

New York Labor Rallies Behind Hospital Strike

By Harry Ring NEW YORK, May 27—With an unprecedented amount of support from the rest of the union movement, almost 2,000 employees of six private hospitals are standing firm in the 20th day of their strike for union recognition.



ADAM C. POWELL

The striking members of Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees Union, AFL-CIO, have won wide public sympathy for their cause despite a campaign of vilification by most of the daily press.

As usual, the courts are on the side of management. A state supreme court justice in Brooklyn has meted out a 15-day jail term and a \$250 fine against union president Leon J. Davis and business agent George Goodman for refusing to tell the membership to obey an anti-strike injunction.

Best Week Chalked Up In \$16,000 Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director This was a good week. Friends and well-wishers of the Socialist Workers Party contributed \$1,355 toward the goal of a \$16,000 Party Building Fund.

Campaign fund goal graphic showing \$16,000 goal and \$10,135 collected to date.

FBI Washes Its Hands Of Mississippi Lynching

Troops Used In Kentucky Mine Strike

Seven thousand members of the United Mine Workers in the "Bloody Harlan" coal fields of eastern Kentucky are in the tenth week of a bitterly fought strike against truck mine and coal ramp operators.

Three men have been killed and five ramps destroyed by fire and dynamiting. The union charges that the ramp operators deliberately destroyed their well-insured property.

The National Guard was sent into the Harlan, Hazard and Big Sandy fields by Governor Chandler April 24. He claims, "The situation was desperate. They (the miners) were so unruly, so defiant, that the lives of our State Police were in jeopardy."

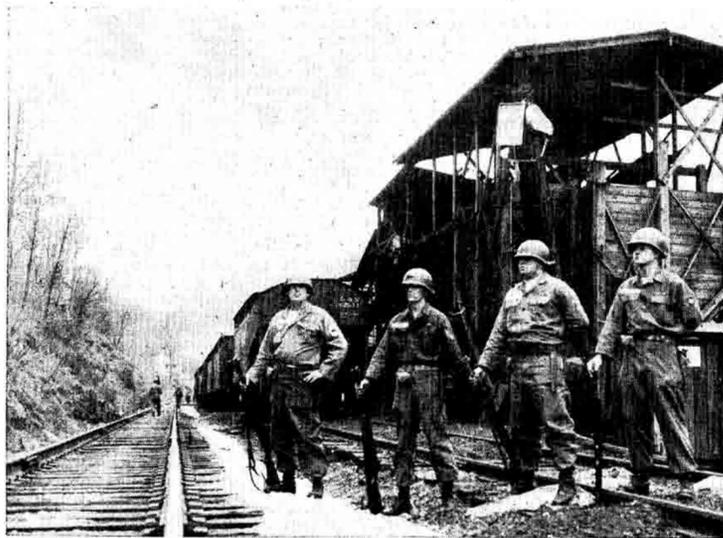
With heavy unemployment in the area, the small truck mines have been able to hire men for less than half the union scale. Many of those signed up with the union have been ignoring the agreement, including the clause calling for a 40-cent-a-hour contribution to the UMW welfare fund.

The NLRB has moved in squarely behind the operators, charging that the demand that ramp operators buy only from union mines constitutes a secondary boycott prohibited by the Taft-Hartley law.

Meanwhile the men of Harlan County are maintaining their historic tradition of militancy and union solidarity. Without any funds except meager union strike relief, one miner told a newsman, "I'll stay out as long as the union buys my groceries. And then I'll stay out longer. If John (L. Lewis) tells me to strike, I strike; when John tells me to go back, I'll go back."

The decision of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO May 20 to come out at last in strong opposition to the Kennedy-Ervin labor "reform" bill should certainly provide the occasion to consider the badly needed reform (more accurately, revolution) in the labor movement's whole political policy.

Can They Dig Coal With Bayonets?



Members of the Kentucky National Guard at a struck coal mine tippie that was blasted by dynamite last month. With the National Guard as a shield, mine operators are conducting armed warfare against striking members of the United Mine Workers who know that bayonets don't dig coal and who don't intend to let it be dug by anything else until they win their demands.

AFL-CIO Sees Job Increases Lagging Far Behind Recovery

Warning that there is "danger that widespread joblessness may persist," the AFL-CIO Executive Council has demanded that the federal government should not use the past two months' increase in employment as a pretext for denying effective aid to those still out of work.

The council pointed out that organized labor cannot cheer a "recovery" that leaves 53 unemployed out of every 1,000 in the labor market after a year of pickup from the recession.

OUTPUT UP 18%; JOBS UP 5.5% The extent to which improvement in employment is lagging behind industrial production is indicated, the analysis notes, by the fact that industrial output increased 18% in the past year while wage and salary jobs in industry increased only 5.5%.

The AFL-CIO view that the jobless problem remains is confirmed by the very Labor Department reports that are supposed to bring cheer.

Two years ago there were only 21 areas in that category. The Labor Department announcement also dropped the auto manufacturing city of Flint, Mich., to "Group F"—denoting unemployment in excess of 12%.

aimed at implementing the principle. This is exactly what happened when Senator McClellan from Arkansas, who is currently spearheading the anti-labor offensive, amended the Kennedy-Ervin measure with his phony "bill of rights" for labor. McClellan's amendments carefully sharpened the provisions putting the unions under tight government control while raising the banner of democracy for the union rank and file.

seven markets there has been a surplus for more than seven years. In none of these areas has there been less than 18 months of substantial labor surplus.

The survey was made by the Area Employment Expansion Committee which is pressing for federal aid to distressed areas. The committee has offices at the Textile Workers headquarters at 99 University Place in New York.

"No matter how prosperous the country gets, there is going to be a hard residue of unemployment — perhaps larger than in any other boom."

The percentage of long-term unemployed — 38% of total unemployment in April — is more than 20 per cent higher than April 1950, the magazine reported.

What is obscured in this entire episode is the fact that while labor was fighting this defensive battle with one hand tied behind its back, all the other legislative demands of the unions have been lost.

After the Kennedy-Ervin bill passed the Senate 90-to-1, (the lone opponent was the rabidly anti-labor Sen. Goldwater), it appeared that a new batch of onerous clauses would be tacked on in the House. At this point the AFL-CIO tops reversed their position on the

Knows Who Killers Are But Turns Names Over To Racist Governor

FBI withdrawal from the case of Mack C. Parker, 23-year-old Negro lynched, April 25, came as a bitter blow to those who hoped to see Mississippi's murderous racists brought to justice.

According to an Associated Press story (May 27) the FBI had identified about ten members of the masked lynch mob and had turned over all its information about the crime to Mississippi Governor Coleman. But the FBI didn't wait around for any arrests, and Gov. Coleman announced he would do nothing with the FBI report till next November when the Pearl River County grand jury met. Meantime the report would be kept secret and by state law a grand jury need not divulge information presented to it for another six months.

The FBI, which will spend years hounding a person with leftist political ideas who has committed no crime, decided to stop its lynch probe after exactly one month's activity. J. Edgar Hoover exercises a free hand in determining what and where his agency may investigate. He determines in very elastic fashion whether on the basis of possible federal violations to prolong or curtail investigations. In the Parker case, his hurry to get out sets something of a record.

investigate this story? No, it has withdrawn from the case. Furthermore, if the auto caravan did murder Parker without crossing into Louisiana beforehand, what about afterward? Did it turn around in the middle of the bridge or did it have to cross over to Louisiana to turn?

As for collusion of Mississippi officials with the lynchers, Negro reporters have dug up enough evidence to warrant a great deal more investigation. The jailhouse keys, always taken home by the jailer, were left that night in the office and the lynch mob knew exactly where to find them. When the "surprised" sheriff got to the jail some 20 minutes after Parker's brutal abduction, a white companion asked him "Did they get the right one?"

The very transfer of Parker from a safe jail in the state capital to the unguarded Poplarville jail smacks of collusion. It has now come out that the lynchers proceeded to the jail from a racist mass meeting at a farm outside Poplarville. Is the FBI certain that no local officials at that meeting arranged for the lynchers' easy access to the jail? Or is it that the FBI just doesn't care to find out?

through Senate committees! This box score of no runs, no hits, one error puts in question the whole course of dependence on capitalist politicians to advance labor's political interests.

The Wall Street Journal's columnist in Washington, D.C., Robert D. Novak said May 21: "Politicians have reappraised the meaning of last November's Democratic landslide. Many 'have gradually come to the conclusion that the election results did not signal as much of a leftward shift as they thought at the time.' Novak supports this conclusion with the argument that while it was to be expected that the Democratic high command in Congress would steer a conservative course, the absence of any real pressure for pro-labor legislation from the liberals must be due to the absence of any real mass pressure on the liberals.

