

March-on-Washington Proposal Hailed

Eastland's 'Probe' Of CP Convention

An Editorial

Eight of the eleven impartial observers who were invited to attend the recent convention of the Communist Party today issued a vigorous protest against the attempt of Senator Eastland's witch-hunting Internal Security Subcommittee to investigate the degree of independence of the Communist Party from Kremlin domination.

In the statement issued by the eight, including A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Dorothy Day, Editor of the Catholic Worker, the subcommittee's action was denounced as the "un-American practice of governmental inquisition into political opinions and activities, as instanced by the summons of Eugene Dennis [formerly National Secretary of the CP] to appear next Monday before the sub-committee."

The eight non-Communist observers stated that "the sessions of the convention of the Communist Party were democratically conducted" and that there were "many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention."

If Eastland wants to investigate the independence of political parties, perhaps he should start with Democrats and Republicans. Impartial observers would have no difficulty in discovering how these parties are dictated to by party bosses. And from there the control could be easily traced to Big Business, which provides the bulk of the campaign expenses.

And certainly an investigation of how much democracy prevails in gatherings of Eastland's own Democratic Party in Mississippi would yield little evidence of any freedom. Such an investigation would have to begin with the observation that Negroes are excluded solely on the ground that they are Negroes.

But Eastland isn't really interested in how much democracy exists in the political parties of this country nor in how much independence they have from "higher authorities." He is interested in destroying democratic rights that permit workers to organize against the capitalist class including the right of workers to organize political parties and hold conventions without Senatorial inquisitions.

Many Communist workers have begun the long, hard job of making a critical examination of the policies of the bureaucrats in the Soviet Union. This was evident, in its beginning stages, at the Communist Party convention. For the further development of this internal democracy in the Communist Party as well as for the defense of democratic rights in the country as a whole, advanced workers must join in the protest against Eastland's witch-hunting attack on basic civil liberties.

ILA Strike End Marked By Coast-Wide Solidarity

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, Feb. 28 — The independent International Longshoremen's Association wound up its battle with the New York shippers as strongly as it started.

After the new contract had been accepted by the membership, there was, with one exception, no rush back to work. For the first time in current ILA history, the union followed the elementary principle of coast-wide solidarity. Despite the efforts of mediators and the fake indignation of the New York shippers, the New York dockers made it clear that until their sister locals in Baltimore and Norfolk were assured of a satisfactory contract there would be no work in New York.

This demonstration gave a powerful push to the shippers of those two ports. They both fell into line within the week. The principle of coast-wide settlement which seemed to have been lost at the bargaining table in New York was retrieved in action away from the table.

The one exception to this solidarity was the action of the Brooklyn local of the ILA led by "Tough Tony" Anastasia. In his district men were told to go back to work — in an apparent effort to stampede the port. This is quite in keeping with the easily predictable behavior of Anastasia. Short of anything that will weaken his hold on the Brooklyn dockers he will take any course that will publicly demonstrate his concern with

the problems of the dock bosses. There was quite a scene in one of the bargaining committee sessions when Anastasia put up a strong show to settle the strike on somewhat less favorable terms. In protest, some of the other dock leaders walked out amid an exchange of strong words. Eventually, Anastasia's efforts fell flat and the Brooklyn local had to fall into line.

On their sector of the harbor battle, the tugboat workers of New York (members of the National Maritime Union), gave the bosses the biggest surprise of all. After a contract had been negotiated and recommended by their leadership, a mass meeting of the men rejected it overwhelmingly. The principle objection to the contract is its length. It is a six-year contract with a wage opening clause — the longest-term contract on the waterfront anywhere.

The tug owners, however, are insisting that the open vote which resulted in rejection of the proposed contract did not permit a fair decision. They now want the union to hold a secret balloting. This rejection of the contract by the ranks of the tugboat workers surprised their leaders as much as it did their bosses.

The Afro-American PRAYER FOR TODAY WE'LL MARCH

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER Prayer Pilgrimage To Capital Planned Negro Leaders Tell Ike: 'COME SOUTH OR WE'LL MARCH ON WASHINGTON!'

