

Mikoyan's Visit Seen as Break In the Cold War

By Daniel Roberts

The most important fact about Soviet First Deputy Premier Mikoyan's visit to the United States from Jan. 4 to Jan. 20 was that it marked a new easing of the cold war following three rounds of international crisis over the Mideast, the Taiwan Straits and Berlin.

The initiative for Mikoyan's trip was taken by the Kremlin with the need in mind of a successful "peace move" on the eve of the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. However Mikoyan found conditions favorable here for his visit, indicating that in this country, too, the ruling circles needed a warmer diplomatic climate. The American press lauded Mikoyan. The nation's top industrialists and bankers gave him friendly receptions at meetings, lunches and banquets. He had talked with President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Secretary of State Dulles, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and leading Democratic politicians.

Mikoyan's visit was pronounced a success by Eisenhower in a message to Mikoyan when he left. It was also endorsed in a Senate debate, with Senators Lyndon Johnson, Humphrey, Aiken, (Continued on Page 2)

Visitor in Washington



Soviet First Deputy Premier Mikoyan (left) invites U.S. Vice President Nixon to visit the Soviet Union as second-ranking head of American government. Nixon left the invitation open. The White House has not yet indicated if it intends to reciprocate the Mikoyan tour.

Cubans Roar Approval For Summary Justice

By Lillian Kiezel

From all corners of the island 600,000 Cubans rallied in Havana Jan. 21 in response to the call of Fidel Castro. Their banners read: "Revolutionary justice for the assassins." "Extradition of war criminals from the United States." "Yankees go home." Roaring greetings to Castro, they also roared approval of the military trials of Batista's henchmen who had tortured and murdered their people.

Resentment is high in Cuba over criticism in Congress of the summary justice. Well-known liberals such as Sen. Wayne Morse (D. Ore.) and Rep. Emanuel Celler (D. N.Y.), who claim they were critical of the Batista regime, are opposing what they call a "bloodbath." They want Castro to wait until tempers have cooled and civil courts are reestablished.

In reply, Castro invited the critical Congressmen along with 400 officials and newspapermen from the U.S., Canada, Britain and Latin America to witness the Havana trials of some 600 prisoners. All declined except Rep. Clayton Powell (D. N.Y.) and Rep. Porter (D. Ore.).

Castro knows full well how powerful and popular the sentiment is to settle scores with the hated dictator and his murderous machine. He cabled President Eisenhower and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee protesting the attacks on his government: "The American silence on the crimes of the Batista regime has made the present criticism of executions here offensive and dangerous for Cuban-American relations. The international press has paid no attention to the moral reforms, the order and renewed faith in the government which has surged forth with the new regime."

But the victims tell the tale better than anyone else. Their wounds are eloquent evidence of torture endured. Odon Alvarez de la Campa, Castro's sub secretary of Agriculture, arrived in the U.S. this week. He has no hands. Batista's police amputated them after his capture in 1957. He told reporters: "The Cuban people have lost too much and these people are asking for Justice. Thank God that the government is conducting these trials, for if not, the people would take justice into their own hands. I was fortunate compared to the great number of women and children who had their tongues cut out

and their eyes pulled out before they were killed by Batista's men."

Msgnr. Alberto Martin, one of two Roman Catholic Bishops who support the trials and executions, sums up the sentiment this way: "In some cases the people would have been justified if they had taken justice into their own hands and killed known criminals without waiting for a trial."

The Cuban people, it is clear, want a clean sweep. "Get the murderers!" The masses want the complete liquidation of the despotic regime. The cry for "justice" is the form the demands of the developing revolution have taken for the moment.

Resistance infuriates the masses. They feel that the initiative is still in their hands. Castro's course is to appease them. By satisfying the thirst for "justice" in this form, he evidently hopes to divert the revolution from proceeding to a "justice" that would end capitalism.

In the giant Havana rally, the people of Cuba voiced their determination to decide the question of justice for themselves. Criticisms from Congress have stiffened this determination.



FIDEL CASTRO, leader of popular Cuban uprising, warns against U.S. intervention in internal Cuban affairs.

U.S. Tanks End Strike In Argentina

JAN. 22 — While Eisenhower rolled out the velvet carpet for Argentine President Frondizi, 35-ton American-made Sherman tanks smashed through the gates of Buenos Aires meat-packing plants to help break a four-day general strike. By this morning, machine guns, tear gas, mass arrests and the drafting of strikers virtually ended the strike movement which had shut down every key Argentine industry and service.

The strike action was touched off by a government "stabilization" program designed to put the burden of inflation on Argentine workers through hikes in living costs and widespread layoffs in government-operated industries. The moves were made in part to reassure American investors on the opportunities for profits in Argentina.

The New York Times reported from Washington yesterday that "State Department officials were relieved that the Argentine police and army had apparently smashed the general strike."

Since the ouster of the Peron regime, which had reflected in a distorted way the opposition of the Argentine masses to the exploitation of the country's resources by British and American imperialism, the flow of American capital into the country has steadily increased. New contracts were recently signed with four American oil companies, headed by Standard Oil. Striking workers at these oil fields were "mobilized" into the Argentine army and threatened with court-martial as "deserters" if they failed to return to work.

MASS ARRESTS

In addition to the violence against the strikers, the government shut down strike headquarters and the offices of the Communist Party. Some 500 strike leaders have been imprisoned and elected union officials replaced by government-appointed officials.

As of this writing, the government has refused to make a single concession to the demands of the workers and appears intent on smashing the power of the unions completely.

President Frondizi explained it this way to the United States Congress yesterday: "Foreign credit and investment find today in the Argentine republic the same juridical guarantees granted by any democratic country. They will also find... a hard-working and enterprising people."

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Preparations for War Biggest Item in Budget

Democrats Demand Still More for Pentagon; Tax Hike Aimed at Workers

The President and Congress will sock the working people hard in the coming year. That's what President Eisenhower's budget message, submitted to Congress Jan. 19, promises to do. One item, for instance, calls for a 1½ cent increase per gallon in the federal gasoline tax. There'll be no tax reductions. Workers earning \$3,000 to \$5,000 will continue to have an average of 12% taken out of their pay for income tax alone. The total budget comes to \$77 billion.

N. Carolina Papers Argue Case

Top spokesmen for North Carolina racists are becoming concerned over the mounting protest here and abroad against the imprisonment of two Negro children "guilty" of being kissed by a white playmate. Expressing this concern, two leading white newspapers made damaging admissions about the state's brutal disregard for the welfare and legal rights of James Simpson, eight, and David Hanover Thompson, ten.

Application for a writ to free the boys had been made by New York attorney Conrad Lynn in behalf of Robert F. Williams, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Monroe. Williams is chairman and Lynn general counsel of the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice which is fighting for release of the boys in collaboration with the NAACP. Judge Johnston dismissed the writ and remanded the small victims to the reformatory where they were committed Oct. 28.

In a Jan. 16 interview with North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges, the Raleigh News & Observer said the Governor believes "that the furor over [the] two Negro boys probably hasn't ended," and that he "blames in part accurate newspaper accounts for the unusual interest aroused in this country and abroad by the Monroe case."

Editorials in the Charlotte Observer and the Greensboro Daily News join Governor Hodges in the fake claim that "propaganda groups" and "inaccurate" press reports are responsible for the public outcry. They also go along with the assertion that the boys have "criminal records." However, in expressing apprehension lest the racists went too far in persecuting the boys, both editorials confirm charges made by the Committee (Continued on Page 2)

Military	59 cents
Interest on public debt	10 cents
Veterans	7 cents
Agriculture	8 cents
Other	16 cents

Total figures come to \$45.8 billion for military outlays; \$8.1 billion for interest (mostly on money borrowed for previous wars); \$5.1 billion for veterans; \$6 billion for agriculture; and \$12 billion for "other."

In his message to Congress urging a balanced budget, President Eisenhower said, "Desirability alone is not a sound criterion for adding to Federal responsibilities." One can readily agree where additions to the warring total are concerned. But some of the items classified as "other"—particularly those for labor and welfare and for housing—would seem to be on the piddling side. Here is a breakdown:

Public assistance	\$2.0 billion
Public health	\$0.7 billion
Education	\$0.5 billion
Public housing	\$0,093 billion

The public-assistance figure includes aid to states for extension of unemployment compensation—a program scheduled to come to an end this year.

(An item in the budget called "other aids to business" gets \$213 million. No original "aid to business" item is listed. But this needn't perplex us. The military budget, and much else besides, will serve for the original "aid to business" category.)

The main quarrel Democrats have with the proposed budget is that it "skimps" military appropriations. They propose to up this sum. They also want to boost an aid-to-airport-construction item by a big amount and public housing, public assistance and education items by much smaller amounts. This is the substance of Senate Majority Leader Johnson's program of "prudent progressivism."