Novak fails to take into account that the leftward pressure of the workers has been channeled into the Democratic party by the labor officials. The

The Chivalrous South — Alabama Legislature Style

How does a racist think? Last week's debate in Alabama's House of Representatives over a controversial "illegitimate" child bill provides a damning example. The bill, passed by the House 58-22, would cut off welfare aid to children whose mother has more than one child born out of wedlock.

Rep. H. B. Taylor of Butler County sponsored the bill. In reply to opposition he said "All this bill does is try to stop those Negro women from raising those illegitimate, bastard children who some day will grow up and outvote us." (Montgomery Advertiser, May 20.)

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Congress Score Shows Need for Labor Party

By Murry Weiss The decision of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO May 20 to come out at last in strong opposition to the Kennedy-Ervin labor "reform" bill should certainly provide the occasion to consider the badly needed reform (more accurately, revolution) in the labor movement's whole political policy. Originally, the labor officials supported the Kennedy-Ervin measure as it first appeared on the Senate floor with the following type of rationalization: "Since some kind of anti-labor legislation under the guise of measures to curb racketeering and corruption in the unions seems inevitable, let us therefore support a 'mild' form of such legislation and stave off the most reactionary proposals." The trouble with this clever scheme was that once the principle of government intervention into the internal affairs of the unions was granted, the door was flung wide open to all kinds of stringent clauses

# The FBI Grads Take Over "Industrial Relations"

By Henry Gitano

Besides compiling a master blacklist for the employers and spying on labor meetings, the FBI supplies management with a trained corps of FBI "graduates" to staff their personnel or "security" departments.

Business Week in July 1946 told its readers: "Labor Relations is another natural for the old grads. FBI experience has taught them not only how to handle personnel but to know what is going on within groups."

Albert J. Tuohy, "security" director at Republic Aviation, is one such "old FBI grad." In the October 1954 issue of Factory Management and Maintenance, he advises on "What You Can Do About Communists in Industry." Tuohy says the answer is "Fire 'em. And that's exactly what we did to 250 of them this year. Of those 250, only 15 were Communists. No matter. They all get the same treatment."

Describing the work of his "security" organization in which all but one are ex-FBI agents, Tuohy elaborated: "We're alert to which men are becoming prominent in plant organizations. . . . We know who is running for office and who has been elected in the various organizations. A quick look through personnel and security files tells us all we need to know."

## "Once a G-Man . . ."

Dick O'Connor, in his 1939 book, G-Men At Work, stated that "All the publicity and the carefully nurtured tradition that G-Men are super-detectives has impressed business men. . . . Hoover encourages his men to accept such [job] offers."

Business Week observed, "Once a G-Man always a G-Man. . . . Relations with the old chief are cordial, almost reverent."

A national convention of former FBI agents was reported in the Nov. 11, 1955 Detroit News: "Detroiters include people like John T. Lynch and E. Walter Butler Jr. who with a staff of former FBI agents find out for employers whether their employees will strike or not. There are better known Detroiters too, like John S. Bugas, Ford Motor Co. vice-president in charge of industrial relations, former head of the Detroit FBI office, and his 26 former FBI men who make up a unique group at Ford."

Harry Bennett, who once ran Henry Ford's "security" organization and headed the drive against unionization by the CIO, reports in his book, We Never Called Him Henry, that "While Bugas was still with the FBI, Edsel [Ford] began using him as his own source of information." A Boston Globe headline in December told its readers: "FBI paid Bugas \$6,500, Ford Salary \$183,785." Quite a graduation present!

Business Week, after noting that Bugas employed "subtle tactics" against the UAW which he learned while with the FBI, also listed some of the other FBI "grads" in personnel work: William Larson, advisor on labor relations, General Motors; Wayne K. Listerman, director of personnel, Eaton Manufacturing Co.; John Hanson, personnel director at Lockheed Aircraft.

FBI graduates have organized the Society of Former FBI Investigators, with offices on the 16th floor at 274 Madison Avenue, New York City. The Society has 3,700 members and 36 active chapters. It runs a placement bureau and acts as a clearing house for its sleuthing membership.

The Society's national convention "is always attended by high-priced executives from companies like GE, GM, IBM, Westinghouse and Lockheed," says an NEA feature article in February 1958. Undoubtedly the big shots are hunting talent to staff Tuohy-like personnel departments.

The Society's magazine, the Grapevine, (April-May 1957) tells how the boys are making out. It reports, for instance, that "Ivor E. (Bill) Nitschke (1935-1945) . . . has gone into the investigation business under the firm name of Gross and Associates with offices in the Subway Terminal Building, 417 South Hill St. Los Angeles 13.

"Bill announces that I have associated with me a group of competent professionals in the field of security surveys, specialized investigations, business consultation, pre-employment screening, polygraph examinations, undercover assignments and the use of professional investigative equipment."

Again, Grapevine reveals that H. E. White is now personnel director at North American Aviation, Downey, Calif., and Herbert T. Brunn is in charge of personnel with RCA's International Division. At Milwaukee's Miller Brewing there's a trio of FBI "old grads": Frank Grassy, director of industrial relations, his assistant John W. Siler and Joseph Felner, investigations. Leslie Grady is supervisor of industrial relations for Westinghouse at Little Rock and Philip Cease is with Olin Mathieson Chemical.

(Incidentally, the Grapevine is unavailable at either New York's Forty-Second Street Library or the Library of Congress in Washington. I went to the Society's office and asked to see a back file. The office secretary, Fran Keogh, told me: "Libraries have requested it, but it is unavailable to outsiders. We are very security conscious." I obtained the April-May 1957 issue by accident.)

"A group of ex-FBI men now form Michigan's biggest 'professional' investigative agency," reports Fortune (May 1956). Frank Bielaski who according to the Reporter (Feb. 10, 1955) has rounded up 42 former FBIers — "his favorite employees" — on a single assignment, peddles private political inquiries and boasts that he "has been able where necessary, to penetrate and explore the communist underground as a measure of the security which is furnished important industries."

The N.Y. Post last July 9, exposed a private organization, the American Security Council, with a file of over one million names and a \$100,000 yearly budget, which supplies giant enterprises with dossiers on workers. This outfit devoted to the hounding and harassing of job seekers was founded in 1955 by William F. Carroll, a former FBI agent, and is currently headed by ex-FBI agent John M. Fisher, who was with the N.Y. Office of Communist Investigations, and Robert J. Wilson formerly head of the Chicago FBI's "subversive" squad.

In April 1947, three ex-FBI men — Ken Bierly, Ted Kirkpatrick and John Keenan — set up American Business Consultants in New York. In addition to publishing Counterattack, subtitled "Facts to Combat Communism," they provided special reports, charging fees from five dollars to five-figure sums. Information was provided by these specialists to business clients on ridding their enterprises of so-called "subversives."

## "Red Channels"

Counterattack's most infamous special report was "Red Channels" in 1950, designed and used as a bible for blacklisting in the entertainment field. The former FBI men sat in judgment over 151 actors, producers, directors and writers. They whipped up hysteria and demanded firings.

Counterattack exhibits a remarkable interest in the labor movement generally. Thus, in its April 3 issue, appear articles dealing with the Steel, Jewelry and Electrical Workers unions. All names are underlined.

In its study of "The Private Eyes," the Reporter (Feb. 10, 1955) reveals another facet of the close liaison between private and government snoopers: "George F. Keefe, chief of Dun and Bradstreet's investigative staff — which includes 2,000 full time 'reporters' and 20,000 'correspondents' — points out that 'As soon as the question of loyalty develops in a case, we cease our own investigation immediately and turn our information over to the FBI, then getting the FBI's permission to notify our client of the circumstances.' The average employer reacts to such notification promptly and decisively! The worker is fired, and solely on the basis of what may be malicious rumor."

# Debate Is Lively at British Socialist Parley

From all over Britain, 120 delegates met in London at the inaugural conference of the Socialist Labor League on May 17, 18.

"It was a historic gathering which proclaimed clearly and confidently the intention of building a powerful movement to defeat the employers' offensive and lead the working class forward to workers' power and socialism," writes Patricia McGowan in the May 23 Newsletter, weekly journal of the League.

The delegates were men and women from every major industry and trade union in the country — over a hundred of them members of the Labor Party. It was a youthful conference. Forty-two delegates were between the ages of 20 and 30. Four were under 20 and the average age was 29½. But there were old-time revolutionary socialists among the delegates too. The oldest delegate was Frank Parkinson from Liverpool, a 70-year-old pensioner and former boot and shoe worker. He told Patricia McGowan: "This is the most marvellous conference I have ever been to, and I have been to 200. Everything is free and open. We all say what we want to say. There is no other political group where you could do this. The only thing I am sorry about is that I am not fifty years younger."

