Interview with Ceylon **Trotskyist MP** See page 3

THE MILITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# Militant Fund At 50% Mark Depression, Anti-Union But Still Lags Offensive Trounce GOP

\$1,379 was received by the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund during the seven-day span ending Nov. 11. This puts our scoreboard at the half-way mark to the \$18,000 goal. But this still represents a+ lag in schedule of 14% or 121/2 were laid for a follow-up meet-

days. (See Scoreboard, page 2.) ing. Along with a payment from As advertisements in this

**Newark**, which since the be-ginning has occupied an on-or-**Angeles** has its Militant Anniahead of schedule place on our versary celebration Nov. 15. scoreboard, comes a note from Also being planned in L.A. is local fund director J. Skivar: a bazaar - date still to be an-"We had an election social last nounced. In New York, too, Saturday night . . . it was very there is a great bustle and successful. We had a few peo- lugging-in of things for a forthple more than usually and we coming, super-duper bargain made a few dollars. One dollar bazaar.

admission included fried chick-A gratifying number of conen, garlic bread, salad and coftributions from individual readfee. We plan to have a Militant ers has begun to come in from social in a few weeks. . . ." such diverse places as Balti-Supporters of the Militant in more, Bangor, Maine, and Ot-Newark not only know how to tawa, Canada (\$10 plus a note: "Good luck. I wish this could pay like clockwork, but from the menu submitted have learnbe more."). For those who are votes. ed how to beat the high-cost- collectors of interesting place COMPARE THE MARGINS

of-living. Militant readers in names here are a few of the towns so far heard from: Tomthat area take note.

From St. Louis, which this ahawk, Wisconsin; Vashon, week tops the scoreboard, comes | Washington: Saugerties, N.Y.; a payment and letter saying: Anaheim, Cal.; Granite Falls, the defeat of RTW. Final elec-"We had an excellent meeting Minnesota; Greensburgh, Penon Nov. 3 regarding regroup- na.; Avondale, Georgia; Lloydment and had a good attend- minister, Alberta, Canada; Bellance." Attending were people ingham, Washington; Irwin, associated with the SWP, CP Penna; Corning, N.Y.; Whittier, and Social-Democrats. Plans Cal.; Plentywood, Montana.



# underestimate the workers!

Faced with a clear-cut class

issue, a proposal to write the union-busting "right-to-work" amendment into the state constitution, Ohio workers closed ranks. They organized and led an independent political crusade that defeated the measure by a margin of almost a million

Nobody but the workers can claim credit for the victory. The Democratic "landslide" was an incidental effect, not a cause of tion returns from the state's 12,960 polling places showed: Right - to - Work Amendment (Issue No. 2):

2,007,291 No ... ..... 1,080,266 Yes Margin ..... 927,025 Governor:

Margin ..... U.S. Senator: 460,457 Young (D) .... 1,669,022 Bricker (R) .... 1,504,197 164,825 Margin ..... editor of the Cleveland Plain to-work" business interests, wrote in the Nov. 6 issue: biggest margin ever recorded

# How Ohio Scab Bill Was Swamped By Jean Simon By Jean Simon

That was the major lesson of the Ohio election for the industrialists, the capitalist party politicians - and the labor bureaucrats.

DiSalle (D) .... 1,887,926 O'Neill (R) .... 1,427,469

Anthony J. Disantis, labor **Dealer**, the paper that spear-headed the drive of the "right-"Ohio voters rejected the 'right-to-work' proposal by the



## All Youngstown Labor Rallied 'Right-to-Work' Bill

# Workers' Needs

#### By Myra Tanner Weiss

The American labor movement won an important victory in the Nov. 4 national elections when it smashed Big Business attempts to pass anti-labor legislation under the guise of "right-to-work" propositions in five out of six states.

At the same time the Republican party suffered a serious defeat. Its losses exceeded most Republican fears. Almost all the Republicans whose names had been associated most closely with the witch hunt and hostility to labor were dumped into political limbo, including Presidential aspirant, Senate Republican leader, William Knowland.

In 1956 the Republican Party won the presidency with a majority of nine million. Within two years it was discarded like an old, smelly shoe. Four million unemployed, virtually ignored by the Republicans, plus anti-labor provocations ended six years of Republican power.

#### 'Simply Disintegrated'

The Democrats will control the next Congress with a majority of 62-34 in the Senate and a majority of 281-153 in the House of Representatives. In addition Republicans were left with only 15 governors after reducing the Democrats to close to that number in 1952.

As the Wall Street Journal editors put it, Nov. 6, "There's no use in mincing words. The Republican party has simply disintegrated and the wreckage is strewn across three thousand miles of countryside."

The voters who went to the polls last week expressed clearly what they don't want. They don't want recessions and job insecurity. They don't want anti-labor laws. The Democratic Party's victory in large part was a manifestation of this protest vote.

New York apparently resisted the national trend. In actuality, however, it underlined the fact that issues, more than parties, were at stake. Long before Nov. 4 it was clear that billionaire Nelson Rockekfeller, Republican candidate for governor, was challenging the Democrats on their own ground-with a concerted drive for support movement but to avoid a po- from labor. He out-New-Dealed the Democrats in his litical class struggle. But as the promises for better times ahead. He denounced the "rightthe decisive battleground for pearance of a real mass move- working people lined up solid- to-work" propositions, promised stronger rent controls, more health protection, a fight against a subway fare in-Here, in the steel city of crease, for "traveling" pensions, etc. Democratic Governor Youngstown, active trade-un- Averell Harriman could only stand on his miserable

# **Kutcher Urges Parole** For Winston and Green

A hearing on the applications for parole of Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, the last remaining Smith Act prisoners, was scheduled for Nov. 13. Numerous defenders

of civil liberties have urged+ "The government's contenthe parole board to act favorably on the applications of these two imprisoned Commu- prisoners in federal jails indinist Party leaders.

3

Among those is James Kutcher, the legless veteran who American tradition of not imsuccessfully fought a ten-year prisoning people for their pobattle against the witch hunt- litical ideas or utterances. Faers because of his avowed vorable action by you on Winmembership in the Socialist ston's and Green's applications Workers Party. Kutcher recently addressed the following letter to the U.S. Board of Pardons in Washington, D.C.:

"I write to urge your favorable action on the applications for parole of Henry Winston, imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana, and Gilbert Green, imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

dicta had they been operative "The cases of these two men are of great concern to all who at the Winston-Green trial, are conscious of the need to would have prevented their conviction. defend America's seriously im-

"Mr. Green and Mr. Winston periled civil liberties. Though it is officially maintained that have now served over one-third there are no political prisoners of their eight-year sentences; in the United States, world their prison records show good opinion - embracing that of behavior; they have offered most Americans familiar with more than adequate guarantees the history of the case, includ- for fulfillment after release of ing, I may add, myself - re- parole conditions; their congard Winston and Green as tinued imprisonment would but political prisoners pure and prolong the tragic effect of sep-(Continued on Page 2) simple.

of the total cast and that "RTW carried only 18 of the state's Against 88 counties, all agricultural, and then only by slim margins." In By Moses Peterson

industrial centers the measure 'was swamped under a virtual tidal wave of votes churned up against the issue by organized labor and its friends."

IT WAS DIFFERENT THIS TIME

In the course of the campaign Columbus, Dayton, Akron, Can- 1957-58 depression has in some ionists found their fellow work- record. abor was constantly needled by ton and Youngstown there lies way touched every working- ers deeply stirred by the "Right-RTW advocates like the Plain Dealer editors with its two outstanding political defeats in re- weight of the industrial work- troubles? The corporations or pledged to vote "No." They cent years: its campaigns to ing class in Ohio, the political the unions? The outcome of the added that they wanted to get beat Sen. Taft in 1950 and to representation in the state has "Right-to-Work" fight would off the compensation lines — a expand the state unemployment been reactionary. Consequently, clearly provide the answer. entered the Ohio battle suendum vote in 1955. Political "experts" failed, premely confident.

nowever, to note the differences between those campaigns and months of anti-union agitation the corporations began to make aged Negro woman hobbled do not trust either. The 1955 felt that the brainwashing job selves with the workers and Even school children were af-

(Continued on Page 4)

own number plus the constant | tain their influence in the labor drum beating by the press, rad-YOUNGSTOWN - Ohio was io and television had the ap-

Ohio is the second industrial with the effects of the depres- gle could not be avoided. state in the U.S. In cities like sion - or at any rate, they in-Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, correctly gauged them. The

However, long before election depression. day, the hatred toward Ohio's Pensioners turned out in big They had in back of them six governor O'Neill, the GOP and numbers. At one precinct, an

enthusiastic response of their outfits wanted not only to re-

"Right - to - Work" legislation. ment. But they did not reckon ly against RTW, such a strug-

(Continued on Page 4)

#### A Disgusted Republican

A writer for the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 6, reported that Rockefeller had gone so far "to the left," that one clear warning that they ex. disgusted New York Republican said, " I went into the insurance program by a refer- the "Right-to-Work" supporters POLITICAL CLASS BATTLE pected the unions to fight the voting booth and there was nothing on the ballot but three socialists-I voted for the one who was running on the Socialist ticket."