Atrocity — U.S.A.

An Editorial

Editors, congressmen and ministers are deploring the execution of Batista's strong-arm men.

We agree that each of these murderers, whose tortured victims are now being dug up by the hundreds from makeshift graves, should receive a fair trial.

But we think that the Castro government asked a reasonable question in response to the outcries. Why were the editors, congressmen and ministers silent in the terrible years when Batista's men clubbed and gunned some 20,000 Cuban citizens?

We should like to ask a still more pertinent question of these same suddenly converted spokesmen for fairness, for the protection of the innocent and for due legal process in Cuba. What are they doing about the atrocities committed in the U.S.A. against the Negro people?

Take, for example, the case of eight-year-old David Simpson and ten-year-old James Hanover Thompson, of Monroe, N.C. These children were torn from their mothers and held incommunicado in jail for six days. They are now serving indeterminate sentences in a reformatory. Their "crime" was that a white child kissed one of them in play.

The Negro community of Monroe, under the leadership of Robert F. Williams, is seeking the return of these children to their mothers. When a writ of habeas corpus was served, Hodge, the governor of the state of North Carolina, took the unusual step of assigning his attorney

general Malcolm Seawell to help keep the children locked up.

At the hearing, Judge Price, who sent the children up, tried to convert them into hardened criminals with a "record." The record, it surprised no one to learn, exists no place outside this bigot's head. But that did not prevent Gov. Hodge's representative from insisting on keeping the children jailed. And, in accordance with the Southern practice that overrides America's constitutional guarantee of equality under the law, the children were kept jailed.

This case epitomizes the massive effort of the racists to keep Negro children "in their place." It epitomizes the resistance against ending segregated schools. It is a striking example of the racist prejudice, brutality and violence which American Negroes experience every day in infinite variety, from the most subtle, poisonous condescension to the lynching bees of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils. It is one case among countless others of the atrocities committed against the Negro people day in and day out in America.

Let's hear something on this subject from Sen. Wayne Morse and the others who have expressed their horror at the rude justice the angry Cuban people have been meting out since they rose successfully against the Bourbons of their land.

What do you think of this case of torture and imprisonment of children in America? Doesn't revulsion toward atrocities begin at home? Speak up!

Gov. Almond "Disappoints" Moderates on Desegregation

JAN. 21 — Gov. Almond last night rejected even the least possible token school integration. His declaration followed rulings two days ago by the state Supreme Court and a federal court invalidating statutes implementing "massive resistance" to the integration of Virginia's schools.

"Moderate" Virginia Democrats were reported "disappointed" that Almond had not switched to the tack of legal subterfuge indicated by the U.S. Supreme Court when it upheld an Alabama school placement law which effectively bars all but a handful of Negro pupils from integration.

The Virginia Supreme Court ruled against a statute making it "legal" to close any integrated school. Under this law,

13,000 white children in three Virginia cities have been locked out of school since last September because a federal court had ordered acceptance of a few Negro students.

It also outlawed a statute making state school funds available to operate "private" segregated schools, while the federal court declared it unconstitutional to shut down part of the public school system.

NEW PATTERN?

Almond railed against these decisions. But a growing number of Southern racist politicians were said to recognize that "massive resistance" is no longer urgent.

Discussing the Virginia ruling, Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Times, said that the "constitu-

tional crisis" provoked by the 1954 Supreme Court school decision "faded into history" last November when the Court upheld the Alabama law which bars Negroes from "white" schools on a variety of grounds other than race. By that decision, Krock said, "The courts showed the Southern states how racial integration could legally be held to a very small percentage for a long time, as measured in decades..."

The Jan. 23 U.S. News & World Report adds: "... a new approach to the race problem is emerging in some States of the South... The new idea is to accept, as unavoidable, a little bit of mixing in public schools here and there — but to provide insurance that no white child shall be compelled, against his wishes, to go to school with a Negro."

The un-Koreans Menace Fourth Term for Rhee

By Alex Harte

Remember Korea? Thousands of American boys died there wondering what the fighting was about. But Syngman Rhee knew. Truman went in there under the United Nations flag to save Rhee's rule and Rhee doesn't intend to let that victory slip through his fingers. In fact he is now electioneering in his own inimitable way for a fourth term as president.

On Christmas Eve special guards hired by the dictator ran members of the Democratic party out of the National Assembly. Rhee had good reason for giving himself this kind of Christmas present inasmuch as the Opposition, for all its loyalty, had staged a six-day sit-down to protest certain measures he was sponsoring.

Then Rhee's Liberal party unanimously adopted the "anti-Communist" police-state bill that had disturbed the Opposition. And another bill abolishing local elections.

His new law provides: "Any person who disturbs the public by publicly alleging or disseminating false facts or by alleging or disseminating facts in a distorted way, thus benefiting the enemy, shall be punished by penal servitude for not exceeding five years."

The measure abolishing popular election of municipal officials is a reform much to Rhee's liking, since it provides for their appointment instead, thus lending more human interest to the office of president.

"GRAVE CONCERN" Washington is worried that Rhee's style of campaigning may lead to turmoil — inside South Korea. "U.S. officials have made no secret of their grave concern over public reaction should the anti-subversive and anti-espionage law be used to silence press criticism of the Government and curtail the Opposition's political activity in the name of anti-Communist policy," reported the Jan. 17 N.Y. Times.

But Rhee, tranquilized by an annual allotment of \$400,000,000 from the U.S. Treasury for his

army, is not inclined to worry. His club-swinging cops demonstrated that as they broke up rallies of the Democratic party.

U.S. officials in Seoul felt compelled to protest when some of the cops undiplomatically forced their way into the U.S. Embassy and tried to drag out an American photographer so insensitive to Rhee's way of politicking as to take pictures of demonstrators being clubbed down in front of the place.

They were "overzealous" in carrying out their duty, the Korean government later explained, with admirable regard for accurate use of language.

Rhee's barnstorming has also left U.S. officials "deeply concerned with the probable impression abroad." The accuracy of this report was indicated when Ambassador Dowling was hurriedly called back to Washington for "consultation."

Meanwhile the Democrats staged an indoor rally to protest Rhee's new laws. The wily dictator immediately invoked a U.S. military government statute barring such rallies. The Democrats then filed

PATRIOTIC STAND

Leaders of the Democratic party have pleaded with the aged despot to give them some assurance that the "anti-subversive" law will really be used against Communists and not against them. The same pious hope has been voiced by U.S. officials anxious to smooth out the wrinkles that have formed between Rhee and the Democrats.

But a request to meet with Democratic leader John M. Chang was understandably rejected by Rhee. He could not "sit in company with a person who, through his statements and actions hurts the Administration."

This answer indicates that Rhee has only the highest interests of the nation in mind and that these interests may compel him to place Chang on trial for violating the new anti-Communist law with his subversive criticisms.



Korean dictator Syngman Rhee and Walter Robertson of the State Department beam happily at time of Korean truce. Washington is beaming less today as Rhee's new dictatorial measures provoke an internal crisis. Rhee points out that the U.S. government also takes steps to ensure "internal security."

Does Labor Bureaucracy Vanish If You Refuse to See It's There?

By Murry Weiss

In the January issue of Political Affairs, monthly magazine expressing the views of the Communist Party, William Z. Foster begins an article, "Work in the Two Party System," with the observation: "It is a peculiarity of the American labor movement that the trade unions have no mass Labor Party, or other mass party."



FOSTER

For over half a century, Foster says, the American workers have been "voting for the policies and candidates of the two old bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, with the emphasis on the former." And the "general result is that the workers as a whole . . . have remained deplorably weak politically."

The question immediately arises: What accounts for this peculiarity? The American working class is the most powerful in the world; it built an industrial union movement through militant class-struggle tactics; and now it finds itself completely helpless on the political arena, without an independent policy or party.

A Marxist analysis of the nature and cause of this profound peculiarity would seem to be in order. But Foster doesn't even pose this question let alone answer it.

There is a good reason for this. To investigate the causes, for the political weakness of the American working class leads to the causes for the political weakness of the leadership of the labor movement. This in turn brings us to the character of the leadership. Is the leadership a mere reflection of the rank and file, more or less responsive to the will of the organized workers? Or is the leadership composed of a bureaucracy with interests of its own, separate from those of the workers and tied up with the very capitalist class that exploits the workers?

CASE OF BLINDNESS?
As far as Foster is concerned

the American labor bureaucracy does not even exist. He sees "middle and progressive workers and leaders" or "conservative workers and their leaders" in the trade-union movement. The concept of a labor bureaucracy as a social caste, as an integral part of the structure of capitalist equilibrium and rule, as "labor lieutenants of capital in the ranks of labor," deeply imbued with capitalist ideology, resting on the more privileged and satisfied layers of the working class, defending special material interests, is not even alluded to in Foster's article. It is as if for Foster all this had disappeared without a trace.

