Communists revealed them specifically intellectual contribu- selves as champions of bourtion. Nor could they find an in- geois democracy. Communist instance where the work of the tellectuals purveyed a curious intellectuals would have built blend of moderate reformist sopolicy or transformed theory. cialism on the one hand and dis-There could be no contribution honest apologies for the Moscow

### A Party No Longer Marxist

However, the charge that Feuerbach, Marx wrote: British Communists were only a kind of fellow-traveler has more to it than the abandoning of revolutionary politics. Trotskvist dissenters from the British party had already challenged the leadership on this point and

n the thirties.

bringing forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator must himtened to? Partly because of the self be educated. Hence this doctrine necessarily arrives at dividing society into two parts, of which one is superior to society . . .

to criticize Lewis for his failure was still employed, but what it since the eighteenth century.

In the third of the Theses on of nature and of history, knowl- And he was not a dangerous

trolled.

To see this kinship between Fabianism and Stalinism is to understand that the visits to the Soviet Union by the Webbs and their conversion to Stalinism are not eccentricities of aged liberals cunningly duped by the guile of the Stalin Constitution. They are an authentic expression of the ideology of the left intellectuals of the thirties.

If I am right, this ideology that "art, like science, not only exercised such dominion that does not seek orders but by its Communist intellectuals cut very essence cannot tolerate their Marxism to fit its cloth rather than vice versa. This is them.'

what I meant when I said they Compare with this Edward Thompson's description, from were really no more than an extreme type of fellow-traveler. experience: of the British Communist intellectual "in the toils producing a left-wing version of H. G. Wells and projecting of a bureaucracy which dethis on to the Soviet Union. mands everything from them,

The Webbs made the passage from stamp-licking to Daily from Fabianism to Stalinism; Worker selling, except honest Mr. John Strachey made the intellectual work ....

#### Three Types of Intellectual Career

This situation has led to three | revolutionary; the party protypes of intellectual career in vided the safety-valve of a the British Communist party. revolutionary vocabulary and Stalinist eyes was essentially There have been first of all little more.

that they still attempted, in those in whom idealism has been When one hears ex-Communists who have rejoined the transformed into straightforward timeserving. Consider for ranks of parliamentary democracy speak about their instance the career of such utparty days, one is reminded terly devoted party members as Palme Dutt or James Klugman. of John Bunyan's extremes of Klugman was an apologist of self-denunciation for such Fito's until the expulsion of things as playing tip-cat on Yugoslavia from the Cominthe village green on a Sunday. form; its chief denouncer in an Where the mythology really appalling book, "From Trotsky to Tito," where the old slanders third type of career - an enagainst Trotsky are allowed to tirely different type. In this father Moscow's new lies about career one leaves the party be-Tito; and finally an obedient cause one realizes that in joining member of the party hierarchy it one was stultifying all one's when Tito was restored to favor and Klugman's own book was

> Twists and turns like this do not merely spell the death of

the intellect. They spell the political immobilization of the intellectual in anything more than the shortest run.

The second type of career is what the mythology I referred to has taught us to regard as the standard one. This is the man who goes so far along the

Marx attacks here one of the road and then returns to liberalism. But if I am right his stay inside the party was not really are objective causal laws both position as he may now believe. Advertisement

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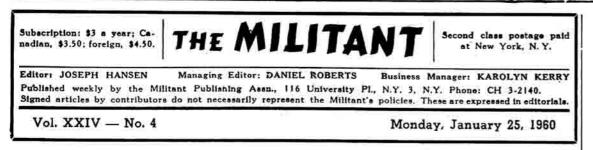


State

that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed up-

"The materialist doctrine

withdrawn.



## The **Opposition** in China

As we have reported in previous issues, the Chinese Communist party press has carried a running attack during the past five months on unnamed "rightistinclined opportunists." The CP press has described them as Communist party members - indeed, as persons of "definite revolutionary background and political status." The party membership of some appears to go back as far as the 1925-27 revolution.

The "rightists" are under fire because they criticized official party policy. They have been barred from expressing their view in the Chinese press, but their opponents, who monopolize the press, say that the critics argued against economic tempos pursued during the past two-and-a-half years, including the "great leap forward" - which aimed at overfulfilling China's five-year plan in two years - and the pace at which peasant communes were established

Such questions are crucial to the fate of the Chinese revolution. Too slow a rate of planned economic growth can foster rapid development of capitalist tendencies. A breakneck pace, on the other hand, can dislocate various branches of the national economy. Too rapid a tempo can also exhaust the energies of the producers, and too hurried a rate of farm collectivization can arouse the bitter resistance of the peasants. The result in any of these can be chaos.

Are the critics of the official policy genuine "rightists" — that is, do they want to slow the growth of state-owned industry so as to encourage capitalist tendencies? This is what they are being accused of.

But "rightist" is a stock Stalinist label pasted on all critics of official CP policy, including socialist critics of a breakneck economic tempo.

Furthermore, whether they are right or wrong in what they say, the critical voices apparently are voicing a number of grievances of the masses. This alone, we believe, makes it imperative that a genuinely democratic discussion of their point of view be conducted in the ranks of the Communist party and in the country as a whole.

Correct economic policy cannot be established by bureaucratic edict. It must be based on the determination of what Leon Trotsky, in the debates inside the Russian Communist party, called the "optimum" rate of growth. This rate can be fixed only through the broadest participation of the masses. For after all, they alone can accurately ascertain the kind of work norms that allow for the swiftest pace of economic growth consistent with their health and safety.

The optimum tempo must also safeguard the living conditions of the masses and allow for improvements. This again requires the democratic participation of the masses in determining the ratios between the different parts of the plan.

