

# THE MOLTANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# Integrate Buses In Birmingham

## "Ride Anywhere" Movement Finds No Resistance So Far By George Lavan

Negroes in Birmingham are integrating the buses of that Jim Crow citadel and so far are not encountering any difficulties, the Alabama Christian Movement, for Human Rights announced Dec. 29. This+

welcome news came from the ed that signs designating segregated seats have been removed Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the ACMHR, after from many buses.

a mass meeting at which many Negroes told of riding anywhere on buses in all parts of the city. Almost 600 persons present voted to increase the integrated

riding, for which their organization has fought for three years. A speaker at the meeting was Carl Braden, a white integrationist from Louisville, Ken-

tucky, who is a field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Braden said he knows an appreciable number of white persons in Birmingham who support the Negro freedom movement but "are doing it under cover for the time being.".

Some reports at the meeting indicated that police have orders not to interfere with Negroes who sit in the front part of the buses. This makes it entirely a matter between the bus company and the riders, the Rev. Shuttlesworth said. He also not-

## Wages of Sin **Is Expulsion**

By unanimous vote the East End Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, expelled six members who had been informers against the Rev. Calvin W. Woods, the church's pastor.

The six had testified last January that the Rev. Woods preached a sermon urging the congregation to boycott the city's Jim Crow buses.

The breakdown of bus segregation came after a court ruling by U.S. District Judge H. H. Grooms.

Since the Birmingham newspapers and TV played down the antisegregation parts of the ruling, Negroes distributed thousands of circulars headed "Negroes Can Now Sit Anywhere on Buses! Sit Anywhere in Waiting Rooms at **Train Stations!"** 

The leaflet continued: "There s NO law to make Negroes go to the back, and NO policeman or driver can make Negroes move!! PROOF: - Excerpts from federal decision: '. . . The mere refusal to obey a request to move from the front to the rear of a bus . . . IS NOT a breach of the peace . . . The police officers were without egal right to direct where they Negroes) should sit because of

sit anywhere in Terminal Sta-Editor. A resolution adopted at an

ACMHR mass meeting declares: (1) We reject any suggestion from any source that we voluntarily accept segregation in public facilities. (2) We are free NOW, as are all other citizens, to ride in ANY seat available on ANY bus, and to sit in ANY seat in the main waiting rooms of Transportation companies. We done about the "disintegration shall ignore segregation signs of orderly government" under and shall ride henceforth First the Castro regime. Class on First Class Fare. (3) We urge our people in riding buses

The whole thing is so pat-The pastor was given six ently contrived that it makes or waiting in waiting rooms, to months in jail and a \$500 fine. the riggers of a TV quiz show A higher court recently ruled do so in quietness, with a calm look like rank amateurs by that the law under which the dignity, and in a prayerful and comparison. inderstanding sp Negro minister had No such excitement was victed was obsolete. [See page 2 for related article.] shown about the brutal, cor-

tion.



Sheriff Everett Stovern of Freeborn County, Minnesota, examines collection of rifles, shotguns and pistols taken from scabs Dec. 28 as they re-entered Wilson & Co. meat-packing plant at Albert Lea. The plant had been shut down under martial law declared by Gov. Freeman when autos of armed scabs were stoned by strikers. To prevent "spoilage" of meat, the Democratic governor permitted Wilson to carry on "partial" operations until a three-man federal court ordered full-scale opening. Minnesota's militia protected scabs who took the workers' jobs, so the strikebreakers didn't really need to shoot their way into the plant.

## On Tour The Cries of Alarm their color. .' The Terminal Supt. said: 'Negroes are free to it numbers in Terminal Sta New York, N. Y. distributed among the peas-

ants. A few capitalist-owned sugar mills and cattle ranches In city after city I have noted in the daily papers a were confiscated in the interests of the people. To help propaganda lynch-campaign finance social benefits, stiffer against the Cuban revolution. taxes were imposed on im-Central to the attack is the perialist-owned Cuban indususual capitalist theme: democracy must be defended against tries. Rates charged by the tele-"Communist penetration" in Cuba; and something must be

phone and electric power monopolies have been cut by government order — a step that would be cheered to the echo if it took place in the United States.

against the revolutionary peo-

Recently the Cuban unions

withdrew from the Inter-

American Regional Organiza-

tion of Labor, branding it an

agency of United States im-

perialism which opposes the

economic development and po-

litical liberty of Latin-Amer-

asked for his comments,

George Meany, head of the

AFL-CIO, denounced the Cu-

ban charges as "hot air" and

said American labor felt it

could get along very well

"without our Cuban friends."

Meany's remarks are con-

sistent with his policy of

throwing to the wolves whole

sections of the labor move-

ment in this country when

they come under capitalist at-

tack. If he could read a mil-

lion and a half Teamsters out

(Continued on Page 4)

When newspaper reporters

ican countries.

So far the Castro regime has refused to let the imperialist government of the U.S. use Cuba as a pawn in its cold war

**Turned Loose** At Albert Lea JAN. 2 — Nine gun-toting scabs were arrested by Sheriff Stovern at the gates of the Wilson and Co. plant at Albert Lea, Minn., when the plant re-

**Armed Scabs** 

opened last week after Governor reeman lifted martial law. The nine were released the

ame day on the grounds that Wilson and Co. had not yet been served with a court order

which prohibits the carrying of irearms near the plant. This same order limits the Jan. 4 that "The American

Workers' pickets to four at each been advised that the 1959 reentrance. The AFL-CIO union codification of the Minnesota has been on strike at six Wilson election law has been reported plants throughout the country by the United Press International to eliminate all 'splinter' since Nov. 1.

Meanwhile, on the advice of or minority parties from the 1960

their local and national leaders, Presidential elections and in

# Steelworkers' **Rank and File** Won the Battle Victory Helps Every Union

**Against Antilabor Crusade** 

By Tom Kerry

the face of the combined employer-government assault on

The unbreakable solidarity of the steel workers in

The steel corporations had elected to act as a spearhead

This emerged as the central issue in the steel industry

True, the victory gained is of a limited character. An

The employing class retains its monopoly of political

power and intends to use that power to tip the scales in

the war against labor. The capitalist class rules through a

combination of force and deception. The situation today

dispute. If the steel corporations had succeeded in imposing

their terms on the steel workers it would have set a pre-

cedent for all of American industry. In a real sense the

contestants represented the class interests of the two pri-

Price 10c

## **Socialists Fight Curb on Ballot** In Minnesota

their union, has thwarted the big-business drive to gut the "A thorough study of the reorganized labor movement. vised election laws indicates that only the two major political parties are eligible to have presifor the employing class in a campaign to restore open-shop dential electors on the ballot in conditions in American industry. The crusade was carried Minnesota," Tom Kelly, state elections officer, told the United forward under the slogan of "management's right to manage." That is, to establish for management the exclusive Press International Dec. 30. right of fixing work rules and determining conditions of

This startling declaration was employment in the plants. based on the recodification of the election laws by the 1959 legis-

ature. The legislature dropped the provision whereby minority parties, by securing the signatures of 2,000 voters on a nominating petition, can get on the ballot.

mary forces in American society — capital and labor. The In a statement the same day, triumph of the steel workers marks a victory for the entire Vincent R. Dunne, State Chairlabor movement. nan of the Socialist Workers party, announced that the SWP assault has been warded off, an important battle has been will fight the new election code won; but the big-business-inspired class war against labor as a violation of democratic continues. The unions are on the defensive. The initiative rights.

"Our party has been on the remains with the employers' and their agents in govern-Minnesota ballot for many years; our presidential candidate, Far-

rell Dobbs, appeared on the ballot in 1956; and we intend to be on the ballot again in 1960," Dunne said.

is somewhat comparable to that of the period following Statement by Watts World War II. In 1946 the corporations launched a full-scale In New York, Rowland Watts attack on the unions which failed to accomplish its purpose. Legal Director of the American The scene then shifted to Washington where their political

Civil Liberties Union, stated agents in 1947 succeeded in enacting the infamous Taft-Hartley law. number of United Packinghouse Civil Liberties Union has just In the current battle, the steel corporations counted

heavily on Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and the threat of additional antilabor legislation to soften up the steel workers. They misjudged the mood and temper of the workers. All of their carefully laid union-wrecking plans and

# **British Unions Demand Shorter Working Week**

Five million British unionists | bracing 3 million workers. The out of 8 million unionized work- bosses are now expected to offer ers in Britain are currently a 42-hour week, says the Jan. 2 pressing employers for a 40-hour Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labor League. week

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, with which nearly all the unions are for the shorter work week. "The only question," said the TUC council, "is how long will it take to convince the employers that this development is both inevitable and desirable.

ing and Engineering Unions em- average work week for men,

## Congressmen May Clam Up

women and apprentices was 46.3 hours and for men alone 48 hours. However, these figures include overtime.

**Japanese Farms** 

The average size farm in Ja-

Besides the engineering and There is a very definite prosshipbuilding workers, those cur-

pect that usually verbose Wash- | rently seeking the 40-hour week ington politicians are going to in contract negotiations include try to become more tight-lipped. Last month Congressmen and agriculture, the chemicals indus-Last month Congressmen and agriculture, the chemicals indusother Capitol Hill inhabitants try, the shoe industry, railroads, left for the Christmas holidays banks, civil air transport and the in a nervous mood. At a hearing Post Office.

of the Senate subcommittee on In its statement of support to constitutional rights a private its affiliated unions, the General detective demonstrated the lat- Council of the TUC noted that Bowl football game between "progress." A Syracuse official The arrest of two youths who directed against a Negro church. eras are rigged along the lines cording to Granz, and said, "If est technique in electronic eavesa movement is under way in dropping. other countries of Western Eur-

He took off his jacket to reveal ope and in the United States to a tiny wire recorder that was reduce the work week. secretly taking down everything said in the hearing room. A lot prevails, and in the U.S., Canada other. of people felt that the device and Australia, 40 hours or fewer might already be in use by fed- make up the basic work week. eral agencies which like to spy The council also pointed to the on one another. Soviet Union's objective of at-

These suspicions were given a taining a 35-hour work week by strong boost when Senator Hen- 1964-68. nings (D-Mo.) revealed Jan, 6 that eight different agencies <have purchased the miniature recorders since last July. They are so tiny that the microphone

pin or wristwatch.

earns about \$550 a year by Hennings said that the mere growing rice and vegetables on fact of purchase didn't neces- this plot. Small tractors have faculty members left with them. Negro boys would leave." Isn't were stoned. The entrance to sarily indicate "sinister or even come into wider use in the Others stayed. improper purposes." it can win? If you think that's a pretty it can win?

"It stands to reason if the employers will grant a 42-hour week without a struggle, then affiliated, endorsed the demand by using the full force and strength of the membership the CSEU can force the employers to concede the full claim," says the Newsletter. In many British plants the

basic work week under con-An offer from the employers tracts with employers is 44 hours for a 42½-hour work week has at present. A survey of 7 million already been turned down by workers by the Ministry of Lathe Confederation of Shipbuild- bor last April showed that the

> him part of the "free world." Castro, however, has taken some steps under the pressures of the working people which threaten the superprofits of the Miners Make Demand imperialist exploiters of Cuban

labor and resources.