And not for Foster alone. In none of the resolutions, articles, speeches and declarations of either the Communist Party or the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation is there a hint of the Marxist concept of the labor bureaucracy. To be sure we occasionally encounter the term "bureaucracy," used in a descriptive way for bad practices of certain sections of the leadership. In this usage bureaucracy is listed along with racketeering and business unionism as various aspects of "malpractice in office."

This only scratches the surface of the problem. Without the concept of the labor bureaucracy as a social formation, as a parasitic, cancerous growth on the body of the labor movement, we cannot begin to understand either the reason for the absence of a labor party in the U.S. or the road to building a labor party, or what kind of labor party it can and should be.

Foster says, "It is impossible to establish an effective Labor Party movement without a solid trade union foundation. This the workers have experienced time and again in their several generations of effort to create the Labor Party." Several generations of effort! Doesn't the failure of these efforts demand an explanation?

Foster's "blind spot" with regard to the labor bureaucracy surrounds the problem with a thick cloud of mystery and confusion. From his article one gets the impression that along

side of several generations of effort to build a labor party the workers have been voting for their class enemies year in and year out, for a half-century, with the trade-union leaders merely going along. But this isn't the case at all!

BLOCKED LABOR PARTY

The trade-union bureaucracy has fought the formation of a labor party tooth and nail since the stormy rise of the CIO. Time after time the workers attempted to transfer their militant class-struggle movement to the political arena. Each time they were blocked and driven back by the bureaucracy. Despite the tragic results of its political policy, the labor bureaucracy has continued to actively support and build the capitalist two-party system.

It is the bureaucracy, and not the workers in their mass that has become a part of the Democratic machine, that participates (on the lower levels in the main) in Democratic machine politics and that has developed deep material and political interests in the fortunes of one of the two monopoly capitalist parties.

It is this identification of the bureaucracy with the Democratic Party machine that has chained the unions officially to capitalist politics, that has made available the treasuries and organizing staffs of the unions to the Democratic Party, and that has trapped the workers in a situation where they face the narrow choice between two monopoly capitalist candidates on election day.

Foster says, "The CP works on the theory that it is impossible for the workers to win complete control of either the Democratic Party, or the Republican Party, they being too closely controlled by the monopolists, and that eventually the workers and their allies will have to form an independent Labor Party."

Very good. Let's take this statement at face value for the time being. The Socialist Workers Party also works on the same theory.

But the labor bureaucracy does not work on this theory. It has its own theory and practice. Walter Reuther, who in Foster's book must be a "progressive" or at least a "moderate" union leader, explained his view at the 1954 CIO convention in Los Angeles.

"A labor party, here," Reuther said, "would commit the American political system to the same narrow class structure upon which the political parties of Europe are built." Reuther argued that "America is a place where social groups are in flux, without a rigid class structure."

This theory, permeated with the ideology and flavored with the propaganda of the NAM, is typical of the thinking of the labor bureaucrats. Can a serious struggle for a labor party be organized unless this kind of ideology and leadership is consistently opposed?

Foster, however, is too discreet to even mention the labor bureaucracy, let alone propose a struggle against it. Actually he proposes that the Communist Party and left wing unionists strive to become a part of the bureaucracy, strive to re-establish the old alliance between the Communist Party and a section of the labor bureaucracy that was broken as a result of the cold war.

This strategy cannot serve in building a genuine left wing in the trade unions or a labor party as stages in the struggle for a socialist America. This becomes clear the moment we look at the problem concretely.

WORKERS' PROBLEMS

The struggle for a labor party will develop in the ranks of the organized movement of the workers and the Negro people as a result of the increasingly compelling need to find a political solution to the intolerable problems bearing down on the working people. The inevitable intensification of mass struggles around the issues confronting the working class will bring about a collision between the rank-and-file, leftward-moving, worker militants and the bureaucracy. Even today, on every one of these pressing issues the 'bureaucracy' is ranged on the side of the capitalists against the workers.

The workers face the problem of automation and chronic unemployment; thus the demand for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay has gained wide union support, among the auto workers in particular. The UAW bureaucracy has obstructed a real struggle for this demand over and over again. Yet the pressure for it was so great that the last convention of the UAW was compelled to declare

this demand the number one contract issue for 1953.

When it came to the actual negotiations, of course, Reuther scuttled the demand at the bargaining table. Ask the militant auto workers if they think they can fight for 30-for-40 without fighting Reuther!

The same holds for the bitter struggle against the back-breaking speed-up in the plants; for the sweated assembly line worker it is a daily struggle, not only against the corporation and its plant managers, foremen, time-and-motion study experts, but also against the entire machinery of the union bureaucracy.

Ask any General Motors production worker whether he can fight speed-up without fighting the union bureaucracy.

The struggle to organize the unorganized, to unionize the South, to weld Negro-Labor solidarity against Jim Crow in all its forms, is a daily and hourly struggle against the labor bureaucracy. Ask the militant Negro or white worker in the South; ask the fighting leaders of the Southern Negro struggle against segregation; ask them if they can conduct their fight without running into the white-supremacist labor bureaucracy of the South, a bureaucracy that is sanctioned and protected by the top officials of the AFL-CIO.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

On the highest level of issues: the struggle for peace and against the cold-war witch-hunt — where is the labor bureaucracy to be found? It supports the most belligerent wing of American monopoly capitalism in its drive to make the world safe for capitalism and to crush the socialist revolution and colonial uprisings. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy provides the shrillest notes in the chorus of anti-Soviet propaganda and red baiting.

George Meany is one of the few business leaders (that's the way he regards himself) who refused to even meet with Mikoyan during his recent visit. Under the direction of the State Department, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy spends the money collected from American workers' dues to smash left-wing trade unions in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America and to finance unions that knuckle under to American imperialism. In the U.S. the bureaucracy has, in collaboration with the FBI, witch-hunted and hounded radicals and militants out of the unions.

In other words, the daily class struggle in the U.S. on every level dictates the strategy of building a left wing in the unions oriented towards the formation of a labor party. And this left wing must be completely independent of the ideology and organized machine of the labor bureaucracy. It must, indeed, be built in the course of a historic struggle to smash this bureaucracy and return to the great traditions of union democracy.

The power of the American labor bureaucracy, like the power of American capitalism, is great; but the power of the industrial working class in the U.S. is even greater. Under the impact of great upheavals and mass radicalization, the crustified bureaucratic caste will undoubtedly crack up and manifest its inherent weakness; namely, that it bases itself not on the class movement of the exploited workers but on special privileges granted to it by a ruling class; a ruling class, that still possesses sufficient wealth to create a special agency of support for itself in the ranks of the organized working class.

In the process of its disintegration the bureaucracy will develop all kinds of cracks and fissures; it will suffer split-offs, inner struggles and crises. A resolute left wing, founded on the rock of class-struggle principles can exploit these developments; it can bloc with sections of the bureaucracy to advance specific issues and win specific concessions.

The pre-condition for the success of such maneuvers, however, is the complete independence of the left wing from the bureaucracy. This is precisely what the Communist Party abandoned when it joined the bureaucracy during the thirties in supporting and building the two-party system.

How and why the Communist Party, which started out as a revolutionary party, became for a time the junior partner of the American labor bureaucracy will be the theme of another article.

FOR "FLATION"
In 1934, Pres. Roosevelt said he favored "reflationary" not "inflationary" price rises.

At Ease



Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson can take things easy because he only needs to wave his finger to get what he wants, especially from liberal Democrats. After getting the liberals to play dead while he stopped efforts to end the Senate's filibuster rule, the Texas leader of the Democratic Party offered his own "civil rights" bill. You're right. Nothing in it about school integration.

... Carolina Case

(Continued from Page 1)

tee, to Combat Racial Injustice and the NAACP.

Suggesting that perhaps the state should have found foster homes for the boys, the Jan. 15 Charlotte Observer said: "If it was necessary that the law do something, it was just as necessary that it do the right thing. Tender age is involved here. These are mere children. They are in no sense criminals. They are more the natural result of an environment which they did not create and which they cannot change."

Exposing the hypocritical claim that state officials were concerned over lack of proper home atmosphere and sought to provide such atmosphere for the two children, the Observer declared: "The institution at Hoffman can correctly be called a training school. It cannot be called a home, however hard its officials try to make it so."

To this indictment the Jan. 16 Greensboro Daily News adds: "If the goal was sound . . . some of the procedures used to achieve it left much to be desired. In the first place, David Simpson and James Thompson

were held without formal charges for six days in Union County jail. . . . In the second place, they were never allowed to confront their accusers. The white girls and their parents were heard in one private session; the Negro boys and their parents in another. . . . In the third place, the presiding judge said the boys had appeared before him previously but offered no formal record of their offense. Somewhere somebody should have kept a formal record in the court. Even a juvenile court should encourage such formality."

