

Moscow Debate Seen as Part of Nixon Build-up

By William F. Ward

The impromptu dialogue between Vice President Nixon and Soviet Premier Khrushchev on the opening day of the U.S. exhibition in Moscow was "perhaps the most startling personal incident since the war," according to N.Y. Times correspondent James Reston. Since it has been shown on TV, it has been a prime topic of conversation throughout the country.

There are two main points of political significance in this unusual debate. One involves international relations; the other national politics.

The staging and tone of the public argument is another sign of the slow but steady change in the attitude of the Eisenhower administration, toward dealing with the USSR.

Because of the growing power of the Soviet Union, the colonial revolution, and the current world military stalemate between the two power blocs, the shapers of diplomacy in Washington feel obliged to seek some avenues of negotiation and areas of compromise with the Kremlin.

This entails a limited easing of tensions between the East and the West and a lightening of the cold-war atmosphere.

Prices Hit New Peak

The cost of living jumped four-tenths of 1% last month bringing it to a record peak. The federal price index is now 124.5% of the 1947-49 base and is six-tenths of 1% higher than a year ago.

All items on the cost-of-living index except wearing apparel went up. Fruit and vegetables increased 10%. A Labor Department price expert said it was nothing to get excited about.

Congress Moves to Kill Equal Radio-TV Time

JULY 29 — The Senate moved by voice vote yesterday to impose a crippling curb on Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act which provides that when

licans. The curb is aimed at minority candidates.

Passage of the Senate measure came after a high-powered propaganda campaign by the broadcasters who deliberately falsified the meaning of a recent FCC ruling in the Lar Daly case where the Commission correctly held that news broadcasts were not exempt from the equal-time law.

A similar measure has been reported out by the House Commerce Committee and is expected to be acted on shortly. The curb on equal-time has the support of the leaderships of both major parties.

The Senate bill specifies that the equal-time provision shall not apply to "appearances by any legally qualified candidate on any newscast, news interview, news documentary or on-the-spot coverage of news events."

The House Commerce Committee bill provides exemption for appearances by candidates on "any on-the-spot coverage of news events (including, but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto) where an appearance by a candidate on such newscasts, interview or in connection with such coverage is incidental to presentation of news."

The Senate struck from the bill it adopted a clause that would have also exempted panel discussions from the equal-time rule. But even in its present form, the measure opens the door for the broadcasters to give time only to candidates of their own choice since they will obviously insist that such appearances constitute "news."

The Senate added an amendment to the bill urging the broadcasters, who have long campaigned for complete elimination of the equal-time rule, to utilize their new bounty "fairly." That means time granted Democrats and Repub-

This shift was very likely decided upon in the latter months of Dulles' tenure at the State Department. But it would have been difficult to imagine Dulles swapping quips with Khrushchev in Nixon's manner with its mixture of friendly overtures and debater's points.

There has not been the least disarmament on either side in the military domain. But in this "disarming dialogue" between the Soviet and the American statesmen there is discernible the beginning of a disarmament in the field of propaganda warfare.

BUILD-UP FOR NIXON

Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union — and side trip to Poland — is part of the build-up by his Republican managers for the 1960 presidential race. The TV broadcasts and the press stories have kept him in the limelight and given a big boost to his bid to succeed Eisenhower.

His publicity advisers aim to present the Vice President as a man capable of dealing on equal terms and holding his own with the toughest representative of the Communists.

Nixon was obviously coached to appear amiable and conciliatory without yielding anything substantial, even in public argument, with Khrushchev. This was shown by his refusal to be drawn into any debate on the Senate-sponsored celebration of "Captive Nations Week" which so incensed the Soviet Premier.

Most Americans who saw and heard the TV program were not so much concerned with these underlying political features of the conversations as with the effectiveness of the arguments.

(Continued on Page 3)

Huge Profit Grab Bares Steel Bosses' Real Aims

Ohio Labor Disappointed In Democrats

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, July 25 — As the Ohio legislature adjourned today it was clear that the Labor-Democratic coalition in this state has suffered body blows from which it can only recover in badly weakened condition if at all.

Moreover, it is not the strength of the Republicans, but the inherent weaknesses of the coalition that is responsible for the situation, since this was the first time in 20 years that the Democrats have controlled the governor's office and both houses of the legislature.

First indications of labor's realization that the Democratic party is a weak reed to lean on appeared in the campaign to defeat the Right-to-Work amendment on the ballot last November, when the independent United Organized Labor of Ohio was created to mobilize mass support to defeat the measure.

While the AFL-CIO endorsed Michael V. DiSalle for governor, and many other Democrats for the legislature, labor strength was concentrated on defeat of RTW, and it was on that bandwagon that the Democrats rode into office. DiSalle was explaining to labor's ranks as a lesser-evil candidate who would be influenced by labor's show of strength in the election.

But the Labor-Democratic coalition suffered its first major blow shortly after the General Assembly got under way, when DiSalle introduced his "anti-rackets bill."

Recognizing the measure as worse, in many respects, than the RTW amendment they had just defeated, unionists reacted with a strong reflex. AFL-CIO leaders howled that they had been betrayed.

DiSalle pointed out, accurately, that he had said during the election campaign that he was not opposed to RTW in principle, but only to the measure on the ballot because it was not as effective as he would like.

Rank and file union members honestly said they had made a mistake when they voted for DiSalle.

DiSalle confirmed that conclusion during the rest of the legislative session by his position on other demands of labor. By the middle of July the situation was fairly well described in an article in the Cleveland News by Robert Kehoe, political writer, who said:

"The shotgun wedding of Gov. DiSalle and the labor movement (Continued on Page 2)



Biggest Rally

A million workers and peasants gathered in Havana July 27 for the biggest political rally ever held in the Western Hemisphere. A half million peasants, machetes in hand, travelled from all over Cuba for the demonstration. They roared approval as Fidel Castro castigated intervention by U.S. imperialism in Cuban affairs.

Mich. SWP Opens Campaign For Socialist Ticket in 1960

DETROIT, July 25 — The Socialist Workers Party last night announced its intention to proceed immediately with a petition campaign to put a socialist ticket on the Michigan ballot in 1960.

The announcement came at a meeting called to explore the possibility of uniting the state's radical organizations around a joint socialist ticket, along the general lines of the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York State last year.

Invitations to last night's meeting were sent over a month ago by Frank Lovell, SWP state chairman, to the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party, American Socialist Club, Proletarian Party, World Socialist Party, News and Letters group, and to a number of individuals.

None of these organizations responded to the invitation either in writing or by sending representatives to the meeting.

Some of them (SP-SDF and CP) are preparing to again give backhanded support to the Democratic Party in this state. The SLP, which is opposed to united-front activities of any kind, will run its own campaign, in which it will continue to alienate workers from socialism by denouncing such

things as the struggle for the 30-hour week as "unsocialist."

The others will use various arguments to justify sitting it out on the sidelines during the campaign.

As chairman of the meeting, Frank Lovell reviewed the record of the eighty-sixth Congress to show that the need for socialist action in 1960 will be greater than ever before.

Lovell also traced the history of previous efforts to achieve a united socialist ticket in Michigan — during the 1956 presidential campaign, the 1957 mayoralty campaign in Detroit, and the 1958 gubernatorial campaign. On each of these occasions, the SWP's offers and appeals were rejected by the other radical groups.