Several big estates have been taken over and the land

rupt Batista dictatorship in

Cuba. Batista suppressed dem-

ocratic rights, jailed and mur-

dered his opponents, and kept

the Cuban people in a state of

economic hardship. But that

gave no cause for alarm be-

cause capitalist property in-

terests were protected by the

No concern is expressed

about democracy in Spain. On

the contrary, the daily papers

gave glowing accounts of Gen-

eral Eisenhower's insult to the

Spanish people when he paid

a friendly visit to the fascist

dictator Franco and joined

with him in a hypocritical

pledge to unite for "peace, jus-tice and freedom." Why look

over Franco's shoulder at the

hardships of the working class

and the jails full of political

prisoners? After all his fascist

regime protects capitalist

property rights and that makes

dictator.

Offer a Lesson in 'Gradualism'

Two ugly incidents occurred nasty business, its because you at the New Year's Day Cotton don't understand the nature of since the end of World War II. Queens, the racist outbreak was Texas University and Syracuse, who insisted on remaining defaced a synagogue and a Thirty windows were broken of race prejudice? One of Syracuse's three Negro nameless, pointed out that "the memorial to the victims of one week and 28 the next week. players was spat on and a fight same agreement" had been made Nazism in Cologne has not haltstarted when a Texas player for the Cotton Bowl game three ed the spread of the plague. found the words "cheap Jew" Fitzgerald, the famed Negro jazz In France, the 40-hour week hurled a racial epithet at an- years previous. And — here's Cities in Bavaria, Lower Sax- painted on his shop window. In singer, in an article in the Dec. An even uglier incident occurred after the game. Involving had ever been allowed in the

"enlightened" Syracuse officials, room - one of the most exclusit was reported by Arch Murray ive places in the whole city of in the Jan. 5 New York Post. Dallas."

swank Century Room of the asked the Negro kids to leave. last year's anti-Negro riots, the with swastikas. Adolphus Hotel in Dallas. When They weren't embarrassed in walls of a synagogue were plas-

the room was opened to the pub- that manner . . Then why did they leave? the inscription, "Juden Raus" pan is about two acres. If it is lic after dinner the three Syracan be concealed under a tie favorably situated, the farmer cuse Negro players were com- "It had just been agreed before- ("Jews Get Out.") The building pelled to leave. Some of their hand that when the room was housing the Jewish Chronicle teammates, the coach and some thrown open to the public the was defaced and its windows

"gradualism" wonderful in what the European headquarters of

ples of the world. Instead the Packinghouse strikers at effect to restrict a place upon Cuba has justly demanded re-Albert Lea have refrained from the ballot to the major parties. spect for its own national further attempts to stop the The law now is reported to resovereignty; it has asserted scabs. Wilson is currently em- quire a five per cent vote in the its opposition to colonialism ploying more than 600 strike- previous election without any and called for the defense of breakers at the Albert Lea provision for nominating petithe rights of small countries. plant and plans to fill the whole tions.

plant with scabs. "If this report is correct, the This is the union-smashing ACLU considers this a clear viopattern adopted several years lation of the democratic right ago by the Kohler Co. against to participate in the selection of he United Auto Workers. federal elective officials, and

(Continued on Page 4) ed, support a legal challenge."

Anti-Semitic Acts Plague World

public.

## **Report Incidents** In 17 Countries By Harry Ring

JAN. 7 — Anti-Semitism is not a disease peculiar to Germany. The outbreak of anti-Jewish incidents that began in that country Christmas Eve kicked off a chain reaction in 16 other countries.

of the AFL-CIO to prove to most extensive since the days Swastikas were smeared on the bosses that his heart is ynagogues in London, New pure, why should he bother movement in the 1930's. York, Mexico City, Glasgow, Vienna, Milan, Rome, Oslo and doors of a public school in Elm-Melbourne. Reports of similar hurst, Queens. In East Elmhurst, incidents have come from windows of a synagogue were Greece, Canada, Holland, Ireland, Northern Ireland, France, broken in a Brooklyn synagogue Sweden and Denmark.

acts are reported to be the worst brew school. In Jamaica,

In Newark, N.J., a merchant Norman Granz, manager of Ella where the "progress" comes in ony, the Rhineland, Westphalia Cincinnati, the words "death to 30 issue of the show-business necessary," Granz reports, "and - "Up to that time no Negro and Hesse caught the infection. Jews" and "Hitler defeated but magazine Variety. Granz reports he said that the sponsor, the

dozen store windows were

smeared with swastikas. Similar

incidents were reported in other

Worst Since 1930's

In New York, swastikas ap-

peared on synagogues in Man-

hattan, Brooklyn and Queens

neighborhoods. Anti-Jewish

vandalism in the city was the

Swastikas appeared on the

British cities.

described as the worst since desks of an elementary school recent "Tribute to Gershwin" on allows a mixed group to appear 1947, when the Jews in Pales- attended by many Jewish chil- the "Bell Telephone Hour." tine fought for emancipation dren. In Marshaltown, Iowa, the Following the game, an Another mark of "progress": from British rule. In London's only synagogue in the central awards dinner was held at the "Nobody actually stood up and Notting Hill district, scene of part of the state was defaced from British rule. In London's only synagogue in the central

> she would appear with the During Christmas week, the Teddy Wilson trio, a Negro American Nazi party flooded tered with swastikas and with group. the mails of the nation's capital with anti-Semitic literature. George Lincoln Rockwell, a commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve, heads the Nazi outwho happens to be white. fit. He has been associated the World Jewish Congress was with the Southern racists who

finely spun calculations foundered on the rock of union solidarity.

Instead of weakening in the course of the long and bitter dispute, the men and women of steel became stronger in their determination to resist all attempts to scuttle their union. This was the decisive factor that forced the company to reach a settlement Jan. 4.

The effort to portray Vice-President Nixon as a hero of the steel settlement and - don't laugh - a "friend of labor" is a palpable fraud. Credit for the settlement of the steel industry conflict on terms acceptable to the union Contract negotiations were re- will, if a proper case is present- should go where it belongs — to the rank-and-file steel (Continued on Page 4)

> also stoned. In Leeds, a half bombed an Atlanta, Ga., synagogue. He was never indicted, even though his letters to the affiliations. bomb plotters were made

lever. It has hounded hundreds of persons suspected of left-wing

In West Germany, the Adenauer government sought to convince the world that it was When newsmen queried the Navy Department as to how taking measures to cope with Rockwell kept his Naval Re- the anti-Semitic wave. The govserve post, they were told his ernment initiated proceedings to Nazi party was not on the At- outlaw the German Reichs party torney General's "subversive" to which the two men accused list. Besides, a spokesman added, of the Cologne outrage belonged. the Navy believes in "free Actually, the Adenauer reof Father Coughlin's fascist speech" on "political matters." gime has consistently accommo-The Navy's respect for free dated itself to the former Nazis speech seems to extend only to and has restored them to public fascistic and racist groups, how-

(Continued on Page 4)

# windows of a synagogue were also The TV Music Was Integrated In Germany, the anti-Jewish and a nearby Hebrew school. A fire was started at another He-

The producers had invited

Miss Fitzgerald to participate in

the show and it was agreed that

you insist on using the guitarist,

The fact was made public by white one.'

on its show.'

When Granz stood firm, it was finally agreed that Miss Fitzgerald would have her regular accompanist sitting in with the Wilson trio.

But when the show went on the air, NBC camera men saw Granz then informed a rep- to it that the Bell segregation resentative of the show that rule was enforced. The audience Miss Fitzgerald would insist on her regular guitar accompanist, Teddy Wilson at the piano. The rest of the integrated group was Barry Wood, producer of the heard but not seen.

Did you know that TV cam-ishow, thereupon called up, ac-

okay, but it would have to be a Negro guitarist instead of the

"I asked Wood why that was

In England, the outbreaks are not dead" were scrawled on the a scandalous case involving the Bell Telephone Company, never

#### Page Two

THE MILITANT

# A Minister Shot Away Part of Parker's Head "They Challenge Segregation at Its Core!" By John Thayer

To cover up its own complicity in Mississippi's non-prosecution of the known lynchers of Mack C. Parker, a 23-year-old Negro, the federal government is now seeking the indictment of the murderers under rarely used, century-old civil-rights laws.

The prosecution began on Jan. 4 in Biloxi, Miss., where a federal grand jury was chosen to hear evidence and witnesses in the case. One Negro. Fred Woodrow, a longshoreman, was deliberately put on the 23-member jury to give the world the impression it was mistaken about the lily-white character of federal courts in Mississippi. Since Mississippi's population is almost 50% Negro, however, a fairly chosen jury would be, according to the laws of chance, anywhere from one-third to two-thirds Negro in composition. While it is no reflection on him personally, Woodrow, the lone Negro on the grand jury, is being used as window dressing for the federal court.

It will take a minimum of 12 of the 23 jurors to vote an indictment. Some observers predict that the federal attorneys will succeed in getting indictments but they are very dubious about the chances of any convictions in the trial which would follow. That is not to say that the evidence against the lynchers will not be overwhelming. But the evidence was equally overwhelming in the trial of the lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till, and the jury set the defendants free on the grounds that the killers were white and the victim Negro

There are two federal civil-rights laws, passed in 1866 and 1870, which apply to the Parker case. One, with maximum penalties of ten years' imprisonment and \$5,000 fine, is directed against all persons who conspire to deprive anyone of his civil rights. The U.S. Attorney General's office makes no bones before reporters in indicating its "doubts" about this law's constitutionality. It says that private persons conspiring to violate civil rights cannot be prosecuted, only state law-enforcement officials. It speaks volumes for the attitude of the federal government towards the civil rights of Negroes that in a century this law has never been tested before the Supreme Court.

The other federal civil-rights law applies to conspiracies involving a state law-enforcement. official acting under "color of the law." Its maximum penalties are one year's imprisonment and \$1,000 fine. It is for an indictment under this law that the federal prosecutors in Biloxi are pressing hardest for an indictment.

## "I'm Proud of That"

In his charge to the grand jury at the beginning of the hearing, U.S. District Judge Sidney C. Mize stressed this statute and made proven complicity of a law-enforcement officer in the lynching a precondition for an indictment under either law.

Judge Mize in his charge also made this grotesque statement: "I think, on the whole, that there is no place in the nation where the relation between the two races is as good and as highly respected as in Mississippi, and I'm proud of that."

William F. Warde Analyzes

**Dewey's Views on Education** 

Although in the first days of the grand jury hearing, the prosecution had not named the

individuals it wanted indicted, defense attorneys for them were present in court. This fantastic legal situation was brought about by the fact that everyone in Poplarville, where the lynching took place last April, knows who the lynchers are. And the lynchers, dispensing with the pretense of innocence, retained attorneys and sent them to court beforehand.