REAL REASON

Expressing the real reason for its concern with these violations of the law, the Daily News concludes: ". . . those who operate such courts should make sure their actions, however well intended, are not made vulnerable in any way to outside distortion."

The pious claims that the intentions of the officials involved were good, and only their "procedures" bad, was blasted in a Jan. 17 editorial in the Carolina Times, a leading Southern Negro paper which has been waging a militant campaign for release of the boys.

Cutting through the claim of previous "offenses" by the boys, the Times declares: "The fact remains that these two small boys were never jailed, threatened with being jailed or taken to a reformatory until they broke the unwritten law of white supremacy. . . . We are compelled to look with suspicion on [Juvenile Judge] Price's statement that the reason he made no previous entries in his records is because he wanted to help them. It takes no sage to determine how much help a juvenile judge would be to referred to twice in his testimony as 'niggers.' When he slammed them in jail and held them there for six days he was giving them exactly the kind of help he felt they should have."

NATIONAL DEBT

The national debt has now reached a record peak of \$280.9 billion, according to a November Treasury statement. Borrowing to pay interest on the estimated \$12 billion deficit incurred this year will push the national debt still higher.

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'Just Arrived

"Germany, the Key to the International Situation" by Leon Trotsky

In this pamphlet of 40 pages, written in 1931, Trotsky outlines the course of history and the effect upon the working class if Hitler should take power.

Trotsky urged unity between the Communists and the Social Democrats to prevent the victory of Hitler. Long out of print. Send 35c for your copy.

Pioneer Publishers
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New York 3, N.Y.

WAYS OF A POLITICIAN

In a speech in Detroit in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt, then running for his first term, called for removing the causes of poverty — but he refused to spell out methods to achieve this because, he said, it was Sunday and he would not talk politics.

Advertisement

Advertisement

John Gates' Story

John Gates, former editor of the Daily Worker, has written an entire book to explain why he joined the Communist Party in 1931, rose to top rank in its leadership, and then, after 27 years, decided to resign.

In a rounded review of "The Story of an American Communist," Joseph Hansen, editor of the International Socialist Review, doubts that Gates really grasps the meaning of his own experience from a Marxist point of view. But it is important to every militant worker to get the clearest possible understanding of what those long years in the CP did to Gates and to his generation.

Read this careful analysis in the winter issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Advocate of Force and Violence

In a speech in the Senate, Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Democrat, declared that a minority stripped of a "peaceful defensive shield" like the filibuster may "take steps to protect itself by whatever means it finds at its disposal—by intrigue, conspiracy and coup d'etat if possible, by bloody revolution if necessary." (Reported by Warren Duffee in the Jan. 10 N.Y. World Telegram.)

Thurmond wasn't threatened with prosecution under the Smith Act (written by a Dixiecrat compeer) for his statement. In fact, he was awarded a new public trust shortly afterward. On Jan. 14, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson appointed him to the Senate Armed Services Committee. We suppose that with the move to kill the filibuster safely defeated, Johnson felt that the Dixiecrats wouldn't start a civil war just yet.

The violence Thurmond preached in the Senate is what white supremacists are practicing every day in the South. Racist officials associated with the White Citizens Councils instigate terrorist actions or perform them officially to block the Supreme Court decision declaring school segregation unconstitutional. In Little Rock, for instance, mob action to prevent integration of Central High School was traced back to Governor Faubus.

The Southern agrarian ruling class, which gains most from Jim Crow, and for whom Thurmond speaks, is not, of course, the dominant section of the American ruling class. Indeed, right now, the most influential sections of big business believe that there should be some token reforms made in the race system of the South. Their opinion was voiced again in recent editorials of the New York Times urging adoption of an anti-filibuster rule.

But Thurmond's declaration—that a

ruling minority, no longer able "peacefully" to thwart majority will may resort to "intrigue, conspiracy and coup d'etat, if possible," or to "bloody [counter-]revolution, if necessary"—is not at all alien to the thinking of leading big-business policy-makers. The violence that leading corporations organized in the 1930's to block the CIO testifies to that. On a global scale, "police actions" in Korea and Lebanon show that the controlling sections of the American capitalist class respond violently almost by reflex action to popular attempts to breach the status quo.

History shows that no ruling class has ever yielded its power peacefully no matter how great the majority in the population seeking social change. Basic transformations in society have been accompanied by violence because the ruling class initiated it to stem the march of progress.

In American history, we have the example of the Southern slave owners—a small, hated minority even among Southern whites—launching the Civil War of 1861-65 to preserve the slave system. In 1860, the American people elected Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans on a program of containing the slave power and breaking its hold on the federal government. Implicit in the demands of the majority of the American people was abolition of slavery. The slave-owners then staged an armed rebellion to defeat the democratically expressed will of the majority.

Today that kind of rebellion—threatened by Thurmond in the Senate—is most likely to take the form of fascism. The working people will have to be prepared to meet it as they press ever more vigorously for democratic reforms in American economic, political and social life.

For "Hemispheric" Defense?

As part of its program of arming its allies against a claimed danger of attack by the Soviet Union or China, Washington ships millions of dollars worth of military equipment to various Latin-American governments. The practice has been difficult to justify since few people seriously believe that Soviet or Chinese troops are likely to suddenly descend on countries like Cuba or Chile.

The real reason these arms are sent to Latin America is for defense against a very real threat that dictatorial governments constantly face. This was evident in both the Cuban revolution and the Argentine general strike.

For example, a Jan. 17 New York Times dispatch on the Argentine general strike offered this description of a police attack on a Buenos Aires meat-packing plant held by sit-downers: "Before dawn today, 900 policemen in trucks, accompanied by two Sherman 35-ton tanks, surrounded the national meat-packing plant..."

Were Sherman tanks sent to Argentina for defense against aggression from the other side of the globe? Or were they sent for the precise purpose for which they were used—suppression of the Argentine working class?

As for Cuba, consider the State Department's reply to charges made by Fidel

Castro. On Jan. 15, the Cuban leader declared that the U.S. government was guilty of sending bombs to help Batista maintain his bloody rule. "Moreover, the United States Military Mission continued to instruct Batista's soldiers... and the Batista regime kept on receiving arms from foreign sources."

In response, the State Department had to admit that U.S. arms had been used by Batista against the revolutionists, but asserted this was done over U.S. objections. When and where the "objections" were actually made was not revealed. Nor was it explained why the powerful United States couldn't compel the Cuban dictator to respect its wishes.

Apparently realizing that Castro had the goods on it, the State Department also confessed it had sold "eight" napalm bombs to Batista. These, naturally, were for "demonstration purposes."

Were the fearsome napalm bombs shipped to Batista for defense against the Soviet Union or China—or for protection of the more than \$850,000,000 in U.S. investments in Cuba?

The next time you hear a Republican or Democratic politician blowing off about the need for shelling out your tax dollars for "hemispheric" defense, ask him if he means defense against Argentine workers and Cuban peasants.

Nomination for an Oscar

In Hollywood they have a saying: "What good is love? It can't get you money."

The cynics of Sunset Strip now have a fresh topic for the cocktail hour—how the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences returned to the straight and narrow. It's a story with a sordid opening, but it's got a happy ending.

In February, 1957, the Academy announced that no "Oscars" would be awarded for outstanding artistic achievement to anyone who admitted membership in the Communist Party and did not publicly renounce the party, or who refused to answer freely allegations of Communist activities before a duly constituted federal legislative committee.

The Academy found itself in the witch-hunt gutter because it had awarded an Oscar to "The Brave One" as the best original story in 1956. The author, "Robert Rich," did not step forward to receive his prize. The Academy, fearing the worst—that the author was a "subversive" on the blacklist and that this would hurt the box office—hurriedly announced its edict about recognizing only non- or anti-Communist art.

The payoff: In the Soviet Union Boris Pasternak had to turn down his Nobel Prize for "Doctor Zhivago" because it didn't measure up to Kremlin standards of political purity. How could the Academy join in the howl over censorship of

the arts in the Soviet Union when it was censoring them in the United States?

Then the climax: "The Defiant Ones" was named by the New York Film Critics as the best-written movie of 1958. Later it turned out that one of the authors, Nathan E. Douglas, came under the Academy's political edict, since in 1953 before the House Un-American Committee he had invoked the Fifth Amendment under his legal name of Nedrick Young.

Came the dawn. The Academy last week decided that its ban was "unworkable." From now on it will sin no more. Anyone may get an Oscar on the basis of artistic merit alone.