The Socialist Labor League is a revolutionary-socialist policy group within the unions and the Labor Party. The right-wing, bureaucratic leadership of the Labor Party has proscribed the League and the Newsletter, and ordered local units to expel League members. This has brought so much protest within the Labor Party that so far, according to Gerry Healy, the League's general secretary, only three members have been expelled. Healy's own unit in London refused to exclude him from membership, though he is widely known as the League's leading spokesman. The May 23 Newsletter prints a statement passed by the executive council of Victory for Socialism, another policy group within the Labor Party, deploring "the recent bans, proscriptions and expulsions because we feel that the aim of the Labor Party should be to maintain the widest unity of diverse elements in the movement. . . ."

## PROTEST OVER BAN

"It is inevitable that some people will be expelled from the Labor Party," Healy told the conference, "but we have more supporters in the Labor Party today than ever. We are recruiting more people than ever before within the Labor Party."

The Socialist Labor League conference had three main tasks. (1) To work out a policy and program based on the real needs of the British working class. (2) To draw up a constitution for the League. (3) To further the campaign against the right-wing leaders' ban against the League.

Gerry Healy reported that the campaign would begin by sending delegations to Transport House when the Labor Party national executive committee meets there on June 3. It would culminate in a national conference of all interested Labor Party members, trade unionists and other members of the labor movement to be held in Blackpool on the eve of this year's Labor Party conference. (Blackpool is a seashore town where the Labor Party conference will be held.)

LABOR TOPS FEAR IDEAS

"Since the League was formed three months ago," Healy said, in presenting the main political report to the Socialist Labor League conference, "we have been under constant attack from the right-wing leaders of the Labor Party and trade unions and from the capitalist press."

"No other political grouping in this country has endured more attacks in such a brief period. But everyone knows our organization is not a large one. What our attackers are worried about is our policies. The British ruling class has not had to deal with a Marxist organization since the Communist Party became Stalinized in 1924."

"They are afraid that Marxism will take root among advanced workers and young people at a time when the employers are intensifying their offensive."

The League was the direct outcome of the struggles in Britain of the last twelve months, Healy said. When the situation began to change in the country, it became clear that changes would take place in the Labor Party. The policies of the National Industrial Rank-and-File Conference called by the Newsletter last November were now the policies of thousands of workers throughout Britain. (The background of the League is as follows: Since 1956, a group of Marxists functioning for many years in the Labor Party collaborated with Communist Party members that abandoned Stalinism for revolutionary socialism following the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress and the Hungarian Revolution. Their first joint venture was The Newsletter, started by Peter Fryer, one of the prominent ex-CP members, in May 1957. Last year, the Newsletter distinguished itself through its energetic support to major strikes in England — including "unauthorized" strikes — and published strike bulletins of the London busmen and Clyde construction workers as supplements to the Newsletter. Last November, 500 delegates attended the National Industrial Rank-and-File conference called by the Newsletter and adopted a Charter of Workers' Demands. Many of these trade-union militants joined with the Newsletter group to found the Socialist Labor League.)

## Interracial Defense Urged for W. London

(The following are excerpts from an editorial in the May 23 Newsletter outlining Socialist Labor League policy on racial disturbances on Notting Hill in West London.)

The Socialist Labor League believes that the manifest inability of the police to prevent violence [against Negroes] in west London makes it imperative for the only organized force that is capable of affording them the necessary protection to do so. That force is the Labor movement. Our suggestion is that a conference be held in west London of local Labor Parties, Communist Party branches, union branches, trades councils and shop stewards' committees, together with representatives of colored people's organizations. This conference would consider the formation of local defense committees, consisting of white and colored trade unionists.

The primary task of these committees would be to carry out propaganda among white youth in the affected areas, answering the inflammatory statements put out by fascist organizations, explaining that colored people are not their enemies, but that capitalism is the common enemy of white and colored workers. Explanations should be given, too, about the real causes and real character of the immigration to this country from the colonies, and about the real nature of racialism and imperialism.

The defense committees would also provide protection where colored people requested it, escorting them and guarding their homes from attack where necessary. . . .

As a matter of fact, the Common Law makes it the duty of citizens to prevent a breach of the peace if the police do not do so. The Committee for African Organizations has just written to the Prime Minister, declaring that "colored citizens of the United Kingdom . . . have lost confidence in the ability of the law-enforcing agencies to protect them." Has not the organized Labor movement a duty to these colored citizens? The Socialist Labor League thinks that it has.

guide the working class forward through a struggle to a socialist system of society. The working class is only now awakening from a long slumber. It has tremendous weaknesses. . . . He characterized the right-wing Labor Party leaders as the direct descendants of those who followed ruling-class strategy in 1931.

"What it really amounts to is a division of labor between the right-wing and the Tories. These gentlemen speak and act in accordance with the interests of the ruling class. They are small men scrambling for a place at the table of the ruling class. This is the sordid story of social democracy."

"We say: You cannot expect Aneurin Bevan and his like to lead a movement for you. It is necessary to utilize the situation in industry to construct a Marxist wing inside the Labor Party."

"It is the program of the Marxist movement which makes it independent. It differs from all others in one important respect. The Marxists say that the capitalist class will not permit socialism to be achieved peacefully in Britain."

## PERIOD OF STRUGGLE

Turning to the situation in the Labor movement, Healy said "Today is the period for the development of the Marxist movement. It is a period of struggle. Marxism is a science to

## MARXIST SPEARHEAD

Discussing League members'

activities among the workers, Healy said: "We are not 'strike-happy' militants. We are for struggles which develop the workers as a class. And these are not just different industries which are represented here today. These industrial comrades are the spearhead of our movement. Everyone in it serves them. They will never be denied leaflets or any kind of help they need. We shall give them guidance and everything we have."

"Let others sneer about the South Bank strike. The ruling class did not sneer. It said it was the best organized strike the building industry ever had. We are proud that a number of people from the South Bank site are now members of the League."

"We are humble in our theoretical knowledge before the working class. We believe that no matter how confused people may be, if they do not come to us today they will come to us tomorrow. Our industrial comrades must work hard and win serious workers to our ranks. By tenacious work we shall win a toe-hold."

"The Communist Party has one fatal weakness: the history of Stalinism," Healy said. "We live at a time when the history of the Labor movement is all-important, and the Communist Party stands in fear of that history. It staggers from one event to another without continuity."

The great task is to educate all those who join the League on its historical link with the past. League members can't genuinely aid in preparing for working-class power unless they increase their theoretical stature.

"The League's theoretical journal, Labor Review, must be a lifeline guiding the movement. The thing that sustains people when they are victimized on jobs or when they are walking around without jobs is their theoretical understanding."

## FIGHT AGAINST H-BOMB

Discussing the struggle against the H-bomb, in which the Newsletter supporters have participated actively for the past two years, Healy said:

"The many young people from the universities, churches and middle-class homes who have taken part in the Aldermaston marches are to be applauded. But they need to be clear on principles. You can't fight the warmongers and remain tied to the pacifists. The Communist Party, the Right Wing and the pacifists all exclude the role of the working class in the fight for peace."

"When we say mobilize against the H-bomb," Healy concluded, "we are not against summit

talks. But it is idle and false to imagine that such conferences can resolve the problem that only the struggle of the working class can solve."

Following Healy's report, discussion took place on the draft political statement presented to the conference by the Newsletter's editorial board. Some 80 amendments were presented and vigorously debated. Among those adopted was one emphasizing that it is always the capitalist class which first renounces the facade of parliamentary democracy. In all, half the amendments were adopted, and the political statement was then carried unanimously.

## WORKERS DEMOCRACY

"Our organization, constitution and methods of work are designed to permit the carrying out with the maximum unity of will of decisions reached through the widest democratic discussion," said Peter Fryer in opening the discussion on the Socialist Labor League's proposed constitution.

Forty-seven amendments were introduced to the draft constitution, and the discussion over them showed that the conference was keenly alive to the need for safeguarding both the democracy and the discipline of the League.

The first important discussion, however, arose over an amendment from Manchester and London which provided that, while League members might accept paid positions in the unions, they should accept only the average wage in the industry concerned. Speaking for the amendment, Brian Behan, a leading construction unionist, said that it was not a question of offering one's services "on the cheap" but of the League campaigning throughout industry for this principle and showing in practice that members accept it.

"The seriousness of the conference did not make it solemn," says Patricia McGowan. "There was merriment as well as earnestness. And nothing brought a bigger laugh than the remarks about the League made by the president of the National Union of Hosiery Workers." This worthy labor skate complained that the Socialist Labor League had "goaded" members of his union into a state of rebellion against his decision to accept wage cuts up to \$11 per week.

Advertisement

## A Rare Book Event

Two outstanding and long unavailable works by the famed Marxist scholar and historian, Karl Kautsky, are now being reprinted.

Communism in Central Europe at the Time of the Reformation. The continuation of his classic work, Foundations of Christianity, this is the definitive study of the relation of religion to the class struggles of the period.