Without participation of the masses, on the other hand, economic tempos and plans readily lose touch with reality and head the country into crisis.

The critical opinions, we believe, should be published without delay. A democratic discussion of the differences place Jan. 11 and 12. The "bat- son's leadership by delivering would immeasurably strengthen China in its progress toward socialism.

### **Still Far From Communism**

of life.

In his speech to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Jan. 14, Khrushchev declared, "The year 1959 just ended will go down in history as the opening year of full-scale construction of a Communist society in our country."

By way of celebration, the premier announced a reduction in the Soviet armed forces of 1,200,000 men. He explained that this partial disarmament by no means signified any weakening of the defenses of the Soviet Union. "We are several years ahead of other countries in the development and assembly line production of intercontinental ballistic missiles of various types." The Soviet Union possesses sufficient atomic and hydrogen bombs and the necessary rockets so that in face of aggression "we would be able literally to wipe the country or countries which attack us off the face of the earth." Besides this a secret new weapon "in the hatching stage is even more perfect and even more formidable." The military defenses are obviously incomparably stronger in relation to imperialism than in 1939 when Stalin acted as a supply sergeant for Hitler. In other respects, too, the Soviet Union is much more powerful. Comparing the growth of industrial production in the USSR and the United States since 1953, Khrushchev declared:

relaxation of international tensions accompanying "peaceful coexistence" must dozen when the vote was taken. a number of the liberals having "not weaken the ideological struggle." deserted to Senate boss Johnson Opponents of communism are "intensifyrom the sound of the first poping the propaganda for the capitalist way Eun Russel Baker, Washington correspondent of the New York Times chronicled Jan. 12

But Soviet propaganda has become "divorced from life." Party propaganda has a "narrow sphere of influence" and "does not embrace the masses." The main reason for this is that party units themselves display but half-hearted interest. Top officials take no part in propaganda fighting for." efforts. Social scientists are "dogmatic" in their assertions. Communism is presented

gress.

abstractly and taught by "mechanical of party policy plus the eager-ness of the party leadership to compromise with the Republi-



"But without a little birth control the expanding population just won't leave room for people like us."

# The Long Knives Were Drawn the Blades Were Rubber debate on bills as at present.

#### By George Lavan

the liberal Democrats in the day. Here is how N.Y. Times Southern leadership of the party embodied in Senate majority confounded those who thought leader Lyndon Johnson took he was unhappy with Mr. John-

tle," "onslaught," "night of the an unsolicited testimonial to the long knives," etc., predicted by excellence of the Texan. I think ed, 'is the ablest Democratic caucus."

#### Gentlemanly Affair

Reporters were barred from the Democratic Senators' Jan. 12 caucus meeting, but apparently the liberals had spent their "fighting spirit" in the public debate the previous day. Emerging victorious from the 21/2-hour caucus, Johnson announced to the press that the meeting had been harmonious and that "all had behaved like gentlemen." This was confirmed by Sen. Gore. tion of the Policy Committee voted down 51-12 and 51-11 re- so little heat in it.

sacre of the innocents. A hardy But the Democratic liberals band of liberal Democratic Senary, who altered one of my The long-heralded "revolt" of hadn't fired their last shot of the ators went into battle against Siamese cats. Majority leader Johnson Tues-Senate against the conservative, correspondent Russell reports it: day and emerged with almost nothing intact but principle. . . . like anything. I offered him a "At this point Mr. Gore further But although the battle was lost, the war goes on."

It would be less dramatic but I offered him a six-foot female leave me. They are more idealismore accurate to liken Johnson's nude - you could feel the blood tic than I am." And, after all, punishment of the liberals to a pulse through; the rosewood itslap on the backside rather than self cost me \$300. No. a massacre. They had been naughty boys but not really bad! abstract art.' And how much happier this world would be if "battles" and "wars" were fought with so little

bloodshed and anger. As for emerging with "principles intact," the sad fact is that neither Republicans nor Democrats, liberals nor conservatives in the Senate have any principles to keep intact.

In this case, the Democratic that the marshal was on the iberals were not engaging in a serious struggle against the sold. The sculptor took a taxi to Southern racists' and labor- the Legal Aid Society. They He forgave part of the bill and haters' control of Congress, but staging a show for their home ooned constituencies - particularly

was 5 to keep him alive. At 14

# The American Way of Life

#### Who Says We Don't Appreciate Art?

The New York Times, which commissioned a search not long ago of Outer Mongolia and then Antarctica for colorful news, has also been keeping an eye on Greenwich Village, a couple of subway

stops from the main office. As he ran away from the lower East odd as anything in this world, it Side and went to sea.

Later he became an artist. But appears, is an American who efuses to follow the herd. The it was hard times all the time. Fimes man found a good one last week at 100 St. Marks Place, just off the Bowery, A sculptor, Jacob Lipkin,

Nobody was interested. Nobody would take his sculptures. He wanted them in public institutions where they would be on exhibit. They wouldn't even

lives there with his wife Dorotake them free. thy, son Carl, 14, and daughter The sculptor, nevertheless, Laura, 17. Their home is "three plywood cubicles, hardly bigger refused to give in. "I am an than closets," in back of the enormous success," he told the Times reporter. "I am not basement studio. This was not what interested the Times driving a taxi or working in an office. I am swinging a malman, for living in quarters that let and chisel every day." foster togetherness is no noveltyin Manhattan. What brought

ture for them.

fair exchange.

Two days later, the Times had him to the studio was the to run a sequel. Strangers, reading the story, had poured \$8,300 trouble the sculptor had got in. into the studio.