Election returns in the last decade have demonstrated the one just concluded. The conducted by the McClellan itself felt. As a result the sen- painfully into the booth, clutch- clearly that the American voter is restless, shifting from campaign against Taft offered Committee. After six months of sitive political machines of the ing the union literature and one of the two capitalist parties to the other in a frustratno alternative but a vote for corruption charges in screaming Catholic Church and of the loudly stating, "I want to vote ing attempt to make his feelings known. In 1948 the Democrats, whom the workers headlines, the employer forces Democratic Party aligned them- No, that's all, just vote No." Democrats won. But in 1952, with the Korean war raging, campaign was conducted by a was complete — to them the against "Right to Work." These fected and showed up in school the voters put the Republicans in office. Two years later

(Continued on Page 2)



#### Page Two

# Views the N.Y. **Election Returns**

#### By Harry Ring

According to the post-election editorial comment in the Nov. 8 Worker, it looks as though the Communist Party was left holding the bag with its New York gubernatorial choice, Averell Harri-+

man. The Worker complains toward influencing these forces that the AFL-CIO failed to to make a fight on the issues. mount an active campaign for The total absence of such a Harriman; he was "knifed" by stand by either the AFL-CIO the DeSapio machine; Dorothy or Liberal Party would indi-Schiff, publisher of the N.Y. cate the CP did not affect the Post, yanked the rug from un- campaign an iota in this direcder him with a last-minute tion. (Nor can it be claimed withdrawal of her paper's en- that it advanced socialist edudorsement; and finally, on elec- cation. A large measure of its tion eve, A. A. Berle of the energies was spent in declaim-Liberal Party declared it would ing that socialism was not an "no tragedy" whichever "issue" in the campaign and be that candidates standing on a way the election went. socialist program were doing a

disservice to labor.)

Even the Worker is hard-

pressed to find anything posi-

tive in the CP's election role

in New York. The best its

Nov. 8 editorial can say is:

"Where the Communists did

have a candidate, like Benjamin

J. Davis in Harlem, or where

they found ways to influence

issues, the quality of the gen-

The results of the ISP cam-

paign, on the other hand, are

positive and visible. Its voice

was the only one heard through-

jobs, peace and rights. The ap-

a score of radio and TV pro-

grams brought these issues into

people. Well over 200,000 pieces

issues were mailed out or dis-

Equally important, while pre-

program on the major issues, the

ISP also brought the message

of socialism to more people

Finally, the ISP campaign

eral campaign was higher.'

A REAL ACHIEVEMENT

It was "this stupidity and downright doublecross on the Democratic side," says the Worker, coupled with Rockefeller's strategem of running as a "liberal," that cost Harriman the election. And, it adds, "the division in the people's movement of N.Y. was made worse by the appearance of a newlyformed Independent Socialist Party that separated a sizable section of the left and influenced many away from the laborliberal movement as a whole."

DIFFERENT TUNE

This post-mortem on Harriman's defeat has little relation out the state on the issues of to what the Worker said prior to November 4. Then the big pearance of its candidates on argument advanced by the CP leaders for refusing to support the ISP was that the Rocke- the homes of several million feller-Harriman contest represented a struggle between the of literature devoted to these forces of monopoly and a "broad peoples" movement led tributed. by a labor-liberal coalition. In view of this claimed lineup, senting an immediate, practical they argued, it was necessary to get into the Harriman "people's" camp in order to influence it on "issues."

than have been reached in this The Worker also insisted that, state in decades. As a result, its to present a socialist ticket in vote, while modest, was the opposition to Harriman and largest cast for a socialist ticket Rockefeller would bring down in New York since the 1930's. the wrath of the ranks of labor and the Negro people who united a significant section of were depicted as concerned the radical movement in acabove all else with defeating tion - an accomplishment that will help promote socialist unity Rockefeller.

What did the CP accomplish nationally. The CP leaders, in in the campaign? Its declared contrast, succeeded only in isocentral objective was to inject lating themselves from the adthe issues of jobs, peace and vanced, active left-wing forces rights into the campaign. Since that grouped around the ISP. it campaigned in support of the The balance sheet of the elec- the Democrats won again-thanks to the recession of 1954. that its efforts were directed political action.

# How "Worker" Unemployment and the Nov. 4 Vote

ed by the depression was far marriage were blighted. The - a workers' government

By Daniel Roberts The depression was the prin- greater than would be indi- crime rate increased, involving to bring it about. cipal factor in the Democratic cated by the five-and-a-half people who never had a police electoral tide on Nov. 4. Most million peak unemployment of record before and who acted that in coming months new analysis are agreed about that. ficially admitted. Even if a out of economic desperation. government spending of a few The 1953-54 recession brought more accurate estimate of seven The racial minorities were se- billion dollars (not necessarily the first swing back from the million unemployed is used, Republicans' 1952 victory. The this still does not tell the whole depression of 1957-58 brought story. Last spring the U.S. Cen-Democratic landslide.

One TV commentator I heard projection indicates unemployexplained the huge Democratic ment will average 5,000,000 plurality this year as follows: [throughout 1958] but that will The working people were angry mean 20,000,000 seeking jobs over unemployment, he said, at one time or another and getafter having acquired the habit ting sharp income cuts through of full employment over a num- no fault of their own."

ber of years. This is accurate, On Aug. 12, Peter Edson, a I think. The prolonged boom nationally syndicated writer, repermitted many working peo- ported that "There have been ple to acquire a few comforts from 13 to 15 million Americans of life — home, automobile, and unemployed part time during appliances - by going into the last ten months. About 11 debt. Payments were based on million of them have been unsteady employment often in- employed five weeks or more." cluding more than one member The Michigan University Cenof the family working and including overtime. The workers' one in four families suffered standard of life was thus geared to steady work with little unemployment or shortened it is the responsibility of the ifestation of social instability. margin to spare. Unemployment quickly brought foreclosure or through mid-1958. repossession (or the threat of

it), wiping out the gains of Those working people not previous years. themselves hit by the depres-THE TOTAL PICTURE sion saw relatives, friends or The number of people affect- neighbors go under. Hopes for



House Speaker Sam Rayburn (right), and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson are shown celebrating their 1956 election victory with Mrs. Johnson. Liberal Democrats in the new Congress are preparing to accept the leadership of these two Southern Conservatives.

verely afflicted by loss of jobs. all on armaments, either) will Unemployment compensation accelerate the economic recovaveraged \$31 nationally per ery trend. This would strengthsus Bureau said that "Our week. An untold number of en the popular illusion that the jobless exhausted their benefits. solution can be found within About one third of the unem- the two-party system. ployed were ineligible for com- CRISIS TENDENCIES pensation at any time and were forced on public assistance. Unemployed rehiring lagged be- control of Democrats and Rehind the recovery, and unem- publicans alike. Neither party

ployment remains heavy to this can surmount by its manip-All this fed the anger of the deep crisis tendencies lodged in working people against the Re- the system. publican Administration. But there was one more crucial fac- ize the working class again, tor. The working people, in my perhaps even before the recovopinion, do not accept unem- ery reaches the former boom ployment any longer as inevit- peaks. able. They resent it most deepter last summer revealed that ly because they believe the this election the American government can prevent it. workers showed how swiftly heavy economic loss through They believe furthermore that they will respond to any man-

work hours from mid-1957 government to guarantee full As yet they have confined employment. The source of this themselves to a search for rebelief is the record of govern- forms rather than for an alment intervention in economic ternative to capitalism. Under affairs ("statism") that began new economic shocks, the Demwith the New Deal and is most ocrats will be put to the test prominently associated in the and will be found wanting. The workers' minds with the Dem- workers will then seek for so-

ocratic Party. VOTE IS MANDATE

They will challenge the capitalist system as a whole, in-The Republican Administracluding both capitalist parties. tion — the Big Business administration in the eyes of most A similar shift can be expected working people - was blamed to take place if either party for callousness in the face of turns to huge increases in arms popular misery. It was denoun- spending (breeding runaway inced as unwilling to spend or flation and staggering tax loads) otherwise act on behalf of the and to international adventures. The first step in bringing people's welfare. Working people voted for the Democrats about the transformation in now, the employers, made bold with a mandate that they do mass thinking in America is for something about jobs. In the socialists to be sharply differ- "chop us down section by seccase of Nelson Rockefeller in entiated from the Democratic tion." New York, many workers voted and Republican parties and for him because his demagogy free from any ties whatever had impressed them with the with them. The immediate task idea that he would respond to of socialists, I believe, is to the needs of the working man. patiently explain the need for ing and after the first world There is profound truth as independent working-class powell as illusion in the convic- litical action. As they did in tion of the American workers the 1958 elections, they should that the government can elimi- agitate for such immediate nate depression. Socialists must anti-depression measures as the relate themselves to both the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. truth and the illusion. What is Beyond that they should popcorrect is that society can, ularize the need for a workers through the workings of gov- and farmers government and ernment, assure economic se- for public ownership of the curity and well-being. But it means of production and a requires a socialist government planned economy.