Indeed, so well known are the lynchers and the actions of the lynch mob, that the New York Times on Jan. 4 gave a detailed inside story of the lynching and cited the names of those who drew the greatest attention in the federal inquiry. This account, of obvious significance. was the result of interviews with residents of Poplarville and "leaked" items in the "secret" FBI report on the case.

## Names Listed

Thus correspondent Claude Sitton, writing and the deep insecurity of the from Mississippi, was able to tell how on the night of April 24 thirty-five or more white men gathered at a farmhouse six miles outside Poplarville and decided to lynch Parker. Two men were dispatched to invite the husband of the white woman in the case to join the mob. He refused. (The woman herself, it should be phere. About 40% of the city's noted, was very dubious in her identification of population of 364,000 is Negro. Parker as the rapist; two of the three other witnesses, friends and relatives of Parker, have the basic rights due every husince escaped from Mississippi and told how man being. As a result, Birmingthey were coerced into accusing Parker by threats of beating and frame-up by the sheriff.)

The actual members of the lynch party were chosen by lot and proceeded to the unguarded jailhouse. "Entry was simple, once three of the men had obtained the keys through a contact," Sitton writes. "After a brief scuffle, Parker was dragged struggling and screaming down the stairway. His captors clubbed him on the head repeatedly. His head bounced off ple to play checkers together, to the steel treads like 'a ping pong ball,' it was play baseball together, to eat in said."

Stan Optowsky in the New York Post (Jan. 4) tells how the lynchers were led to the jail by a deputy sheriff, who gave instructions on how to get the cell keys from a cabinet in the office and then left. Two carloads of lynchers carried the victim off toward the Pearl River. In the lead car Parker was beaten unconscious. As the cars stopped at the river bank, one of the mob, a minister, carried away by the fury with which he was beating the victim, shot away part of Parker's head.

Two more shots into his chest ended the young Negro's life. Then headlights of an approaching car led the lynchers to throw the body back into the car and cross the bridge into Louisiana. There they turned around at a livestock inspection station and drove back to the Mississippi side, dropping the body into the river from the bridge.

(In its issues of May 4 to June 1, 1959, the Militant pointed to indications of official collusion in turning over the jailhouse keys, the pre-lynching mass meeting and the crossing of the river into Louisiana.)

gle against Jim Crow in Birmingham, Alabama, "They Challenge Segregation at Its Core!" It was prepared by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in co-operation with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.-Editor.)

Birmingham, Alabama, calls tself the "Magic City." It has been more aptly described as 'the Johannesburg of North America.'

Here in the hills of North Alabama lie some of the richest natural resources in the worldcoal, iron ore and limestone, all the essentials for making steel. But Birmingham's economy has been tightly controlled by distant out-of-state corporations; the result has been great extremes of wealth and poverty, majority of its people has provided a fertile ground for the ugly growth of race prejudice. Thus today, Birmingham is the most rigidly segregated city of its size in the Western Hemis-These people have been denied ham today is not a "Magic City" but for all its citizens, white and Negro, something close to a 'police state.'

Not only are the schools, the parks, the buses segregated in the traditional Southern pattern. In Birmingham also, it is unlawful for Negroes and white peothe same places or attend the same educational or entertain-

ment events unless they are has become more rigidly segreagencies as well as private industry, are denied to Negroes. All these regulations and prohibitions are rigidly enforced by an inflexible police department and by terror. People have been arrested for simply meeting in a private home to discuss these injustices. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council enforce their own laws, unhampered by police. White people who are repulsed by these practices have been forced

into silence by economic pressure and by terror.

1956 — a bomb wrecked the A World-Wide Fight But the world-wide movenent for human equality could not forever pass Birmingham by. The winds of freedom that are sweeping the earth are ACMHR say he was saved to blowing in the American South "lead the movement." -and Negroes in Birmingham Undaunted, Mr. Shuttleshave felt their promise and

have risen to the challenge of



The Rev. Lamar Weaver, a Birmingham steel worker (left), stands talking with the Rev. and Mrs. F. L. Shuttlesworth seated in a "white" Birmingham railway terminal as they test Supreme Court desegregation ruling in 1957. Weaver, compelled to leave by cops, was set upon by a mob outside. The police stood by and then arrested him for "reckless driving" as he sought to escape the racist mobsters.

their defense and filed suit in missed the ACMHR's suit chal- with loss of jobs and some have federal court. lenging the original law, on the actually been fired. The threats Then in December, 1956, the

theory that the question was of violence continue. U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation on buses in Montcompletely separated. Housing gomery, Alabama, was illegal. This was the climax to the his-

protest. Immediately, the ACMHR

The Terrorists Reply

On the night before they were

to ride — on Christmas Night,

worth on the next day led a

In June of that year, an am-

biguous court ruling in the rail-

Shuttlesworth, who is his co-

be in the waiting room on a cer-

a train trip. When they got

there, a mob was waiting and

The following September, Mr.

and Mrs. Shuttlesworth and an-

including two daughters of the

Shuttlesworths, to the Phillips

High School (white) in Birming-

ham in an effort to enroll them.

They were met by a mob. Mr.

Shuttlesworth was beaten with

chains and hospitalized. Mrs.

the hip. One of the children suf-

As soon as Mr. Shuttlesworth

fered an injured foot.

large

1957.

out of town.

asked city officials in Birmingand charged with conspiracy, fronts: against discrimination in breach of the peace, and disorham to comply with the law of derly conduct. Mr. Shuttlesregation in facilities for interthe land and rescind bus segreworth, who did not ride, was state travel (the train station gation in this city, They refused. also arrested and charged with So the ACMHR leaders ancase), against bus segregation, inciting the others to ride. They against school segregation (the nounced that on December 26 were all convicted, remanded to first suit was lost, but a new one some of its representatives jail, and held five days incom will be filed), and against genwould ride the buses unsegregated anyway - in order to test municado. eral intimidation, as in the case the segregation law.

On the night of the trial, while they were in jail, an orderly crowd of 5,000 Negroes gathered on the courthouse lawn in non-violent protest against the arrests.

home and damaged the church The convictions were appeal of the ACMHR president, Mr. ed and those arrested were re Shuttlesworth. He was in bed leased on bond. Then, a new just over the spot where the injunctive action was filed against the city and the bus bomb went off. Members of the company.

> Meanwhile, Birmingham Nethe movement in a recent stategroes voluntarily began a camment as part of the "world-wide paign of staying off the buses in revolution

They would like also to drive out Negroes who believe in integration. But the simple fact is that they cannot drive out thousands of Negroes. Birmingham Negroes have demonstarted that they are behind this movement for freedom; their solidarity is their strength. The white people who would support them do not have numbers on their side. So for the present the burden falls on the Negroes to carry on. They carry the battle for a better world for everyone. Wherever you live, if you believe in human dignity and brotherhood, Birmingham Negroes are fighting your battle. Birmingham is the strongest bastion of segregation in America. When equality and right win there, the key line of segregationist defense will be breached. From then on, victory for human rights will be easier everywhere. Birmingham in a sense is the test for America's future. As Birmingham goes, so will go your future and the future of your children and your grandchildren

#### Help Is Needed

But Birmingham Negroes cannot continue to fight alone. They need the help, moral and financial, of every believer in democracy in America. Court costs have been staggering. Since June, 1956, a total of \$50,000 has been raised and spent by the ACMHR, most of it on court litigation. Most of this has been contributed by the Negroes of Birmingham, many of whom The federal court then dis- members have been threatened make scarcely enough to live on. If you live where such great sacrifices are not required, you can help with your dollars. You can help also with your pen, by writing to federal officials and also to Birmingham officials, But nothing apparently can asking an end to injustice in stop these people. Today, the Birmingham.

ACMHR is sponsoring or pre-Today, before you forget it, paring legal action on five do the following:

Struggle Continues

of the Rev. Calvin Wood.

Each Monday night since

1956, the ACMHR has held a

mass meeting in one of the

city's churches. There the

people come, in the face of

threats, economic pressure and

intimidation, and pledge anew

each week their loyalty to the

struggle. In times of intensity,

they sometimes meet several

times a week or every night.

Mr. Shuttlesworth described

Wrong . . . To this cause we are

today carrying on their struggle

for equality virtually alone. Re-

peatedly, they have asked of-

ficials to sit down and discuss

which is a divine

(1) Write Birmingham Mayor public employment, against seg- James Morgan and ask him to set up an interracial committee to work seriously toward an orderly integration process in Birningham.

(2) Write the Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department in Washington and ask them to investigate and do something to halt police intimidation of Negroes in Birmingam

(3) Ask your congressman and senators to support legislation to empower the Justice Department to initiate desegregation suits. This would enable the federal government to assume ts proper share of the responsibility in the struggle for democracy.

(4) Write the Birmingham newspapers (the Birmingham News, the Birmingham Post-

moot. This dismissal was appealed by the ACMHR. Meantime, in October, 1958, gated; the better jobs, in public toric year-long Montgomery bus thirteen Negroes rode the buses unsegregated again to test the new law. They were arrested

By Flora Carpenter

In observance of the one-hunof John Dewey, the Internation-

al Socialist Review published in its winter issue the first of two philosopher's theories of educaview

William F. Warde, who studied under Dewey, presents and productive activities which never be induced to give up (ACMHR) was organized. Said a succinct account of the theories that have had such weight ies for self-direction, discipline, stick about their ears.' leadership and independent How and why Brown determamong educators the world over for several generations. He indicates the historical setting that stunted by the new industrial- against slavery is a story that brought forth Dewey's theories ized, urbanized, atomized condi- has been buried under racist and relates them to the social background.

"Dewey's theories," Warde the family and weakened the in- "fanatic." Jordan tells the true writes, "blended attention to the fluence of religion.' Warde stresses the progressive child as an individual with

rights and claims of his own character of Dewey's contribuwith a recognition of the gulf tions. In the second article, to Unarmed," is offered by Joseph



#### **Pacifist Novel Reprinted**

JOHNNY GOT HIS GUN, by | was out of print, wealthy pro-Dalton Trumbo. Lyle Stuart, Nazi Americans pushed its sale, second-hand copies going for as New York, N.Y. 1939. Reissued 1959. 309 pp. \$3.95. high as \$6, according to Trumbo.

In this poignant pacifist novel, the author makes an eloquent case for peace.

Upon publishing this new edi- who says, "It serves me right." tion, Trumbo thought of touching it up but decided against it. of the famed "Hollywood Ten,' In the preface he writes: "Is it who were accused of being Compossible for anything to resist munists. He invoked the Fifth change, even a mere commodity Amendment before the House that can be bought, buried, Un-American Committee; spent banned, damned, praised, or a year in jail for contempt of ignored for all the wrong rea- Congress; and was blacklisted sons? Probably not. Johnny held in the movie industry. However, a different meaning for three he continued as an underground different wars. Its present mean- writer in Hollywood and, under ing is what each, reader con- the pseudonym of "Robert Rich," ceives it to be. .