"About a year ago," said Lip-"Hundreds of letters from half kin, "I bought six dolly wheels to move thousand-pound blocks the nation have been delivered here in the last two days," said of marble around. Well, I didn't exactly buy them. I never have Lipkin. Gifts ranged from \$1 anything to do with money if I to \$3,000. can help it. I promised to give "All day from early morning

until late at night, people have Eugene Gomes a piece of sculpcome here begging to be allowed to help with cash.'

"That's the way I get along. I nade my dentist a lovely rooster What did the lucky sculptor do? "I have sent back every in wood, and he made me a beautiful bridge in porcelain: donation," he said. "That is, I sent back every one until I "Another time, I carved a ran out of stamps; as soon as squirrel in stone for my veterin-I can buy more stamps, I'll re-

turn the rest."

This was a new one to the "But when Mr. Gomes came Times man. Didn't the sculptor owe it to his wife and children to pick his sculpture, he didn't to take the money?

ram's head in travertine, one of "No; they would lose all rethe most sensitive I ever did. No. spect for me. They might even the family is not on charity. Lipkin makes \$30 a week giving

"He wanted something ab- two art classes; his wife makes stract. He and his wife collect \$70 a week as a secretary. But the rain of money was an

Lipkin doesn't believe in inspiring thing, the sculptor abstract art. "Abstract art is added. "A little girl sent me the fad of tasteless taste-makthree \$1 bills with a note saying ers who hate humanity and she was sacrificing a piano lesnature. It will pass in time." son to help me. A workman in A man of principle, he wouldoveralls stopped in last night n't think of reducing good after work and tried to force upmarble to a mere abstraction. on me the few dollars he had in So Mr. Gomes got a judgment his pocket. He said he would for \$153.33 and Lipkin learned bring me more next payday.

"I had to walk away or I'd way to seize whatever could be have bust out crying."

Even the creditor softened up. managed to get the sale post- offered easy terms on the rest. "Life is funny," the sculptor

establishment of missile

"These facts make clear that

current U.S. 'peace' gestures are

purely designed to gain time in

which to increase its military

strength and to paralyze the

militant will of the peoples of

An editorial in the Dec. 15

issue of Peking Review added:

"There have recently appeared

the beginnings of a certain re-

laxation in the world situation.

But the ruling circles in the

United States do not really want

to see any easing of tension. On

the one hand they are singing

the world for peace ...

The Times man told about mused. "All my life I have been for labor and Negro voters in Lipkin. Now a lean, wiry man banging away to get into the Proposals for democratic elec- their districts. The whole affair of 51, he was the youngest of 16 Hall of Fame. One day I fail to was strictly a sham to "make the children. His mother had to put pay a bill, and fame sneaks in Steering Committees had been record." That is why there was him in an orphanage when he my back door."

-Paul Abbott

on the Senate floor, the annual

Senator Albert Gore (D-Tenn.)

led off by pointing out that lack

liberal newspapers and colum- that Lyndon Johnson,' he declarnists, turned out to be about as fierce as the bark of a society leader that has served this Senlady's lapdog and to have far ate in my lifetime.' Shortly less bite. Equally inglorious was thereafter everyone retired in the shrinkage of the liberal confusion to await tomorrow's

The gist of the document is that the Democratic forces to a mere

the first day of the "battle" as

follows: "After a brisk opening

uprising of the Democratic liberals bogged down today in confusion over what they were

"Gross industrial production increased 90% in the USSR and 11% in the United States.' Per capita production increased 71% in the USSR and 0.3% in the United States.

"Production of iron increased 57% in the USSR and 16% in the United States. Steel increased 57% in the USSR and dropped 16% in the United States. Coal increased 58% in the USSR and dropped 12% in the United States. Oil increased 145% in the USSR and 9% in the United States.

"Power generation increased 97% in the USSR and 56% in the United States."

Besides these impressive figures, testifying to the powers of planned economy, Khrushchev pointed to big gains in 1959 in production of consumer goods (10.3%) and in national income (8%). More than 13,000,000 factory workers and salaried staffs were put on reduced 71/2-hour and 6-hour days without a reduction in pay.

As a further concession, bound to win the applause of virtually the entire country, Khrushchev announced the dissolution of the MVD, the dread secret political police. He did not indicate, however, what agency or agencies would take over its powers.

With such achievements it would seem that the Soviet masses could settle down happily to enjoy the fruits of communism. Yet they seem discontented.

This conclusion is borne out by a 7,000-word decision issued by the Central Committee of the Communist party Jan. 10, only four days before Khrushchev's speech. This expresses the committee's deep concern over national morale and directs that corrective propagandistic measures be taken.

memorizing." The advantages of socialism and communism are described weakly. cans had resulted in a Demo-Current policies are taught without cratic "rout on economic issues" grounding them in Marxist theory. .

Among rampant evils that must be fought are political indifference, national- get of the "revolt," did not deign ism, contempt for labor and social duties, bureaucracy, graft and speculation, favor- begun he had let it be known seeking, drunkenness and hooliganism. that he would call a party caucus Party propaganda has not succeeded in whenever any senator requested coping with "shirkers and the remnants of one and that there would be a parasitic elements who want to sponge on caucus meeting the next day to reporters: "It is apparent some society without giving anything in return."

How are we to explain such dismal monarchy, Gore proposed the the present, to live under politipublic morale in the "opening year of fullscale construction of a Communist so- increased to 15 and selected by like Gore, emphasized that he ciety?" The 7,000-word document leaves us majority vote of the Democratic in the dark.