#### (Continued from Page 1)

Labor- Liberal coalition behind tion is clearly on the side of In 1956 Eisenhower was re-elected overwhelmingly, but Harriman, it must be assumed united, independent socialist simultaneously checked with another Democratic Congress. The Democratic sweep last week made Eisenhower the first president in U.S. history to get an oppositional Next Week:

A roundup of the 1958 socialist vote. The meaning of the 1958 socialist election campaigns. Tasks and perspectives for the socialist



Detroit was one of the first cities in the country to be hit by the slump. Long lines were forming in Unemployment Compensation Offices as shown above over a year ago. Despite some re-hiring by the auto plants nearly 20% of Detroit's workers are still unemployed.

# London Strike Battle

(Continued from Page 1) from the coalfields against a stingy wage\_offer.

rent control legislation."

facts standing out:

stewards':

sponsors say they expect many CP members to attend on their own initiative.

Announcement of the confer-Protest is made against conence brought a second ultimastitutional machinery set up by tum from the Building Trade union officials to "prevent work-Workers executive council: "... ing class action." Warnings are any member associated with the raised that if the workers do calling of, or attending, the connot find a way to fight back ference, or distributing, selling, or taking into any branch room by rising unemployment, will unofficial propaganda sheets and publicity material, shall be liable

to expulsion from membership, From Glasgow a worker in the union." Other union writes, "Let us revive the Clyde bureaucrats are urged by the. shop stewards' movement in the capitalist press to take similar spirit in which it operated duraction.

Replying to attacks misrepwar, when it struck fear into resenting the conference aims, the employers and won many Brian Behan, a building trades concessions - including the first striker and member of The Newsletter editorial board, Summing up the meaning of wrote: "We are not going to recent labor disputes in Britain, discuss the setting-up of any Newsletter editorial sees three kind of independent, breakaway bodies. We are for militants re-

"The employers and their maining within the established government have an overall trade union organizations and strategy, designed to smash fighting to see that the trade job organization in a period of unions carry out the job they rowing unemployment so that were founded for: the defense they can hire and fire at will; of members' conditions."

#### "The union leaders are either URGES VISITORS incapable of fighting, unwilling

An editorial adds: "We invite to fight, or hand in glove with branches whose unions have the employers in their efforts proscribed the Conference to to 'clip the wings of the shop send visitors, so that they can see for themselves that the

"The workers need a strong, Conference is no 'wildcat' afvigorous and effective rank-andfile movement so that the full fair, but a gathering of workpower of the working class can ers seriously concerned to find exerted in support of each a constructive solution to their

### Winston-Green Lase

(Continued from Page 1) aration upon their families and peal for amnesty, James Kutupon themselves.

"In view of the foregoing and persecution which originally led terances, and association. It is to their indictment and im-

prisonment." Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, Alexander Meiklejohn, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. John Lapp, Rev. John Paul Jones, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Aubrey Williams, Howard Fast, Kermit Eby, Holmes.

Adding his voice to the apcher wrote Eisenhower: ". . Since the partial abatement of of the commendable tradition of the wholesale violation of civil normally granting parole to liberties in this country which first-offenders in federal pris- characterized the McCarthyite ons, the denial of parole to period, there has been a grow-Winston and Green can only, ing realization that the Smith and will only, be interpreted as Act provides for imprisonment a continuation of the political solely for political ideas, ut-

therefore completely hostile to the ideal embodied in the Bill In addition to the campaign of Rights of no imprisonment urging parole, there have been for political views. For Winmany appeals directed to Presi- ston and Green to remain bedent Eisenhower asking him to hind bars under such a law amnesty Winston and Green. should weigh heavily on the A letter urging Presidential conscience of Americans... clemency was addressed to Mr. Green and Mr. Winston Eisenhower on Sept. 23 by 34 have now served over a third prominent figures including of their eight-year sentences Official records show their good behavior while in jail. Their families suffer deeply, as must Winston and Green themselves. at their enforced separation. "In view of these facts. I Stanley Isaacs, Maynard Krue- respectfully urge you to exerger and Rev. John Haynes cise executive clemency in these two cases."

Calendar Of **Events** NEW YORK TUESDAYS, 8-10 P.M. The Militant Labor Forum Five Generations of Youth in Revolt announces a lecture by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein on "POE-TRY AND POLITICS — The Nov. 18: Bohemian Rebellion in Chicago & Greenwich Village Romantic Revolution in Literabefore 1914. ture — The French Revolution Nov. 25: The "lost generation' and the Romantic Writers." after World War I. Sunday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M. 116 Dec. 2: Art for criticism's sake University Place. Contrib.-\$1. - our academic "new critics **Refreshments.** and writers.' Dec. 9: The Beat Generation Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein an-The Angry Young Men & nounces two short pre-holiday Existentialism. courses. \$1.50 single lecture. MONDAYS, 8-10 P.M. \$4.00 series of four. Shakespeare's Political Themes CHICAGO Nov. 17: Authority & Responsi-

bility. Nov. 24: Tudor "absolutism by Militant 30th Anniversary Celeconsent." bration. Dinner at 6 P.M., Sat., Dec. 1: Free Trade & Human Nov. 22. 777 W. Adams St. Con-Equality. trib.-\$2.00. Write for reserva-Dec. 8: Dictatorship & Treason. tions or phone DE 2-9736.

congress in three consecutive elections

On top of the political unrest, caused by the recession, inflation and a continued threat of war, Big Business aggravated the crisis faced by the Republican Party by pressing its long and carefully prepared plans for antilabor laws. The McClellan committee's investigations into

corruption in the labor movement were designed primarily to create an atmosphere hostile to labor and conducive to passage of restrictive legislation. Big Business hoped with this publicity and an expensive professional campaign to gather the votes necessary to pass "right-towork" propositions in industrial states.

The Republican party, in adddition to championing the "right-to-work" laws, also attempted to label their Democratic opposition "socialist." No less an authority than the President of the United States expressed the views that Democrats were dominated by "radicals" and their victory would start the country "down the road to it also fails to provide job security despite mounting socialism."

#### What Big Business Fears

Of course this charge was ridiculous. Yet it was based full employment. on a certain tortured logic. The Democrats are programof the organized labor movement in politics. The indusno longer subordinated to the Democratic machine but acting as an independent class force. This prospect explains their charge of "socialist menace."

Yet it was these same industrialists who provoked the labor bureaucrats into a most significant political campaign. By pushing for anti-labor laws in the industrial states, the quiescent giant was awakened. The union officialdom justifiably dared not leave the task of defeating "right-to-work" propositions to the Democrats. The unions themselves were impelled as never before into the fight as the surest means of winning.

The labor movement had to appeal beyond partisan political lines to all the voters. Union men and women were given a chance to prove what could be done in a

political struggle by organized labor. Their confidence will be many times stronger because of the victory they won.

While the Democrats were beneficiaries of this camown candidates and its own program for solving the paign to defend labor's rights, they will give labor short Thanksgiving Banquet and weight in return for the votes they got. As Samuel Lubell, domestic and international crisis will increase. The colthe keen analyst of voting trends, pointed out in the N.Y. lapse of the Republican party merely foreshadows the World Telegram, Nov. 6, "Particularly in some parts of collapse of the Democrats. It also foreshadows the emerthe farm belt and traditional GOP areas like Maine and gence of a labor party and mass political struggles for Vermont, the Republican party seems weaker today than socialism.

#### movement in light of the elections

tack."

lutions in a socialist direction.

it ever has been. And yet, paradoxically, the hold of the **NATIONAL CONFERENCE** Democratic party also seems less stable than was the appeal of the New Deal-and therefore more susceptible | The Newsletter is sponsoring a of quick overturn."