Trumbo is referring to the for "The Brave One." book's ups and downs. Ironically | The blacklist proved unworkthis gruesome tale of World able because Hollywood needs War I's "living dead" was first writers as skilled as Trumbo, as ican Radicalism: Yesterday, Totwo days after World War II he reads this powerful book. began. During the war, after it

between an outdated and class- appear in the spring issue of the

In May, 1956, Alabama polidistorted education setup inher- International Socialist Review. ticians - desperate in their efited from the past and the ur- he will consider what happened fort to hold back the future --dredth anniversary of the birth gent requirements of the, new to Dewey's theories in practice. outlawed the National Associa-Another centennial observed tion for the Advancement of

history.

"The educational system had by the magazine is John Brown's Colored People. Almost immedito be thoroughly overhauled, he raid on Harper's Ferry. Arthur ately, a committee of Negro articles considering the famous said, because of the deep-going Jordan describes Brown as an ministers came together and changes in American civiliza- intelligent, well-read man, who called a mass meeting of the tion from the Marxist point of tion. Under colonial, agrarian, came to believe, only after long city's Negroes. At this meeting small-town life, the child took experience as an amelioration- the Alabama Christian Move-

part in household, community ist, that slaveholders "would ment for Human Rights spontaneously fostered capacit- their slaves until they felt a big the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the new movement: "They could outlaw an organijudgment. Such worthwhile ined to use the weapon of rev- zation, but they couldn't outlaw qualities were discouraged and olutionary terror in the struggle the movement of a people determined to be free.'

In its original statement of tions which had disintegrated epithets of "madman" and principles, the ACMHR stated: "As free and independent citizens of the United States of them support, was attacked by story and tells it well. America, and of the State of

A critical appreciation of Isaac Deutscher's "The Prophet Alabama, we express publicly our determination to press for-

Hansen, editor of the Militant. ward persistently for freedom and democracy, and the removal other adult, the Rev. J. S. Phifer, Hansen recommends the secfrom our society of any forms of took four Negro young people, ond volume of Deutscher's biography of Leon Trotsky as "the first anywhere near adequate history" of the most "decisive enemies of the white people. years in the political history of the Soviet Union"-the struggle begun by Lenin and continued by Trotsky against the rising relynch any persons; but we must, action headed by Stalin. because of history and the fu-While stressing the import-

ture, march to complete freedom with unbowed heads, praying hearts, and an unyielding determination."

#### **Action Begins**

The organization's first effort their homes.

was directed toward getting the city of Birmingham to hire Negroes on its police force. When petitions and delegations to of-ACMHR member saw the bomb ficials failed, a suit was filed in October, 1956, against the Pert into the street, but the reperonnel Board demanding the cussions damaged one side of the ight of Negroes to take examchurch. The damage from this inations for all civil service jobs and the earlier bombing (Dec. -police, clerical, etc. The Per-25, 1956) has not yet been comsonnel Board later removed the pletely restored. In October, 1958, while the

white only" designation from all jobs, and Negroes were al-ACMHR's suit over bus segreowed to take examinations. gation was still pending, the None, however, have ever been city repealed its bus segregation hired, and new court action is law. In its place they adopted a now being prepared. new law which does not men-

Also in 1956, a couple from tion race but gives bus drivers Ailwaukee were arrested by police powers to seat passengers Birmingham police because they | - and makes it a "breach of the published on Sept. 3, 1939, just anyone may judge for himself if day and Tomorrow," by James sat in the waiting room reserved peace" for a passenger to dis-P. Cannon, was reviewed in the for whites in the city railroad obey the seat assignment orderstation. The ACMHR went to ed by the driver.

group of Negroes in protest. Although the newspa mass violation of the bus law. pers blacked out all news of it, the human race." He added: Twenty-two were arrested, everyone knew that the bus "We here in Birmingham, convicted in City Court, and company's business was serious-Alabama, are part of this unifined \$50. They then filed suit ly decreased for a time. in federal court, in January, versal fight between ·Right and

#### Threats of Death

dedicated without reservation Today the struggle of the and there can be no turning ACMHR has been going on for back. Destiny seems to have road station segregation suit led more than three years. In that chosen the American Negro -Mr. Shuttlesworth to decide it period, not a day passed that particularly the Southern Newas time to test segregation Mr. and Mrs. Shuttlesworth and gro — to be the front-line solthere again. He announced to other leaders of the movement diers here in our country . the press that he and Mrs. and many rank-and-file mem-What a glorious opportunity to bers have not received threats worker in the movement, would of death over the telephone and through the mail. Phones ring poses of life! . . . tain day, preparatory to taking all night; strange cars circle the

**Negroes** in Forefront blocks where leaders of the movement live. In Birmingham, Negroes are order.

they narrowly escaped injury. Each night since the first A white minister, the Rev. bombing in December, 1956, Lamar Weaver, who offered volunteer guards have sat all night watching the Shutlesthe mob and later was driven worth home and church.

their grievances in a give-and-Repeatedly members of the take manner. This was done on ACMHR have petitioned the every issue before court action city for police protection. None was taken as a last resort. The of their letters or petitions has answer has always been silence ever received an answer. No white people in Birmingham Instead the police have joined today are raising their voices in in the harassment. Guards at support of the Negroes' efforts the Shuttlesworth home have for equality.

been searched and arrested. The This does not mean that all city's famous police commis-Birmingham white people are sioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor, defenders of segregation. Neissued a decree that no Negro groes who rode the buses un-Shuttlesworth was stabbed in minister should urge his people segregated report that white to stay off the buses. Mr. Shutpeople generally treated them tlesworth's response was typical: with courtesy and no hostility. "Only God can tell me what Many white people say privately recovered, a suit was filed to say in my pulpit. And I'm that they believe the cause of against the Board of Education, going to tell my people to stay the ACMHR is just, and many asking admission of Negro off those buses if I have to go more believe officials should at

pupils to the schools nearest to Kilby Prison.' least be willing to consider its And he has. So have others. demands. There was a time, in In June, 1958, another attempt There has already been one ar- the early days of the CIO, when was made to bomb Mr. Shuttles- rest. The Rev. Calvin Wood was Negro and white workers in worth's church. A courageous arrested and charged with ad-Birmingham worked together to vocating a boycott because he organize unions. In more recent in time, picked it up and threw preached against bus segregayears, there have been intertion. He was convicted, fined \$1,racial committees and meetings 000 and sentenced to six months. to discuss community problems. His case is on appeal. But today white supremacist

Another man was arrested for forces have taken over most of distributing literature in alleged the Birmingham labor moveviolation of Alabama's antiboyment. Interracial groups have cott law. Each week. city detecceased to meet because of intives attend the ACMHR mass timidation and economic pressure. Segregationist forces in meeting. One man, the Rev. Charles Billups, was arrested Birmingham have created an at on a charge of interfering with mosphere in which the white the entrance of a detective at a people who hold liberal idea meeting; it was said he "touched are terrorized. The White Citi the officer's' coat." Later this zens Council has stated that it same minister was tied to a tree will drive out of Alabama any and beaten by the Ku Klux white person who breaks the Klan. line of segregation. They hav

Meantime, other ACMHR proved that they can do it.

struggle for the exaltation of Herald, the Birmingham World) and let Birmingham know the ACMHR has your support.

(5) And send a financial contribution to the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, 3191 29th Ave., North, Birmingham, Alabama.

### **Juicy One**

Unless juice makers show the actual amount of water and other ingredients in their fruit sacrifice . . . What a great priv-ilege to work for the fuller pur-letters they use for "juice drink" letters they use for "juice drink" - the word "juice" must be dropped from the label, according to a recent government

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#### The author called on the FBI to investigate this. However, the FBI seemed less interested in the "pro-Nazis" than in Trumbo

In 1953, Trumbo became one

won the 1956 Academy Award

- L. K. last issue of the Militant.

ance of Deutscher's contribution, Hansen takes issue with what he considers to be an overemphasis on Trotsky's "prophetic" insight and under-

emphasis on Trotsky's scientific approach to revolutionary-socialist politics.

> Other books reviewed in clude "Caste, Class & Race," by Oliver Cromwell Cox; "Century of Struggle," by Eleanor Flexner; "Power at the Top," by Clive Jenkins; "When Negroes March," by Herbert Garfinkel; and "W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis," by

Francis L. Broderick. Tim Wohlforth continues his lively column on topics in the

Yugoslavia."

lishes two letters on "Democracy and Planned Economy in

radical press. Shane Mage pub-

A feature of the issue, "Amer-

second-class citizenship . . . We-Negroes shall never become But America was born in the struggle for Freedom from Tyranny and Oppression. We shall never bomb any homes or

#### Monday, January 11, 1960



### THE MILITANT

# Let the Opposition Speak!

The Chinese Communist party press is continuing its denunciation of "rightistinclined opportunists." As yet, however, it has not named the critics, some of whom appear to have high posts in the government.

A further indication of the nature of the opposition can be gathered from an article by Chang Pei in the Dec. 25 Peking People's Daily. Chang describes the "rightists" as party members who went along with one, two, or even three of the successive revolutions but who are unable to go along with the most recent measures that is, the "great leap forward" and the establishment of the rural people's communes. This would make some of them old timers, participants in the 1925-27 Revolution.

Shu Tung, in the Dec. 15 People's Daily, describes them as having a "definite revolutionary background and political status." Nevertheless, they must be "thoroughly exposed." Otherwise "they are liable to cast a spell on the masses." Shu indicates the source of this possible influence on the masses. They are members of the Communist party; they "are opposing Marxism-Leninism whilst pretending to be Marxist-Leninists and therefore can do a great deal of harm by deception and corrosion." In other words, they are either reflecting mass sentiment, or they are in such eminent positions as to be able to wield great influence, given the opportunity.

Are the critics "right opportunists" at all? It strikes us that the authors of the articles in the People's Daily employ this designation with less than scientific precision.

Thus Chang Pei singles out two figures in Chinese Communist party history who supposedly exemplify the "right opportunist" type. One of these he names as Chen Tu-hsiu. This is a significant name. Chen Tu-hsiu, a well-known educator at Peking University, was the founder of the Chinese Communist party. In 1929 he rejected Stalinism and became a Trotskyist. That put him to the left of Mao Tse-tung who upheld Stalinism. Are the current critics of official policy "rightists" like. Chen Tu-hsiu?

The other "rightist" cited by Chang Pei as a historic example is Chang Ku-tao, a leader who went over to Chiang Kaishek's Kuomintang in 1938.

To link together such complete opposites as Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Ku-tao is an "amalgam" such as Stalin used in his infamous frame-up trials when he purged and murdered loyal supporters of the Soviet Union who opposed his opportunist, adventurist, and finally counter-revolutionary policies.