Thomas More and His Utopia. This remarkable fifteenth century figure made the word "utopia" part of the world's vocabulary with his breath-taking dream of a future classless society. Kautsky's study enables us to see this fascinating figure and his work in the economic and political context of the times.

A special arrangement with the publisher makes both books available at a reduced pre-publication price. Pay \$4.50 for Communism in Central Europe instead of the regular price of \$6. Order now to get Thomas More and His Utopia for \$3 instead of the publication price of \$4.

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# ... Socialist Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1) centages of the other branches on the scoreboard.

"You don't happen to be curious about how the Twin Cities are doing?" I asked.

"Well, no," he said. "Not at all. I wouldn't want to start anything. But I do notice we happen to be ahead of them."

Not far ahead! The Twin Cities reached 67% with \$203.05 across the wire this week. And their BOOK FAIR was a success, too. So far \$86.05 was netted.

Just in case the New York comrades would like to know, Fannie writes from the Twin Cities that it's still an up-hill

battle but they're expecting their "second wind to give us the final push over the top."

Joe Skivar sent this note with \$30 for Newark: "We'll have our quota in on time, but I always get jittery when the deadline gets closer." I'm chewing my gum faster, too, but I think we've got a good chance of making it, even though the deadline is only 21 days away.

Boston has been moving up in fine style. Each week their check has got a little bigger. This week it was \$65. That quota looked awfully big at the beginning, I'll bet, but they've succeeded in getting it down to where they can begin to

think of Operation Mop Up. Those comrades, I think, must have decided that socialism can put those dollars to better use for humanity than the installment collectors.

Denver carved another notch with \$5 and Mary Jane wrote that they will "have the balance in by the end of this month."

Wayne Levensen sent in \$20 this week for Milwaukee. They have held two successful affairs there. They were modest but lively and they helped the fund campaign. Representatives of various tendencies enjoyed discussing socialism and the SWP viewpoint on the big events going on in the world.

L. Morris sent in \$36 for Philadelphia. For all those in the vicinity Project Chicken Dinner is scheduled for June 6. Be sure to make it! (See Calendar of Events on page four for details.)

The week's contribution from Los Angeles was \$226 and the Bay Area sent \$30. Beverly Wise's welcome note accompanying the check from the Bay Area spoke for the West Coast: "We'll get there!" Johnny A. of New York who pledged \$100 to help out "General" on the scoreboard has already made good \$80.

"General" got another assist from a friend in Columbus, Ohio, who wrote: "Here's my donation for the fund raising drive now going on for the Socialist Workers Party. I only wish the donation could be larger, but I believe every bit helps. Well, enclosed is \$5 to help." It does help. Thanks a lot!

## FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	\$ 200	\$ 217	109
Pittsburgh	10	10	100
Allentown	110	101	92
Detroit	600	532	89
Chicago	1,000	750	75
New York	4,200	2,964	71
Newark	265	185	70
Twin Cities	1,700	1,138	67
St. Louis	80	50	63
Cleveland	750	460	61
Denver	25	15	60
Milwaukee	250	145	58
San Diego	245	135	55
Los Angeles	4,400	2,376	54
Boston	450	235	52
Philadelphia	500	218	44
Seattle	500	214	43
Bay Area	800	264	33
General	15	126	—
Total through May 25	\$16,100	\$10,135	63

## How the Miners Won

Everyone applauded John L. Lewis when he appeared at a congressional committee hearing and denounced pending anti-labor legislation. How many today recall how the United Mine Workers were attacked by everyone from President Roosevelt to the Communist Party during World War II? It has become a forgotten page in American labor history.

The story of the heroic wartime strikes of the coal miners and the reactionary forces that sought to defeat them is vividly described by Art Preis in "How the Miners Won." Read it in the spring issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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## Dulles

Chilon, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, seems to be in vogue among both Democrats and Republicans. In the case of Dulles, at least, they are religiously following the ancient wise man's advice: "De mortuis nil nisi bonum." (Of the dead be nothing said but what is good.) In fact some of them go so far as to suggest that not even the history books will express anything about the late Secretary of State but admiration.

The death of the Republican administrator of foreign policy happened to occur as Gen. Marshall, the outstanding administrator of foreign policy under the Democrats after World War II, lay in a hospital visibly nearing the end. The place of both men in history — as they themselves no doubt expected — will eventually be assessed in relation to the bi-partisan policy with which they did everything to associate their names. From this viewpoint they were colossal failures.

State Department spokesmen ascribe the cold war to the Soviet Union, fixing its origin vaguely around 1946. They picture the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan of 1947 as "defensive" measures. Observers more inclined to accuracy set Churchill's warmongering speech in Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946, as the beginning, or possibly Truman's ouster of Henry A. Wallace from his cabinet on September 20 of that year after the former Vice-President warned in a sensational speech that it would be a mistake to "get tough with Russia."

But the cold war began earlier than that — as early as October 9, 1945, the date on the biennial report made to the Secretary of War by Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall.

This instructive document was issued only five months after the surrender of Germany and two months after the surrender of Japan, when the Soviet Union was still America's ally. It scoffs at the possibility of peace. It projects World War III and the desirability of preparing for it. Marshall saw the new war beginning where World War II left off — with nuclear weapons.

The only adequate defense, said the American general, was the "power of attack." (The power of "massive retaliation" was the way Dulles later put it.)

Phrases like the "containment of communism" were used to describe the policy. Its substance was the construction of the greatest military alliance and military machine the world has ever seen.

It was directed against freedom movements in the colonial lands and the socialist aspirations of working people everywhere. It sought to shore up the battered capitalist economies that survived World War II. It aimed at upholding beleaguered dictatorial regimes like that of Chiang Kai-shek. It sought to convert Germany and Japan into springboards for an eventual attack on the Soviet Union. It sought to maintain a monopoly of the atom bomb as the U.S. began testing and stockpiling the weapon which Gen. Marshall himself admitted could "destroy" mankind.

The evidence is overwhelming that the blueprint projected an eventual war that would give American capitalism domination of the earth and that the timetable first drawn up envisaged only a few years preparation.

The concomitant of this utterly reactionary foreign policy was a witch-hunt at home in order to stifle all political op-

position. The witch-hunt began under the Democrats with Truman's "loyalty" purge and reached its height under the Republicans with the spread of McCarthyism.

Where does this policy stand today? It is true that Marshall succeeded in saving capitalism in countries like Italy and France, although it took the help of Stalin to do it. It is true that figures like Franco and Syngman Rhee still appear powerful. And we are still suffering a hang-over in America from McCarthyism. But the overhead cost was to make America the most hated power on earth — more hated perhaps than Hitlerite Germany was in its time.

And it is clear, as other hands take over furtherance of the policy from Dulles' hands, that its main purpose — to give America domination of the world — cannot possibly be attained.

The gigantic failure is not due to personal faults in either Marshall or Dulles. The estimate of their admirers that they were about the best to be found among capitalist statesmen in our time is probably accurate.

The failure is due to something more fundamental — that capitalism itself has no lasting future. The forces mobilizing against it have passed beyond the control of the most astute capitalist leaders. Marshall and Dulles were on the losing side and no matter what they did they could not alter this basic fact.

The first upset was administered by America's own troops. They refused to stay overseas at the end of World War II. Their "Get Us Back Home" movement was so powerful that nothing could be done about it. They came back home. From the viewpoint of the State Department this meant that completely new forces had to be constructed, something that could not be done overnight.

Meanwhile revolutionary movements abroad gathered headway, particularly in China. Marshall himself went to Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters to help out the dictator. The dictator was beyond help. Even \$2 billion worth of arms proved useless. In fact, the enormous arsenal turned up in the hands of the revolutionary masses as they drove Chiang off the mainland.

The Soviet Union rebounded from the devastation inflicted by the German invasion to become the world's second strongest power, signaling its achievement with nuclear weapons and the first artificial satellites.

The revolutionary wave in the colonial countries swept through Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, and the Mideast. It is now running through the continent of Africa. As Dulles fell victim of cancer, revolution toppled an American puppet dictator in Cuba on the very doorstep of the State Department.

The question that now faces the architects of American foreign policy is what next? If the cold war failed to achieve its aims even under the guidance of a statesman as capable as Dulles, who can hope to do better? Isn't it time to reconsider and begin recognizing the realities of a world in revolutionary upheaval? Shouldn't China be recognized? Shouldn't the testing of nuclear weapons be abandoned? Shouldn't the plan for nuclear war be recognized as suicidal?

Such must be some of the gloomy thoughts in the minds of Dulles' admirers no matter what praise they give their hero as they bury him.

## The Rabbit's Wedding

Alabama officials have really invited trouble for themselves this time with their decision to ban "The Rabbits' Wedding," a children's story about the wedding of a black rabbit and a white rabbit.