Speaking for the SWP, Robert Himmel said it wanted once again to express its readiness to participate in a united socialist ticket movement. But, he stated, it is also necessary to recognize that the SWP is the only group in Michigan officially in favor of such action, and therefore a united ticket in this state is not feasible at the present time.

But the SWP has no intention of defaulting on its obligation to offer a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties on the ballot, and therefore it had authorized Himmel

to announce that the SWP will start gathering nominating petitions within the next two weeks.

"Even though we start collecting signatures in August, candidates will not be named until next summer," Himmel explained. "If at that time a national united socialist ticket has materialized, we will place its candidates on our ticket in this state. Otherwise, an SWP presidential and vice-presidential team will head our Michigan ticket."

"But in any case we are going to guarantee the people of Michigan the right to cast a meaningful vote in 1960 for socialism, peace, civil rights, civil liberties and economic security."

Getting on the ballot in Michigan is a big job, he continued. SWP members and friends will aim at getting 32,000 signatures from 16 counties. This will take a lot of legwork and money. He appealed for help from all who want the voice of socialism to be heard in the 1960 election.

Petitions may be collected by any citizen of the state. Petition forms can be obtained by writing the Socialist Workers Party, 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Michigan.

The so-called "wage inflation" issue is here revealed to be a hypocritical veil to screen the

"Inflation" Cry Is Cover For Nationwide Attempt To Batter Down Unions

By Tom Kerry

The issue of "wage inflation" advanced by the steel corporations as justification for forcing the Steelworkers out on strike is as phoney as a plugged nickel. If there were no other evidence to confirm the fact, the publication of record-breaking profit figures of the major steel producers for the first half of the year, would suffice.

United States Steel Corporation reported a whopping \$254,948,496 net profit. This represents a phenomenal net of over 10 cents on each dollar of sales. These figures prove the contention of the union that the corporations can easily meet the wage demands of the Steelworkers, without raising the price of steel, and still make a handsome profit. This fact was established even before publication of the latest profit figures. What then is the real issue involved in the current steel shut-down?

The bogeyman of "wage inflation" is just so much boob-bait to hook a gullible public. In those publications circulated in the business community the real issue is put with blunt frankness.

A lead editorial in the July 15 Wall Street Journal entitled, "The Issue in the Strike," affirms that the "real sticking point" is "the issue of work rules; who is to have the power of decision over the actual working operation of the mills — the management or the union." This is the formula under which the corporations are demanding a surrender of working conditions established over two decades.

"It is not an issue peculiar to the steel industry," says the editorial. "It was involved in the rubber industry strike; it is involved in the A&P strike; it looms in the rail and aluminum industry bargaining. There is hardly a major industry in which it is not today a pressing question." In this dispute, therefore, the steel magnates are spearheading the assault on union working conditions for employers in all "major industry."

"Indeed," says the Wall Street Journal, "if the steel union had been willing to make concessions to the steel companies' authority over their plants, the steel workers would be on the job this morning, and probably at higher wages."

The so-called "wage inflation" issue is here revealed to be a hypocritical veil to screen the

real issue of a corporation conspiracy to jettison union conditions on the job — and not alone in steel but in all "major industry."

Business Week, the McGraw-Hill publication which speaks for big business, also states the issue quite frankly in a lead article in its July 18 issue. "The real conflict," says the magazine, "is between management rights and the power of the Steelworkers. Higher wages are secondary."

The magazine amplifies this view by stating: "In simplest form, the fight in steel — and more and more commonly in other industries — involves a sharp conflict between management rights and union security aims. Employers are out to regain prerogatives that they carelessly let slip away during the boom years."

In other words, the "real issue" is the determination of the employers to take away from labor the concessions won in decades of bitter struggle by the unions.

"ROUND-ROBIN" TALKS

The determination to use the steel negotiations as testing ground for the employer offensive against labor was a collective decision made by spokesmen for the big monopolies. "In 1957," says Business Week in its July 4 issue, "there was a series of round-robin talks among labor relations officials of the electrical manufacturing, steel and auto industries. These set the stage for the 'tough' bargaining that has come to a climax this year."

"Talks among these industries are continuing. Within the past week, spokesmen in the electrical and auto industries have acknowledged that their companies are keeping in close touch with the steel talks in New York. One put his hand to his chin, commenting: 'We're involved up to here.'"

These 1957 talks were followed by others which sealed the conspiracy to cut the unions down to size — pigmy size, that is. In order to ensure the strategy of piling up huge steel inventories in preparation for a forced shutdown the steel corporations had to enlist the col-

(Continued on Page 4)

In Harlem a New York Cop Is a New York Cop

By Harry Ring

If you keep the flame going under the pot long enough it will boil over. That is the point now reached in Harlem from the unremitting brutality of New York's cops.

At a meeting with Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Kennedy July 21, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and Bessie Buchanan, a State Assembly member from Harlem, proposed that more Negro policemen be assigned to Harlem instead of whites as a means of curbing police brutality. Kennedy flatly rejected the proposal.

The conference followed the July 13 incident in which more than 1,000 outraged Negroes demonstrated in front of the twenty-eighth police precinct, the central Harlem station, after two cops had beaten and kicked a woman under arrest.

Kennedy, whose cops think nothing of cracking open a Negro skull if they're in the mood, sought to soften his rejection of Powell's proposals with this hypocritical statement: "Rather than segregate the

Police Department — we must continue to fight for a truly integrated city. It is my firm conviction that only by true integration in all aspects of modern life — housing, schools, equal opportunity in employment, and social intercourse — can justice be achieved for all."

There is scant prospect that the long-developing anger that flashed into the July 13 demonstration will be cooled by Kennedy's pious declaration.

FAKE INTEGRATION

To begin with, there is no genuine integration in the Police Department. Most Negro cops are assigned to Negro and Puerto Rican districts and it is an open secret that the Department brass considers Harlem a "dumping ground" for white cops who get out of line.

Kennedy made a good debater's point when he said Negroes won't get real justice until all forms of Jim Crow are eliminated. But the implication is that New York's chief cop intends to do nothing about current police brutality. He responded to the July 13 demon-

stration by promptly assigning more cops to Harlem to prevent alleged "mob violence."

The July 25 Amsterdam News declared editorially: "We don't know what the extra policemen are for. We don't think the Commissioner sent them up to crack open the heads of the people in Harlem because he already has too many policemen doing that. And it is difficult for us to believe that they were sent . . . to serve as 'pied-pipers' who will lead the rats out of Harlem." (The front page of the paper has five pictures of Harlem residents holding up giant rats they captured in their homes.)

"All right, we have more policemen!" the editorial continues. "How about more Sanitation personnel! . . . how about more inspectors of housing and building . . . how about a step up in the handling of tenants' complaints against landlords?"

Such problems, Kennedy may retort, are up to his boss, the mayor. Besides, he's too busy combatting race prejudice. His policy statement declares, "The police must not think of any group in stereotype."

Those with suspicious minds may feel that Kennedy himself was deliberately reinforcing the stereotype of the Negro as a criminal when he released figures July 16 purporting to show that the crime rate in the twenty-eighth precinct is "shocking."

When the Amsterdam News requested comparative figures from one of the white precincts, it was refused on the ground that the department has a "policy of not releasing information on individual precincts" because it might "stigmatize an area."