The crisis of capitalism has made it impossible for either party to meet the demands of the American workers. What the majority of voters want is full employment, to "build united action between in the fight for union democracy an end to inflation, and an end to the fear of war.

But capitalism cannot provide both peace and full employment. Capitalism has managed to maintain an expanding economy, with only occasional economic breakdown, by means of war and preparations for war. But

this answer to the economic crisis of capitalism puts pressure on the workers in a different way. It squeezes living standards with inflation and taxes. And eventually budgets.

The charge of "socialism" in this election played the role it did in anticipation of the struggle to come. For socialism is the only means of achieving both peace and

The political unrest that was manifest Nov. 4 can only matically almost identical to the Republicans. But they grow until the workers, the Negroes, small farmers and depend for their mass support on a coalition with the others find the means to fight for their own political labor bureaucracy. Big Business fears the participation interests. The workers cannot express their real needs except in distorted form in the old two-party system betrialists sense, with keen class consciousness, that one of cause it is actually one party—one party of Big Business these days, they will face the power of a labor movement with its Democratic face traditionally appealing to the workers for support and its Republican face traditionally seeking to ignore the workers. The collapse of the Republican party in this election only demonstrates how outmoded its old style is.

#### Labor Makes Demands

In addition the independent political strength of labor was demonstrated despite its general burial under Democratic victories. The labor bureaucrats felt it and followed their victory with renewed demands for enforcement of the Full Employment Act, and revision of the Taft-Hartley Act-demands that fell on deaf ears in the last Democratic-controlled Congress.

But the working people who have been frustrated in their desire for both peace and security, will not long be satisfied with begging for favors; nor will they be intimidated with charges of "socialism." Pressure for independent political action with labor's own party, its

section that comes under at-

problems at a time when unemployment is growing by 30, 000 a month.' American labor will also do

Acting on these premises well to watch the work of the British conference. Close paralnational industrial rank-and- lels exist between the rank-andfile conference in London on file movements in the two November 16. Worker delegates countries. If anything, the Britare invited from every industry ish workers are somewhat ahead industrial workers to resist and an effective union policy. defeat the employers' attack." The American workers can The Communist Party is not learn important lessons from upporting the action. But the them.

### FUND SCOREBOARD

		· · · · · ·	
City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 80	\$ 70	88
Chicago	1,000	716	72
Newark	265	190	72
Buffalo	1,500	1,050	70
Boston	450	300	67
Milwaukee	250	155	62
San Diego	300	180	60
Twin Cities	1,742	1,006	58
Allentown	112	60	54
New York	4,500	2,230	50
Youngstown	300	150	50
Detroit	600	284	47
Cleveland	750	340	45
Connecticut	300	105	35
Los Angeles	4,600	1,529	33
Philadelphia	528	162	31
Seattle		136	25
Oakland	300	65	22
San Francisco	440	90	20
Denver	50		
Pittsburgh	10		
South	200		· · ·
General	-	244	7
Total through	-		
Nov. 11	18 897	\$9,062	50

Advertisement



Advertisemen

Monday, November 17, 1958

The Nov. 4 elections resulted in over-

whelming victory for labor-backed Demo-

cratic Party candidates, defeat for such

notorious reactionaries as Knowland in

California and Bricker in Ohio, and de-

feat of the misnamed Right-to-Work law

in five of the six states where it was on

leaders on the issue of defending the un-

ions against governmental restrictions.

More than that, they mandated the labor

leaders by the massiveness of their vote

to get some pro-labor benefits from the

politician "friends of labor" they elected.

Congress, and even a liberalizing of the

Republican minority, gives labor a golden

opportunity to insist upon the repeal of

the Taft-Hartley Act. All unions in this

country have been on record for that re-

peal of this most vicious, union-busting

law nowhere in the 10-point legislative

goal announced by AFL-CIO President

George Meany since the elections? This

mild 10-point program asks but one thing

on Taft-Hartley - removal of the section

permitting states to enact Right-to-Scab

laws. Other sections such as those re-

stricting labor's basic weapon — the right

to strike and to picket - are not men-

tioned, let alone the demand for outright

aims is passage of a "moderate" version

of the Kennedy-Ives bill, which had

Meany's endorsement in the last Congress

where happily it failed to pass. A "mod-

erate" version, the labor leaders hope,

would curb racketeering without

curbing legitimate rights of the unions.

The labor bureaucrats know full well that

any legislation giving the government a

lever inside the unions is in itself a

danger and that laws which may start

Another of the AFL-CIO legislative

repeal of the whole law.

Why then is the demand for the re-

peal since T-H was enacted in 1947.

The increase of liberal Democrats in

Organized workers backed up their

the ballot.



Why So Meek and Mild?

# Interview With Ceylonese Trotskyist MP

[Robert Gunawardena, a member of the Central Committee of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotskyist) of Ceylon and a member of Parliament, recently passed through New York returning from the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held this year in Brazil, where he was part of the delegation representing the Parliament of Ceylon, Thomas Kerry, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, used the opportunity to get the following interview from Comrade Gunawardena.]

THE MILITANT

Q. What is the character of the present government in Ceylon? Is it by a single party or a coalition?

A. It is a coalition with hardly any political program. It and very reactionary ones. **Q.** Reactionary in what

sense A. Reactionary in the communal sense. And special antiworking class legislation has been brought up at times to curb strikes.

Q. Have they used considerable violence in the curbing of strikes by workers?

A. They are trying. But as yet the government has failed on that front, except once against the middle-class employes of the government. That is the white-collar sections vened, they were doomed. Q. How much representation does the Lanka Sama Samaja Party have in Parliament? A. We have 14 party members represented in the Opposi-Q. What is the total member-

ship of Parliament?

six are two strong communal industries, tea and rubber, no. A. Ninety-five elected, nominated [i. e. appointed] by unions led by the communalists. the government. That is 101 in [Communalism is the inciting] of communities — based on

TRADE UNION STRENGTH racé, religion or language -**Q.** Does the LSSP have much strength in the trade union movement in Ceylon? A. The LSSP at present leads

ship is 42,000 in the plantations. number of comrades working in But when a direct struggle is the dock section. launched, we find that even in TROTSKYIST PARTY

government sector [of the econthe areas where we are not very omy], which is organized under strong there is a tendency of as the Trotskyist Party of Ceyspecial federation - the workers from these communal lon, is it not? Government Workers Federacontrolled unions to flow into

workers?

tion - the leadership is exour unions. ercised by the LSSP, our party. Because in every union Ceylon? n the government sector a

large number of party comrades



Robert Gunawardena, a Member of Parliament, is a founder and leader of the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Equality Party), the principal working class party of that country. Gunawardena is also president of the 40,000member All-Ceylon Samasamaja Youth Congress and vice-president of the Ceylon Federation of Labor.

As Opposition member of the three-man delegation sent by Ceylon's Parliament, he attended the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (composed of representatives of the legislative bodies of 47 countries including the Soviet bloc), which met this summer in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

In debate, he took sharp issue with the glowing picture of the amount of freedom existing in the United Kingdom and the USA painted by Laborite Herbert Morrison of the British delegation Under the heading, "High-

are in leadership, and in the

textile, oil installations - we

A. That is mainly in the tea

and rubber plantations. There

which is led by our party.

from the factories themselves of the organized workers?

mercial firms, and factories, unions on the plantations.

Ceylon Federation of Labor, the plantation workers?

Q. What about agricultural LACK INDUSTRY

private sector - smaller com- jority are in the communal

A. Yes.

workers?

A. Yes.

large industries?



tary Conferences," the Brazil Herald (Aug. 1) reported: "Criticism of both the American and Soviet regimes was a characteristic of a speech made by Mr. R. Gunawardena of Ceylon, who declared that the Western democracies have not so much liberty as might be thought . . . Referring to Mr. Dulles' forthcoming visit, he

A. About 350,000. The ma-

**Q.** The relationship of forces

Q. You do not have any

A. Except for the plantation

**Q.** What about the

elections . . . He said that free countries are oppressed by 'certain powers that style themselves defenders of liberty'... During Mr. Gun-awardena's speech the So-

lights from Inter-Parliamengary. After visiting a number of Latin American countries and the West Indies, Gunawardena passed through the U.S. on his way back to Ceylon. He was in New York for a day and a half, thus affording a number of Socialist Workers Party members the opportunity of meeting a revolutionary co-thinker from Asia

> stand is the Minister of Agriculture in the present govern- THE COMMUNIST PARTY ment, describing him as a Trotskyist. Is it true that Philip Gunawardena represents the

have quite a large number of then, so far as actual numerical Trotskyist position in Ceylon? trade unions. They are in the strength is concerned, is with not represent the Trotskyist position in Ceylon. Since 1951 he

has betrayed the revolutionary party, do you have the support movement and crossed over to of the Communist Party delethe capitalist government. He gates in Parliament? What is joined the reactionary govern- their position in relation to the ment of Mr. Bandaranaike.

dock **Q.** What then is the basis for these newspaper designations of Opposition, but there are many A. The . dock workers are him as a Trotskyist?

completely organized now un-A. He was one of the foundagainst other communities with- der our party leadership, in an in the country, as has been organization known, as the during the unification of the the CP tried to enter the govdone between Hindus and Mos- United Port Workers Union, in Trotskyist group - the LSSP ernment, but the government lems in India.] Their member- which we have quite a large and the Bolsheviks — in this had not accepted them as yet. party, he opposed the unificawas in 1951. Since then he has down the embargo against played an independent role, de- trade with China. What part **Q.** Now the LSSP is known scribing himself as a Trotsky- did the LSSP play in this?