We believe that the dispute in the Chinese CP involves issues of profound import to the fate of the Chinese revolution. Shu Tung indicates the issues, at least some of them, in this way: "Right oppor-tunists are disparagingly describing mass **Khrushchev Blames Underlings** tion. Shu Tung indicates the issues, at least movements, the big leap forward, and high-speed building of socialism as the out-come of petty-bourgeois fanaticism. They are attacking the people's communes by For Sag in Grain Production are attacking the people's communes by saying they were built too soon and built poorly. And they are opposing the supremacy of politics."

the opposition position cannot be determined as long as the critical voices are gagged. Whether they are right or wrong, tee meeting Dec. 22-25 which we think the critics should be allowed to dealt exclusively with farm as much as Soviet farmers, depresent their point of view to the party problems. and to the Chinese working people. We also should be invited to study the opposing should be invited to study the opposing ed to the state this year. Accord-

The Chinese revolution would gain

# **The Profits-Price Spiral**

Roger Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel, indicated in a nationwide TV broadcast that the economic royalists of the steel industry intend to boost prices once again. The excuse, of course, will be the wage increase which the steel workers needed to keep up with previous price hikes that had boosted the cost of living.

Blough's intimation that his stockholders would greatly appreciate a richer serving of gravy was not exactly news. On Charles M. White, chairman of Dec. 23 Republic Steel, gave the tip-off at a news conference. When the reporters asked this lieutenant of the steel kings if they would freeze prices provided the union failed to win a wage adjustment, White said: "I won't say that we are not going to raise prices." Blough sought to convince his television audience that any future price boost would only absorb increased costs due to wage boosts. But the stock-market speculators, an alert crowd, had already indicated earlier in the day how they sized up this way of "absorbing" costs. As Burton Crane of the New York Times put it, "Stocks opened the New Year yesterday with a whoop of wild celebration at the settlement of the steel strike." U.S. Steel shot up 23/4 points. A peculiar way of

One of the main considerabelieve that socialists throughout the world tions before the session was a production. Soviet per-acre about an acre or less in size, and the state to wither away, as viewpoints in the controversy and asked - | ing to Paul Wohl in the Dec. 29 low the U.S. and two-thirds be in the tradition of Lenin - to contribute Christian Science Monitor, total low Western Europe. state grain procurements were 54.1 million tons in 1956, 35.4

he's wonderfully stubborn."

By Daniel Roberts

million in 1957, 56.8 million in 1958 and 47 million this year. In his report to the Central Committee, Khrushchev blamed this year's decline on the party as Khrushchev complained took

leaders in Kazakhstan — the place in Kazakhstan this year, Soviet Union's second largest is a chronic problem carried republic where in 1956 millions over from Stalin's time. In adof acres were plowed up for the dition, transportation bottlemourning "the inflationary wage-price first time under Khrushchev's necks and shortages of pasteurspiral that has been sweeping this country policy of cultivating virgin izing and refrigerating processes lands. Hundreds of thousands of cut down on state procurement

settlers moved into the area to of dairy products for use What are the facts? Since 1946 eleven work on huge state farms fully throughout the country.

Nevertheless, Soviet farming wage increases have been conceded by the equipped with machinery. Last year, Kazakhstan boasted that it has made significant progress in steel bosses. During the same years they had supplied one-third of all the all branches since Stalin died. marked up the price tag on steel 21 times. grain received by the state. But In 1953, for instance, beef and Statistics compiled by the Senate Anti- grain deliveries from the area dairy cattle in the Soviet Union trust and Monopoly subcommittee demon- fell by 26% this year. did not number more than in According to Khrushchev, bad the pre-revolution year of 1916 strate that for every dollar in wage increases, three dollars have been added to handling of machinery was the and totaled considerably less reason for the poor Kazakhstan than in 1928, just prior to Stalthe price of steel. The truth is that the performance. More than 18,000 in's forced collectivization drive. steel monopolists determine their prices The 1916 figure was 58.4 million tractors - half of the total were not repaired on time for head of cattle; the 1928 figure by what they think the traffic will bear. was 66.8 million. In 1955, official spring sowing, and other ma-In 1952 the steel kings enjoyed a net Soviet figures listed 67.1 million chines broke down quickly. profit of \$6.80 on every ton of steel prohead and in 1956, 70.4 million. Nearly 4 million acres had not duced by the workers. In the next five been harvested by Nov. 1 and The gains are apparently due tons of grain were lost under to two main factors. One is the years productivity lowered the relative opening up of 89 million acres the snow. The Kazakhstan party cost of steelmaking while prices were leader Belyayev, sent specially of virgin land to grain crops in jacked up. By 1957 the net take on a ton to the area by Khrushchev, was Soviet Asia and their operation accused of telling Moscow everythrough mechanized state farms.

States. Edmund K. Faltermayer | prices of consumer goods sold

says in the Aug. 10 Wall Street to collective farmers. Journal that 45 million farm The Central Comm How to increase agricultural The Central Committee also production remains one of the workers - 43% of the total decided to increase the work nality of rulers and executives most crucial problems confront-Soviet labor force - feed a popnorms on the collective farms tends to decrease qualitatively ing the Soviet government. This ulation of 209 million, while in and to lower the price the state and quantitatively. When the was reflected at the Soviet Comthe U.S. 8.1 million farmers feed would pay for grain. However, power of the ruling bodies is munist party's Central Commit- | 175 million people. Furthermore, the party leaders dropped a pro- greatly limited, their criminality U.S. farmers grow about twice posal to curtail the scope of the may become equal to or fall beindividual peasant economies. low that of the ruled populaspite U.S. crop-control programs Though the plots owned private- tions.' designed to curtail agricultural ly by collective farmers are only yields of grain, according to though their combined acreage Faltermayer, are one-third be- forms a very small proportion happen in the socialist society of the total Soviet area under

"I was afraid he'd lose interest when the steel strikers won. But

cultivation, collective farmers same time of a lot of criminality. These figures testify to the get about a third of their total continued predominance of hand cash income from their individlabor in agriculture and to a ual holdings in addition to food comparatively low rate of chemfor their own family consumpical-fertilizer use. Furthermore,

neglect of farm machinery, such Furthermore, according to rates of criminality, k Faltermayer, half of the nations majority of them do.' milk production and 40% of Russia's total meat supplies are provided by the peasants' individual livestock. A considerable share of the nation's fresh vegetables is supplied by the privately owned gardens.

## In Other Lands

The American Way of Life

### The Boss Is a Real Screwball

terms like these: "A screwball

of the first water. But you've got to hand it to him; he sure

Now it turns out that such

talk about the boss is not evi-

dence of emotional ills rampant

the question

tend to be.

knows how to make money."

In psychoanalysis they call it an ambivalent attitude admiration mixed with contempt, perhaps deriving ultimately from an unresolved Oedipus complex. Around the unch bucket you hear it in

path, placid and emotionally blunt person, often taken for a profound man.

• \"The aggressive obsessive-compulsive boss, conceited, ambitious, domineering and intolerant.

• "The ethically aberrant among the American working class. The boss really is a smart personality endowed with acute intelligence, but moralmadman. And so are all our ly wily and cynical." rulers. That's the conclusion reached by a prominent sociolo-Doesn't that sound like bosses gist after an objective study of

you have known? Prof. Lunden said that these

Prof. Walter A. Lunden of conclusions are borne out by Iowa State University told the evidence concerning ruling American Association for the groups in Europe, Asia, North Advancement of Science at a and South America.

A more blunt person might Dec. 29 meeting that "Ruling groups contain à larger proporhave said that capitalist society tion of the extreme mental should be held responsible for types of the gifted and the menthe tendency to bring the cynics, tally sick than the rank and file dictators and psychopaths into dominant position, but the cauof the ruled population."

tious sociologist only said that If you happen to be working in a plant where conditions are we are passing through the end especially bad, here's something of a 600-year period of culture to think over: The greater the in which advanced technology power of the rulers, political has produced power, violence leaders or big executives, the and crime in high places. Lunden is no pessimist. He more corrupt and criminal they

holds out hope for a change. On the other hand if their Very gradually the West is calling and hoping for new power becomes limited, "crimitypes of leaders and rulers who combine a high moral sense with sound scientific knowledge."

This could prove to be overly optimistic, of course. In that case, Lunden holds, "society is due for a very stormy period in the years ahead."

- Paul Abbott

## He'll Be Right

Norman Jaspan, a management engineer, predicts for 1960. 'the most shocking wave of coninuous dishonesty in the nation's history.'

for exceptional types. "Not all More than 250 companies will leaders tend to show higher go out of business because of rates of criminality, but a great frauds. Kickbacks will total more than \$5 billion. And em-"Present day society," in the ployees will steal more than \$4 opinion of the Iowa professor, million a day, or a billion dollars 'tends to promote and to ada year vance to high positions certain

Most of the thefts will be com-These can be listed as follows: mitted by supervisors and ex-• "The inadequate psycho- lecutives.

## Khrushchev Plans Visit to Asia

In other words, if you can get

Marx and Engels forecast would

of the future, you get rid at the

not think that every boss or

ruler is a crook. He leaves room

types of men

Prof. Lunden, of course, does

Indonesia, India **On His Itinerary**  and capitalism, it did not refer man colony before World War I. to any role he played in the It became a French colony unstruggle against imperialism. der a League of Nations "man-



Whether this is a fair presentation of

their opinions.

enormously if the government granted the opposition its democratic rights and sponsored a full and free international discussion of all the issues in dispute.

for the past 20 years."

of steel was \$17.91.

It's a Political Struggle On the opposite page we reprint an account of the heroic struggle against Jim Crow in Birmingham. The greatest ob-

stacle to this and similar movements in the South is not the extent of racist prejudice but the control of the whole governmental apparatus by the anti-Negro Democratic party machines. This forces Negroes not only to fight city and state government but puts a ceiling on what they can win. In other words, the struggle against Jim Crow in the South is, in the last analysis, a political struggle.

The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights recognizes this in the closing paragraphs of its article in which it calls for letters to the mayor of Birmingham, authorities in Washington, etc. While such measures may exert some pressure, there is no question of their inadequacy to solve the great problem to which they are addressed.

At present the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference are embarked on a joint campaign to increase registration of Negro voters in the South. This is necessary and commendable-and extremely difficult, for in many areas Negro registration is being reduced by threats, economic pressure and electionboard fraud. But even an increased Negro registration would only half answer the problem because the only election that counts at present in the South is the Democratic party primary.