Since Kennedy feels free to violate his own rules by issuing figures on Harlem, why doesn't he make public the exact figures on the hundreds of thousands of dollars the city has been forced to pay in the past decade to those victims of police brutality fortunate enough to have enough evidence to win in court? The Militant reported four such cases in 1953 alone where damages totaling \$169,500 were awarded to victims of police assault.

Perhaps Kennedy is reluctant to do so because, as the New York Post sympathetically ex-

plained, he sometimes "rises too righteously and impetuously to the side of his men when they are under fire."

The chairman of the NAACP legal committee, Jawn L. Sandifer, put it more honestly. He said that brutality by "trigger-happy" cops is "an accepted practice condoned by the Police Department . . . I have yet to see firm disciplinary action taken by the Police Department against a cop."

Would the assignment of more Negro officers to Harlem relieve the problem? The record indicates it would not. Police brutality, which plagues every low-income area, was as acute in Harlem during the days of the "black precinct" as it is today. The pattern is the same in other cities.

SURVEY

The New York Times on July 27 reported a survey of seven major cities, north and south, where Negro police are still largely assigned to Negro neighborhoods.

The Chicago report said: "It has sometimes appeared that

Negro policemen are more severe with Negroes than are white policemen."

The "liberal" mayor of Atlanta said, "We have had a very good experience with our Negro policemen as a whole. Though lower-class Negroes despise them, better-class Negroes respect them."

The Times reporter explained: "This was considered a reference to reports that some Negroes think that Negro policemen are harder on them than white policemen are."

The reason for this was succinctly expressed by the Atlanta chief of police. He said that white and Negro cops work well together. "They are police officers first and put race and color second."

Give or take an unusual individual here or there and that's a social law. A cop is a cop regardless of the color of his skin. He accepts the doctrine that private property is sacred and that only the wealthy are above suspicion. That's why the fight against Harlem police brutality won't be won by a change in personnel.

It's the Profit in the Pills That Keeps the Industry Alive

By Flora Carpenter

America has 15 million citizens aged 65 or over. Their ranks are growing by about 1,000 a day. Three-fifths of them are forced to live on incomes of less than \$1,000 a year. They need more medical care than younger people. How do most of them get it?

Do you know? Do you care to know? Or do you feel more concern about the profits of the medical industry and the insurance trusts? Do you join in the view of America's monopolists that the welfare of the capitalist system is more important than the welfare of the aged?

A bill now before the House Ways and Means Committee, introduced by Rep. Aime J. Forand (D-R.I.) would provide hospital, surgical and nursing home care for Old Age Social Security recipients. The bill provides nothing like the full free medical care Soviet citizens get from cradle to grave. It comes nowhere near the extensive medical service provided by the government in such countries as Britain.

All it would do is help the elder citizens. It would be paid for through an additional one-quarter of one per cent Social Security tax against both employees and employers.

Yet powerful monopoly forces and their more shameless political representatives in government are lined up openly against it. In public hearings last week, arguments against the bill came from the American Medical Association, the American Dental Society, the American Hospital Association, the Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and Secretary Fleming of the U.S. Office of Health and Welfare.

They contended that federal action in this field would injure the sale of private insurance policies and would curtail the "freedom" of the aged in choosing doctors.

Fleming, for instance, wielding the knife for the Eisenhower administration, admitted that "a problem does exist" but it could be solved through "individual initiative, thrift and voluntary insurance." By 1970, he argued, most aged would have "some" private hospital insurance.

Dr. Herbert Berger, president-elect of the New York State Society of Internal Medicine, called the bill "communistic." He expressed fear that the measure would "break up normal family responsibilities."

Dr. Frederick C. Swartz, representing the powerful AMA, held that passage of the Forand bill would mean "federal control of benefits, of rates charged for medical, hospital and nursing services; of records; including that of the patient, and of standards of hospital and medical care."

During the AMA testimony, Forand charged that reactionary organization with "coercive and intimidating tactics." Dr. Swartz denied that "sanctions" had been threatened against any doctor supporting the bill.

Charles I. Schottland, dean of the Gradu-

ate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, speaking for the bill, described the bleak alternatives that face older people in America when they need medical help:

"In my experience, I have run across numerous tragedies among the aged because of the high cost of medical care.

"I have seen persons who saved for their old age, who owned their homes and had substantial assets, reduced to destitution because of prolonged illness.

"I have seen persons go on relief who had always been self-supporting until they reached their 70's and 80's and medical costs forced them to seek public assistance."

Dr. James P. Dixon, president-elect of Antioch College, and director of the Hospital Council of Philadelphia, said that Philadelphia's 58 hospitals gave \$20,000,000 free care last year, of which one-third was for persons on Social Security pensions. . . . after city, state and United Fund contributions, the hospitals themselves had to pay \$5,000,000 from their own resources. . . . this resulted in run-down plants, reduced services and underpaid hospital workers."

Strong statements in support of the proposed measure were presented by the Textile Workers Union, Ladies' Garment Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The National Farmers Union said that only the big operators were opposed to the insurance. The National Consumers League declared that there is "no other area where an advance could be made of such importance with so little cost to our economy."

Walter Reuther, testifying for the AFL-CIO, denied that the Forand bill would destroy private, voluntary health insurance. He insisted that the voluntary programs intended to take care of the older people are too costly for the majority and that unreasonable medical costs drive them to seek public assistance.

Rep. Bruce Alger (R-Tex) sought to put Reuther on the spot: "To me, all this adds up to socialized medicine. Don't you agree?"

"I don't think this is a very important question," Reuther countered. "If social security is socialism, this is socialized medicine. . . . it is time to quit fighting ideological windmills and deal with basic human needs."

Chances for passage of the measure are decidedly slim. Wayne Morse of Oregon and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota have introduced a similar bill in the Senate, but the strategy of the Democratic Party is not to fight vigorously for measures like these. They are pushed just enough to make the record in preparation for the campaign oratory in the 1960 presidential election.

So it looks like continued hard times for America's elder citizens. Neither the Democrats nor Republicans believe that the welfare of the aged is nearly so vital as the profits to be made out of their ill health.

British Marxist Answers Slanderous Attack

British Scab-Herding Cops



Printing trades workers who are spearheading the fight for a 40-hour week in England are not the first to face strike-breaking police. This scene is from the 1957 strike wave in which 1,700,000 workers downed tools to thwart efforts of British employers and the Tory government to hold back wages.

A hundred thousand British printing-trades workers are on strike for a 40-hour week and a 10% wage hike. The employers and their Tory government are trying to defeat the strike in order to hold back the entire British labor movement in its demand for the 40-hour week. Yet at the very height of the printers' battle, an official of one of the ten striking unions has chosen to launch a Stalinist-type frame-up attack on the Socialist Labour League, which has been energetically mobilizing support for the strikers.

The League is a recently organized Marxist group in the Labour Party that is fighting for a revolutionary socialist program in the party. Over the protest of many constituent parties, right-wing Labour Party officials have sought to expel people on the basis of adherence to the League.

The present divisive attack on the League was made in a July 15 circular letter to the members of the National Association of Operative Printers and Assistants (Natsopa) by the union's general secretary, R. W. Briginshaw.