As part of the happy ending, "Robert Rich" came forward to announce that his real name is Dalton Trumbo. One of the "unfriendly ten" witnesses who refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Committee, he had spent a year in prison for contempt of Congress, and had been blacklisted in the movie industry.

To make it a finale up to Hollywood's best, we suggest that the Academy award itself an Oscar for the year's outstanding return to virtue. We do this despite a suspicion that like other Hollywood heroes, our Academy has its eyes on the ticket booth and that it will ride again into sin and peril, especially if the scenario calls for a few pithy lines on how much better artists are treated in the USA as compared to the Soviet Union.



Kwame Nkrumah (in striped robe) celebrates with crowd at entrance of building where the first All-African Conference was held in Accra, Ghana. The gathering, which called for a United States of Africa stirred fresh hope among freedom-seeking Africans throughout the continent.

How Congo Civil Strife Started at Leopoldville

The Jan. 4 uprising of the Africans in Leopoldville, principal city of the Belgian Congo, has as its recent background much Belgian maneuvering against the aspiration of the Congolese—plus jailings and other police harassment of the Negro leaders.

Last year, the Belgian imperialists were forced to permit the Congolese some token form of self-government and permitted elections on an experimental basis for mayor in a few towns, including district mayors in Leopoldville. In an article in the Jan. 19 La Gauche (The Left), Belgian socialist weekly, Ernest Glinne writes that these elections "were put through suddenly, after ten years of stalling, in order to avoid the formation of Congolese parties."

According to many reports, the administration was quite pleased with having been able to split up the advancing colonial people on the basis of divisions that harken back to another epoch. By outlawing a political struggle of parties based on programs and ideologies, the administration pushed the Africans in the centers back toward tribal formations in the hope that the latter would not advance "modern" demands."

NATIONAL DEMANDS

Although perforce organized on a tribal basis for the expression of their aspirations, the national demands of the Congolese broke through. In particular the leaders of Abako (abbreviation for the Association of the Lower Congo) put forward a set of demands encompassing the entire Congo. The principal leaders of Abako are Joseph Kasavubu and Daniel Kanza, who were arrested by the Belgians following the Jan. 4 demonstrations. Kasavubu, a district mayor in Leopoldville, is president of Abako.

On Oct. 5, the Congolese National Movement was formed as a political organization, thus surmounting the tribal divisions fostered by the Belgians. Three representatives of the National Movement attended the All-African People's Conference held in Accra, Ghana, Dec. 8-13. (One of the aims proclaimed by the Conference is achievement of a United States of Africa.) "Our movement has for its fundamental goal the liberation of the Congolese people from the colonialist regime and its accession to independence," said Patrice Lumumba, president of the Congolese National Movement. "The liberationist wind that now blows across all Africa does not leave the Congolese people indifferent... We are assured of the support of the masses and of success in the efforts that we are undertaking." (Quoted from the Dec. 20 La Gauche, which printed Lumumba's entire speech to the Accra Conference.)

The Accra parley culminated a number of influences that have spurred the Congolese freedom aspirations. There is also the fact that the Belgian Congo's northern regions are inhabited by the same tribal groups that form the population of the autonomous republics formed recently in the French area. Although these "republics" are within the French colonial empire and have not yet gained genuine independence, Belgian authorities are nevertheless disturbed over

the names they have chosen for themselves.

Thus the area of the French Congo inhabited by the Ubangian-Shari has named itself the Central African Republic and the French Middle Congo region has organized into the Congo Republic. These names were chosen with an eye on the future of both French- and Belgian-dominated Congo areas.

The events immediately preceding the Jan. 4 rising are described by Glinne as follows: A few days before the end of December, the Abako section of Ngiri-Ngiri commune (administrative district set up by the Belgians), held a meeting with Kasavubu and Kanza present. Independence was dealt with. Sibou, president of the local section, made vibrant appeals for unity of the Congolese of the Lower and Upper Congo and added: "When we shall have achieved independence we will ask our Belgian brothers to discuss what relations should exist between the two countries." On Dec. 28, the Congolese National Movement held an even more successful meeting in the town of Kalamu, devoted to the work of the Accra Conference.

Then on Jan. 4, the Kalamu section of Abako was scheduled to meet. Glinne cites the following report from a correspondent in Leopoldville: "... those in charge of the meeting had asked for permission in time, but at the last minute, M. Troadeur, head mayor, informed them of his refusal to give them the authorization [to hold the meeting] that they had asked for. The members had already filled the meeting place. The leaders, Kasavubu included, then notified them of the decision.

COP PROVOKES FIGHT

"As was to be expected there were angry protests. Finally everybody calmed down and left the hall for the street. There some Abakists shouted at the top of their lungs 'Independence! Independence!' A European policeman who was close by ordered them to shut up. One of them replied that they had the right to cry 'Independence' since the Colonial Charter gives to every inhabitant of the land the right to publicly express his opinions. This Abakist was immediately hauled into a jeep, then it was the turn of a second and of a third. Finally, as he was about to be grabbed, a fourth resisted. Hit across the face by the policeman, he seized the cop by the neck and threw him to the ground. Another policeman, answering to the name of Roth, intervened and shot at the Abakist in question. Then the crowd jumped all over the two policemen."

Fighting spread from the meeting place all over Leopoldville as 50,000 unemployed, about half the Negro labor force, joined the fray.

"Stores owned by Greeks and Portuguese in the native quarter were sacked and looted; churches, missions and schools were not spared." Europeans abroad in the city escaped harm in many cases through the intercession of Congolese.

OPPRESSOR'S VENGEANCE

Then the Belgian overlords organized their vengeance. Glinne's correspondent writes: "The police conducted itself in

a brutal fashion against an unarmed population. They are to blame for most of the killings... European policemen fired on everyone they ran across—women, old people, children. At Matete and Ndjili, there had been no agitation. The atmosphere was troubled by policemen who fired on innocent people. At Matete, a worker—father of six—who was about to go to work, was killed in cold blood by a policeman. At Yolo, a merchant sitting in front of his store, received a bullet in the middle of his forehead fired by a policeman. Most of the European civilians were given arms... They amused themselves by firing at any Negro they saw..."

"According to our information, the provisional count of deaths on Jan. 7 comes to 89, and more than 100 Negroes are wounded—no European dead... This is quite normal because the whites are armed and the blacks are not. We live under terrible tension. It should be noted that the troops from Kamina [paratroopers] effectively 'operated' on Tuesday the sixth..."

Headlines in Other Lands

Haiti Dictator Promises Freedom

The overthrow of Batista's dictatorship in Cuba appears to have impressed Pres. Francois Duvalier of Haiti. He announced that on Jan. 30 he will give up his dictatorial powers. He promised to free political prisoners and let Clement Juvenile, who ran against him for President, come out of hiding. He said the opposition press was free to resume publication, and that indoor political meetings could again be held. However, he explained, Haitian law barred outdoor meetings except during elections.

The Democratic League of Haiti, speaking for exiles in New York, called on Duvalier to prove his sincerity by granting a free Presidential election.

Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department admitted Jan. 16 that a Marine Corps mission is being sent to Haiti to help Duvalier rebuild his army.

Britain Accepts Suez Nationalization

The British government agreed Jan. 16 to take a cash settlement from Egypt for the Suez Canal which British, French and Israeli forces unsuccessfully tried to seize by force after it was nationalized in the summer of 1956. An Egyptian spokesman said the deal involved \$68,000,000. British businessmen now want to renew trade with Egypt.

Sign of Depression Appears in Turkey

Despite extensive U.S. credits, unemployment is growing for the first time in the post-war period in Turkey. This is a source of alarm to Turkish and American officials. Of some ten thousand industrial workers in Istanbul covered by government laws, over 1,000 were laid off at the end of 1958 and another 1,000 were

The American Way of Life

Living in a Soft Spot

When the capitalist economists and propagandists get lyrical about an American boom, they generally remain sober enough to admit that a "few soft spots" are to be found. They dismiss these, however, as of minor importance. After all, isn't America the most prosperous country in the world?

It's therefore unusual to find a detailed description in the capitalist press of what life is like in one of the soft spots. Such a story appeared in the Jan. 11 N.Y. Times—a vivid report of Harlan County, Kentucky, where the coal miners have been hit by "hard times—the worst since the great depression."

"Mines have been shutting down at a steady pace since last April," Homer Bigart notes. "Others have mechanized to the point where 100 men with machines now dig more coal than 500 miners did with shovels and

"Miners hunted in vain," he continues, "for work in near-by towns. Some took gunny sacks and gathered coal that had spilled from gondolas or coal trains. They sold it for \$5 or \$6 a ton. Soon all this 'slack' coal had vanished."

THOUSANDS DESTITUTE

Harlan County officials told Bigart "that 13,056 persons were destitute." The State Board of Welfare reported that nearly 9,000 families, totaling over 38,000 persons were on relief.