> **Q.** There have recently been articles in the N.Y. Times and ularly on the language ques- for years been agitating the other American newspapers tion. He took a policy of Sin- Parliament to have trade with

viet delegates had shown signs of satisfaction at his criticism of the opportuneness of Mr. Foster Dulles' visit. But their satisfaction was short-lived. Mr. Gunawardena went on to say that in Soviet Russia the workers do not represent the Soviet power . . . events occur such as those in Hun-

A. Yes. But I am happy to state that our party has been so strong and our organizations so well fitted, both in the unions and then in the youth organization — about 40,000 in

678 branches — all over the country, that they remained intact throughout the communal riots. They were able in many places to prevent any flaring up of this communal rioting.

Q. What is the strength of the Communist Party in Cey-

lon? A. The CP is a small group. A. Philip Gunawardena does They have three members in Parliament.

Q. As the main Opposition government?

A. At times they support the occasions where they have been neutral, more or less siding ng members of the LSSP. But with the government. In fact, Q. I understand that Cevlon ion and left the party. That was among the first to break

ist organization and fighting the A. Even earlier, before we LSSP. He has a small group embarked on the trade agree-. . on chauvinist lines, partic- ment with China, the LSSP has about Ceylon, speaking of Phi- halese only. That brought him the governments of the Soviet rest. The pressure we brought to bear was so tremendous, Rules both from outside and inside Parliament, that the government acceded

#### They are permitted only to vote FIGHT TO REMOVE

separately for spokesmen se- BRITISH NAVAL BASE lected by the ruling white capi-Q. I understand one of the talist parties. As for the Ne- big questions in Ceylon was groes, the overwhelming major- that of eliminating the big

**Q.** And you feel it is pri-

marily due to the agitation of

the LSSP that the British bases

have been removed from Cey-

A. Yes. Right through, the

LSSP has been in the forefront

of the fight to remove these

**Q.** What is the position of the

A. Right through we have

lon?

# Workers' Democracy in Unions

The Big Business conspiracy to "sell" the American public the idea that unionism and racketeering are synonomous reached a crescendo this past year. Involved in the carefully coordinated campaign were 99% of the "free" press of this country, Senator McClellan's investigating committee, the NAM, Chamber of Commerce and Right-to-Work propcan end up being enforced by reactionaries for whom all union activities are "racketeering." This AFL-CIO proposal is offered as a compromise after passage of which the smear investigation of Senator McClellan's (D-Ark.) committee into unions would be called off.

out ostensibly against labor-racketeers

The labor leaders are not asking for more after the great liberal Democratic represents capitalist interests election sweep because they know the real nature of those who have been elected. The mildness of the AFL-CIO legislative program is an adaptation to the incoming liberal Congress. It speaks volumes about the true nature of the "friends of labor" so loudly touted by the union chieftains.

Consider a few of them: Senator Kennedy (D-Mass.) was a member of the Mc-Clellan investigating committee and drew up the bill which labor now wants "moderated." Clair Engle, newly elected Democratic Senator from California, while in the House voted for the Taft-Hartley law they are the elite. Temporarily, as well as other anti-labor legislation. Dem- for a few days, till we interocratic governors-elect, Edmund P. Brown of California and Michael V. DiSalle of Ohio, both made it plain during their campaigns that while they were against the "Right-to-Work" laws on the ballots in their states they were in favor of some tion. other type of legislation dealing with unions.

The meager list of labor's aims submitted by AFL-CIO President Meany is certainly not a reflection of the massive Parliament. sentiment displayed at the polls by the working people. That sentiment deserves better than it got and than it will get from Congress and the state officials elected. That sentiment could truly be served the major part of the working by the unions taking steps to found a class in Ceylon, except in the Labor Party which would put in office plantations. Particularly in the representatives directly responsible to the labor movement and to its unwatereddown program.

ed to. Work" showed, they did not fall for farming out to the employers' organizations

and the politicians the job of democratizing and cleaning up the unions. That is a job for labor's rank-and-file to do. Corruption is not the half of it. For

made them ashamed at the public disgrace American labor was being subject-But as their votes against "Right-to-

By John Black

A new wave of struggle against Apartheid, the racialsegregation system of the Union South Africa.



Page Three

the only official language in

Q. Is that the main cause of

the communal riots in Ceylon

which we have been reading

about recently in the American

A. That is the main cause,

Q. How do you explain the

government policy in this con-

A. When the government saw

hat the working class was get-

ting strengthened under the

leadership of the LSSP, they

thought that this was the only

way of breaking that solidarity

among the working classes and

peasantry by whipping up

communal Sinhalese against the

**Q.** To divide the workers?

the country?

A. Yes.

press?

nection?

Famil minority.

#### ward peasants on whom he has to lean in his present position. LANGUAGE POLICY Q. The government's policy, you say, is to make Sinhalese

thought it would be better



ROBERT GUNAWARDENA

ganda outfits.

But the organized workers realized that the Right-to-Work laws, despite the propaganda about undemocratic unions and corruption, were aimed at unionism itself. Some middle-class people and farmers were taken in by the Big Business propaganda but the workers overwhelmingly knew what the score was and voted accordingly.

This doesn't mean that workers are unconcerned about lack of democracy and corruption in their unions. On the contrary they feel very keenly about it. The revelations of bare-faced swindling, stealing, rigged elections, denial of rights, sweetheart agreements, and other sellouts angered all good union men, and

Arthur J. Goldberg, Special Counsel of the AFL-CIO, in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin declared that the attitudes of labor and management are hardening into patterns of hostility to each other. He pointed to the growing number of charges of unfair practices brought before the NLRB, and the bitter recriminations of the recent election campaign as evidence of this. "Politically, legislatively, philosophically, labor and management stand today apart, and the degree of polarization of view points in these areas is far greater than in collective bargaining," he said.

This labor spokesman said he did not know the cause of this estrangement, but did not believe it was economic. He scoffed at those businessmen who charge that labor is determined to socialize America, and also at those workers who accuse Big Business of seeking a fascist dictatorship.

His solution to class hostility is to set up a Labor-Management Assembly patterned on the UN. Here union and business representatives "must be drawn together under circumstances in which they will have no alternative but to talk; and when they are through talking, they should talk some more."

Any worker who has sat at a bargaining table or voted on a contract would dispute Goldberg's contention that economics is not at the root of labor-man-

corruption to thrive in a union, democratic control by the members must have previously been lost. Sell-outs are pos- obligatory for all Africans under sible only where the ranks have lost the Jim-Crow law of South power to reject contracts.

The anti-labor chorus will continue paign of arbitrary arrests of its deafening noise. McClellan will be back at his old stand. The Right-to-Work outfits announce a renewed campaign for the law has been on the books this coming year. And the Big Business for years, it had not been appress is always with us.

Out of self-protection unionists must democratize and clean up their unions. Furthermore, this will give them reinvigorated, militant organizations, responsive to the membership's desires for the full benefits of unionism.

### **The Hardening Lines**

agement hostility. He would point out that hardening of attitudes is most apparent at the time when economic con- boarded them with eagerness ditions make concessions to labor more expensive.

Endless talking will not wipe out the economic contradictions inherent in the

profit system. You cannot talk the capitalist out of his profits. The arm-in-arm trial, tear gas and clubs were tour of United Steel Worker President used on the crowd of African McDonald with Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel Corporation did not soften management's attitude in contract negotiations the following year.

Few union leaders, unfortunately, are the African liberation movement, the uplifted thumb. At seeking a socialist goal for labor, but the another court 300 more women iron necessities of the economic struggle were on trial and the movewill inexorably push the working class ment to abolish the hated pass in the direction of that solution. And, desystem is still gaining momenspite Goldberg's scoffing, the capitalists

will try to counter that threat by im-MASS TRIAL posing a fascist dictatorship.