He charges that the union and its leadership is being "attacked by disruptionists on both sides. Firstly the professional strike breakers through their known organizations. Secondly the more insidious Trotskyists under the guise of the Socialist Labour League."

"Under cover of widening the dispute," Briginshaw asserts, "the Socialist Labor League is reaching for its real objective, on instructions from its employer-paymasters, to break the struggle of the ten unions."

This slander by a union official came four days after the "People's Guardian," voice of the biggest union-busting employer in the industry, had attacked the League for its support of strike struggles.

That paper declared: "Blatant incitement to involve other major industries in the printing dispute is made in the current issue of the Newsletter, the weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League, which has been the spearhead of so much industrial trouble during the last year or so."

Similarly, a recent bulletin of the Economic League, the employers' intelligence organization, charged that "The Trotskyist record in recent months is a wholly destructive one. They sought to prolong the official London bus strike, they captured the leadership of the last unofficial dock strike in the Port of London. They took a leading part in the pointless unofficial strike on the South Bank

participation in and attitude toward the strike. At the same time he demonstrates that Briginshaw's views essentially coincide with those of the Communist Party fraction in the union.

"Under cover of pious talk about 'unity,'" Healy says, the CP is "seeking to strengthen Natsopa at the expense of the other unions in the printing trade, thereby creating what they consider would be a fruitful field for their penetration."

"The leaders of the Communist Party," he continues, "are in fact working for a split in the printing trades unions. And they consider that their main political opponents are the Socialist Labour League, since the League has no other interests than to help the printworkers secure

the 40-hour week and the ten per cent wage increase."

"The Socialist Labour League has no reason to adopt any underhand methods in this struggle," he added. "It has appeared openly under its own banner, and has collaborated — without any strings — with printworkers all over London in a number of public demonstrations."

"Above all we have no desire for a victory of one union and a defeat of others. We want to see the victory of all ten unions over the employers, and we have striven and shall continue to strive for the maximum possible unity in action of these unions."

"Your letter makes no attempt to grapple with our arguments or our policies. It calls us names. It says we are 'paid by the employers.'"

Reiterating that the employers and government view the struggle of the printing trades as a test of their capacity to thwart the national labor demand for a 40-hour week, Healy elaborates the League's proposal to extend the strike as a means of cracking employer resistance.

Condemning the trade-union brass for its failure to give meaningful support to the strike, Healy asks: "If you want to criticize those who are hampering the printers fight, Mr. Briginshaw, why not direct your criticism to the right quarters — to the right wing of the trade union movement, which is doing absolutely nothing for the printers, as it did absolutely nothing for the London busmen last year."

Despite Briginshaw, members of his union are continuing to collaborate with members of the League in strike demonstrations. The Newsletter is being widely read by strikers. Almost 800 copies of the last issue were sold to printers, including 100 copies that were taken by a Natsopa shop chairman for sale to his members.

The NAACP Debate Over Williams

By George Lavan

A news item in the July 24 New York Times is headed: "NAACP Fight Ends — Suspended Carolina Leader Won't Sue to Get Post Back."

Though one may question whether the fight on the issue of self-defense by Negroes has ended or just begun within the NAACP, the story is accurate in stating that Robert F. Williams, suspended president of the Union County (N. C.) branch, has rejected the idea of court action against the NAACP national leadership.

At the close of the recent NAACP convention, Williams had told a N. Y. Times reporter that he was considering a lawsuit to regain his post. His supporters were divided on this idea. Those who were for it argued that a dangerous and unconstitutional precedent had been set by his suspension. Never before had the national board removed an elected branch officer — save in cases of disputed elections, where removal was merely to permit the holding of new elections.

Those Williams supporters who opposed the idea of a lawsuit, while admitting the dangerous precedent, pointed out that the membership rather than a judge should be considered the court of last resort. Williams would be able to continue his campaign for the adoption of a militant program, including self-defense, within the organization.

Moreover, it was argued, the time and money both sides would have to expend in a legal battle could be better employed in the struggle against the white supremacists.

After a conference with counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization which in the past period has extended legal aid to rank-and-file union members deprived of their democratic rights within labor organizations, Williams let it be known that he had abandoned the idea of a lawsuit against the NAACP national office.

A prime factor in this decision was the ACLU's pointing out that North Carolina authorities might be able to take advantage of such a lawsuit to legalize the NAACP altogether in that state. In his statement, however, Williams emphasized that the NAACP leadership's campaign against him had exposed him to possible prosecution for "sedition" or "inciting to riot" by North Carolina authorities.

Williams' general attitude now is best given perhaps in the July 25 issue of the Crusader, a weekly newsletter, which he publishes in Monroe, N. C. "The people who expect the Union County branch of the NAACP to die are going to be disappointed," he writes, "I am going to be right in there pitching as

hard as ever and I want you to pitch with me. . . . Join and support the NAACP. The vote in New York was only a matter of policy. . . . Join the fight for freedom."

THREE VIEWS

A perspective on the convention and the self-defense fight is now beginning to emerge in the Negro press. An article by Nadine Brown in the July 25 Pittsburgh Courier lists three points of view as having been prevalent among the delegates.

These were: (1) Williams had been suspended before a proper investigation had been made, and (2) "Others questioned the interpretation applied [by the NAACP national office] to what Williams was alleged to have said."

However, it was the third point of view which, with the mechanism of the unit rule, made the vote "unanimous" against Williams' reinstatement. This was (3) "many of the delegates asserted their contention that a reversal of the suspension would show an absence of confidence in their officers and therefore would damage the progress of the NAACP."

"Williams received thunderous applause as he took his seat," the Pittsburgh Courier account notes. But "the vote was overwhelmingly in concurrence with the board. However, many of the delegates expressed regret over having to go against Williams in order to show confidence in their officers."

Similarly, Louis Lantier, the Washington columnist most widely syndicated in the Negro press, reports (Afro-American, Aug. 1): "The Williams case turned in the convention on the question of supporting the NAACP leadership — not on the merits of the case."

WILLIAMS' VICTORY

Though the drama centered

on the reinstatement vote, which Williams lost, the more important issue — that of self-defense — was officially adopted by the convention without demur. This was Williams' true victory and, as time passes, will be seen as more important than his suspension. For the NAACP is now officially on record as supporting "the right of colored people individually and collectively to defend their person, their homes and their property from attack."

The leadership asserts that this is not "meeting violence with violence," but it would take a Philadelphia lawyer to explain how it is non-violent.

The leadership contends, moreover, that this is not new and that the NAACP has always held such a position. But it was so new that a number of delegates, speaking for the national office position in the debate over Williams' argued out of habit unanimously against the very concept of self-defense, which had been "reaffirmed" but an hour before.

Another indication of how far self-defense was from being a "traditional" NAACP position may be seen in the following account (Memphis World, July 18) of the work session held the second day of the convention on "Equal Justice Under the Law." At this session Williams' attorney, Conrad Lynn, pointed to the rising wave of violence in the South and asked if Negroes should not consider methods in addition to court action.

"Another questioner put his question more bluntly. He asked whether it was not a standing rule of law that equal or like force may be used to protect life and property and whether it would be wrong to condone an individual who uses force to protect his life or property."