The Times reporter found on his tour of the region "that many families remain hungry, and ill-clothed. Children are kept out of school for lack of shoes. Until the weather turned bitterly cold many went to school barefoot."

In Kenvir, eight miles east of Harlan, Bigart found that the "towns, or camps are rows of identical frame houses, with narrow porches and fenced backyards. They lie at the bottom of shadowy 'hollows' so deep that the natives say: 'You have to lay on your back to see the sunrise.'"

"Last April the Peabody Coal Co. closed its Kenvir mine... By October the unemployment compensation benefits had expired, union funds were exhausted, and most of the town's families were trying to live on rations of Federal surplus rice, flour, corn meal, cheese and powdered milk."

Bigart visited the Black Mountains school where an emergency feeding program was begun for 100 neediest of the 380 pupils. He found the children were eating cabbage,

macaroni and cheese, sweet potatoes, corn bread, and powdered milk.

"BADLY UNDERNOURISHED" John Mays who was in charge of the program said that about twenty of the children were "badly undernourished" and that twenty-eight were forced to stay home because they lacked shoes or coats or both. A truckload of clothing had arrived from St. Louis, but that was two months ago, and today the need was greater.

Mays added: "Even on mornings when there was frost on the ground some kids came barefoot to school." At Evarts neither the elementary nor the high school has a lunchroom and only cheese sandwiches and milk were available to the more than 1,500 children.

Jack McPeck, a law enforcement officer, described Kenvir as "a quiet community with very little larceny. But the crime rate will go up, people will be robbing and stealing for need." He recalled the thirties when a hungry crowd raided grocery stores in near-by Evarts.

Officer McPeck thought that most of the 2,000 destitute persons living along Yoacum Creek were virtual prisoners of the valley. They had no money to move even if jobs were offered them elsewhere.

"SPOILED"

Bigart reports that "according to some of the natives, the labor force has been 'spoiled' by the comparatively high pay scale of the union mines. This 'frightens away' potential industries." But he also admits that the "area has been unable to attract other industries. Shortage of water is a major drawback. Although three big rivers... have their source in the region they are scarcely more than mountain torrents in the upper reaches. Some of the larger coal towns along these rivers... crowd the narrow valleys and leave little extra space for factory sites."

When a nine-year old child was asked where she ate her lunch she replied, "Grandma's." Grandma is feeding seven grandchildren on a pension of \$64 a month.

The reason given by a fifth-grade teacher for the absence of a child from school for a month was "Poverty."

Guatemala Regime Breaks Rail Strike

The dictatorial Guatemala regime, brought to power by a U.S.-engineered coup, borrowed an American formula to break a strike against United Fruit's railway Jan. 17. Five thousand workers walked off the job in a strike declared legal by the courts. The Fuentes government promptly "militarized" the line, compelling the men to return to work as part of the army.

This strike-breaking method was used against the rail and mine workers by President Roosevelt during World War II, and again by Truman against the railroad unions in 1946.

The Guatemala rail workers demand a 50% wage hike and fringe benefits. More than 80% of the men make less than \$100 a month. The company offered an increase of about 95 cents a week to those making less than \$100 a month and nothing to the others.

Cost of De Gaulle Begins to Mount

Gen. de Gaulle made public some 250 decrees Jan. 12 boosting prices. At the same time, in a new bid for a cease-fire agreement with the Algerian National Liberation Front, the government issued clemency decrees for Algerian prisoners.

The price boosts came on the heels of a decree that increased income taxes from 18% to 22%.

The most popular French cigarette, Gauloise, went from 19 cents to 23 cents. Meat, which has been rising steadily, went up another 8%, gas was increased about 12% and elec-

tricity 11%. Fifteen per cent was added to the cost of haircuts. Gasoline, already the most costly in the "free world," went from 75 cents to 79 cents a gallon.

The Algerian clemency decrees commuted the death sentence of some 140 to 200 rebels to life imprisonment. Those sentenced to prison will have their terms reduced by a tenth or more and about 8,000 interned in camps in Algeria will be freed. They had not been tried for any crime but simply incarcerated as possibly "dangerous."

Messali Hadj, leader of the Algerian Nationalist Movement, a rival group to the National Liberation Front, was released from house arrest on an island off the coast of Brittany.

He will be permitted to take up residence in metropolitan France, but presumably not in Algeria.

Revolt Brewing in Paraguay?

A report was received in Argentina Jan. 14 that revolt is brewing in Paraguay against Pres. Stroessner. The dictator ordered the arrest of a general at the Chacon garrison but he was released by other officers.

On the downfall of Cuban dictator Batista, it was reported, more than 200 officers and several hundred civilians were placed under preventive arrest. On Jan. 15 Paraguay officials "vehemently denied" the reports.

U.S. Resists Freeing Samoa

New Zealand has agreed to grant independence to Western Samoa by mid-1961. This news caused fresh unrest in United States Samoa. The Polynesians want independence and freedom to choose their own government. But Washington has stubbornly refused to make any commitment to give up this colonial possession.

"It is my earnest prayer that the Government will stop its war preparations and honor the consciences of those who would stop these evils." Thus spoke Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin of Cincinnati when he was sentenced to six months in prison and a \$250 fine on Dec. 13 for refusing to pay income taxes because they would be used to produce war weapons.

The Rev. McCrackin, Cincinnati pastor and director of Findlay Street Neighborhood House, is a pacifist. He has refused to pay income taxes for the past ten years. An Associated Press story (Dec. 13) reports that U.S. District Judge John H. Druffel denounced the defendant as a "Communist" when he passed sentence on him: "Your pious attitude is more or less of a false face," declared the judge.

Asked by the press what he had to say in answer to published criticisms, Judge Druffel said: "There was no sense in sentencing the Rev. Mr. McCrackin without putting a tag on him."

The pastor, who had to be carried into court, because he refused to go in of his own volition, wrote an article about his

case in the October issue of Liberation. He tells why he refused to answer the charge of the local American Legion that he is a Communist: "I believe that to recognize such a question and cooperate with it will in the end serve only to feed the cancer that is already beginning to eat away our precious freedom."

Regarding his case, Rev. McCrackin explains that from 1948 to 1954 he paid 20% to 30% of the required tax which he figured would not be used for war purposes. He had planned to contribute the other 70% to 80% for the causes of brotherhood and peace. But "the Department of Internal Revenue forced me to give to what I believed to be wrong by ordering the bank to surrender from my account the amount it said that I owed."

In a letter to the Revenue Officer on Sept. 5, Rev. McCrackin declared: "It is my feeling that tyranny has already begun to show its head when a citizen is pressed to give financial support to what he contends is the most outrageous sin of our age and the probable destroyer of much if not all of our civilization."

Letters from Our Readers

The following two letters refer to a publication entitled "Democratic German Report—1958," apparently mailed to the Militant from East Germany, now being held by the Post Office Department:

To the Editor

Dear Sir: This letter is to advise you that the Postal Service has received foreign mail addressed to you consisting of certain publications which contain foreign political propaganda as defined by the Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U.S. Code 611-621).

Such matter ordinarily would be treated as nonmailable. However, such matter lawfully may be passed through the mails and delivered to the addressee when it has been ordered, subscribed to, or is desired, and is not for dissemination. It is possible that you did not order this material and that your name is on a mailing list over which you have no control. Therefore, in order to determine whether the publications listed on the enclosed card may be passed through the mails and delivered to you please return the card.

If the enclosed card is not received within 15 days, the publications listed thereon will be disposed of as nonmailable under the law.

POSTMASTER

To the Postmaster

Dear Sir: In returning the card you sent us, we respectfully request that you stop censoring our mail.

We object to your department opening and reading material addressed to us in order to determine whether it corresponds to your political views. We object to the use of a political criterion of any kind in deciding on delivery of mail for which postage has been paid. And we object to your inquiring whether we have "ordered, subscribed to, or desire" the publications held in your censorship department.

In accordance with the American tradition of free thought and a free press, we expect prompt delivery of every piece of mail addressed to us wherever it may have come from and whatever its political character may be.

The Editor THE MILITANT

On Germany

Editor: I was thoroughly confused by Harry Ring's article in the Militant about the current German crisis. It was written before the West Berliners voted to reject the Russian proposal of withdrawal of all troops. But although that in itself would seem to contradict what the article implied about the popularity of planned economy in Germany there were many things which everyone is thinking about left untreated in the article.

I wish there was another article about Germany including the relative standard of living of the workers in the East and the West. The East may prefer planned economy but the West has so far preferred its standard of living. And if they live bet-

ter and have a larger measure of political freedom, is there any wonder they do not want to be submitted to the Eastern sector? Nor did the article explain Adenauer's victory over the Social Democrats.