The obvious explanation is that the Soviet Union is nowhere near communism. It is still much closer to capitalism. In that it was the Steering Comfact its principal economic task, as so mittee (also Johnson appointed) much of Soviet propaganda testifies, is to which needed reform. Gore's catch up with capitalism. That the gap has reply was that the Policy Combeen narrowed, thanks to the planned economy, does not change the fact that the merely scheduling the order of come said: "It was like a masstandard of living in the Soviet Union is still considerably behind that of the highly developed capitalist countries.

The Soviet people, we must believe are well aware of this. They thus take with about run like this: (1) Isn't the cost of the used terminal entrance for their bureaucracy far too high for our economy? waiting plane. (2) If we could get the parasites off our backs, wouldn't the planned economy function more productively and couldn't Self-Government Associations) consumer goods be shared more equitably? which has played a prominent pitted against the non-Marxist (3) Wouldn't the introduction of Soviet role in the series of popular Japan Communist party, which democracy, which would make possible these long overdue economic reforms, also revitalize our entire morale, our culture, public. The agreement gives Jaand our world position in politics? (4) pan "equal partnership" in U.S. Wouldn't such a change speed the victory plans for eventual war against of socialism in the capitalist centers and China. thus bring immediate relief from the terrible strains we have endured for 43 years?

to win the political democracy that has be- lines last November to register come absolutely essential if they are to their views with the Japanese communism. force.

est negative vote cast in a leadership fight in a Senate caucus since 1933. in the previous session of Con-

spectively. This was the small-

Among liberals voting to confirm the Texas overseer's Senate boss Johnson, the targrip on the party were presidential aspirants John F. even to reply to the liberals' Kennedy and Stuart Symingspeeches. Before the debate had ton.

The only comment approaching bitterness came from Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), who told Senators are not ready for pohear the liberals' proposals. To break Johnson's absolute litical democracy and prefer, for nine-man Policy Committee be cal colonialism." But Douglas, was not trying to put any road-Senators rather than appoint- block in the way of Johnson's Khrushchev's statement that the campaign for the presidential Soviet Union would keep its ment by Johnson. Liberal Demonomination. Indeed. Johnson's crat Carroll (Col.) objected that easy triumph enhances his bid the Policy Committee didn't

make any policies anyway and for the Democratic nomination. The liberal press, which had States is relying on nuclear trumpeted beforehand the coming "battle" against Johnson's one-man rule, painted the defeat mittee should be changed so that in heroic terms. The New York

### ... Premier Kishi Put on Plane

The leaders of Zengakuren gift that Washington would ap-(Continued from Page 1) left at the garage and ordinary were expelled from the Japa- preciate far more than the new signia. the appropriate amount of salt the high- Japanese cars were used in mak- nese Communist party last Depowered self-advertising of the Kremlin. ing the ten-mile detour to the cember as "Trotskyists." Social-ist party tops have also de-The real questions which they are thinking party sneaked through a little- nounced them for their militancy and their opposition to U.S. imperialism.

In an interview published in around a box of nuclear bombs The demonstration was orthe Jan. 17 New York Times, ganized by Zengakuren, (National Federation of Student Takeo Hayama, a Zengakuren leader, said, "We cannot but be demonstrations that have been has no aspiration at all for revo-

held in Japan since the terms of lution." He also declared that Soviet the "security" pact were made Premier Khrushchev opposes ed millions that America's capi-"class struggle" and that "he is suppressing rising class struggles in Asia and Africa in the The extent of Japanese opponame of peaceful coexistence." sition to the pact, which will The Revolutionary Communist further revive Japanese mili-League, a Japanese Trotskyist in character.

tarism, was graphically shown With such questions on their minds, the when 200,000 workers and stu- group, reported Dec. 21 that Soviet people hardly hear the exhortations dents, led by Zengakuren, bat- while the Zengakuren leaders of Stalin's heirs. They are thinking of how tled their way through police have accepted their collaboration, they do not consider themselves Trotskyists, "but remain move forward to the real construction of injured when cops began to use neutral between the Stalinists and us."

### In Other Lands

# USSR to Slash Size of Army

When Soviet Premier Khrush-USSR plans to reduce its standing army by one-third in the men in this country sought to sold. prove that the reduction did not represent a serious step toward

disarmament. They pointed to

nuclear potential intact. This means, they argued, that the Soviet Union, like the United weapons rather than on foot soldiers.

However, U.S. commentators concede that millions throughout the world will credit the Soviet Union with carrying out a step toward disarmament. For instance, Marguerite Higgins

writes in the Jan. 18 New York Herald Tribune that ". . . the shots at the counter-revolution-

year's present of caviar Khrush

#### chev sent to President Eisen-**Peking Continues** hower, last week is a little of that psychological know-how To Expose U.S.

that permits the Russians to put dove-coated wrapping paper War Perspective

and present it to the world in The Chinese Communist party such a way that millions leaders continue to depict U.S cheer . . . foreign policy as warlike, Washington lacks "psychologwhereas the Soviet leaders say

ical know-how" for a good reathat President Eisenhower and son. During fourteen years of other U.S. big business policy the cold war, the actions of the makers really want peace.

U.S. government have convinc-The Chinese leaders believe that while the U.S. government talist economy breeds war has been compelled to make whereas the Soviet Union, with gestures to placate world sentiits planned economy, does not ment for peace, it is continuing seek war. Soviet military outits international military buildlays are therefore looked upon by millions as purely defensive China. The American govern-

#### Chinese Govt. Buys Sugar from Cuba

Cuba and the People's Repub- language publication, charged the world's / largest man-made lic of China signed their first Dec. 8 that "where it lacks the lake, and transform land now commercial agreement Dec. 31. power to push forward its policy 95% arid, besides providing elec-It calls for the delivery of 50,- of aggression and war, the U.S. tric power.

say the Chinese.