"Robert L. Carter, special counsel for the NAACP, who was presiding, ruled the question out of order. . . . The ques-

tioner, Mr. Carter said, had raised an issue of policy which was pending before the policy committee. He added he would entertain no discussion of that kind."

To justify its claim that this convention's endorsement of self-defense was unrelated to the wave of support evoked by Williams' fight, the NAACP has no convention resolutions or official statements from the past 50 years to point to. Its claim is based solely on some court cases in which it supplied legal aid.

This claim was taken up in advance in a mimeographed pamphlet issued at the convention by pro-Williams delegates. It said in part: "But giving legal aid to some of the many cases involving Negroes who defended themselves does not mean the NAACP advocates self-defense. It only shows that after the fact it countenanced some cases of self-defense. An organization which is really for the right of self-defense will not equivocate. It will advise Negroes in appropriate areas of their legal right of self-defense and urge and help them to take the necessary measures for individual and collective self-protection against attack. This is being for self-defense before the fact not just giving aid to victims and survivors afterwards. This is the kind of self-defense Williams ad-

vocates. It is the kind he organized in Union County. It is neither provocative, nor mob action, nor Lynch law—it is 100% legal. Its rule is to fire only if fired upon. . . ."

Granted that the passage of the resolution does not mean automatic implementation of that policy; nonetheless, the official adoption of a self-defense position marks an important advance. All the more so in this period when the pacifist supporters of Martin Luther King have added numbers and a "philosophy" to conservative elements in the NAACP who shudder at the idea of Negroes fighting back with any weapons other than lawsuits.

The job of making the NAACP convention statement more than lip service to self-defense will have to be waged inside the organization by Williams and other militants. But this is true of many of the fine positions on the struggle for equality which the NAACP holds in words and resolutions. To translate the fine words into action is one of the key struggles of our epoch not only in the Negro organizations but in the labor movement as well.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

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Ohio Labor Disappointed

(Continued from Page 1)
Michael V. DiSalle and the state's labor chiefs has ended in a quickie divorce.

"The union, born of necessity during last year's gubernatorial campaign, brought together conflicting philosophies which were certain to prove incompatible.

"At the time it was made, however, DiSalle needed support wherever he could get it and labor was looking for someone on whom it could hang its hat.

"During the campaign the labor boys, led by Elmer Cope, Phil Hannah, and Jake Clayman, were irked by DiSalle's refusal to pitch his entire vote appeal on right-to-work. But when the new governor was inaugurated and labor-backed Democrats took over control of the Ohio Legislature, the boys wiped their hands in glee and anticipated Utopia.

"As the months passed the

labor boys began to see definite signs that their desires weren't going to be realized in full and they started to get uneasy. Most of labor's welfare program was being enacted but only to the extent that DiSalle wanted it to be."

"AFL-CIO officials charged DiSalle, Lantz and Yoder [two of DiSalle's closest legislative aides] with 'selling injured workers down the river' and said they were more interested in 'cash registers' than people."

Elmer A. Cope, secretary-treasurer of the Ohio AFL-CIO said that these Democratic politicians had joined the Republicans and the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association in "ripping the guts out" of the Workmen's Compensation Bill and rubbing the nose of the injured worker in the dirt.

"Never have we seen such a betrayal of solemn promises and

commitments of a caucus by a House speaker and majority leader," Cope said.

Labor's demonstration of strength in defeating RTW by more than a million votes did have some effect on the legislature. Supplementary unemployment benefits were legalized in Ohio. State unemployment benefits were improved from a maximum weekly payment of \$39 to \$53. Workmen's compensation benefits were raised from a maximum of \$40.25 to \$49 weekly and death benefits from \$12,000 to \$18,000. The right to an extra 13 weeks of unemployment benefits voted in the last recession was extended until the end of 1959. Public employees were permitted to sign checkoff cards to pay union dues.

A bill to set a state minimum wage, however, which was a Democratic party platform plank, never got out of the House Rules Committee.

The most significant legislative victory for Ohio labor was the defeat of DiSalle's labor reform bill. As Richard L. Maher described it in the Cleveland Press of July 18:

"He got thumped on the anti-rackets bill. That was inevitable because Democrats in the House, particularly those from the big cities where labor makes its voice heard, didn't want to be put on the spot on the bill, didn't like it in any event and viewed the version that did come out as meaningless anyway."

But the task for labor is to make that defeat for DiSalle stick. As the legislature adjourned the governor announced that he is not whipped on "labor reform."

"We will work during the next two years to prepare a proper climate for another bill which we'll try to get through the next Legislature," he proclaimed. And he announced plans to begin soon by stumping the state.

Is labor learning anything from its experience in the Democratic coalition? Indications are that the experiment with independent labor politics in the fight against Right-to-Work has opened up an alternative to coalition politics. How it will affect the 1960 campaign remains to be seen.

But the impact on the 1959 local elections is already evident. Numerous references are being made by political commentators to "labor candidates" in forthcoming school board and councilmanic elections.

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Negro Struggle And Communism
Does the struggle for full equality in America owe anything to the successful working-class revolution in Russia in 1917?
Today it is fashionable to denounce "communism;" but a few decades ago some of the most persistent battlers in the Negro struggle took a different attitude. They found it profitable to study the Bolshevik experience.
Read about the results of this in "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement" by James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the American Communist Party and later of the Socialist Workers Party. In the summer issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.
International Socialist Review
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. THE MILITANT Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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Vol. XXIII—No. 31

Monday, August 3, 1959

Peace Haunts Wall Street

Nowadays we are enjoying the benefits of a New Capitalism, say the celebrators of "The American Century." Unlike the capitalism of Hoover's day, Eisenhower's is depression-proof. With the help of timely federal aid, big business can keep the tide of prosperity at high levels. Many ex-radicals have been captivated by this same illusion.

The American economy of 1959 undeniably has undergone some significant changes since 1929. But there has been only one fundamentally new feature introduced into U.S. capitalism in recent decades. That is the immense size and the constant increase of the arms budget.

Hundreds of billions in wasteful expenditures for World War II, for the cold war and for Korea, and in preparations for nuclear warfare have served to prop up the structure of capitalism, generate uninterrupted inflation, and stimulate an artificial prosperity. And even these multibillions have not sufficed to starve off three recessions in the postwar period, although they have prevented the downturns from plunging into prolonged depressions.

Today corporation profits and stock prices are close to an all-time high. Economists are warning that the situation is dangerous when an investor can get a higher income from a short-term U.S. government bond than from many top-rated stocks.

Sylvia Porter, financial columnist of the N.Y. Post, asked some financial experts: what is likely to trigger the next bust in Wall Street? Their answers were extremely revealing.

They expressed fear that if Washington and Moscow should arrive at an agreement to reduce arms expenditures, this would be catastrophic — at least for

Wall Street. It would reverse the economic trends since the end of World War II and "mark a start toward levelling out of the \$41 billion military budget in our land and toward gradual cuts in this budget over the coming years."

This sign of sanity would be greeted by popular enthusiasm everywhere. "But in Wall Street, the pros would concentrate on the extent to which a ceiling in defense might cause dislocations in industry, major layoffs and pay slashes — and the stock market might well shudder at what could happen. "Putting it bluntly," she writes, "a glimpse of peace and future relief from the load of armaments spending could be it — the trigger."