T.F. Stanford

When Meany Said He Was a "Socialist"

Editor: I noticed that in reporting on the New York State AFL-CIO merger convention held last December, the Militant missed a very interesting part of Meany's speech. After outlining the AFL-CIO legislative program on wages, schools, housing and education, Meany said:

"All this we are told is supposedly socialistic. Every single achievement in the past 75 years for bettering the life of the worker and the community has been opposed as socialistic by the NAM and those who refuse to learn and prefer to live in the past. It's all right to use public money for the rights-of-way for railroads or subsidies to airlines through post office grants. It's okay to help the cotton farmers with subsidies. That's not socialistic. But when you try to give a pint of milk a day to a kid who needs nutrition—that's socialistic. Well, if I'm going right on being a socialist."

This quotation was in the report on the convention in Electrical Union World, publication of Local 3, IBEW.

D.H. New York City

Notes in the News

AGAINST WESTERNS—Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union said in a speech Jan. 7, "I'm frightened that if we get a four-day week, it will only mean another day of watching westerns on television."

URGE REDUCED FARES FOR AGED—Retired members of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers union in New York have asked City Council President Abe Stark to reduce transit fares for senior citizens during non-rush hours. They point to the Detroit precedent where such a plan was put into effect several years ago at the initiative of the UAW.

JAILED FOR SERMON—The Rev. Calvin W. Wood, pastor of Peace Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., was given a six-months jail sentence and a \$500 fine for preaching against segregation. Released on \$1,000 bond, the Rev. Wood said, "I counseled my people against segregation and I still do. If we can wash the dirty clothes of white persons and tend their children, we can also ride buses. To be first-class citizens, we must do first-class things."

"DESERVES SOME SYMPATHY"—Mrs. Ruth Baxter, 27, of Brooklyn, lost her relief check of \$54.15. The Welfare Department refused to give her another one, although she had five small children to feed. She forged a relief check for \$55 and cashed it. In court Judge Leibowitz urged the prosecution to grant leniency; but Assistant District Attorney Nathan R. Schor refused. After wrestling with his conscience for a day, however, Schor agreed to drop the charges. The judge's action was an "honored one," Schor admitted. "In my opinion this woman deserves some sympathy." The Welfare Department, of course, was not even reprimanded.

ENTITLED TO COMPENSATION—Workers unemployed as a result of a strike in other plants are entitled to unemployment compensation, the Michigan Supreme Court ruled Jan. 12. The news, which meant checks for 11,000 workers in the test case, was hailed by the UAW as a "substantial victory."

WINS RETRIAL—Robert Lee Goldsby, a Negro sentenced to death in Mississippi for the alleged murder of a white woman was granted a retrial by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The court said that the retrial must be by a jury from which Negroes are not systematically excluded. The Mississippi

Supreme Court had twice confirmed the death sentence while the U.S. Supreme Court had twice denied Goldsby a review.

EXPENSIVE CAMPAIGN—The committee that campaigned for a "right to work" law in Ohio listed its receipts as \$73,000 in contributions and \$654,000 in loans. Principal source of the funds was the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the Ohio Manufacturers Association.

NEW FACE FOR ELEPHANT?—A "secret" memo has been laid on Eisenhower's desk, the Jan. 14 Wall Street Journal revealed, calling for an intensive campaign to change the public image of the GOP as the party of big business. The memo deprecates the mistake of pushing "right to work" laws in the 1958 elections. This resulted in a "double-barreled onslaught" by labor with "one barrel aimed on right-to-work and the other on Republican candidates. In both instances, the aim was remarkably good."

GOLF CASE—The Supreme Court has agreed to review a case involving six Negro golfers of Greensboro, N.C. They were sentenced to 15 days in jail for "trespassing" when they sought to play on the city's golf course after it had been leased. At stake is the practice of turning public property over to private interests to avoid integration.

SAME GHOST—Robert L. McManus, chief speech writer for former Gov. Harriman, a Democrat, has been hired by New York's new Gov. Rockefeller, a Republican. The job is said to pay about \$15,000 a year. It is not expected that any boners will appear in the speeches Rockefeller reads, such as inadvertently saying "Democratic" instead of "Republican." Demo-GOP ghost-writers are especially careful about such hazards of their occupation.

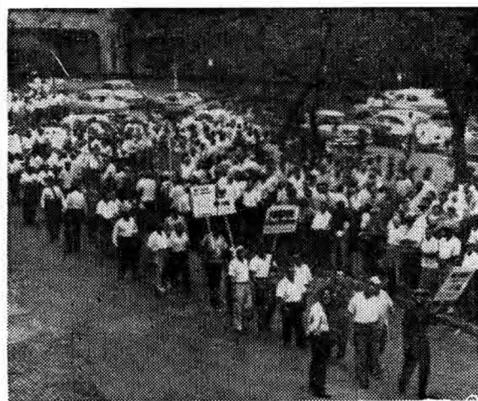
WHICH FLAG?—According to Labor Reports, at a meeting in Houston addressed by Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, small Confederate flags were distributed. When the audience was asked to stand and give the pledge of allegiance to the flag, one man asked, "Which flag?"

LOCAL ACQUITS RARICK—Donald C. Rarick, a leading opponent of the McDonald machine in the United Steel Workers was recently acquitted by his own local of charges of setting up a rival union organization. The charges must now be reviewed by the union's international board of which McDonald is a member.

Ford Unionist Hits Sellout On Filibuster

DETROIT — Here is one reaction (by a union man and Negro) to the U.S. Senate's refusal to make a meaningful change in the rules regarding filibusters. It was written by Robert Battle III, president of the Dearborn Specialty Foundry unit of UAW Ford Local 600, and printed in the Jan. 17 Ford Facts:

"This victory by [majority leader Lyndon] Johnson and his Southern cohorts will be, in the words of Senator Jacob Javits of New York, 'a big, fat albatross around the necks of the Democratic Party in 1960.' We agree wholeheartedly with Senator Javits. 'Of the fifteen newly elected Democratic senators who ran on 'liberal' platforms, eight (or more than one-half) deserted the liberal forces in their fight to change Rule 22 which has been the graveyard of all liberal legislation in the Senate. 'The Johnson proposal, which was adopted by the Senate, is mere window dressing and maintains the status quo. . . . 'It would be well for the



Workers picket Chicago International Harvester plant in 1955 strike, which was first coast-to-coast shutdown of company. They gained a union shop, 11 cents across the board (with certain exceptions) and 16 to 37 cents increase in the South, eliminating differential. Recent nine-week strike won fewer concessions.

labor movement to keep a running box score on the 86th Congress and hold both political parties responsible in 1960. . . . 'In the 1920's big business took the attitude of 'the public be damned.' In 1958 the Democratic Senate is voicing the same sentiments.

"If the 86th Congress continues to travel the course it has charted during its first four days of operation, they will have done the job that labor leaders have been unable to do — sell the American workers on the need for a bona fide Labor Party."

Wall Street's Sex Life

Several weeks ago a civic-religious foundation meeting in Washington issued an urgent plea for "evangelists" to spread the word about "the great moral foundations of capitalism." Their prayer for such an evangelist was more than met when Edward E. Murrow narrated a program — "The Business of Sex" — over the CBS radio network Jan. 19.

Bolstered by a panel of experts, Murrow told how top American corporations have made prostitution an important, even essential, part of their business operations. "Thousands of call girls have been included in the 'entertainment' that swings large, lucrative business deals. Some of the girls have attained status as salaried members of public-relations departments and some madams can now submit monthly statements.

The details of the actual arrangements vary, Murrow explained, "from industry to industry, from company to company, from one level of society to another. In some cases, top executives are involved — giving instructions as to the type and extent of entertainment their company will provide."

One corporation vice president explained the virtues of this kind of entertainment in establishing "togetherness." "When you have reached this point with a person that you sleep together in effect, and have girls together, you couldn't get any closer to them personally."

One girl on the program testified to the way big business utilizes the most intimate of human relationships in the ceaseless drive for profits: "I have been present during business conferences which are conducted at the end of the evening. After quite a bit of liquor has been consumed, and in this case the fee is \$100, I will first be invited out to dinner. . . . I will go back to the hotel with the man and usually will spend till two o'clock in the morning with him. He will often give verbal agreement subject to confirmation the next morning. This is done before I have gone to bed with him. They believe this is a psychological moment when a person is in a very anxious mood."

And, as is the way in a big-time operation, the giant corporation bring American know-how to bear in advertising the quality of the entertainment. One entrepreneur proudly said: "There's a very famous madam in New York who takes care of your multi-millionaires only. She is a famous, famous name in New York. She puts out a book every year of pictures of the girls she is working for her and sends this book to her very, very exclusive clients. . . . There's no guess work here. And she deals with the largest corporations in the U.S."