No Reduction Now 000 tons of raw Cuban sugar to aggressive clique is concentrat-China during January and Feb- ing its efforts on speeding up the production of missiles and ruary.

bases ...

In Nuclear Arms

The Havana newspaper Revolucion reports that Cuba has sold hev announced Jan. 14 that the 700,000 tons of sugar on the world market. This is about 30% next year or two, official spokes-at this time only 15% had been of its projected total. Last year

**Plane Sets Fire** 

**To Cuban Fields** A low-flying plane, which Cuban authorities said came in from the United States, dropped incendiary mechanisms in sugar cane fields near Bainoa, Caraballo and San Antonio, an area about 25 miles from Havana.

a song of peace, but on the Some 500 men, women and other hand, the loud, jarring children, according to Revolu-'cold war' notes are louder than cion, fought for hours to beat ever." And again, "All of Washout the flames. ington's peace talk is a calcul-

ated fake.' Witnesses who fired pistol A Dec. 28 Hsinhua News ary plane said it bore U.S. in-Agency release declared that Western acceptance of the So-

viet summit proposal "was of course a positive move," but said that the U.S. is being dragged to the parley.

**USSR** to Finance

#### Second Stage **Of Aswan Dam**

The United Arab Republic announced Jan. 18 that the Soviet Union will lend it the funds and provide necessary technical personnel to complete the second stage of the giant Aswan Dam on the Nile river. An unspecified amount of money will be loaned at an interest rate of 21/2% with

up against the Soviet Union and payments spread over a 12-year period. ment participates in negotia-The Soviet Union also financed tions for liquidating the cold the first stage of the dam. On war as a "trick to gain time," completion it will give the area a reservoir of more than 170

Peking Review, an English- billion cubic yards of Nile water,

# Letters from Our Readers

### We Changed Them **Every Election But Couldn't Win**

Editor: I have been a member of the unions interested in developing Painters Brotherhood since 1900. a labor-party program so that a I have seen and participated in united effort could be made

many political maneuvers aimed through correspondence. at bettering labor's lot. I earned In 1947, Meany indicated that \$2.50 a day for nine hours in Chi- the AFL alone could mobilize cago in 1906 and was compara- thirty-six million votes by memtively better off than I am today bers of unions, their families and at \$30 a day. There was another friends. So with support from advantage. You didn't need both the CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, hands to drive home from a Miners and other independents, dance. The horse knew the way. a labor party could become the

Republican and Democratic largest political party in a very "friends of labor" made us promshort time. Union members could ises but somehow nothing hap- occupy a majority of political pened to help us through their offices in the U.S. They would terms of office, and at every be elected on a pledge to carry election we had to elect new out the program adopted by or-"friends." ganized labor.

Things haven't changed much in this respect since then. In recent years, the workers tried in vain to get some of the "friends" they elected to change the Taft- Bipartisan Robbery Hartley law. Last year, though, the "friends" did change the law Editor: - they made it worse. Now most workers say in disgust: "By God, national chairman, reports that want to help establish a work-

Since the 1947 AFL convention in San Francisco and even be- nedy promise Big Steel via his fore that date, the labor brass McDonald-reported talks with

has defeated resolutions calling | Wall Street banker pals - for for a labor party. John, of course.

No doubt you are about to The Militant could help recomment on this, though. Surely comment on this, though. Surely it's a confirmation of the obvious **Requests Grow** verse this trend by (1) printing the text of any resolution for a bi-partisan setup to perpetuate labor party passed by a union legalized robbery of taxpayers, For President body; (2) listing people and

those sharing in the loot). Vote? What's the use? J. K.

sen.

radical group.

Pennsylvania

#### Offers to Help Build A Workers' Party Editor:

quests" that he grant Sobell a Enclosed please find \$1.25 for commutation of sentence. Sobell which please send me your has served nearly ten years of newspaper and a copy of the a thirty-year sentence for "espamphlet about the Socialist pionage." Workers party by Joseph Han-The committee urged Eisenhower to "please listen to the Recently I had begun to be uncertain of my true feelings

voice of educators, clergymen, writers, and editors representwith regard to a socialist labor ing the American people," who or workers party and had lost have asked for executive clema lot of enthusiasm plus being ency. The report, dated Dec. 28, afraid to identify myself with a was made public today.

VOLUME XXIV

To Free Sobell

JAN. 24 - The Committee to

Secure Justice for Morton So-

bell has submitted a report to

President Eisenhower informing

him of "the growing public re-

The McCarthyite witch-hunt Tonight's news of the steel atmosphere in which Sobell was strike settlement and the outtried together with Ethel and rageous political connotations Julius Rosenberg has changed Mr. Butler, the Democratic thereof have shaken me badly. I the committee said. "Today scientists and publications are commenting on the manner in which our country went overboard in its fears about espionage and its appraisal of the re- As soon as the witch-hunters lationship between espionage

and world affairs." In the report, the committee cited an editorial, entitled "Who's Giving Away Secrets Now," which appeared in the

Nov. 14, 1959. "MOST SCIENTISTS AGREE the free expression of political tion in requiring disclosures of that had there never been a ideas the House committee lack-Klaus Fuchs, a Julius Rosenberg ed the power to investigate. or Morton Sobell, or a single

the ranks were inclined to re-

change for concessions of dubi-

ous value, the ranks are begin-

ning to intervene in the determ-

ination of their living and work

ing conditions. It is a healthy

case of scientific treason on this

own."

Appeal to High Court



Frank Wilkinson (left) and Carl Braden are appealing "contempt-of-Congress" convictions to the Supreme Court.

## Wilkinson and Braden

(the operation of the legislative (Continued from Page 1) there to rally public opposition. branch."