The experts point out that even the modest stretch-out in military spending paved the way for the 100-point stock-market break in late 1957. They stress how even minor cutbacks in arms appropriations in areas dependent on military orders have sent these areas into a tailspin.

Such is the underlying reality of "The New Capitalism." Any moves to change the cold-war atmosphere and limit the arms budget would set off a stock-market crash and an economic slump. Is it any wonder the plutocrats and their parasites fear, above all else, that "peace" might break out?

"But won't it be possible for spending programs for schools, water-systems, roads and housing to take up the slack if there are big cuts in defense spending," she asked.

"The programs you suggest aren't on the books," came the cynical reply. "No effort has been made to convince Americans that what is needed will be done to prevent a transition to lower defense spending from being cruel and severe."

Can't Coexist with Ideas

At the insistence of Soviet inspectors, more than 100 books were removed from the shelves of the book show before the American National Exhibition opened in Moscow.

These included almost all the books dealing with the Soviet Union and aspects of its economy and culture, not previously screened out. Among them were the World Almanac and works by such well-known authors as Stuart Chase, Norman Thomas, Adlai Stevenson, A. A. Berle, Simone de Beauvoir, and Prof. William Appleman Williams.

In the time of Lenin and Trotsky, fear of competing ideas was the last thing the Soviet government could be accused of. It was primarily through the power of ideas that the Bolsheviks overcame the Czarist censorship and won the allegiance of the Russian workers and peasants. Lenin and Trotsky stood for free thought and against censorship.

The Stalinist bureaucracy crushed the proletarian democracy which the Soviet Union enjoyed in Lenin's time. Stalin could not maintain his dictatorial rule if he permitted free thought; therefore he proscribed it. As Stalin's heir, Khrushchev maintains Stalin's censorship.

The Soviet citizens are thirsty for books from abroad. They want to exercise their right to free thought. From their own experience they are quite capable of sifting the true from the false. Four decades after the October 1917 Revolution, they are not to be taken

in by capitalist propaganda. They are interested in advancing socialism.

That is precisely what the Stalinist authorities are afraid of and why they so vigilantly control all the sources of information. They evidently fear that any book about the Soviet Union printed abroad might help observant and critical-minded Soviet citizens to detect the gaps and distortions in the official propaganda and to learn about dissenting views.

The American authorities have condemned this book censorship as a violation of the agreement between the two countries as fresh proof of Soviet totalitarianism.

One would think there was no attempted "thought control" or restrictions upon expression in their own sector of the so-called "free world."

Yet, at the very time the Soviet censors were at work in Moscow, Congress was rushing through revisions of the Federal Communications Act, taking away from minority parties and candidates their rights to equal time on radio and TV. Democrats and Republicans want to shut off even the small trickle of information about dissenting views on public issues permitted today and complete the monopoly of the air-waves by the paid and unpaid spokesmen for big business.

The governments of Khrushchev and Eisenhower, each for its own reasons, fear the unrestricted circulation of ideas which is essential for democracy and demanded by socialism.

Dirty Politics

A recent University of Michigan survey has provided some devastating answers to the claim that an effective new party can't be built in this country because the American people are really sold on the two major parties.

More than half the population of Wayne County, of which Detroit is the center, sees no difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. More than one-third of the precinct workers of the two parties agree with this view.

More than half the adult population believes that politics is dirty and dishonest. Among precinct workers, 43% see eye to eye with the public on this.

The Democratic and Republican parties are weak, undemocratic, dishonest, dirty, too complicated to understand, too narrow in interest, or only want to win elections—these were the most common observations gathered in the survey.

Only 13% of the adults in Wayne County ever worked for or contributed to either major party. Only 4% did so in the 1956 presidential elections.

Only one in ten thought that working for a political party is a way to be a better citizen. When party door-bell ringers were asked what they would

miss the most if they dropped out of activity, more than half mentioned social contacts and social rewards. Only 10% mentioned the fun and excitement of politics.

Among precinct workers only 10% said they would miss the opportunity to work for a cause, a political issue or their personal beliefs.

A good number apparently didn't even find the social contacts or rewards they expected. If they quit, 20% said, they would miss nothing.

These findings should hearten those who recognize the need for building a new party in this country based upon and representing the interests of the great majority, the working people. The survey verifies what socialists have long maintained—that the two capitalist parties don't have the unbreakable, magnetic, popular appeal which the misleaders of the labor movement use as their alibi for supporting the political machines.

It is principally the failure of these trade-union bureaucrats to provide a meaningful alternative that keeps the Republicans and Democrats in power.

Let labor move into the political field as an independent power and the people will flock to it.



Revolt of Iraqi Soldiers Shows Instability of Kassem's Regime

By John Marshall

More information seeping through the censorship, indicates that the July 14 and 15 outbreak in Kirkuk, an oil town in northeastern Iraq, in which about 50 people were killed or wounded, was more ominous for the Kassem government than first reports indicated. The revolt exposed the unreliability of the army's support of Kassem and the disposition of at least part of its ranks to follow the worker and peasant masses now headed by the Communist Party.

The conflict in Kirkuk flared up between Kurdish Communist civilians and anti-Communist Turkomans. Kurdish soldiers of the Fourth Brigade, stationed in Kirkuk, entered the fighting alongside their communal brethren. Strong army reinforcements had to be sent to the embattled city to disarm the entire brigade and confine it to barracks.

Premier Kassem went on the air strongly condemning those who had led the soldiers "astray" and demanding that the army obey only orders issued from the high command.

At the same time, the Iraqi government retired from active duty over 300 officers comprising the entire membership of the reserve officer class graduated last April. They had been called into service to replace the officers arrested after the pro-landlord Mosul revolt last March. There were evidently many Communist sympathizers among them.

This means, writes Harry B. Ellis, Mediterranean correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, that "the loyalty of

the Iraqi Army cannot be relied upon absolutely in event of a showdown with the CP."

These developments have put Premier Kassem in a tight spot. Throughout the first year of the Iraq revolution which hoisted him into power, he has been maneuvering with the Communist Party while the Communist Party has been supporting him as the "unique leader" of the revolution.

He now faces the following alternatives. One is to permit the restoration of normal political activity in the country on a democratic basis. This is being widely demanded by the people. Kassem has hesitated to do so up to now, not only because of the repeated threats to his regime from the conspiracies of the right and from the adherents of Nasser and the United Arab Republic, but even more for fear of the growing popularity of the CP and the advancing revolutionary movement of the masses.

If Kassem goes through with his promise to restore free political life next Jan. 6, this will put wind in the sails of the CP which has a powerful following in Iraq today. The CP has solid support in the trade unions, the peasant societies interested in the land reforms, the radical student and teachers associations and other organizations. It is the dominant influence in the armed people's militias.

It now appears that the CP is also well entrenched in the army. A loyal and united army, however, is the indispensable backbone of Kassem's regime and its ultimate weapon against opposition, not only from the right, but above all from the side of the insurgent masses.

These prospects press Kassem toward the other alternative; namely, to perpetuate his military dictatorship and continue to rule by decree indefinitely. This would entail nullifying all his democratic pledges, a crackdown upon the CP, the disarming of the people's militias, the strangling of the organizations of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

This has been the political road travelled by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic who celebrated the seventh anniversary of his army coup last week.