Goldberg's thesis reflects the fears of the Meanys and Reuthers that the harsh status of the African population with slightly altered charges, it now holds 103 out of 160 realities of the class struggle will disturb comes hard on the heels of a began in August but soon bog- was achieved without a major them in their bureaucratic sinecures. They want to plead with Big Business to be more reasonable.

What labor needs is not a leadership 13, the government was forced that "no real evidence has been the rural areas, were aided by that will try to talk the capitalists out of to drop the indictment in this presented." their hostility to the working class, but two-year-old trial. leaders who will organize and steel the workers to meet the offensive of Big |gan on the dawn of Lee. , the place leaders of the move- "Colored" means those of mix-Business on the picket line and in the men and women, European and ment for racial and social jus- ed ancestry] have been taken political arena.

in the arrest of thousands of African women. A fight against the discriminatory pass books, Africa, was provoked by a cam-

women entering the city of Johannesburg on the way to their places of employment. Although plied to women for fear of depriving white Johannesburg of domestic and other employes.

On Oct. 30, some 133 women went on trial on the charge of congregating at the pass office and failing to disperse when ordered to do so. This gathering was a protest against the arrests. Police witnesses reported that the women "shouted

and cheered and refused to leave" when warned they would be arrested. "When vehicles arrived to take them away, they and a display of pleasure." The police quoted the women as

ranging in occupation from pro- | Chief prosecutor, entrusted with shouting: "We don't want your fessor to bus driver. The charge this task, was Dr. Oswald Pirpass books - we want freewas high treason and violation ow, a notorious, self-avowed addom.

of the Suppression of Commu- mirer of Adolf Hitler. After the opening day of the nism Act, South Africa's version of the Smith Act. The alleged had to make drastic amendoffense was the signing of the ments to its charges, and later men and women outside the Freedom Charter. This charter, that day ask for withdrawal of court house. This political viosponsored by a Congress of the the charges. The accused were lence, which led to injuries, People, demands racial equality freed on bail. But it is expected took place when the crowd in South Africa and the trans- that the regime will continue cheered and gave the salute of fer of the banks and basic in- the frame-up with new indict-

dustries to "the ownership of ments. Nevertheless, this ignothe people." Preliminary hearings lasted ary Nationalist Party's governover a year and piled up three ment must be chalked up as million words of typescript be- a victory for its opponents. fore the government felt ready HOW RACISTS

for trial. It began this past WON ELECTION January, running into snag after

400 have been arrested.

The South African govern- snag. Finally 45 of the accused tion victory won by the Nationment's latest assault on the were discharged. Another start, alist Party. The gain in seats setback sustained by Prime ged down. Erwin H. Griswold, ity of the popular vote. It came Minister Verwoerd's regime, the Dean of the Harvard Law through the most shameless collapse of the mass trial of School, who observed part of gerrymandering of constituenanti-Apartheid leaders. On Oct. the trial came to the conclusion cies. The Nationalists, strong in

HITLER FAN

This mass sedition case be-Yet no one could charge that of the urban constituencies. gan on the dawn of Dec. 4, the government was not eager Colored voters [in South Africa, African, Indian and Colored, tice in South Africa behind bars. off the voters' rolls since 1953.

SLEGS BLANKES EUROPEANS ONLY

South African Negro women, like those shown above

minious retreat of the reaction-

the apportioning of more seats

for fewer votes, often half that

giving the salute of the African liberation movement in the

1952 civil disobedience campaign, are today militantly re-

sisting imposition of the hated pass system on them. Over

ity in the country who outnum- British naval base. What role ber the whites four to one, they did the LSSP play in this? are completely disfranchised. A. The LSSP from the very start wanted the removal of

The white rulers of South British power from these bases Africa are not slowing their and this year we fully succeeddrive against the aspirations of ed in getting rid of them - of the Africans. The government their entire navy. Both from has outlawed mixed unions and Trincomalee and the airport is deporting Negroes now living Katunayake.

in the cities into rural areas. Similar measures loom for all non-whites; for example, Indians living in Johannesburg are being pressured to move to Lenassia, some 18 miles out of town. Only Witwatersrand and Cape Town University still have non-white students - and these

bases. Through all workinga mere handful. Against the declass organizations that agitatermined opposition of the unition was developed by us. In versities, the government is the peasant areas where the rushing through legislation to party held meetings it was takrestrict non-whites to segreen up. gated, government-controlled institutions. LSSP on the communal issue?

Yet the days of white-supremacist special privileges at fought against any form of the expense of the exploited communalism. By explaining to and downtrodden Negroes of the general mass of the people South Africa are numbered. A that communalism will lead us glimmering of this may account more and more into isolation in for the sensitivity to symbol- our own country and thereby ism of the Pretorial City Coun- even partitioning our country cil upon the death of late - like Pakistan and India -On Oct. 13, the prosecution Prime Minister J. G. Strijdom. which the general mass of the When the councilmen realized people don't want.

his grave was being dug by (Next installment: The visits Negro laborers, they quickly by invitation of Ceylon's Trotsent in a crew of white re- skyist leaders to China and the placements. USSR.)

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## **A** Hero's Welcome

#### By Ethel Bloch

Maurice Ruddick and six of his workmates were entombed for eight and a half days in the Cumberland mine in Nova Scotia. Trapped in the total darkness and dampness, a mile beneath the earth's surface, Mr. Ruddick, a remarkable man, lifted the spirits of his companions by singing throughout the whole ordeal, in spite of parched lips and swollen tongue. For 17 years he has been known to the miners as a singing man, for each day as he was lowered into the darkness and again at the end of the day's work his song could be heard.

Bruce West, a reporter for the Toronto Globe and Mail, says of Ruddick, "Talking to him it was impossible to imagine that he had suffered so much. There is always a temptation to attribute extra heroic qualities to people who have borne so much, but Mr. Ruddick appears to be a truly remarkable man. It is easy to understand how his strong spirit must have brought extra strength to the men who shared his peril."

The world rejoiced when Ruddick and his fellow miners were dramatically rescued, after being given up for dead. It is at times like these - when a catastrophe strikes and there are days of painful suspense and then, as in this case, a triumphant rescue — that the whole human race is drawn together and united with

the families of those directly involved. We all waited with Mrs. Ruddick and her twelve children; we all dreaded the day when the body of her husband would be brought to the surface; and then we all rejoiced with them when he was brought forth alive.

But even at this moment of human brotherhood the perverted brain of the segregationist cannot forget racism. Governor Griffin of Georgia, sent'an invitation to the rescued miners and their families to come and recuperate at a Georgia resort. He then discovered that Ruddick is a Negro and promptly informed him that though the invitation still held, Ruddick would have to be segregated from his fellow workers.

The response of the other miners was what you would expect. "If he's good enough to work with us he's good, enough to go on holidays. . . . If he can't go we won't go," said Herbert Pepperdine who went through the ordeal with Ruddick. Finally, so that all could go, Ruddick agreed to Griffin's Jim-Crow terms.

These men grew up together, went to school together and risked death together. And once again it is proven that it's a natural way for Negroes and whites small white playmate had kissto live. Their reaction to Griffin is a tribed one of the boys. ute to them and exposed to the world the diseased minds of the Dixiecrats.

# THE MILITANT

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1958

#### NUMBER 46

# .. How Scab Law Was Swamped in Ohio

(Continued from Page 1) divided labor movement, with the CIO taking the lead and the AFL giving only token support, and that only at the end of the campaign.