For some time now, racist authorities have been knocking themselves out just trying to keep people segregated by color. And if this gives them headaches, wait till they get into the animal kingdom.

Take those rabbits that they decided to begin with. Obviously they can't stop with a simple ban on pictures of rabbits of different colors defying the laws of segregation. If a mere picture is sufficient to corrupt children of tender age what in the world must go on in their little heads when they see actual rabbits frisking around unsegregated in the cabbage patch?

Clearly, a special game warden's division will be required just to enforce Alabama's color law among the rabbits. How big a job this will be is indicated by the well-known proclivity of rabbits to multiply quickly in defiance of all established rules and customs. (Furthermore, what they'll do about black-and-white rabbits we don't know.)

And they certainly can't stop with rabbits. Are children to be permitted to watch dogs and cats of a variety of colors defying "God's own law" right in their backyards? Heavy reinforcements for the local dog catcher is very much on the order of the day.

Nor does the enforcement problem end in the animal world. If nothing else, segregation has a pattern and logic to it. What about the inanimate world? Consider the subversive effect of a chess or checkers game with black and white pieces all mixed up on one board, which, in turn, consists of white and black squares.

All kinds of other problems are involved, including financial ones. Members of the Citizens Councils will certainly have to junk their black and white TV sets.

But the biggest problem remains in the field of animals. Take pigs, for example. Permit children to grow up without a sharp consciousness about different colored pigs and soon they won't be able to distinguish a pig sty from the Alabama State Capitol.



"That was a very sensible thing they did in Alabama, stopping those black and white rabbits from getting married."  
 "Yes, honey. Remove the color bar and a rabbit like that would be getting promiscuous with ducks."

## Why Doesn't Khrushchev Use The USSR's 'Secret' Weapon?

By Daniel Roberts

"H-bomb rattling is an ugly business. The American capitalist rulers started it — Truman dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ostensibly to end World War II but in reality to open the cold war drive. By this act U.S. imperialism showed it had nothing but death and destruction to offer the peoples of the world. As part of its drive to attain world mastery it must resort to the weapon of fear."

The Soviet Union, however, is in an entirely different category. Born of a socialist revolution in the midst of war, it represents mankind's first endeavor to construct a social order that will assure freedom, abundance and world peace. The founding of the Soviet Union lifted mankind to new heights of hope and confidence in the future.

So that when Khrushchev apes the American militarists and rattles the H-bomb, threatening Western Europe with total destruction, I for one take vigorous exception. Just listen to his words:

Speaking to a group of West German newspaper editors early in May he stated: "You may say 'But would the Soviet Union suffer no losses in the event of war?' Yes it would have losses and great ones. But while we should suffer losses, the Western powers would be literally wiped off the face of the earth..."

And again: "You probably

## ... Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

diplomatic stance in lobbying for general legislation or face trouble when it came to its own vital interests."

How revealing and how instructive is this description!

It causes one to ask: How about turning direct representatives of the union movement and the Negro people to Congress for the express purpose of fighting for labor and civil rights? Doesn't the experience of the 86th Congress suggest this course as an imperative alternative to the bankruptcy of the present political policy of the unions?

## THE REAL GAGE

The extent to which the sweep of the labor vote for the Democrats meant a shift to the left is hard to assess under the conditions of the present Democratic-labor official coalition.

What will really measure the leftward movement now is the extent to which opposition to the political policy of the officials develops. The workers voted last November for the Democrats because they felt that under the given conditions they didn't have any other way of expressing dissatisfaction with the recession and the war drive. When workers see a labor-elected Congress that refuses, for example, to pass legislation to extend the period of unemployment compensation, despite the fact that the recession showed a great increase in the amount of long-term joblessness, they will begin to express dissatisfaction with supporting the Democrats. A labor party policy will then gain support.

But this is not something that we can sit back and wait for. Socialists and left-wingers in the unions must conduct propaganda for a labor party more vigorously than ever. As the hopelessness of working through the Democratic party is revealed at every turn this propaganda will surely make its deep effect.

realize how many nuclear bombs would have to be exploded on the territory of West Germany to put her out of action?" (Somebody suggested eight.) "And do you think that we haven't eight hydrogen bombs? And how many are needed to put other West European countries out of action? Obviously not more."

Now, I know that the Soviet Union, menaced by a ring of U.S. military bases and nuclear bomb threats, is compelled to build its military defenses — including atomic weapons. But I say that this is not the language of a socialist internationalist, which is what Khrushchev calls himself. In the Leninist tradition of socialist internationalism when the workers of one country take the power they do not threaten to wipe the peoples of other countries off the face of the earth. They extend the hand of fraternal revolutionary comradeship in common cause against the capitalist warmakers.

Khrushchev's line does not serve to extend the socialist revolution to Europe. And world peace can be served only through such an extension.

After Stalin broke with the Leninist program we saw how he strengthened Hitler with a chauvinist policy during World War II. Stalin lumped the German workers with the German fascists as enemies of the Soviet Union and threatened to visit sweeping punishment upon the whole German people. This coincided with the policy of the imperialist allies. The German workers with their rich socialist tradition were the first victims of Nazism. They could have been and should have been enlisted in the common fight against fascism and imperialism. Instead the Stalinist policy confronted them with anti-German epithets and threats. Khrushchev's bomb-rattling is on the same order.

## BEATS ALL MEGATONS

The Soviet Union has a far more explosive weapon in its arsenal than H-bombs of any desired quantity of megatons. This is the perspective of a Socialist United States of Europe — the linking of all Europe in a single economic plan providing for a rapid increase of production and therefore a swiftly rising standard of living.

Europe has been choking in its national frontiers since the turn of this century. Hitler's "New Order" in which he united the capitalist class of Europe under German big-business domination brought nothing but misery to the masses. The present six-nation Common Market Plan is a collaboration principally between West German and French financiers and is aimed at exploiting the working class more intensively.

It is true that the economic boom in Western Europe in the last six years has for the time being slowed the revolutionary tempo. But the American recession — which saw a marked slowing down of the boom in Europe and the beginnings of unemployment — points the way to the next economic convulsion and new social and political crises.

On the other hand, the Soviet economy has steadily forged ahead thanks to planned production. It sets itself targets for growth and — because of the energetic pressure of the Soviet working masses — targets for the improvement of living standards.

On the strength of these gains, the Soviet Union could project the idea of an all-em-

bracing European plan of growth. Trade-union delegates, engineers, economists from all countries of Europe could be invited to participate with the central Soviet planning agencies to draw up a five-year plan for Europe. Impressive as the Soviet seven-year plan is, the economic progress that can realistically be projected for a European planned economy would be positively inspiring.

If the democratic right of the working people to approve or reject the plan and to have a voice in their formulation is made part of the program, and if the right of national self-determination is guaranteed, sustained propaganda for the socialist outlook could within a few years revitalize the revolutionary socialist movement throughout Europe and bring it to power.

For the Soviet Union to play its rightful role in promoting such a socialist perspective, Stalinist-type diplomacy and bluster must be replaced with Leninist internationalism and a profound regeneration of workers' democracy.

# The American Way of Life

## Welcome Rongelap Islanders!

One of the dreams that used to go with the American Way of Life was the possibility of escaping to the South Sea Islands. When it seemed impossible to keep up with the belt line, or to bring home enough pay, or to land another job when you were laid off, or to find friends who really believed and practiced anything but dog eat dog, you could always think of making it to the South Sea Islands.

That's been changed now. The primitive area where you could still hope to see the way people lived before civilization hit, is going fast. The American Way of Life is sweeping over the lagoons and palm-studded atolls.

Latest proof is the report of a United Nations mission that just got back from the Marshall Islands, the sprawling area in the Pacific administered by the United States. The inhabitants of Rongelap, the mission said, are faced with an "emotional and psychological problem, arising from persistent fears and apprehensions concerning their well-being..."

If a UN mission were to report that about any community in the United States it would certainly not be considered news. Where can't you find persistent fears and apprehensions in America?

But it is instructive to learn how the Rongelap Islanders acquired their persistent fears and apprehensions, for it offers a dramatic instance of how the United States brings the latest in science to less developed areas.

Exercising its trusteeship, America converted the South Pacific into a nuclear testing ground. In 1954, year of the big leap forward in H-bombs, fallout drifted onto the islands of Utrik and Rongelap, poisoning 236 of them.

Radioactivity was so high that the nuclear teams listed the islands as temporarily uninhabitable. The U.S. government generously herded the population into other quarters and also generously kept a medical check on how the radioactive poisons affected them.

The experience scared the islanders; or, in more civilized

terms, induced a neurotic behavior pattern.

On finally being returned home, the Utrik Islanders, according to the UN mission, made a "complete adjustment." Not so those from Rongelap.