Even here, where it might seem least needed, capitalist efficiency, so well known on the belt line, is evident. "They usually have a number of rooms or suites in a hotel or hotels and they usually have one or two girls in one suite," one of the girls explained. ". . . and if there are maybe five or six men in that suite, then they just take turns and when that's finished with if there's anybody else they know in other suites or rooms, then you go into another suite or room and this may go on or continue till five or six in the morning and then the girl goes home. You'd be pretty tired by six o'clock, believe me."

A wary eye is kept on the tastes and needs of those being entertained. A "broker" — the new, more acceptable, name big business uses for this particular profession — told this story about a party he arranged for some out-of-town buyers: "When they arrived it was summertime. And this one man was quite elderly you know, and I was afraid he'd die on me; the heat was terrific. So I got an air-conditioning unit for him and I got this tremendous living room."

GETS THE ORDERS

Does it pay off? Murrow introduced a man he described as the president of a large international company. This business executive explained that there is "absolutely no doubt that prostitution per se does help business."

"This is the fastest way that I know of," he explained, "to have an intimate relationship established with a buyer. It's an experience that's been shared, whether it's together or not makes no difference. The point is, that I know that the buyer has spent the night with, a

prostitute that I have provided. "In the second place," he added, "in most cases the buyers are married, with families. It sort of gives me a slight edge; well, we will not call it exactly blackmail, but it is a subconscious edge over the buyer."

What about the illegality of this kind of "entertainment"? This has been carefully considered, too, New York Corrections Commissioner Anna Cross explained that call girls such as these are seldom arrested and rarely convicted since they "have high-priced lawyers because they're a business product, that somebody is making money on them."

The Commissioner said nothing about the difficulty of arresting and convicting America's top business executives for their role. She held that everybody is involved. It's "a manifestation of what's wrong with our society today." She declared: "The ethic upon which we work is: anything goes so long as you're not caught."

One commentary that should have been included in Murrow's program was unfortunately left out: ". . . nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial."

"Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives. Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident, that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private."

Karl Marx said that in the Communist Manifesto 111 years ago.

Local Directory

- BOSTON: Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M., Room 200.
BUFFALO: Militant Forum, 831 Main St.
CHICAGO: Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND: Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.
DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 8737 Woodward.
LOS ANGELES: Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.
MILWAUKEE: 150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS: Socialist Workers Party, 322 Ho-

- nepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361 Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY: Militant Forum, 118 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY: P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA: Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call SA 7-2166.
SAN FRANCISCO: The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE: 655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
ST. LOUIS: For information about MO 4-7194

Calendar Of Events

- CLEVELAND: Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein speaks on "The Negro in American Literature," Thursday, Jan. 29; 8:15 p.m., at the Cedar Branch, YMCA, 7615 Cedar Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
NEW YORK: Daniel Roberts, editor of the Militant, speaks on "The Road to Socialism in the U.S. and the USSR," Friday, Jan. 30, 8:30 p.m. Auspices Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place (near Union Square). Contribution 50 cents.

Harvester Workers Adopt New Contract By Narrow Margin

CHICAGO — The strike of 37,500 International Harvester workers ended on Jan. 18, when Harvester locals of the United Auto Workers voted by a slim margin to

accept the company's latest contract offer and returned to work. The strike lasted nine weeks and two days and shut down 15 manufacturing plants, seven parts depots and four transfer houses in six states.

The present contract terms were first accepted by the union's chief negotiator, UAW vice-president Duane (Pat) Greathouse, then turned down by the Harvester Negotiating Committee on Jan. 15. Refusing to be guided by the decision of the negotiating committee, Greathouse then brought the terms to the Harvester Council the following day.

This body of 160 delegates supported the Greathouse terms by the very close vote of 14,891 to 12,563. (Each delegate voted his per capita membership.)

VOICE CHARGES OF 'SELL-OUT'

In this council meeting, a sharp fight broke out that was reported in the daily press. Representatives of Local 6, Melrose Park (Ill.), were reported as charging that "the UAW heads sold us out." They settled the strike on order from Detroit, which wanted a quick settlement, and they were guilty of "mishandling" the negotiations by demanding that the farm-equipment contracts be limited by the pattern established in auto.

Dissatisfaction with the contract was also very much in evidence in the locals. The Jan. 19 Wall Street Journal reports that "The final tally favoring adoption of the pact was close enough that the switch of one large local would have reversed the results. One union official said a switch of the Springfield Harvester local with 2,300 votes carried the contract."

There is much confusion among the workers about how the most widespread grievance — wage inequities — was settled. The UAW staff men claim that past union action and the present union contract have eliminated 90% of the 4,000 pay-cuts and downgrades the union suffered in 1952. But men in the shops and in the skilled trades here report that less than 1,000 of the cuts have been restored.

At a meeting of the Chicago Tractor Local, DeWit Gilpin, an international representative, tried to justify the settlement as a victory on the grounds that a new classification book was to take the place of the 1952 "bench marks." But none of the workers seem to know what these new classifications would mean in terms of wage rates.

NO ASSURANCE

At the Tractor meeting here (2,000 UAW members packed the Plumbers' hall to attend it) one worker from the No. 37 Assembly line asked President Neputy what assurance he could give against speed-up. "Will we go back only to go out again, like at Chrysler?" Neputy answered, "If the Company hurts you workers on the line with a speed-up, show them that they are hurting you by stopping your work." But Neputy could give no assurance that the new contract would help any more than the previous one in this respect.

Another worker speaking for the Cutters and Linemen said that "now, before we ratify, not after we go back," is the time to negotiate the wage inequity. Another skilled-trades spokesman won applause from the meeting when he emphasized that the October termination day in the new contract gives too much to the Company because then the season is over and they can best stand a strike.

The new contract provides for a pay raise of six cents an hour or 2 1/2%, whichever is greater, in each of the next three years. This is what the company offered before the strike. The company also won two of its 76 demands to impair the old contract.

Heralded as a big gain for the union by Bob Johnson, UAW regional director, is four weeks' vacation pay annually for employees with 25 years' seniority. It is estimated that about 7,000 workers are in that category. One delegate to the Harvester Council pointed out, however, that this gain costs the company almost nothing. In exchange, In-

N.Y. School Integration Fight Continues

Six Harlem mothers are still battling to get their children into integrated schools in New York City.

Last month they won a favorable decision from Domestic Relations Judge Justice Polier. She ruled that "Parents have a constitutional right to elect no education for their children rather than to subject them to discriminatorily inferior education."

However, the New York City Board of Education voted 4-1 on Jan. 13 to appeal the decision. The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, lone dissenting voice on the Board, has started a fund to help the parents in the forthcoming court battle.

International Harvester won its demand to freeze night premium pay. The union's standard is that such pay must be 10% of the wage rate. That is how it was calculated in the last Harvester contract. But in the new pact, the premium will not rise with wage increases but will remain at the dollar-and-cents figure it was under the old contract — or at less than 10% of the new wage rates.

Inadequate Pay Stirs Teachers In Chicago

By Carol Wayne CHICAGO, Jan. 19 — The Chicago Teachers Union, staged a mass demonstration in front of the Board of Education in the Loop last Tuesday to protest the inadequacy of pay raises proposed for 1959.

The highest increase for a teacher is about \$150 a year, while administrators were granted as much as approximately \$600.

About 5,000 teachers marched four abreast some seven blocks in the Loop. They carried American flags and placards, some of which stated:

"First Rate Education Demands Adequate Salaries." "Well Paid Teachers Needed As Badly As Well Paid Administrators." "Board of Education Neglects Teachers." "Shortage of Teachers is Due to Inadequate Salaries." "Smaller Classes, Please."

John Fewkes, president of the union stated: "We have other things stored away, the inequity of the teachers is boundless."

Benjamin C. Willis, Superintendent of schools made no comment. The Chicago Teachers Union has a membership of 10,776 among Chicago's 17,000 teachers.

The Chicago Division of the Illinois Education Association disavowed the demonstration but agreed "that the teachers are receiving regrettably low salaries and the proposed increase for 1959 are disappointing . . ."

The Association also admitted that "Chicago is operating schools with one of the lowest percentages of aid from the state of any city in the nation. The State of Illinois must do more to carry its share of the cost of schools. Otherwise, education programs, children and teachers will all suffer."

Frowning on the teachers' demonstration, the Association called for protests to the legislature and governor. But the legislature and governor have given no indication that they intend to do much about Chicago's overcrowded, segregated, fire-trap schools.

The teachers made clear that they are no longer satisfied with promises; they want results.

DOLLARS FOR FRANCO The U.S. Sixth Fleet has opened an ammunition and fuel storage depot at Cartagena, Spain. The tab was \$10,000,000.