Consider the following excerpts from the Associated Negro Press report (Dec. 18) of the gubernatorial campaign in Louisiana: "Jimmie Davis, second man in the primary, the singing governor, says openly that he does not want a single NAACP vote and that means the Negro vote. He is trying to get the White Citizens Council vote . . . Mayor 'Chep' deLesseps Morrison of New Orleans tells how he has outsmarted the Negro, has talked kindly to him, has lulled him to sleep with sweetsounding words, but has kept New Orleans the most segregated southern city in the USA and he promises to do the same in the state if elected ... Negroes are wondering whether to jump into the frying pan or into the fire. They dare not vote for any

Does the giant corporation headed by

Blough have to raise prices to cover the

latest pay rise? Consider this one fact: In

the second quarter of 1959, U.S. Steel made.

an hourly gross profit of \$2.50 on each of

its workers. After taxes, the company

could have paid out an additional \$1.20 an

hour in wages and still kept the stock-

holders in mink coats and Rolls Royces.

candidate. They are trying to find out against whom to vote." The Democratic party constitutes a

political blind alley for the workers and Negroes in the rest of the country but for the Negro people of the South it is a cruel vise. The Republican party is no real alternative in the North, and even if it existed in the South, it would be no alternative there. A conscious break by workers and Negroes from the Democratic Party -North and South - towards independent towards breaking the stranglehold of racism on Congress and on state and local 900,000 tractors as compared to to offset this measure, the party Though Pravda praised Stalgovernment in the South.

thing was going well, whereas (The state farms now encompass "as a matter of fact things are 27% of all Soviet land in cultivation and absorb 10% of the bad, very bad."

farm labor force.) Besides reduced harvests in But a far more important fac-Kazakhstan, grain procurements from the Ukraine were 18% tor in raising farm productivity is the policy of giving greater smaller than last year. Khrushchev, however, blamed weather material incentives to the colconditions for the drop in the lective farmers. Immediately, Ukraine harvest. All in all, acafter Stalin's death, says Faltermayer, measures were taken to cording to Wohl's estimate, this boost peasant income. Cash payyear's grain production was less ment per "labor day" work units than 120 million tons. The Sovwas raised from 1.4 rubles in iet Union aims at achieving a 1952 to 3.8 rubles in 1956 and is total grain crop of between 164 now upward of 5 rubles on the and 170 million in 1965, the last collectives. Taxes on peasants' year of the seven-year plan. earnings from their private gar-

**Rise in Meat** 

last year. Khrushchey abolished Though the grain harvest the notorious tribute the state dropped this year, state procureinstituted under Stalin, which ments of vegetables, potatoes compelled the collectives to deand sugar beets were larger liver part of their grain and than last year. Meat production fared best of all, increasing during the first eleven months by 32% over last year. Milk procurements were up 15%, eggs 25% and wool 11%. These increases are all substantially higher than those called for by the plan. According to Wohl, the sharp increases seem to be due primarily to the sale to the collective farms of several million head of cattle that had been privately owned by collective farm members and employees. "There is no other explanation

for the report . . . that the number of collective and state farm cattle increased in one year by 18 per cent.'

Output figures alone, however, do not reveal the magnitude of the Soviet agricultural problems. The truth is that Soviet farming still lags enormously behind the U.S. and Western Europe.

Thus, according to an article Oct. 29 Christian Science Moni-

Soviet Premier Khrushchev's announcement Jan. 1 that he will visit Indonesia and India next month has sharpened speculation about a foreign policy conflict between Moscow and

Peking. "thaw" did not mark a genuine In Indonesia, Khrushchev i change in American foreign described by official circles as policy, that American imperialbeing concerned that Communism sought to mask its war prepst China's recent actions against arations through peace demag-Indonesia and India have damogy, and that it was necessary aged the prestige of the Comto expose this demagogy. The munist bloc in neutralist Asia. Soviet CP leaders have credited He is said to be determined to 'mend the damage,'" reports top American government of-

ficials with genuinely seeking Bernard Kalb in the Jan. 2 New peace. York Times. Khrushchev has in

the past indicated his neutrality **U.S. Syndicate** in both the frontier conflict be tween China and India and the **To Equip Soviet** dispute between China and Indonesia over the status of Chin-**Textile Factory** ese nationals in Indonesia.

The Soviet Union signed According to the Jan. 2 Chris contract Dec. 28 with a synditian Science Monitor, the China-Indonesia dispute has "comcate of more than 40 U.S. completely spoiled" the plans of panies to construct and provide China's foreign minister, Marmachinery for a 50,000-spindle textile plant in Kalinin, between shal Chen, for a good will trip o Djakarta at the end of 1959. Moscow and Leningrad. The Meanwhile further differences syndicate is Intertex Internabetween Moscow and Peking tional, Inc. of New York.

were evidenced by the way each The total deal comes to \$30 handled the eightieth annivermillion, including \$20 million for sary of Stalin's birth on Dec. 21. machinery and \$10 million for Pravda, leading Soviet Commuconstruction costs. The contract exceeds the total value of United States exports to the Soviet speech at the party's Twentieth Union in 1958. It is also the first

Congreśs in February 1956, deagreement of its kind between nouncing Stalin's crimes. Pravda this country and the USSR since included the fact that Lenin in the years before the war. The Soviet agreement with Intertex calls for cash payments,

although the Soviet government originally sought credits and had On the other hand, the Peking been offered them by a British People's Daily, leading Chines group that was in competition with the American group for the contract.

> The Cameroons **Becomes New** African State

The Cameroons Republic was publications before, during and proclaimed as an independent after the revolution. Full page African state on New Year's headlines extoll Trotsky for his Day. It is situated on the West organization of the Red Army, Coast of Africa about 800 miles while in the official histories of to the east of Ghana. The Cam- the revolution, Trotsky is never eroons is slightly larger than mentioned. There also are all of California and has a population Berdyaev's books published beof 3.5 million, of which about fore his banishment in 1922, but 13,000 are white.

Thus Moscow's and Peking's date" after the war and continued as a French colony under articles on Stalin reflected what each have been saving about United Nations "trusteeship" the international "thaw" during after 1946. In 1958 the UN decided on independence for the the previous months. The Chinarea. ese CP leaders have repeatedly warned that the diplomatic

One section of the Cameroons independence movement, the Union of Cameroon Peoples, still opposes the manner in which the new government was installed. The organization, led by Dr. Felix Moumie, has charged that elections that installed Premier, Amadou Ahidjou, in power were rigged. He also accuses Ahidjou of being a French stooge. The Union wants new

elections to be held

in Ghana or in Egypt.

In 1955, the Union of Cameroon Peoples organized armed forces in the mountains to struggle for independence. Many of its members are in exile either

**Trotsky Prominent Among Rare Books** Kept by Kremlin

Lewis Nichols, in his Dec. 27 column in the New York Times Book Review, reports an interesting experience Donald Lowrie had in doing research work in the Soviet Union on his biography of Nicholas Berdyaev, "Rebellious Prophet.

He found people quite friendly, but Berdyaev practically unknown. At the Lenin Library in Moscow he did considerable research. Here is his description of the Rare Books reading room:

"The Rare Books section is really that portion of the library closed to the public. Here I never saw more than a dozen people in a reading room that would seat a hundred. It is a fascinating place. There are the books and periodicals the ordinary Soviet citizen is not permitted to see. There, religiously preserved, are complete files of all Russian

ceedingly low prices. These and to deliver more products to he state.

#### Wide Differences

dens also were reduced. Finally,

each collective farm, but wide earning differentials between CP publication, dealt lightly

concern to the government. CP Chinese singled out for particueaders have blamed inflationary lar praise Stalin's last major increased demand for consumer in 1952.

goods resulting from higher individual earnings of farmers on emphasis on the struggle against the "rich" collectives. At the imperialism. The People's Daily Central Committee meeting Dec. said that Stalin "was an implac-22-25, the party leaders decided able enemy of imperialism" who that in the future collective had "stressed the need to mainpolitical action, no matter how small its by Donald S. Watson, a farm farms should allocate a bigger tain a high degree of vigilance beginnings, will be the first realistic step newspaper editor, writing in the share of their earnings to rein- against imperialism and the vestment funds and a smaller need to expose imperialist in tor, the Soviet Union has about share to individual income. But trigues before the masses.

almost 5 million in the United leaders also promised to lower in for having fought Czarism The new republic was a Ger-later published abroad."

other crops to the state at exconomic incentives encouraged nist party organ, virtually rethe peasants to produce more peated in outline Khrushchev's

The average cash income of his last "testament" had called the Soviet peasants is now about for Stalin's removal as General

\$400 a year. However, the aver- Secretary of the Communist age cancels out not only import- party. ant income differentials within

the poor and rich collective with what it called Stalin's farms. The income of the latter "mistakes" and praised him as have been of especially great Lenin's "continuator." The

tendencies in the country on the writings on economics published The Chinese placed their main

not a single copy of the eighteen

# **Clean Up that Poetry**

#### "Morning Departure," a cool poem by Hershel Horn about love, which Mainstream published last July, has become'a hot potato in Communist party circles. An odd fate for a fragile bit of fantasy, perhaps, but not without

a certain meaning. It started when literary arbiter Michael Gold used his Aug. 8 column in the People's World to accuse Mainstream of "false catholicity and tolerance" in publishing such a way-out piece of verbal imagery.

"There is free speech in America, yes," Gold told his readers, "just as there are minks and Cadillacs, but who can afford it? Only the rich, the monopolists of free speech . . . Should a Marxist pauper magazine devote some of its precious space to spreading this 'new' abstract poetry, this unintelligible, irrational, deathly stuff, the metaphysics of an expiring class that no longer knows how to face reality?"

Mainstream tossed the heated item back to Gold. In a communication "Hands Off the Imagination!" which was published in the October number of the literary monthly, John Condell spoke for "the innocent and attractive poetry of Hershel Horn" and against the "brutal, uncritical, self-righteous treatment administered by Michael Gold."

In Condell's opinion, what Gold said about the innocent and attractive poem was "nothing but a barrage of reactionary, infantile leftism." An accusation fraught with disturbing implications!

"Why is Michael Gold so enraged and scornful when a poet in Mainstream shows evidence of some freedom of the imagination? Is it because there is really no room for the freedom of imagination in the socialist view of the world?"

Condell can't believe that. Obviously something is awry in Gold's head. "Is it that Gold has abandoned whatever critical acumen he may once have had and is content now to maintain a position for himself by using the tactics of the Lord High Executioner, - lunging out with a death sentence for anything that may stand in the way of his comprehension?"

One could, of course, suspect that Gold might be suffering from chronic poisoning from long years of practicing the cult of Stalin, but that line of inquiry would mean going back to the vexatious Twentieth Congress, and perhaps even referring to Trotsky's views in "Literature and Revolution" about the right of artists to freedom of thought and imagination. You can't take your hands off the imagination that much!

The Worker decided it had better pick up the bouncing tuber. In the Nov. 8 issue, in his column "The Arts," Mike Newberry broke it open for the delectation of the connoisseurs. "Dogmatism long has besmirched the critical banners," he began with sensitive poetical feel for words, "not only of some Marxist critics, but of critics at large." He indicated his sympathy for the feelings ruffled by the hornyhanded Gold. "Writers such as John Condell, can hardly be blamed for feeling their spines stiffen at what seems to be another manifestation of engineering concept of art as a science that can be built like a building, brick by brick, with critical concrete."