When they were put back on their island in 1957, the government built two new villages for them, gave them subsistence, and instituted a coconut-planting program. An American agricultural expert was provided to give them free advice. Two health aides were established on the island and a medical man was sent once a month to keep track of how the radioactive poisoning affected them.

## CRABS TOO HOT

But all this failed to bring "complete" adjustment. The islanders grumble like Americans. They don't like the fact that they can no longer eat the coconut crab, which they once considered delectable. The lobster-like crustacean is too hot — when tested with a Geiger counter. They object to the way fallout has affected fish and coconuts, although government experts don't see grounds for complaint. And they worry about their dosage of fallout.

In brief, as the UN mission reports it, they have become "vocal."

This is a strong indication that the Rongelap Islanders have successfully passed their initiation into the American Way of Life and can be welcomed as full-fledged fellow practitioners.

They now have every reason to join in the struggle for socialism. The peoples of the South Seas have a lot to offer in know-how on living in a rational society. In contrast to the realities of capitalist society, their natural kindness, hospitality, friendliness, and concern for others seem like part of a realm of fantasy. But under socialism the whole world will take their justly famed attitude as a way of life for all.

—Paul Abbott

## Headlines in Other Lands

### Found Socialist

#### Party in Montreal

Some 60 Canadian socialists in the Quebec area constituted themselves as the Socialist Party of Canada at a Montreal conference April 19. The principal political report was made by Henri Gagnon, former leader of the Quebec Labor Progressive (Communist) Party. Gagnon split from the LPP after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and founded the Council of Socialist Clubs of which the present organization is an outgrowth.

In his report, Gagnon rejected as "false and anti-Marxist" the LPP concept that successes in the Soviet world are the decisive factor in establishing socialism in Canada. "At the very best," he said, they "create favorable conditions for the struggles of Canadian workers." He proposed formation of a "national anti-monopoly front."

Greetings to the conference from the Socialist Educational League, a Marxist group, expressed the hope that fraternal relations and exchange of views that have existed between the two groups for the past year would continue and lead to a fusion of forces as part of the process of building a mass socialist party in Canada.

### Canadian Press

#### Hits Police on 'Vagrancy' Arrest

The May 12 Toronto Star editorially welcomed a local magistrate's pro-civil liberties decision but criticized the limitations of his ruling. On May 8 a vagrancy indictment against 24-year-old Ernest Tate was quashed. He was arrested after being stopped on the street by a policeman who ordered him to open the suitcase he was carrying. Tate refused on constitutional grounds.

The judge ruled that as a person innocent of any wrongdoing, Tate had the right to walk the street without fear of arrest. However, he chided Tate for refusing to cooperate with the police and refused to award him court costs.

The Star editorial said: "The judge's advice weakens his own ruling. He is saying in effect that Mr. Tate should have sub-

mitted to the police questioning and demands. Are a citizen's rights to be measured by what a policeman regards as 'cooperative'?"

In a cartoon accompanying the editorial, a sleepwalker clad in a nightgown is walking down the street followed by a prowler car. One of the cops says: "... and no visible means of support. Looks like vagrancy to me, Sarge... Let's bag him."

Tate's fight for his civil liberties won the endorsement and financial support of a number of Toronto unions, including locals of the auto, rubber, electrical, painter and building service unions.

### Latin Americans

#### Press Right of Nationalization

A representative of Chile in the United Nations reaffirmed May 19 the right of economically underdeveloped countries to appropriate or nationalize property owned by foreign investors. United States interests have major holdings in Chile. Meanwhile, it was reported the same day that the Brazilian government had seized the American and Foreign Power Company. A protest by U.S. business spokesmen said that the action would have a poor effect "on international opinion concerning fair treatment given by Brazil to private initiative."

### British Newsmen

#### Says Soviet Census Shows Big Gains

In a May 23 column discussing the USSR's recovery from the devastation of World War II, Howard Crankshaw of the London Observer pointed to the recent Soviet census and said: "It is this astonishing and a little frightening capacity of the human animal to recover so quickly and obviously from its wounds which impresses unceasingly the return visitor to Russia. And this census is one more landmark in the Soviet recovery from horror on a monstrous scale. It is a forward-looking census. The damage of past decades is acknowledged and then firmly put in its place — into limbo. The new chapter has begun."

Pointing to the figures on

the rapid growth of the population and the record high marriage figures, he adds: "And all this is going on at a time when there is more movement in the Soviet Union than ever before."

### N.Y. Times Man

#### Finds Police State In S.W. Africa

Union of South Africa officials, who run the protectorate of South-West Africa, arrested New York Times correspondent Milton Bracker for visiting a "native location" without a permit. After a lengthy grilling he signed "an admission of guilt," was fined \$11.80 and permitted to leave. During the interrogation he was compelled by the racist cops to show all his notes, personal correspondence and a copy of an article he had just written.

### Chinese to Aid

#### Algerian Troops

A military mission of the Algerian National Liberation Army has been successful in negotiating an agreement with the People's Republic of China. Omar Oussedik, a Secretary of State of the Algerian Provisional Government, headed the mission to Peking. Abdel Kader Chandlerli, Algerian spokesman at the United Nations, would not divulge the precise nature of the agreement because it was a military matter but said, "We are satisfied with the results." Mr. Chandlerli charged that while the U.S. supplies arms to the French it applies pressure to keep the Algerians from getting arms from other governments.

### Rumania Speeds

#### Collectivization

Government officials in Bucharest said May 21 that the goal of total farm collectivization set for 1955 may be reached by 1952. Official figures show that 65% of the agricultural land has already been collectivized. This marks an increase of 5% in the past three months. Three types of collectives have been organized, two of which permit peasants to retain title to their land. According to Western diplomats in Bucharest, there is little if any peasant opposition to the collectivization program.

An Effective Reply To Steel Barons On Price Spiral

Editor: H. K. asks in last week's Militant what the Steelworkers can do to beat the fact that every time the steel corporations grant a wage increase they add it on to the price of steel and then claim that a wage rise automatically causes a price rise.

The Steelworkers have already issued some facts disproving the contention of the corporations. The union has shown that wage increases amount to only a small proportion of the price increases. Therefore the rise in prices includes a disproportionate rise in profits.

Naturally the capitalist press gives little publicity to the union side; but the union leaders, I would say, have not done all they could to expose the company propaganda.

How can the steel companies boost prices without any fear that competitors will undersell them, thus bringing prices back down to closer correspondence to the true value of steel?

The answer is that they monopolize the market. Instead of permitting competition to enter in, as the principles of their "free enterprise" call for, they fix prices. What is really "automatic" about the price increases is the secret agreement among the steel barons.

This is where the Steelworkers could show up the steel trust and perform a real public service. They should demand that all the books of the steel corporations be opened up to public inspection. That includes all their files and secret memorandums.

A team of certified public accountants, retained by the Steelworkers, could then easily demonstrate what the real costs are in steelmaking and what proportion of the price goes to profits, interest, rent, padded expense accounts and executive salaries and bonuses.

This seems to me the simplest answer that the Steelworkers can make to the corporation propaganda. If the steel monopolists are telling the truth, they should welcome the oppor-

tunity to open up their books to public inspection.

If they refuse to open their books, the Steelworkers would be in a powerful position to underscore the reason: The corporations lie when they say that price boosts are caused by the efforts of the workers to keep up with the cost of living.

The Determination Of One Man Started Union in Hospitals

Editor: We socialists sometimes despair about our limited numbers being a detriment to our political potency. But now and then a case will turn up illustrating how the determination and perseverance of one dedicated progressive can cause a significant step forward in the labor movement. Such an example is the unprecedented strike against six "voluntary" hospitals in New York City.

The seeds were sown 12 years ago when Elliot Godoff, then a pharmacist at the Israel Zion Hospital (now called Maimonides), became outraged to find the salaries of non-professional employees there as low as \$27 for a 48-hour week.

He tried, unsuccessfully, to organize the workers — resulting in his being fired. After he had found employment elsewhere, he continued his agitation at Maimonides on his own time and, in 1949, succeeded in establishing an International Brotherhood of Teamsters local recognized by the hospital administration.

Two years ago, due to the disinterest and inertia of Teamster negotiators, the organized workers of Maimonides voted to resign from that union and to join Local 1199 of the Retail Drug Workers, AFL-CIO.

During the period 1949-1958, these workers improved their wages by as much as 90 percent and cut their work week by eight hours. With these good results, they were able to approach the non-professional employees of Montefiore Hospital and, under threat of strike, the administration there accepted collective bargaining. The six striking hospitals and to three

others who have pledged a strike to gain union recognition. This move involves thousands of severely exploited workers throughout New York City.

Undoubtedly, the success of this struggle will have repercussions in the national labor movement, inspiring militancy and intrepidity against oppressive odds. In the case of the hospital strike, the silent acquiescence of the workers was there all along, needing leadership to give it direction. It all started with one man's faith and determination.