There is, however, an important difference in the situations

... Nixon

(Continued from Page 1)

on either side. Which had the better of the debate: the salesman for capitalism or the salesman for Communism?

It was easy for both debaters to send a thrust through the weak spots in his opponent's armor. When Nixon declared: "We want peace," Khrushchev was quick to ask whether the U.S. would liquidate all bases from foreign lands. Nixon was silent.

On the opposite side, Khrushchev put his foot in his mouth when he expressed doubt whether Nixon could or would make good his promise that every word Khrushchev said would be translated into English and boasted that "we have no reason to be afraid of ideas."

The full text of Khrushchev's remarks were broadcast in the U.S. but not when the program was put on in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev, trained in Stalin's school, is more accustomed to fix policies and give orders without the rough and tumble of public debate and free discussion even in his own party circles.

No one contradicts him in public — and who is strongly enough entrenched to argue against him behind the scenes? Molotov and Malenkov, among others can testify to the dangers in doing that.

If Khrushchev and his colleagues have to censor the arguments made by a spokesman for capitalism like Nixon, how much more would they have to fear in an open debate with anti-Stalinist advocates of revolutionary socialism!

"Hitchhiking In Algeria"

"Hitchhiking Across Algeria" is the title of an unusual article in the Aug. 1 Nation magazine. The authors, Shane and Judith Mage, an American couple, spent eight days hitchhiking with Algerians, colonial settlers and French soldiers.

The nature of the French regime in Algeria is indicated by what they heard from one Algerian truck driver: "Here it is the colons who are the law. They can kill an Algerian on a whim. In 1956, my wife was eight months pregnant. . . A colon went wandering through the streets one day, shooting at Moslems. My wife was killed in her father's doorway by a sub-machine gun volley."

The Mages have travelled in North Africa for a number of months. They reported from Casablanca on the founding of the Moroccan labor federation in the May 11 Militant.

of the two militarist regimes. The Iraqi CP is much more powerful and rooted in the mass movement than the CP in Egypt.

Although relations between Kassem and the CP have cooled from their first ardor, the CP continues to support this nationalist military leader.

Meanwhile, more and more Iraqis are manifesting a resolve to go further along the road of revolution towards establishment of a democratic republic backed up by the power of the workers and peasants. Kassem evidently hopes to hold the CP in line. The CP in turn hopes to keep the masses under control.

If this cannot be done, Kassem will be impelled to try to settle accounts with the CP — and the masses behind it — in order to uphold his dictatorship as the last bulwark of private property and class privilege in Iraq.

French imperialist forces launched a new major effort to wipe out the Algerian rebel stronghold in the mountains of Kabylia last week in the hope of bringing the long-drawn-out war there to a close. However, in the first six days of the offensive French troops failed to come to grips with the main body of the Algerian freedom fighters.

Meanwhile, the hunger strike of Algerian prisoners in France has spread to five other jails. The protest began 11 days ago when some 400 Algerians went on a hunger strike in Rouen and Fresnes against brutalities by prison guards.

A 100-page volume called "La Gangrene," documenting the tortures of Algerian students and intellectuals in the center of Paris by French police, was confiscated June 20 by order of the Minister of the Interior. The type blocks were hacked to pieces.

The widespread protest against these tortures and the efforts to suppress news of them in France may turn out to be the Dreyfus case of De Gaulle's regime, in the opinion of some reporters.

Another factor in improving the agricultural situation has been the changes in government policy toward the peasants. Yugoslav agriculture is mainly in the hands of small private farmers. The government assured them last May it had no intention of reverting to forced collectivization but would rely upon voluntary co-operatives.

There is now much greater confidence in the countryside, which is very different from 1948, when, under Soviet-type conditions, government efforts to collect wheat from reluctant farmers often turned Vojvodina villages into armed camps," reports the Christian Science Monitor.

"In those days, we used to get the wheat while policemen with guns stood around to 'persuade' the peasants," a Vojvodina Communist official recalled. "Now, all that belongs to history."

Italian Seamen's Strike Settled

Italian sailors received a wage rise of 9%—a little more than half of their minimum demands—in the settlement ending their 40-day strike July 22.

The ships of the Italian line, which had been immobilized for six weeks by the worldwide action of 100,000 seamen, resumed sailings last week.

Tom Mboya Blasts British Cover Up Of Terror in Kenya

Tom Mboya, Kenya nationalist and trade-union leader, assailed the London government for its misleading reports on recent beatings of Africans at the Hola camp. Official and separate investigations have revealed that brutalities there

The American Way of Life

You Can Have Your Moscow Metro

When Soviet Deputy Premier Kozlov made his tour of the United States he was shown one of the wonders of the modern world—New York's subway. "Lousy," he called it. "It is dirty, and the air is bad."

He made other remarks that should be investigated by the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senator Eastland, concerning the cleanliness of Moscow's subway, its fresh air and gleaming stations.

The insidious effect of this Moscow propaganda soon became apparent. New York's Transit Authority announced the other day that the subway walls will get their first bath in 50 years. Four tank cars will be sent along the tracks at night blowing steam.

Not all Americans, fortunately, are so easily influenced by Communist agitators. The editors of the Herald Tribune, for instance, put Kozlov firmly in his place.

"The subway has become the symbol of the rush and bustle of New York life," they said. "It is one of the things a New Yorker remembers with nostalgia when circumstance transplants him. Though at times he may curse and berate it, the New Yorker is really (if sometimes secretly) rather fond of the vast, crowded, dirty, screeching subway that knits his 315-square-mile city together, and he wouldn't trade it for all the gaudy stations on the Moscow Metro."

And now, to show how closely those highly American sentiments reflect the thinking of New York's patriots, we give you a report from a strap-hanger in the July 28 Post, telling about a typical delay after he boarded an "E" train at West Fourth Street:

"It was a living hell. Dante couldn't have described it any better in his 'Inferno.' "By the time we got to 42d St., the train was jammed to capacity. Just past Queens Plaza the train stopped. For the first 15 minutes we kept thinking it would start up any moment.

"But time dragged on. No trainman told us anything. "Then a lady started getting

gray-looking and a strange look came into her eyes and she began ranting. We tried to calm her. We said: 'You can't panic now.' "The heat was unbelievable and we were all thoroughly wet from perspiration. The train was so terribly jammed, some persons would have fallen over but they couldn't. Some were half lying over the ones who were seated.

"Finally a woman went berserk. She took off her shoes, pounded on the doors and windows and began screaming. Others started screaming too and suddenly all was a horrible commotion. We tried to convince the woman pounding that if the door opened, the train wouldn't move.

"One good-looking woman, nicely dressed, screamed out: 'I can't stand it any more' and she started using the most violent, profane language. She obviously had been pressed beyond rational endurance.

"It was all unbelievable in this day and age in a city like New York. Persons shouting, wild-looking, pushing, collapsing across ones in seats, crushed on the seats or against the door or a post. Some fell to their knees and stayed there. "It is a danger to life and limb. There's no way you can get out. No help. It brings people to an animal level. They lose their dignity, their mind, and do crazy things."

The "nightmare" continued for about an hour. Then, after a few halting starts, the train got underway and pulled into Roosevelt Avenue station with its "dazed, fainting human cargo, like subway cattle."