However, the issue has to be faced. And what is the issue? The poem? Not at all. The real issue is something deeper. Nothing less than "the character of Mainstream itself." The "poem itself is lost in the crossfire."

Mainstream, it seems, has been "appealing to a literary audience often to the exclusion and to the incomprehension of non-literary readers. There is the crux of it."

"Literary movements of the Left," Newberry tells us, "have always been involved up to their necks, in the juices of life." In fact, so much so that artists "sometimes feel they are drowning in meetings and campaigns . . . Thus to us, when we speak of the 'mainstream' it is not literature alone but life we mean."

Has Mainstream had any life of late? Sad to say, "this vital life-giving aspect of art is insufficiently embodied in the magazine."

What's to be done? "My opinion is that we might well seek not a narrowing, but a broadening of Mainstream. Not fewer styles, but more. Not a smaller, and more proscribed, circle of ideas, forms, subjects, and writers, but a lively, dynamic and much more widely varied group."

So it was not the poem after all, or too harsh criticism of a poet's innocent efforts. The question is the continuation of Mainstream.

In a letter to the Worker, Jan. 3, one of Mainstream's contributing editors, Annette T. Rubinstein, took exception to the charge that the magazine appeals only to "a literary audience often to the exclusion of non-literary readers." Mainstream is after all a literary magazine, not a general political periodical. She also sought to pull Newberry out of his flight of the imagination on what Mainstream can do. "Do you realize that Mainstream . . . is published monthly by one single solitary editor with no secretary, no proof reader, no technical assistant, and absolutely no help of any kind except the stray hours a few contributing editors occasionally find it possible to volunteer." Moreover, the magazine "receives no subsidy whatsoever . . ."

Newberry's rejoinder to this defense of Mainstream's literary function and explanation of its difficulties undoubtedly soothed whatever wounds Gold might be nursing: "Not only for practical reasons, for the progressive movement is hardly now large enough to support such a rarefied, specialized magazine, not at this time; but, on principle, such an approach severs the very bonds to working class life, the very 'connection,' that Marxists could offer the already too rarefied and too specialized art worlds."

In other words, if you can't keep the poets busy putting the party line into verse you can kiss Mainstream goodby, so far as the Communist party is concerned. Let that be a lesson to the author of "Morning Departure."

VOLUME XXIV

# Rank and File Won the Battle Seek to Deport

MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1960

THE MILITANT

(Continued from Page 1) workers.

The steel corporations maneuvered themselves into an unthat a vote be taken on their "last offer" was based upon the assumption that the steel work-

against the union. Preliminary polls had indicated the contrary. In its Dec. 21 issue, the magazine Steel, circulated among corporation executives, stated flaty that the workers would reect the last industry offer.

"No matter how the issue is worded in the election," said Steel, "steel workers are expected to consider it this way: Do you vote for or against the union? They will not repudiate the union, no matter how they feel about the last offer, the strike's continuation or David McDonald."

What would happen then? Citing the opinion of labor experts, the magazine said: "After the vote, they reason, the industry will make a slightly sweeter offer that will be accepted by the USW, which fears Congressional action.'

#### Nixon's Role

Nixon's contribution was to convince the corporations that it would be to their interest to settle before the vote was taken. In preparation for the vote, steel union President David Mc-Donald had scheduled a series of mass meetings throughout the country. Determined to get a "no" vote in the "last offer" ballot, McDonald would have to stir the ranks into a fighting of support from the employing mood. This would not be conducive to the kind of "hearts and flowers" settlement that McDonald preferred and would prove more costly to the corporations than a "negotiated" settlement made before the vote was taken. This was the burden of Nixon's message to the steel company presidents.

there was scarcely a Democratic Senator, in the upper chamber who was not running for President." In this situation, Reston enable position. Their insistence continues, Nixon "suggested to the presidents that they could definitely not expect in an elec-

> What Nixon told the corporation presidents, in effect, was: Now is not the time for the administration and Congress to give the corporate moneyba'gs the kind of support they need to deliver a smashing blow against

to deception. It was all right in 1959 and it will be open season again in 1961 — but in 1960 Nixon aspires to become president. And for that he needs to be painted up as a "friend of labor," an apostle of peace, a man of the people. The campaign to promote this

full swing. James Reston remarks about Nixon's role in the steel dispute: "One of the ironies of all this is that Mr. Nixon certainly did not play the role of pal of big business, as his political opponents usually charge him with being." The facts belie this contention

**Pitched for Employers** 

ministration played the employers' game from the beginning. The corporations opposed govoff a steel shutdown. They had amassed huge inventories in preparation for the strike and had received advance assurance tion refused to move.

which the Eisenhower-Nixon tion. "The major producers," administration threw all its re- says the WSJ, "have agreed to count on Congress to enact the nedy - Landrum - Griffin bill creases for several months, poskind of legislation they wanted through Congress — steel stocks sibly through 1960. This agreein a presidential election year. were depleted and steel users ment was part of an unwritten New York Times correspondent began clamoring for supplies. It understanding with Vice-Presi-James Reston reports that Nixon was a crucial turning point in dent Nixon and Labor Secretary

dents that the Democratic party controlled the Congress and that quickly jettisoned their "non- the corporations will be amply rewarded for their patience.

labor movement for the last de-

cade and a half. In fact, the

Western world in the period

following the second world war

has evolved according to a pat-

tern similar to the one following

ped a Taft-Hartley injunction on the steel union. All the efforts of the Eisenhower-Nixon mediators were devoted to whittling down the steel union demands. With pretended impartiality, Nixon's boss in the White House repeatedly lashed out at "both sides" for failing to arrive at a "voluntary" agreement. Given the unyielding corporation demand that the union surrender its working rules and conditions, such diatribes could only be interpreted as pressure on the union to capitulate.

But the steel workers had nade it abundantly clear that they were in no mood to capitulate and were prepared to resume their strike after the expiration of the Taft-Hartley injunction. With the prospect of a more costly settlement following a resumption of the strike by an aroused rank and file. Nixon intervened - to get the steel corporations off the hook. porarily to help a sick relative. If big business has a better "pal" in Washington one would parents didn't return to the U.S. be hard put to find him.

And what of the issue of "inflation" - the stick that the Eisenhower - Nixon administra- crime of some kind was involvtion handed the steel barons at the beginning of the dispute to admitted on a 90-day visa. When beat the union into submission? the visa expired, she failed to leave her parents and return to According to the padded figures the land of her birth. presented in a television broad-In 1958 Mrs. Santiago tried to cast by United States Steel Corporation chairman, Roger straighten out the technicality ernment intervention to head Blough, the cost in wage and involved. An amendment that fringe benefits will be little year to the McCarran Act promore than the average increase vided that immigrants who came corporations demanded and got

> The Jan. 5 Wall Street Journal reports that part of the agreement was that the steel produc-

116 days - in the course of prices until after the 1960 electhings," she told me in an interview today. "It's someforego any general price inthing I've always felt strongly Mitchell." It is understood that

in labor productivity. There here before 1940 could adjust could therefore be no justifica- their status to secure permanent tion for a price increase. But the residence. But there was a catch. Applitheir pound of flesh. cants had to sign an oath of about her political beliefs and associations. ers would delay an increase in "I believe the government has no right to pry into such

about. I remember when I applied for a job when I was in my teens. The application required that you state your religion. I took one look at it and tore it up." **Defied Committee** Mrs. Santiago's husband Jose

ber when he defied the House Third Floor. Un-American Activities Committee during its hearings here

on "Communist penetration" of that although Hitler committed movement. The answer to this the European working class the Puerto Rican community. again sought to abolish capital- Previously he had become head ism and to reorganize society on of the Puerto Rican Liberation socialist lines. But again, the Movement. It was after this that RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF vorking class revolutions were

**Puerto Rican** Leader's Wife By Harry Ring

NUMBER 2

NEW YORK, Jan. 7 — Jo Ann Santiago is the mother of three children born in America. Her husband is active in the Puerto Rican community here. She has lived in New

York since she was six years old. But the government has de-**1960 Election** cided that she must be separated from her family and sent **Is Panel Topic** to Canada. Why Canada? It's a long story.

Her parents lived in the United **In Cleveland** States, but just before she was born, they went to Canada tem-CLEVELAND, Jan. 4 - Walt Jo Ann.was born there and her Davis, who won election as a

trade-unionist to the schooluntil she was six years old. board last November, will mod-Some 30 years later, immigraerate a panel discussion on "The tion authorities decided that a Challenge of 1960," Sunday, Jan. 17, 8 p.m., at the Unitarian Soed. The six-year-old child was ciety, 8143 Euclid Ave. Speakers include Morris Rig-

er, regional director of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union; Charles Loeb, managing editor of the Cleveland Call & Post; and Sam Pollock, president of Local 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Issues, candidates and parties, in the 1960 election will be discussed by the panelists with participation from the audience.

The meeting is sponsored by the Social Action Committee of political purity. Mrs. Santiago the Unitarian Society. Free refused to answer the questions parking is available at the Sears parking lot on Euclid Ave.



#### CLEVELAND

Interested in socialism? Join a weekly class in a study of Frederick Engels' classic work, "Socialism from a Utopia to a Science." Begins Thurs., Jan. 14, at hit the front pages last Novem- 8 p.m., 10609 Superior Avenue,

#### LOS ANGELES

School of International Socialism presents its winter lecture series.

Theodore Edwards on "THE 1917

"The Dynamics of the Russian

"The October Revolution -

Its Balance Sheet." Sunday, Jan.

Milton Alvin on "THE RUS-

"How the Stalin Regime Was

Formed and Defeated Its Rivals

"The Consolidation of the

"The Soviet Union as a World

Power — Its Present Position

Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth

- 1918 - 1928." Sunday, Jan. 31,

SIAN REVOLUTION TODAY":

24, 11 a.m.

Revolution and the Role of the

# **Does Honesty Pay?** By L. Marcus

"Honesty is getting less and less consideration as a prime requisite for success," says William Attwood, reporting the results of a recent Gallup poll in the Jan. 5 Look. "It is still cited as essential by 10 per cent of people 50 and over; but the proportion drops to 6 per cent. among young adults and to 4 per cent among

teen agers." The author portrays the American people a country has, in the long run, good chances for competing with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say that the answer is 'no'."

The moral decline of the American empire is one of the symptoms of a rotting society. The pointlessness of the old economic and social objectives induces boredom, the grisly future it offers induces withdrawal into narrow personal result has been the spread of interests. Incapacity to look at reality deprives Nazi-like youth groups with a honesty of its meaning.