Cynthia Speare  
New York City

Ball Bounces In Labor Leaders' Faces

Editor: John L. Lewis' blast at the union-busting Kennedy bill won't be the last the labor leaders will have to make. The leaders of the AFL-CIO originally pledged support to this supposedly "anti-racketeering" measure in the hope that the Democratic Congressmen would throw them a few sops for their cooperation. They figured it would pay to play ball with these people as they have been doing since the days of the New Deal. But this time the ball bounced in their faces, but hard.

Now they are fighting for all they are worth against the "revamped" bill that went through the Senate. But why did such a bill go through? According to them their "outmaneuvered" in Congress were "outmaneuvered." Yet even a man like Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union, who isn't the smartest union leader in the world, was able to warn well in advance that the Kennedy bill was a menace to the unions.

The way the capitalists and their lawmakers are continuing their push against the unions, it seems to me that the ranks of labor will have to recognize that their leaders' policy of depending on the Democrats has led them into a blind alley. There is going to have to be a movement to build a labor party in this country.

Leo Adler  
New York

Negro Press Debates 'Violence'

By John Thayer

Those seeking effective measures in the Negro struggle for equality will have their eyes fastened June 3 on the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. That is the day on which the great policy question involved in the battle of Roy Wilkins vs. Robert F. Williams will get an official hearing.

NAACP head Wilkins is formally demanding that Williams, president of the Monroe Union County, North Carolina NAACP branch, be removed from office because of his statements that Negroes should "meet violence with violence" when attacked by racists. Though he was speaking as an individual and not in the name of the NAACP, Williams is sticking to his guns on the rightness of his prescription for Negroes, individually and collectively, to arm and defend themselves.

The hearing will be before the NAACP's Committee on Branches, presided over by Judge Hubert T. Delany. After the hearing the trial committee will make a recommendation to the NAACP national board which meets on June 8.

Through his attorney, Conrad Lynn, Williams had requested that the hearing be open to the press and public and that he be permitted to introduce witnesses. According to the May 30 N.Y. Amsterdam News the hearing will be closed to the press.

WILLIAMS' BRIEF

A part of Williams' defense will be a 14-page legal brief which traces in federal and state laws the rights of Americans to arm and defend themselves against attack. It further demonstrates that all Americans are fully entitled to make the "citizen's arrests" which Williams is urging Southern Negroes to invoke against racist assailants.

"It is submitted," the brief continues, "that taking the entire Williams' statement in context and the meaning given by him to that statement, he has formulated the classic privilege of self-defense accorded under the civil and criminal law to all persons. Surely, NAACP policy cannot deny that privilege to its Negro members . . . therefore . . . Williams' statement cannot possibly be contrary to NAACP policy."

As the date for the hearing approaches the great debate in the Negro press and in all organizations interested in civil rights over the correctness of Williams vs. Wilkins continues unabated.

Negro newspapers including the Chicago Defender and the Philadelphia Tribune, many NAACP leaders, and Negro Congressmen Powell (D-N.Y.) and Nix (D-Pa.) have backed up Williams. Other papers, including the N.Y. Amsterdam News and N.Y. Age have come out editorially in favor of Negroes using all the force necessary to stop racist attacks. A number of papers, including the Afro-American and the California Eagle, while agreeing with Wilkins on the issue of force, argue that suspension of Williams is too harsh treatment and call for "understanding" of his feeling and statements.

Civil Liberties Defender



At the first press conference for Kutcher in 1948

Carl Holderman (right), former president of the New Jersey CIO Council, died in Newark May 20 at the age of 65. A consistent champion of civil liberties, he played an outstanding role in mobilizing labor support for James Kutcher (center), the legless veteran who was fired from the Veteran's Administration in 1948 for admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

This picture was taken Aug. 25, 1948, at a press conference in Newark where Holderman joined in announcing formation of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which won Kutcher's reinstatement in 1956. At left is George Novack who was secretary of the Kutcher Committee.

At the press conference, Holderman, who had just won the CIO award for outstanding activity in defense of civil liberties, vigorously denounced Truman's executive order establishing the "loyalty" screening program for federal employees.

Holderman told the assemblage of reporters that he did not agree with Kutcher's political views. "But," he said, "I do agree that there is a great danger to democratic rights involved in the persecution of individuals who hold such views. Regardless of politics, our state CIO and I as its president will give full support to James Kutcher and to the rescinding of the Executive Order."

At the time of his death, Holderman was New Jersey Commissioner of Labor and Industry, a post he held for five years. From 1945 to 1954, he was state president of the New Jersey CIO.

An active unionist since 1926, he was appointed regional director of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, in 1936 and played a key role in the organization of the textile workers in Northern New Jersey.

He is survived by his wife, Beatrice, and four sons.

Gov. Rockefeller Dooms Reid to Fla. Chain Gang

Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller not only inherited a good slice of his grandfather's oil billions but also his flinty heart. The same cold-blooded indifference that John D. Rockefeller displayed when

troops massacred his striking employees and their families at Ludlow, Colorado, in 1913, was exhibited by his grandson last week when he announced he would allow the extradition of William Reid to a Florida chain gang.

"It is simply disgraceful," said Milton H. Friedman, Mr. Reid's chief counsel, "that the Governor of the enlightened State of New York should, of his own volition, without legal compulsion, and with full knowledge of the facts, choose to offer another Negro victim for Southern lynching."

HARRIMAN SIGNED WRIT

When former Governor Harriman signed a writ to extradite Reid to Florida in 1955 a four-year court battle ensued. Following a final rejection of Reid's plea last week by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, the decision was left up to Rockefeller.

"The action of Governor Rockefeller," said Friedman, "is summarily ordering Willie Reid returned to Florida is a masterpiece of executive injustice."

"Together with associates, I presented to the Governor's counsel and to Lt. Gov. Wilson last week the shameful, fully documented story of Reid's illegal conviction and cruel, unusual punishment at the hands of Southern racists, including Sheriff Willis V. McCall, who has an appalling record of brutality inflicted on Negroes in his custody."

But Reid's attorneys could not move Rockefeller who was more concerned about accommodating a fellow governor than saving a man's life. The N.Y. Post reports that Florida Governor Collins had telegraphed Rockefeller, "assuring Reid's safe return to Florida." What happens to him after he gets there? Will his life be protected then? The Florida Governor doesn't say and the New York governor doesn't ask.

Sentenced to 15 years on the chain gang in 1950 for allegedly stabbing another Negro on the wrist, return to Florida would mean almost certain death for the 42-year-old Reid.

He escaped to New York in 1952 after he had testified against a Florida State investigator. He was subjected to beatings that resulted in broken bones and back injuries. Prison guards threatened to kill him.

With help from the FBI, Reid was apprehended here in 1955. He was released from prison on bail for several months in 1956 when New York Supreme Court Justice Dineen ruled that he had not received a fair trial in Florida and faced possible harm if returned. However, Reid has spent the last several months in the Tombs prison pending final outcome of his case.

SEEK REVIEW  
Reid's attorneys have managed to get another stay — preventing his extradition until this Friday. The stay gives the attorneys time to appeal for a writ of certiorari asking the U.S. Supreme Court to review the case.

In a letter thanking the N.Y. Post for its support of his case Reid said: "Carry on; continue in the name of justice for those unfortunate ones who may come behind me that there will be justice for them. Do everything that is humanly possible to better the world we live in."

Unions Hit Blue-Cross Rate Hike

NEW YORK, May 22 — Spokesmen for major unions in the area have sharply assailed the application of the Blue Cross hospital plan for a new rate increase at a public hearing yesterday and today by the State Insurance Department. A representative of the Socialist Workers Party supported union opposition to the rate increase and urged a program of socialized medicine.

Blue Cross, which is dominated by the United Hospital Fund, is demanding a 34.2% increase on its already stiff rates to subscribers and proposing to hand the hospitals additional payments of 8.9 percent. Last Sept. 15, the plan, which gives a minimum of services and pays its directors staggering salaries, won a 22.3% rate hike.

More than a dozen union spokesmen pointed out that past increases have not been reflected in additional pay for hospital workers and all referred to the current hospital strike. The representative of the Teamsters Joint Council declared his organization is considering setting up its own hospital plan and building its own hospitals if necessary. A half dozen New York unions have already found they can provide their members with better service at lower rates by organizing their own plans.

Speakers at the hearing also showed the extent to which Blue Cross has become a lucrative source of income for directors. One member of the Blue Cross board is Stanley Resor, chairman of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency. Last year his company raked in more than half a million dollars in fees from Blue Cross.

Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, Douglas Richards said: "The dramatic contrast between what Blue Cross has achieved and the medical services in the USSR, England, Sweden and other countries which have socialized medical programs shows conclusively that government planning has outstripped private enterprise."