This report will give out-towners (the rest of America) a better appreciation of how the strap-hangers—felt when they hear about Kozlov's subversive remark. Throughout the trains the cry went up: "If he doesn't like our subway, why doesn't he go back where he came from?"

— Paul Abbott

Headlines in Other Lands

De Gaulle Steps Up War on Algerian Freedom Fighters

Recent clashes in Nyasaland resulted in about 50 African deaths.

Yugoslavs Await Record Harvest

If there is no last-minute weather trouble, farm specialists predict the 1959 crop in Yugoslavia will break all records, including prewar yields.

This success is mainly due to the modernization of farm methods. These include the strategic deployment of thousands of tractors bought from Britain, large-scale sowing of high yield Italian wheat, and the use of artificial fertilizers even on small farms.

These government innovations, which were resisted a few years ago by suspicious peasants, are now widely accepted in the countryside.

The huge harvest is expected to end Yugoslavia's dependence on foreign wheat, especially American imports, and speed the drive for agricultural self-sufficiency.

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Union Body Scores Slave Labor In South Africa

To halt the racist and anti-labor policies of the South African government, the Nairobi Area Committee of the International Confederation of Trade Unions has proposed a ban on the movement of migrant workers into South Africa, the inclusion of free-labor clauses in contracts passed in that country, and a boycott of South African goods.

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More On Steel Prices

Editor: If the steel companies and other corporations were not allowed to make more than 5% on money invested...

Are UAW Tops Planning a Dues Hike?

Editor: At the recent summer educational conference of Region 9 of the United Auto Workers a feeler was put forward...

duction this year has hardly touched the vast army of unemployed in our union and automation is only in its beginning stages!

In Defense Of Red-Blooded Stockholders

Editor: They're finally getting on the ball down in Washington. Top government men and important financial representatives are pushing for tax relief...

Under the present law they would have to pay taxes on the money they would get for this. And where would that leave them?

A Bouquet

Enclosed please find money order for renewal of my subscription to the Militant. The paper is tops by me.

...Steel Union

(Continued from Page 1) laboration of their biggest steel users. "Back in 1958," reports the July 18 issue of Business Week...

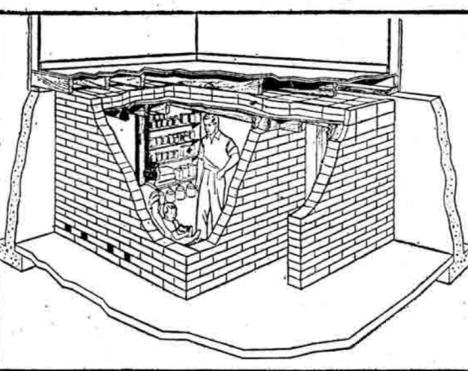
PALS NO MORE

Current labor policy in steel, says Business Week, constitutes a radical departure from the "friendly arm-around-the-shoulder approach to McDonald."

R. Conrad Cooper, the steel industry's chief spokesman from United States Steel, has taken over "reportedly with the understanding," says Business Week...

Gone, says BW, is "the easy going 'Dave' and 'Coop' relationship," which fundered on the rock of class reality.

H-Bomb Hideaway



This is one artist's conception of the family fallout shelter that Gov. Rockefeller suggested July 6 be a required part of every New York home.

FBI Informer in Detroit Tips Off Chief on FBI

By George Breitman DETROIT — The FBI office here recently was purged by J. Edgar Hoover. Despite efforts to hush up the facts, some leaked out.

On a trip to Washington, he informed on his Detroit boss and fellow-agents. This led to a mass raid on the Detroit office by Washington agents...

It also seems that many of the agents have been making changes and erasures in their timecards. In other words, falsifying them. Practicing deceit. Lying.

It is not likely that these changes showed the agents as putting in less time at their work than they actually put in. It must have been the other way around — they claimed to be working when they weren't.

Is it the nature of their profession that leads FBI agents to take such a light-hearted attitude to Truth and Honor? Are they merely carrying over in their handling of timecards the same standards they are taught to use in making out reports on suspected "subversives"?

Incidentally, the purge occurred because there was one FBI agent in Detroit who took seriously Hoover's statement that an informer is the best and finest type of American.

Shorter Week Is Main Issue in Oil Plant Strike

CHICAGO, July 28—Determined pickets shut down the largest plant of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, the Whiting refinery in the heart of the Gary-Hammond steel district, today after contract negotiations with company officials broke down.

Their union, Local 1 of the Independent Petroleum Workers of America, is seeking a 36-hour work week at 40-hour pay and certain guarantees against layoffs during the duration of the contract.

The negotiators for the refinery offered to renew the contract for a one or two year period with some adjustments in wage classifications. But they refused to consider the shorter work week or concede that no employee would be laid off during the term of the contract.

"No management can guarantee jobs for its employees," the company told the refinery workers. "Management cannot see with accuracy what the demand for its products will be down the road nor can it predict with accuracy other factors which have a bearing on the assignment of manpower."

The resolution of the Whiting oil workers to take on the company in this fight has undoubtedly been strengthened by the militancy generated in this huge industrial district by the steel strike.

Court Indicts O'Connor for Contempt

NEWARK, July 28—Author Harvey O'Connor was arraigned in the Federal District Court here today for contempt of Congress. The charge is based on his refusal to answer a subpoena of a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee when it met here last September.

Mr. O'Connor, who is chairman of the ECLC, was released in \$500 bail after pleading not guilty. The U.S. Attorney said an early trial is unlikely because of a crowded court calendar.

In a statement issued here today, O'Connor said his defiance of the House committee "was a challenge to the inquisition in our country which in the past 20 years has sought to paralyze freedom of inquiry and independent thought."

He said his indictment grew out of "a brazen attempt by the House Committee to punish me for daring . . . to protest the Committee's activities."

"The House Committee's announced purpose in holding the Newark hearings," he added, "was to investigate communism in New Jersey. I am not a resident of New Jersey and know nothing about communism there. The subpoena was served on me obviously in no effort to gain information to aid in a legislative purpose, but to punish me for having urged the abolition of the committee."

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. 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 1412-14th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

What Else Could They Do?

(Our roving reporter, who has been spending considerable time in one of New York's air-conditioned cafeterias, got another lucky seat this week near two members of the Communist Party, whom he has come to recognize, and sent us the following report of their conversation.)

Post shifted to Rockefeller at the last minute. "Read it for yourself. Herlong from Florida; Joe Kilgore from Texas; Montoya from New Mexico. Then there was Green from Pennsylvania, O'Neil from Massachusetts and Reuss from Wisconsin. And listen to this; Anfuso, Multer and Keogh from New York."

Notes in the News

LAUGH? I THOUGHT I'D DIE—Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in a July 21 speech, recalled with amusement that during the early part of the Korean War, Washington thought for a short time that Soviet bombers were on the way to attack the United States.

23. He was fired in 1954 after he told a witch-hunting subcommittee of the Board of Education that he had been a member of the Communist Party but refused, on grounds of conscience, to identify other faculty members who also were members.

Seattle Steel Companies Want Union in Shackles

By Frank Powers SEATTLE, July 22 — As elsewhere in the country, the propagandists for the steel corporations in the Pacific Northwest, are raising a great hue and cry about inflation being the main issue in the steel dispute. Despite all this hoopla, the question of wages and fringe benefits is not the central issue in the strike.

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