The victorious campaign to defeat RTW, on the other hand, was conducted under the clearcut leadership of labor-united in its own independent political agency, United Organized Labor of Ohio, completely separated This fact emerges with stark from the Democratic and Re-

clarity out of the ugly story publican parties. The workers did not depend from Monroe, North Carolina. on "friends" in the Democratic The Nov. 10 New York Post or Republican parties in the reported that two Negro chilfight to defend their union-won dren in that town-Hanover conditions; nor did they depend Thompson, 9, and Fuzzy Simpon the labor bureaucracy for son, 8-have been given indeleadership. terminate sentences in a re-

Thousands of rank and file formatory on charges of "movolunteers worked with any lesting a white female." The section of the labor leadership basis of the charge was that a that could be prodded into action. They distributed literature, organized debates, voted con-Robert Williams, head of the Monroe NAACP, told the Post tributions to UOLO from union funds and took up voluntary that the two youngsters were collections.

taken into custody by six car- HOW THEY CAMPAIGNED loads of cops "after the little girl's father had gone there They went to the unemployed

at the unemployment compenwith a shotgun and threatened sation offices and offset demato kill them and their parents." gogic attempts of the bosses to The boys were held in jail for pit jobless workers against the six days without charges and unions. They went to the farmthen sentenced to the reformaers and demonstrated how agrischeduled for overtime Satur- secretary of Dodge Local 3 Un- broader in aim and scope. It is tory after a hearing called on cultural income is dependent on the standard of living won by organized labor. They went to Negro workers and pointed out that RTW was being pushed by ions in the past." the same elements who oppose fair employment practices leg-

The result of labor's genuine- carried an editorial titled "grass-roots" campaign was, "Right-to-Work - Zowie!" It as Disantis put it, that the conceded an overwhelming de-

"margin by which RTW was feat, and noted: defeated was totally unexpected by labor union officials."

feat of RTW varied from right amendment, the small town and to left.

er in its Nov. 5 editorial, "The about the high-powered cam-Landslide," interpreted the de- paign for amendment." feat of RTW as one of the "re-



Woman Worker Victimized

Scabs make no distinction between men and women when crashing a picket line. Here Mrs. Dottie Wilson is being carried from the strike scene after being knocked down by a strikebreaker's car at the Long Island plant of Republic Aviation Corp. in March, 1956.

sory membership in labor un- fer their union conditions to a ions will be outlawed in Ohio." defeat for unions." (3) Defeat by residential sub-But they admitted that "it is evident from yesterday's ballot- urbs showed that they "feel ing that if this issue is to suc- there is a certain way of life ceed, the initiative for it will in organization of labor unions have to come from the workers as they have developed - and themselves, rather than from they didn't want that way

business organizations which changed." have been hostile to labor unthe hope that "the landslide re-

'ZOWIE!' IS RIGHT The Cleveland News, evening paper of the same publisher,

> ure behavior." This expression of fear of the

(1) ". . . it's clear that when the Cleveland Press, which had a purely agricultural county opposed Issue No. 2. This ty-Reactions to the workers' de- votes down the work reform pical "liberal friend of labor' farm citizens felt less scared (in the worst sense), editorial-The unregenerate Plain Deal- about labor and unions than ized:

FORGIVE AND FORGET "The only risk in this over-(2) "There are no signs that

Woman's "God-appointed tual situations that women face. breaking character of woman's home, and the results achieved

view of the widely circulated because it does not include the 600 General Council meeting to- ently, and according to his sults" of the "Democratic land- union members revolted against labor leaders may find in it an Take-home pay for 25% of the thousands who have exhausted day presented a variety of pro- statement to the Post, will slide." The editors reasserted their leadership in this election. excuse for a much tougher ap- teachers was \$3660 a year, their confidence that "compul- Members of unions plainly pre- proach."



ship was a statement by Executive Secretary William Finegan of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor urging "all of the affiliates to put aside any animosity engendered during the recent campaign and bend every effort toward resuming normal industrial relations." Trying to go back to busi-

Response of the class-collab-

orationist old-line labor leader-

ness unionism as usual, he said that the campaign of "vilification of labor and its leadership" came from a small portion of management and that resentnents should not be permitted to reflect against individuals or companies with which unions have co-operated in the past.

In a joint statement with President Patrick J. O'Malley of the Cleveland AFL-CIO, he said: "We hope this will end the battle. We hope the bitterness will die quickly, and that organized labor may once again devote itself to the welfare of its members and the best interests of the entire state." PROJECT LABOR PARTY

But on Nov. 9 a panel of three trade unionists discussed their views of the November election at a meeting of the Cleveland Forum for Political Education. The Plain Dealer reported:

"United Organized Labor of Ohio, created to fight the But the News concluded with 'right-to-work' law, could grow sult of this first Ohio election into a labor party, it was sugon such an issue will not tempt gested yesterday at a tri-state leaders of organized labor to panel meeting in Unitarian foolishness or arrogance in fut- Hall . . .

#### SECOND JOBS

power demonstrated by the Over 73% of the teachers in workers was also expressed by Los Angeles are working after school to make ends meet, according to a survey by Teachers Local 1021. The kind of work ranged from ditch digging for men, to night teaching,

sales and service. Only 8% said they would do the extra work whelming result is that a few if their salaries were adequate.

while most took home \$4582.

posals for action. These includtheir unemployment benefits. The company preference for ed a demand for a special UAW overtime rather than calling convention to act on the probunemployed back is based on lem. Pressure on successful la-The handful who had enter- straight money saving. Those bor-endorsed Congressional caned the plant and were sent out who would be called back didates for legislation was also by supervision were greeted would be certain to be laid off proposed. They would be asked with hoots and catcalls by those again and this would mean to push laws providing for a who refused to cross the line. added Supplementary Unem- 30-hour week with no reduction No action could better demon- ployment Benefit costs for the in pay as well as legislation

strate the class solidarity and corporations. The present setup banning compulsory overtime. basic human warmth between also means a saving on unem-the 8,500 local members now ployment compensation for the 1961 contract expiration stickers.

(Continued from Page 1)



probably do so.

ten-minute's notice in which the day at the Dodge plant in Ham- employed Committee, is slated estimated that the Chrysler tramck refused to cross a pick- to appear before a meeting to- Corporation, which employed boys and their mothers were etline set up by their fellow morrow of Chrysler local union 140,000 nationally in 1955, is without counsel. Needless to workers who had been laid off. presidents at Solidarity House. now at the 70,000 level and is say, there is no report of any As a result the factory did not The delegation favors establish- unlikely to go above 90,000 action taken against the white operate. The demonstration was ing unemployed committees in even if the firm has a good "man" and his friends who threatened the two children islation. At Ford, there are now about and their parents and who

VOLUME XXII

N.

Boys

Carolina

8,

**Racists Jail** 

Racism can reduce human

beings to the level of beasts.

was underscored by the report back at work and the 9,500 still them. The jobless figures indicate that the Dearborn Engine plant jobless after months despite seniority of as much as 12 that while such actions as the of the Ford River Rouge com-Dodge overtime demonstration plex is about to start another years. A delegation of the unem- are good, the fight against un- layoff.

**Dodge Plant Workers Refuse** 

DETROIT, Nov. 10-Workers | ployed, including Edith Fox, employment must become

all Dodge-Chrysler employees.

some in the teeth of unemploy-

Ford and General Motors an-

would go on daily and Satur-

line at 5:30 A.M. The turnout the Detroit work force is job- for high-priced cars.

**To Pass Jobless Picket Line** 

called to protest compulsory all Chrysler locals to provide year.

overtime for some while others the basis for united action by

was even more significant in less. This figure is understated,

are laid off completely.

The turnout of the unem-

ployed members of Dodge Local

3. UAW, for the demonstration

decided on the previous night

by a meeting of about 250. Yet,

with no means of communica-

tion aside from word-of-mouth,

400 showed up for the picket-

company threat to fire any work-

er, unemployed or employed,

participating in such a demon-

stration.

SOLIDARITY

### Worker's Bookshelf

AMERICAN LABOR STRUG-| An absorbing and detailed ac-| States. Cannon appraises his GLES, by Samuel Yellen. 398 count of the events leading up contributions and examines to the Ludlow Massacre which Debs' concept of the "all-inp. Paper. \$1.95.

For those unacquainted with shocked the world before World clusive" socialist party. American labor history this is War I. The class struggle in its an excellent book to begin most naked form is shown here with. Union members should as is the relationship of the read it to learn how unionism Rockefellers to their coal minwas built in America, and so- er employees in Colorado. cialists will find it not only a \* \* \* storehouse of information but NEGROES ON THE MARCH. ments, Trotsky wrote this im-

also an invaluable tool. \* \* \*

THE IWW, The Great Anticipation, by James P. Cannon. and first-hand observation of 44 p. Pioneer Pocket Li- the American scene and trans-

brary No. 4. 25 cents. A participant in its early this book has been revised by WHAT IT STANDS FOR. New struggles, Cannon says: "The the author to cover recent revised edition. By Joseph Hanfounders of the IWW were in- events. The connection between sen. 54 pages, 25c. dubitably the original inspirers the Negro struggle for equality and prime movers of the mod- and the workers' struggle for a and how the Socialist Workers ern industrial unions in the better life is clearly shown. mass production industries . . The CIO movement at its pres-

ent stage of development is only a small down payment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the 1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way."

outstanding and beloved Amer-OUT OF THE DEPTHS, by ican figure in whom was com-Barron Z. Beshoar. 372 p. bined the pioneering efforts to Cloth. \$3.00 plus 15 cents post- build both the union and socialist movements in the United

25 cents.