The court also contended that learned of his presence they subthe First Amendment guaranty of the right to petition the gov-" ernment for redress of griev-Both Braden and Wilkinson ances (as in the demand for refused to answer the commitabolishing the House Un-Ameritee's questions on the grounds can Activities Committee) does St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, on that since the First Amendment not prohibit Congress "from exprohibits Congress from curbing ercising measures of self-protec-

lobbying activity.' In ruling against Wilkinson, side of the Iron Curtain, by this the Appeals Court stated further time it wouldn't have made a that: "The Committee had been

poenaed him.

ance of power between ourselves a hard-core Communist, and he had not authorized the House two major parties. the field of missiles and space the Committee and its investiga-

#### **Union Ranks** Resist (Continued from Page 1)

there.'

Undoubtedly the object of this cosy little gathering was to devise ways and means of shoring up the badly mangled "mu-

from the way the audience of on the 'feather'bedding at the expense of the steel

disown their union, New York

Times correspondent Joseph A.

vation: "Union members some-

NEW YORK

sixth anniversary of Lenin's

death. Question and discussion

period. Chairman, Daniel Free-

man, chairman, Young Socialist

Murry Weiss, editor of Inter-

# Labor's Political Role Debated at **Cleveland Forum**

CLEVELAND, Jan. 18 - "American labor's survival as an effective voice and force is what is at stake in the 1960 political arena," declared Sam Pollock, president of

cal 427, AFL-CIO, in a panel dis- | he, as a labor leader, could "racussion here last night on "The tionalize" his support of Humphrey who voted for the Landrum-

Griffin Act. Seemingly nettled, "If one were to describe la-Riger replied that he didn't have bor's real position since 1947," he to rationalize it, that the criteria continued, "It would be as one of the AFL-CIO for judging Congressmen was not how they stood on the vote that passed the bill but on the earlier vote, beto a lesser extent, in other refore the measure went to the gions; the legislative defeats joint congressional committee particularly Taft-Hartley and for final drafting. he Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Pollock commented: "This

of 'friends' who are indistinguishable from enemies. Even the victories of labor - defeat of 'right-to-work' laws in a number of states and the victory in the steel strike - are more accurately described as 'defensive' victories.'

Loeb, managing editor of the The ACLU also hit at the Cleveland Call & Post and a

nation peaceful and prosperous."

the area have continued to send He predicted, however, that money and food to the embattled politics will take precedence strikers. Aid has also begun to over legislation" this election arrive from other unions. United ear and that it would be "over- Auto Workers secretary-treasury optimistic to look for more er Emil Mazey addressed a strike han ineffective compromises" in rally in Albert Lea last week and presented the UPWA with a Congress.

The symposium was the first n a series of forums sponsored workers.

by the Social Action Committee of the Unitarian Society of tributed by the AFL-CIO In-Cleveland. The moderator was dustrial Union Department. Walt Davis, successful labor candidate for Cleveland Board of Education in last November's election.

running scabs into the plant, the company apparently feels it is in Keen interest in this type of a strong position and is sticking political discussion was evident tough.

The role of Minnesota Governor Freeman in the strik

#### something has to be done. What Mr. Nixon promised Big Steel it ers' party and I don't give a in heaven or hell can an in-dividual member do to help?" day, 1960. Your advice will be appreci-But what did Mr. Joseph Ken- ated. D. W.

New York

# I'm Switching to Beer

H. C. B.

Santa Cruz, Calif.

#### By Reba Aubrey

"Danger in Your Drinking Water," an article by Alvin B. Toffler, has me really worried.

I thought the gray foaminess of my kitchen tap water was air in the pipeline. When the water tasted a little "off-color," I thought too much chlorine or something had been added. Now I'm not sure.

According to Toffler whose article appears in the January 1960 Good Housekeeping magazine, you can't "take it for granted" that the water you're drinking is fit for human consumption. He says our water now contains "untreated sewage," "higher-than-natural levels of radioactivity," "detergents," "traces of insecticides, weed killers, fertilizers," "new industrial chemicals."

Toffler points out that it is well known by the experts that sewage carries the "seeds" of diarrhea, typhoid, hepatitis, the "mild cold." However, the experts can't prove that the "waves of vomiting, cramps, upset stomachs, which sometimes whip mysteriously across a community," are water-borne.

It's hard to believe that the water pouring from the kitchen tap contains all these "things." It looks more or less the same, tastes more or less the same. But Toffler has evidence that should make everyone wonder.

In Rensselaer, New York, for instance, the people were "ordered" to boil their drinking water. This order was based on findings of the Rensselaer County Board of Health that water drawn from the Hudson River just above Albany was "so polluted it is dangerous for human

consumption . . In Salt Lake City, Utah, experts warned

ing, originated in a creek into which six other communities were dumping raw sewage. Last March, the people in Eugene, Oregon, were warned "that sewage was contaminating

that their tap water, milky and swamp-smell-

the McKenzie River one-half mile above the Eugene water intake." In addition to the old problem of sewage that is dumped by enormous tonnage into the

water sources of "downstream neighbors," there is considerable other waste now being added to our water - "slaughterhouse remains, toxic industrial and mine wastes, garbage and cannery refuse, petrochemicals, coal-tar dyes, rotting animal carcasses" - even the "effluent from mortuaries and hospitals." I don't know what "effluent" is; but it doesn't sound like root-beer extract.

Along with population and industrial expansion, so much sewage and waste products are being dumped into our water sources that present water-treatment methods can no longer decontaminate the water fast enough.

In Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, for instance, frain. from intervening. How-"disease-bearing water" broke through the ever, now that "bargaining" beplant. An "explosive outbreak of poliomyelitis" gins to involve the surrender of resulted. A similar outbreak in Nebraska "was previously won gains in exprobably traceable to the same sources of infection." And "There is also sufficient . . . evidence that the [infectious hepatitis] epidemic that occurred in the small town on the Tidal River (Pennsylvania) was water-borne."

Toffler's facts and figures have me contendency which will probably vinced that there is "danger" in our drinking grow more pronounced in the water. But what can I do about it? When the period ahead. papers carried stories about a cancer-producing pellet going to market in the necks of chickens. I stopped eating chicken necks. When the govin the power struggle now takernment picked up tons of lettuce because it was ing place at the Cleveland conpoisoned with DDT, I switched to escarole. I vention of the Brotherhood of gave up cranberries for Thanksgiving when the Department of Health declared they were contaminated with aminotriazol. What can I do about water flavored with sewage?



THE MILITANT

is our great problem. To ac-

commodate our 'friends' in the

two parties, we have to rele-

gate certain votes out of ac-

count. But many people in the

labor movement refuse to

make this kind of fine distinc-

Pollock then urged that work

should begin for the creation of

labor's own party, declaring that

"it is a snare and delusion to

spread the idea that the two par-

ties which joined hands to chain

American labor can be trusted

extend prosperity to the pov-

erty-stricken or defend the

unions against legislative tyran-

....Wilson Strike

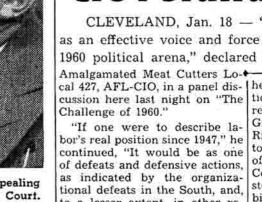
(Continued from Page 1)

check for \$25,000 from the auto

An additional \$25,000 was con-

With local and county cops

tion.'



Labor Control Act; the election

Pollock's views turned the panel discussion into a virtual debate. Taking issue with Pollock, panelist Morris Riger, re-The American Civil Liberties gional director of the AFL-CIO

Union, which is providing legal Textile Workers, said that labor counsel for Wilkinson, said last must understand that the nature week that the ruling "struck at of the American political system to maintain peace in the world, the citizen's right to petition the requires, in the first place, work shadow of difference in the bal- informed that the appellant was government" and that Congress in the primary elections of the

The third panelist, Charles

to be able to more than hold its tempting to weaken the govern- the "legislative processes and

conclusively that Russian sci- province of the Committee to as- by opposing the functions of the Congress seeking Negro repreence and technology doesn't certain whether Un-American House Un-American Activities sentation, said the "basic chalhave to get any secrets from us Communist influences were at- Committee, had interfered with lenge for 1960 is to keep our

and the Russians," says the was attempting as a Communist Committee to "investigate criti-Times. "Soviet performance in activity to develop opposition to cism of itself." exploration has demonstrated tions; hence it was within the court's argument that Wilkinson, former Republican candidate for

wing of the union may force be made about what happened

His group claims that the union tual trusteeship" policy after the president has spent too much mauling it received in the 116ime hobnobbing with railroad day steel strike, the longest in officials at their private clubs, the industry's history. It is a giving banquet lectures and foregone conclusion that whattouring foreign countries. He has ever commitments were made spent too little time, they claim, and understandings reached at fighting the railroads' publicity Nixon's little stag party will be

ment by impeding and crippling their functioning."

him into a more rigid bargaining position." The leader of the opposition, says the WSJ, "sums up his platform in one word - 'toughness.'

residents that their health was endangered "as hepatitis cases shot up three times higher than the previous year's level."

In New Jersey, the cities of Paterson, Passaic, Clifton, Nutley and Harrison had to switch to alternate water sources when Passaic River "pollution became so bad it killed thousands of fish."

In November 1958 residents of a Denver, Colorado, suburb complained about the "dirty, rotten water" they were drinking. It was found

Well, I'm switching to beer; but even so I'm not sure I'm not still drinking water.

## Notes in the News

ATOM 'DOOM CLOCK' MOVED BACK -The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, has moved back the hands of the "clock of doom" on its front cover from two minutes before midnight to seven minutes before midnight. The magazine has carried the clock since its first issue as a warning to mankind of the danger of atomic annihilation. It began - June 1947 with the hands pointing to eight minutes before midnight. The minute hand was advanced twice thereafter as the Soviet Union caught up in the atomic race. The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists gave the following reasons for moving the clock back five minutes: "the treaty for demilitarization of the Antarctic; the resounding success of the International Geophysical Year; plans for other cooperative scientific efforts; and the actual cessation of bomb tests."

CONGRESSIONAL WISDOM - Defending government rental of commercial storage facilities for surplus grain, Secretary of Agriculture Benson declared Jan. 15 that Congress "wisely gave the job to private enterprise." A Senate investigating committee three days earlier heard managers of three grain-elevator firms admit that their respective companies showed profits of 69%, 105% and 167% over costs for storing surplus grain. The total government storage bill comes to about \$1 billion a year.

FEDERAL STRIKEBREAKING AID-U.S. Attorney General Rogers and Immigration Commissioner Swing were attacked in federal court Dec. 28 for permitting a struck Texas packinghouse plant to use commuting Mexican aliens by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen (AFL-CIO) after Secretary of Labor Mitchell issued a finding that the use of the Mexican migrants at the Payton Packing Co. in El Paso adversely affected wages and working conditions of the striking U.S. workers. Immigration laws forbid the admission of aliens when such a finding is made.