'reminded the company presi- the strike.

tion year to get a new labor ers could be induced to vote bill to their satisfaction."

the unions. Force must give way

image of Nixon is already in

The Eisenhower-Nixon ad-

class. Despite urgent pleas from the union heads for a fact-finding study of the dispute, the Eisenhower - Nixon administra-

After a prolonged strike of

Nor could the corporations sources into jamming the Ken-

Worldwide Attack on Jews (Continued from Page 1) outbreak of anti-Semitism is in almost every other major

office, high and low. The West simply a chain-reaction process country. German public schools teach or an internationally organized "excesses," he had also done question is as yet uncertain. But one fact can be clearly good things for the country. The established. Anti-Semitism al-

At the close of World War II.

as fear-drugged zombies, doing and saying what they are told, desperately hoping that "God" will permit them to muddle through the next decade.

"People often sound as if they were repeating some opinion they had overheard," said one reporter. Despite the friendliness of those interviewed, "their willingness to talk about themselves and their families," what was noticeable was "the fatalistic tone that echoed through almost every conversation about international and domestic problems."

A commonplace reaction was "Well, there's nothing we can do about it, so why worry?" Or "I just want things to go on as they have been."

Attwood offers a timely quotation from a recent speech by former U.S. Ambassador Kennan: "If you ask me whether a country . . . with no highly developed sense of national purpose, with the overwhelming accent . . . on personal comfort . . . with a dearth of public services and a surfeit of privately sold gadgetry . . . with insufficient moral discipline even to keep its major industries functioning without grievous interruption — if you ask me whether such

The moral decline in America is similar to that observable in previous outworn societies as they neared a period of revolutionary upheaval. The low repute to which "honesty" has fallen in our society is a reflection of the profound, still unexpressed contempt which people feel for the established order of things.

As yet they do not see a way out. But when they do, contempt for the old will quickly take the form of action. The old political alliances and formations will go down abruptly. Along with brand new political formations aiming at building a new society will appear a new morality. Honesty will again become a universally appreciated virtue.

It is not the people that are at fault today. Their faults are only an expression of the age, the decaying culture of our times. When these same cynical, withdrawn people are awakened to the possibilities under socialism they will manifest the noblest qualities of the human race as they build the greatest society in the history of man.

ways erupts when the dominant political currents are membership estimated between those of conservatism or re-

40,000 and 70,000. action. Reporting from Bonn in the Jan. 3 New York Times, Sydney Gruson writes: "The Socialists have accused the Government try, big business has been proof laxity in getting to the root moting a war drive, racism, a of the problem and they have witch-hunt and attacks on the

reopened the question of former Nazis sitting as judges and being employed as school teachers.

A key reason why Adenauer will not undertake denazification is that the occupying allied powers, particularly the United States military authorities, are will alienate the German industrialists. These German financiers, who put Hitler in power members of the "free world"

alliance. The U.S. policy of restoring to power those whom it convicted at the end of the second world war of being war criminals reached its high point when Alfried Krupp, a prime Hitler supporter, was given back his

giant industrial empire. Spokesmen for Jewish organizations are trying to determine

> sources of information, says charges of imperialist intervention in Cuba are "hot air,"

Items on the financial pages of the daily papers indicate credit pressures against the Cuban regime on the world financial market. Capitalist politicians in Washington talk openly about cutting U.S. import quotas on Cuban sugar. Economic attacks of this na-

presence of these imperialist Hands off Cuba! political police. Anti-Castro

ne government moved against betrayed by Stalinist and Social his wife.

Democratic leaderships and On Jan. 12 Mrs. Santiago's beaten back. The revolutionary lawyer is scheduled to appeal Bolshevik Party." - Sunday, In Western Europe, capitalist energy was dissipated, and for a federal stay of deportation. Jan. 17, 11 a.m. rule has been restabilized during Western Europe underwent a If the move fails, she faces im-

the last decade, and in this coun- steady shift toward capitalist re- mediate expulsion. "We don't know what will An' incident symbolizes the happen then," said Mrs. Santiago. "I don't even know if process. Last week a huge my family would be able to swastika was scrawled in the square in Milan where revolujoin me there."

Jo Ann Santiago is a slim, tionary partisan fighters had hung Mussolini by his heels 15 pleasant-looking woman. I got 11 a.m. the impression that she is a real

fighter. She told me how the Stalin Regime — 1929 - 1945." family felt. Sunday, Feb. 7, 11 a.m. The primary responsibility for "It's been hard in every way.

> Myhusband has been blacklisted. At first my 16-year-old daughter and Future - 1946 - 1960." Sunwas so upset that the school day, Feb. 14, 11 a.m. authorities advised she stay home for a month. Now she's St., Los Angeles 33. Telephone,

ngton, D.C.

joined in the fight. She goes to AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. meetings with me and helps put NEW YORK out the mailings. My six-yearold boy helps distribute leaf-THE ANTI-SEMITIC FLARE-

lets." UPS. Who is responsible? What You can help by sending a can be done? Hear: Harry Ring, contribution to the Santiago De-staff writer for the Militant. fense Committee, P.O. Box 1422, Friday, Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m., 116 Grand Central Station, New University Place (near Union

Hiroshima Deaths

York 17, N.Y. And send a pro- Square). Contribution 50 cents. test to the Immigration and Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. Naturalization Service, Wash-

### SAN FRANCISCO

Hear FARRELL DOBBS on "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Friday, Jan. 15, 8 p.m.

The Japanese hospital for Longshoremen's Memorial Bldg., liroshima atom-bomb victims 400 No. Point St. (near Fisherreported 38 deaths in 1959 as man's Wharf). Contribution 75 against 30 the previous year. | cents, students 50 cents.



in line with the just demand of labor in the U.S. that the		LUGAI DIIGUCUIY		
	capitalist government keep its hands off the unions and stop interfering with the right to strike. The question of United States policy toward Cuba should be made a central issue in the 1960 elections. Lies and slander circulated by the im- perialists should be exposed and they should be told: <b>Hands off Cuba!</b> Through its presidential campaign the Socialist Work- ers party will undertake this act of international working- class solidarity and the party will be ready to cooperate with all others who want to take similar action.	Boston Labor Forum, 295 Hunting- ton Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Su- perior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, Uni- versity Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Wood- ward. TEmple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E, 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5- 9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave.	NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 Univer- sity 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 Satur- day, 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-	
4	Fraternally, Farrell Dobbs	MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hen-	For information phone MO 4-7194.	

# Notes in the News

NOW IT'S CELERY - The destruction of 24.800 stalks of contaminated celery was ordered in Philadelphia Dec. 29 by U.S. District Judge G. A. Welsh. Federal attorneys said the celery, which goes under the brand name, "Fresh Heart," was treated with an excess of the deadly pesticide parathion. The celery will' be buried in a local dump. A company spokesman said none of it had reached the public, so far as'he knew.

A GOOD CORPORATE YEAR - U. S. corporations will net more than \$27 billion in after-tax profits for the year 1959, estimates Standard & Poore, the business advisory and statistical service. This would be the biggest annual take so far.

BAD FOR POSTURE, TOO - On the basis of a ten-year study of the TV habits of Chicago school children, Paul Witty, a Northwestern University professor, has found that children, as a result of watching the wrong TV shows, can pick (up "hardness, intense selfishness, even mercilessness." \* \* \*

BLUE CROSS PLANS NEW RATE HIKES

The Associated Hospital Service of New York is planning to boost its Blue Cross hospital insurance rates as much as 95% in the next four years, according to the Dec. 30 New York Times. Last September the State Insurance Department obligingly approved a 26.5% rate boost and one of 22.3% a year before that. A substantial percentage of Blue Cross income goes for handsome salaries for its executives and to generously reimbursed advertising agencies. Union spokesmen have charged

that Blue Cross heads are far more concerned with the financial needs of the hospitals than the needs of patients. Plans are under study for building union-operated hospitals to provide reasonable insurance rates.

THE PRICE OF POVERTY - Despite the advance of medical knowledge, disease and death is on the increase in New York, the

(Continued from Page 1) world's richest city. The City Department of Health reported Jan. 4 that in 1959 the infant ported near the breaking point mortality rate increased for the fourth year in on Dec. 31. Wilson still refuses a row, with the heaviest toll suffered by the to sign a contract unless the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. There union surrenders on two basic was an average of 26.5 infant deaths in the principles. The company wants city for every thousand live births. The shock- the UPWA to give up local ing gap between middle-income white areas working agreements and to drop and low-income Negro areas was indicated by its demand that all discharged

the fact that in central Harlem the infant strikers be reinstated. The company's latest union mortality rate was 45.3%. In Sunset Park, busting move is a petition filed Brooklyn, a "good" area, it was 15.4%. The department reported that one-third of the city's by a company union for bargainschool children did not receive the dental care ing elections in three Wilson plants. Under the Taft-Hartley they needed. \* \* \*

law, if the National Labor Rela-IMMUNE FROM LAW - The New York tions Board orders an election

State Commission Against Discrimination on only the scabs will be allowed Dec. 29 refused to take up the case of Dr. J. C. to vote.

Gov. Freeman has announced Campbell who was barred from treating patients at a Roman Catholic hospital in Albany he will withdraw the National because he is a member of the advisory board Guard from Albert Lea some of the Planned Parenthood Association. The time next week. To replace the commission chairman, Elmer Carter, said the Guardsmen in preventing picklaw did not provide for action against non- ets from massing against the profit religious organizations. The board of St. scabs as happened on Dec. 8, 9 Peter's Hospital said it had barred Dr. Camp- and 10, Sheriff Stovern has bell because membership in the birth-control sworn in about 50 or 60 city and county officials as deputies. group is contrary to its principles.



cern, Premier Castro has ex-(Continued from, Page 1) pressed the belief an invasion about the rights of a few milof Cuba will be attempted in lion Cuban working people? 1960. If it should be tried, the You just won't be accepted by answer of the Cuban masses the capitalists as a labor seems to have been indicated

statesman if you get out of line with their policy. almost a million workers and When Meany, with his peasants who protested the United States.

the kindest thing to be said about him is that he is politically ignorant and unfit to lead labor.

manage their own affairs ence. The principle involved is of labor in the U.S. that

ture are accompanied by other harsh measures. Cubans have called attention to FBI activities in their country, protesting against the

plotters are allowed to use Florida as a staging area for counter-revolutionary forces. Meanwhile the press conducts a national campaign of lies and slander calculated to arouse popular support in this country for action against the Cuban revolution.

With ample cause for con-

15 years after the war, German reaction around the globe. And in 1933, are now cashing in as fascism came to power. Fascist reaction and anti-Semitism tendencies then gained strength march hand in hand. . About the New Cuba

in a recent demonstration of

against any intervention by

country should be urged by

their leaders to uphold the

right of the Cuban people to

without imperialist interfer-

**Farrell Dobbs** 

Working people in this

years ago.

action

#### the present anti-Semitic flareup the first world war. A series of revolutionary rests right here in the United States. Throughout its cold-war working-class upheavals followfirmly opposed to any move that ed World War I. But outside of drive, the big-business govern-Russia, all revolutionary atment in Washington has worked tempts were defeated. In 1933, hard to refurbish the forces of