A centennial tribute to an



\* \* \* MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES, by Leon Trotsky. 44 p. 35 cents.

A close observer of American social and political developby Daniel Guerin, 192 p. portant work as the introduc-Cloth \$2.00. Paper \$1.50. tion to the book, "Living Based on years of research Thoughts of Karl Marx."

\* \* \* THE SOCIALIST WORKERS lated from the French edition, PARTY - WHAT IT IS to 600 Yes.

Discusses what socialism is Party believes it will be achieved; explains differences between EUGENE V. DEBS, The Social- the SWP and other radical ist Movement of his Time - parties; tells about the demo-Its Meaning for Today, by cratic structure of the SWP James P. Cannon. 40 p. Pio- and the rights, privileges and neer Pocket Library No. 5. duties of members.

> IF AMERICA SHOULD GO an almost solid national and COMMUNIST, by Leon Trot- state Democratic ticket seemed sky. 22 p. Pioneer Pocket Li- almost incidental and anti-cli-

mactic. brary No. 7. 25 cents. Capitalism vs. socialism has been heatedly debated ever

1935.

since the Soviet Union came action — first and foremost the ers work outside of the home into existence. In this article Trotsky raises the major points release of the SUB funds to the of difference, as well as similunemployed. This push will conarity, between the coming tinue and may force the union American revolution and its leadership to make demands on and unpaid labor. Russian predecessor of October the Democrats which the latter 1917. It was originally publishcannot grant. Rather than so-

AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOrupture. CIALISM, by James P. Can-

One question was settled denon. 79 p. 35 cents. In an informal way, Cannon discusses Eisenhower, capitalist ership and swing the urban lyst, a former college president ter or soap. Heavy farm labor, who bear children are mysterand socialist prospects in Amer- middle class and the farmers and a member of the Presi- even an occasional fight with iously endowed with the propica, and closes with an inspiring behind it was convincingly dent's cabinet. Their ideas the Indians, was not considered er qualities to understand and picture of "What Socialist demonstrated. This is the hope about motherhood, as well as inconsistent with their feminine care for them, in spite of some America Will Look Like." of the future.

FARMERS DIVIDED In the week before the election, union activists, who had supply. During a labor shortage, practical point of view. as in the last war and all prebeen somewhat pessimistic,

vious wars, it was her patriotic sensed the swing behind the labor movement. One veteran duty to work in a factory even union political announced the if no nurseries were provided week before the election that and the kids wandered the workers were as united on this streets. When post-war layoffs issue as it would ever be possi- came, suddenly the same womble to expect and forecast a en were accused of denying margin of victory of half a mil- their feminine role, driving men lion. Other observers reported out of jobs, neglecting their the farmers in Central and children, creating juvenile de-

Western Ohio badly split on the linquency and emasculating issue. The division was along American men. Since senators. economic lines and reflected journalists, police officials and the growing number of wage ministers have little real inworkers among farm families. fluence on what women do, As the first returns came in women have continued to work the government and before any from a few industrial cities, it in ever greater numbers. Wars became certain that the ques- accelerated but did not initiate tion was simply one of how a trend which began about 1890. big the majority vote was go- Today, there are 22 million

ing to be against the "Rightwomen in the labor force workto-Work" measure. Workers' ing on any given day. This districts all over the city ran means there are about 29 mil-3 to 1 and 4 to 1, and some lion women who work in the predominantly Negro wards course of, a year. More than work to pay the rent, we would gave such figures as 4,700 No half are married, seven million are mothers.

#### Although the state-wide ratio SHOULD THEY WORK?

was 2 to 1, the press in its first This may explain why propareports tried to scale down the gandists for home and hearth margin of the workers' victory (to the exclusion of other inand warned the unions that terests) are beating a slow rethey had no mandate to start throwing their weight around. Inside the steel mills, there was a strangely subdued bunch of foremen and superintendents on Wednesday. The election of have the right to decide for family has put a lot in, teachers full of dishes, floors to mop

There was a feeling of solid plus the desire to push the demic. But what it really at-home important too?" Democrats for some economic means is: Should young moth-

The Journal symposium will dices. For instance, there is a is needed most and it is what

evangelist, a U.S. senator from ed and men have rarely raised study medicine and take care

cisively. The ability of the labor industrialist, a professor of so- were never criticized for spin- There is also a popular fallacy movement to take political lead- ciology, a Jungian psychoana- ning and weaving, making but- which holds that all women their ideas about work, are role. They were not accused of evidence to the contrary. Un-

home or on the But half a dozen mothers, three

Here is what some of the 'experts" have to say: Mrs. Scott-Maxwell, lay anapulse has been developed these are the women whose

restless and bored in their homes. Dr. Billy Graham: "God in-

stituted the marriage relationship and the family relationship before the school and before other institution." Senator Lausche: "A woman

should be proud to say, 'I am a housewife. I am the backbone of America.'

But the mothers are concern ed with day-to-day problems: Mrs. Ernest Lee: "If I didn't have to live in one of these overcrowded cramped places

where there are gangs and no safe place for the kids to play." Dr. Doris Bartuska, specialist in cancer research and mother of four: "But my problem ----

treat. For example, a sympos- the problem of the professionium in the current Ladies Home ally trained woman - can't be Journal asks: "SHOULD answered so simply. There has YOUNG MOTHERS WORK," been a great deal of investment Apparently older mothers now in my training as a doctor, my

themselves. A young mother, have made a lot of effort, peofacing pails of diapers, a sink ple are counting on me -' Mrs. Roy Davis: "If I didn't and other miscellaneous tasks, work, my husband would have satisfaction among the workers may consider the question aca- to have two jobs. Isn't a father-

#### PREJUDICE

As in most discussions about yer is "hardly feminine at all' for wages, This in itself is an interesting comment on the working women, the so-called and such women lose "a femivalue our society accords paid authorities are hampered by nine oneness with the depths preconceived ideas and preju- of life" and that "love is what

not be very helpful to anyone general assumption that this is women have to give to the ed by Liberty Magazine in lidifying the Labor-Democratic seriously interested in the prob- something new, that until quite world." Men apparently have Party alliance, the result of the lems of working mothers. Those recently women did not work. no capacity for love and womvote may lead to a growing participating include a famous But women have always work- en somehow lose it if they

Ohio, a professor of history, an any objections. Pioneer women of the sick.

a start the second s

work and the size of families, so iar not taculari assembly line, is usually de- of them working and three "at the children probably did not successful judging by the numtermined by the available labor home," introduce a refreshingly get a great deal of personal at- ber of psychotics, sadists, murderers and other disturbed adtention.

About 95% of early factory ults. While the kind of society workers in this country were we live in is largely responsible women. They labored six days for the kind of children we lyst: "The women who have a week, twelve to fourteen raise, it is just possible that worked before marriage - the hours a day. No one warned traditional methods of raising women who have been edu- them against "developing their children are not perfect either cated so that the masculine im- masculine side." They were and we should be willing to praised for their industry and explore new possibilities and thrift. Of course, at that time new patterns of living.

#### masculine side makes them there was an acute shortage of GIVE THEM SOME HELP male labor.

In any event, the reality is In the past when large numthat seven million mothers are bers of women left their own working and no matter who homes to labor in the homes of says they are wrong, most of wealthy women, no one in- them will continue working. Insisted they should care for their stead of criticism, why not give own families first. Wealthy them some help? A lot would women have never been conbe done to relieve the tension sidered less feminine because and fatigue of trying to handle they hired someone else to two jobs if every apartment look after the children, cook, house included child-care cenwash dishes and mop floors. ters, housecleaning services,

WOMEN PROFESSIONALS

seem strangely unrelated to ac- though in view of the back- of mothers have stayed at

kitchens which sent appetizing The real difficulty arose when hot food up to the apartments some women got professional - and this would give mothers or technical training and began more time for their children, to make money. Not as much too.

as a man with similar training, I don't really expect the inbut enough to challenge the dustrialists and bankers who economic dominance of men in control capitalist society to subthe home. Working, in itself, sidize such expensive and unwill not change women's status profitable housekeeping ser- making money will. vices, which would have no

laundry service, centralized

Another misconception is that purpose except to make life some characteristics are inhereasier for women, which means it would be easier for their husently and eternally "masculine" while others are "feminine." bands and children, too. But The work of anthropologists this is what we should ask for. and sociologists, who have These are the kind of services shown how these concepts vary that a socialist society will create, because the men and greatly in different societies and cultures, is overlooked. women who build socialism will Jung's disciple, Mrs. Scottnot be interested in profits but Maxwell, thinks that a woman in answering human needs. who becomes a doctor or law

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