Calendar Of Events

PHILADELPHIA

Community Clothesline Art Exhibition by local artists — oil, water, pastels and wood-paintings. Sat., June 6, 2 to 7:30 p.m. At 1124 41st St. Entries welcome — call BA 2-7892. Dutch treat: Chicken platters and refreshments throughout the hours of the exhibit. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. (For further information also call ST 3-5820.)

"The Beat Generation and a Third Party." Hear: Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein. Sat. June 13, 8:30 p.m. 1303 Girard Ave. Donation 75 cents; students, 50 cents. Aupp. Militant Labor Forum.

Local Directory

- BOSTON: Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
CHICAGO: Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738.
CLEVELAND: Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9.
DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.
LOS ANGELES: Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
MILWAUKEE: 150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS: Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY: P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA: Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
SAN FRANCISCO: The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
SEATTLE: 1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS: For information phone MO 4-7194.

Notes in the News

ON KREMLIN'S INDEX LIBORUM PROHIBITORIUM — Novelist Howard Fast, who broke with the Communist Party after the Khrushchev revelations, was the subject of a lengthy attack by the official Soviet news agency, Tass. A one-time Stalin Peace Prize winner, Fast was one of the most popular authors in the Soviet Union, his books selling in millions of copies. The Tass diatribe said that "when ideals wither literature becomes petty."

"FREE WORLD" MOVIE BLACKLIST — After substantial prodding, the United States Information Agency provided a House Appropriations subcommittee with the names of 82 movies that it had blacklisted against showing in a dozen countries abroad. It was explained that the banned films gave a "false" picture of life in the United States. The blacklist includes such varied titles as "All Quiet on the Western Front," "The James Dean Story," "Salt of the Earth" and "Somebody Up There Likes Me." A congressional supporter of the blacklist said that if film distributors were true patriots they wouldn't want to send such films abroad "even for the profit motive."

FLEXIBLE POLICY ON CHINESE SHRIMPS — After weeks of soul-searching and legal study, the State Department resolved a thorny security problem. Four refrigerator trucks, loaded with frozen shrimps from Chinese waters, in transit from eastern to western Canada via U. S. highways were stopped by custom officials at the point of re-entry into Canada. The ban on trade with China made the presence of the shrimps illegal in this country. The issue was raised in the Canadian parliament and press. One Canadian cartoon showed Uncle Sam on a horse, waving a flag and crying: "The shrimp trucks are coming!" Deciding to subordinate national security to friendship with Canada, State Department legal experts recommended that the customs men "look the other way" while the shrimps slipped back across the border. The decision is not to be construed as tacit recognition that China exists.

OBSCENITY DEFINED — The Supreme Court of Vermont is about to decide if eight magazines should be banned as pornographic. In a brief for the defense, former assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold observed that the only final basis for such censorship "is to hold that no nudes is good nudes."

TO RESIST BAN ON DRAPER — The Freeport, Long Island, Community Concert Association said May 22 that it would fight for reversal of a local school board ban on a scheduled appearance by the noted dancer Paul Draper. The board withdrew use of the high school auditorium for Draper's recital after the local American Legion post protested his appearance on grounds of alleged Communist sympathies. The local concert group said: "We deplore the kind of pressure applied as not only undemocratic but dangerous . . . We stand firmly behind the principle that every artist has the right to perform and every audience has the right to gather to see him."

THOMPSON RETURNED TO PRISON — Communist Party leader Robert Thompson was reimprisoned May 20 to complete a four-year contempt of court sentence imposed in 1953 for

failing to surrender after conviction under the Smith Act. He was released after serving his Smith Act sentence and two and a half years of the contempt sentence pending review by the Supreme Court. But the court twice refused to review the onerous contempt sentence, forcing the political prisoner's return to jail.

BEG PARDON — At a formal ceremony May 20, the federal government announced it had completed a program of restitution to 72,000 Nisei — Americans of Japanese descent — who were thrown into concentration camps at the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan. Citizenship was restored to 4,978 Nisei who had renounced it while in the concentration camps. Restoration of citizenship was denied to 431 others. Attorney General Rodgers said, on the basis of "reliable evidence of disloyalty," Rogers' assistant said he hoped all Nisei would "have the charity to forgive their government."

SENATE MAIL ON FALLOUT — Speaking in the Senate May 13, Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) said, "I know that all of us in Congress have been deluged with mail from sincerely concerned people in regard to the effect of human life of the fallout resulting from nuclear experimentation." The Senator, who says that fallout is producing less radiation than the bricks in your house, added that "it was difficult to reassure constituents." He feels that popular concern is in large measure "inspired by subtle Communist propaganda."

WHAT WE DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT BANKERS — If it wasn't for the April 22 issue of the American Banker we never would have heard of this news: "Today we have a new kind of international banker. Peace is his work. Unlike the war-mongering international bankers' of demagogic fiction of a generation ago, they go about the world forging plowshares, as it were, not swords. . . . Our international banker, 1959 model, is . . . man of mystery working deviously. He does his work openly, though quietly. Sometimes his failures make news, as when a petulant dictator refuses to bow to the realities which must be faced in financing an Aswan Dam." (And then of course, British, French and Israeli troops are dispatched to try to make him face up to reality.)

MAYBE IT WAS HIS CONSCIENCE — Among the choicer tributes to the late John Foster Dulles was this one from New York Post columnist Leonard Lyons: "At Geneva Dulles was so firm in his resolve not to recognize Red China that he made sure his eyes never met Chou En-Lai's."

INVESTIGATE SHAKESPEARE? — For the second time in three months, Shakespeare's name got mixed up with subversion. In New York, Park Commissioner Moses refuses to allow free Shakespeare in Central Park because (a) it erodes the grass; (b) the producer once invoked the Fifth Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Last week five bankers quit as sponsors of the Stratford-on-Avon, Conn., Shakespeare festival because a stage manager had not been fired though he had invoked the Fifth Amendment. (No grass was involved at Stratford-on-Avon.) Isn't it time for the House Committee to investigate Shakespeare?

How About Our Public Opinion? Say Mt. Sinai Hospital Pickets

By Lillian Kiesel

A group of hospital strikers were resting on benches outside Central Park waiting for the mass-picketing demonstrations called by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell to get under way. (See story page one.) They were eager to tell the "inside story" of the strike to anyone who wanted to listen and to write about it.

Asked about reports in the press of "public outrage" over the strike, one striker said, "They must mean the millionaires on the hospital board. Anyway, aren't we the public?" "Conditions here are atrocious," said another striker. "After six years of service to this hospital I make \$47 a week and take home \$37-\$38. He lives at home with his mother 'I can't afford to get married,' he explained.

An elderly Negro woman, for 15 years a kitchen aide at Mt. Sinai Hospital, expressed the bitterness of the strikers toward the scabs. Shaking a stick in the direction of the hospital she said, "If I could use this stick, there wouldn't be any scabs left in there. How can they look their own people in the face when they come out?" She showed me a pay-check stub. Her take-home pay had been \$26.78 for 32 hours. "I

usually work 44 hours," she said.

"I asked whether they got extra pay for overtime. At this point all the pickets laughed. This is a big joke among strikers. They receive time-and-a-quarter for overtime. As a kitchen helper the elderly Negro woman is luckier than the rest, however, because she receives \$5 a week to buy lunches at the hospital. The others receive no food allowance.

"We nurses' aides are treated like dirt!" said a younger woman. "We do everything for the patients from bringing bedpans to nourishment — everything except take blood pressure and give medication. We wait on rich and poor patients alike."

"Take it all down," she said bitterly. "We want the world to know our public opinion. I could write a book about this hospital. You mustn't be too conscientious or show them you're smart because they'll work you to death. "They say they have enough help. They have pictures in the papers of rich people volunteering. That's for publicity." "Who is preparing and washing the dishes and bathing the patients?" she asked. "Look!" She pointed to visitors entering the hospital. "They're all carrying in food for their sick

ones. If they have enough help, we'll just walk this picket line until our feet drop off."

Just then Rep. Powell, who is also Pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, arrived with hundreds of people from his congregation who were brought down to Mt. Sinai in chartered buses. Powell called the demonstration to protest economic exploitation of Negroes and Puerto Ricans who make up 85% of the non-professional workers at the six struck hospitals.

OPERATION HUMANITY

We all joined the picket line which was now two full blocks long. Some of the signs carried by the pickets read: "Against Starvation Wages." "A City Welfare Allowance is Bigger than a Hospital Worker's Salary." "You Can Get Sick on \$32 a Week." Pickets who came down with Powell wore buttons saying Operation Humanity."

The show of solidarity visibly heartened the demonstrators. After we had marched around Mt. Sinai twice, the demonstration began to break up and a mass of people congregated in front of the hospital.

"Hi scab," shouted one striker to someone watching from inside. "Anybody's a scab is so low he could crawl."