COAL PRODUCTIVITY SOARS - Coalmine operators no longer consider their industry a sick one. They had a good year in 1959 and expect a better one in 1960. The prosperity of the operators is largely due to the fact that the actual labor cost of the average operator under contract to the United Mine Workers is less per ton than it was ten years ago. In the past decade, technological advances have approximately doubled the output rate per man. The men still left working in the mines enjoy what is said to be the highest wage scale in the world, an estimated \$3.27 per hour, plus fringe benefits. But there are now only 200,000 men working in the industry which once employed 600,000. In West Virginia and other mining areas, layoffs have brought untold suffering.

OLD SOLDIERS NEVER DIE - A House Armed Services subcommittee revealed Jan. 17 that 762 former military officers are employed by the country's 100 largest defense contractors who get some 80% of new weapons work. None of the brass held a rank lower than colonel in the Army or the Air Force or of captain in the Navy.

. . .

YOU CAN'T FIGHT CITY HALL - "When

I have a promise from a representative of the city of New York I expect it to be kept," angrily declared New York attorney Max Steinberg Jan. 15. Steinberg is counsel for Mrs. Minnie Smith, officer of a corporation which owns a slum building that had 150 violations filed against it. The lawyer said that Mrs. Smith and the lessee of the building, Hyman Applebaum, had pleaded guilty only because assistant-citycorporation-counsel John Halpin had promised a minimum penalty. But something went awry and the judge slapped a \$550 fine and a 60-day suspended sentence on Mr. Applebaum and fined Mrs. Smith \$125.

. . .

ECONOMY ON CAPITOL HILL - Last year the Senate voted \$100,000 to install de luxe tile floors in the new Senate Office Building. When it was discovered that the tile wasn't skid-proof the problem was solved by appropriating another \$150,000 for wall-to-wall carpeting. A new hazard was found in the carpeting. When people walk on it static electricity accumulates and touching a brass door knob brings a shock. So far no one has figured out a good expensive way to lick the problem. Meanwhile some of the offices are meeting the problem by encasing the knobs in transparent plastic wrappers.

Another manifestation of issue that is a key to the 1960 workers. worker discontent is expressed contract negotiations."

A Chummy Gathering Hobnobbing with the boss is the course of the steel strike, it

Railroad Trainmen. The Jan. 4 the essential feature of "mutual is that the "softness" of McDonissue of the Wall Street Journal trusteeship." The Wall Street ald was not an accurate reflecreports that an opposition move- Journal, Jan. 12, carries the tion of the temper of the ranks. ment has been organized around news of a chummy little dinner Just as railroad management the union's secretary-treasurer, party at the home of Vice-Presi- prefers the "soft" William Ken-William J. Weil, to oust the in- dent Nixon. "Among those innedy so the steel barons feel cumbent president William vited," says the WSJ, "were more secure with McDonald as Parker Kennedy from office. [Secretary of Labor] Mitchell, head of the union. In pointing Kennedy is an old mossback Roger Blough, U.S. Steel Corp. up the folly of forcing a "last whose ingrained conservatism chairman, and David J. McDon- offer" vote in the steel strike, has driven a large section of ald, president of the United which would be tantamount to Steelworkers Union - the chief asking the union members to the union into opposition.

antagonists in the steel dispute repudiate their leadership and that ended last week. "The guest list was confined to officials of the steel industry Loftus made this astute obserand the Steelworkers Union . . . The other guests at the small times repudiate their leaders, stag affair at Mr. Nixon's home but rarely in a way that gives were A. B. Homer, president of comfort to a common adver-Bethlehem Steel Corp.; T. F. sary."

Patton, president of Republic The days of the unchallenged Steel Corp.; R. Conrad Cooper, reign of the "soft" union bureauan executive vice president of crats are drawing to a close. U.S. Steel who headed the in- American labor has entered the dustry bargaining team; and Arperiod of sharpening class thur J. Goldberg, chief counsel struggle. To survive, a new type of the Steelworkers. Mr. Nixon's of leadership is required. The office said it was a private af-"common adversary" can find fair, that no press coverage was little comfort in the fact that allowed, and no statement would 'the process of change has begun.

**Calendar of Events** CLEVELAND - 1918 - 1928." Sunday, Jan. 31, Interested in socialism? Join a 11 a.m. weekly class in a study of Fred-"The Consolidation of the erick Engels' classic work, "So-Stalin Regime - 1929 - 1945." cialism from a Utopia to a Sci-Sunday, Feb. 7, 11 a.m. "The Soviet Union as a World ence." Next class Thurs., Jan. 28, Power - Its Present Position at 8 p.m., 10609 Superior Aveand Future - 1946 - 1960." Sunday, Feb. 14, 11 a.m. "A Socialist View of Recent Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth

Developments in the Labor St., Los Angeles 33. Telephone, Movement and Perspectives for AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. 1960." Speaker: Frank Lovell,

State Chairman, Michigan Socialist Workers Party. Auspices: Cleveland Militant Forum. Satnational Socialist Review, will urday, Jan. 30, 8 p.m., YMCA, discuss "The Leninist Concept of a Revolutionary Party -Myth and Reality" on the thirty-

LOS ANGELES School of International Sorialism presents its winter lecture series. Milton Alvin on "THE RUS- Alliance. Friday, Jan. 29, 8:30

SIAN REVOLUTION TODAY": p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 116 "How the Stalin Regime Was University Place (off Union Formed and Defeated Its Rivals | Square). Contribution, 50 cents.

more than 100 plied the speakers with questions. If there is any one lesson that impressed itself on the steel corporation executives during

confined to sending telegrams to Considerable debate developed | the company and the union urgover Riger's view that Senator ing them to submit the disputed Hubert Humphrey, a contender issues to arbitration. The union for the Democratic presidential readily accepted the governor's nomination, should be supported. proposal but the company turned One person asked Riger how it down.



BOSTON	nepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Hunting-	
	NEWARK
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