Senate Probe Shows Policy In Mideast Is Drenched in Oil

By Vincent Copeland

The growing Congressional dissatisfaction with Eisenhower's Middle-East policy has now gone so far that some sensational facts are being brought to light. These facts indicate that America's Middle-East politics, like so many of the present administration's affairs, are drenched in oil—but only the oil of the biggest companies.

Senator O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), chairman of the Senate Anti-Trust and Monopolies subcommittee, on Feb. 21 scored "the close alliance between the heads of the oil corporations operating in the Middle East with the Department of State in the development of American foreign policy in that area."

The senator revealed, on the basis of documents subpoenaed from the leading oil companies, that John Foster Dulles had told these companies in a closed

meeting last Aug. 13, that any nationalization of their oil holdings by Middle Eastern countries "should call for international intervention."

The reason for this secret huddle of the oil companies with Dulles was their alarm at the precedent set by Nasser in seizing the Suez Canal, and their worry lest nationalizations become contagious in that part of the world. Dulles was reassuring these imperialist tycoons that although American troops would not fight for British and French capital interests at Suez, they would certainly do so for U.S. oil interests. Naturally, Dulles prefers to avoid war. Like any responsible capitalist statesman, he desires to accomplish the aims of Big Business without war—if possible.

War, however, is at the far end of the twisting diplomatic road the administration is following.

Senator O'Mahoney, at the opening of the committee hearings earlier this month, issued this grim warning: "Wherever a family lives in the United States it is not further away from the Middle-East crisis than . . . the nearest draft board, if that family has a son of draft age."

O'Mahoney suspects "that the giant oil corporations have a greater influence in directing our foreign policy than do members of Congress." This is quite true. Congressmen and senators have for the last fifty years been much less influential in this field than have the giant industrial and banking corporations.

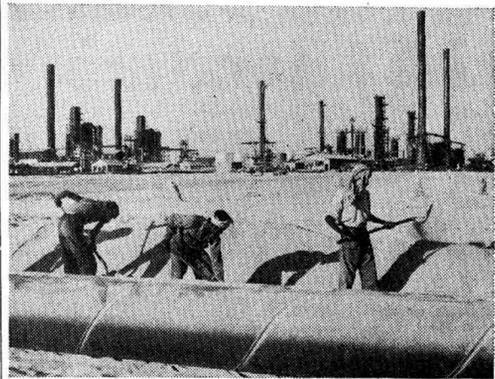
ELEVEN ARE FIVE

An idea of how exclusive is the group of oil men in Dulles' confidence may be gleaned from the list of companies whose representatives attended the secret meeting of Aug. 13. They were: the Arabian-American Oil Co., Cal-Tex, Creole Petroleum, Getty, Gulf, Sinclair, Socony-Vacuum, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of New Jersey, The Texas Company and Venezuelan Petroleum.

The list appears to include eleven separate companies. But it is well known that Socony-Vacuum, Standard Oil of California, and Standard Oil of New Jersey are all part of the same Rockefeller network. Moreover, the Arabian-American Oil Co. is only a combination of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of New York, Standard Oil of California, and Texaco. Furthermore, Creole is a Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. And Cal-Tex is the special company set up by Texaco and Standard Oil of California to exploit Arabian oil. Finally, all Venezuela oil is owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey, Gulf and Shell. The eleven companies are therefore in reality only five. Of these, Getty and Sinclair are relatively small, with proportionally smaller influence.

Sen. O'Mahoney can hardly be (Continued on page 4)

Oil Trust Fears Them



Arab workers at a Standard Oil Co. refinery in Saudi Arabia. Demands that foreign oil holdings be nationalized have been made by Arab workers throughout the Mideast. Sec'y of State Dulles has assured major U.S. oil firms that American troops would be used should any Arab government move to meet the demands.

Living Costs Jump Again -- Gov't Sees Continued Rise

Price increases from mid-December to mid-January brought living costs to a new record high with continuation of the trend officially predicted. According to the always conservative estimates of the Bureau of Labor Statistics the increase of 0.2% was the fifth monthly jump in a row. Such price hikes have occurred for eleven of the past 12 months, totaling 3% for the year. Living costs are now computed by the government as 18% higher than the 1947-49 average. The present increase was accompanied by a drop in average earnings of \$1.50 a week. About 1,400,000 workers, mainly in auto and allied industries, will receive a one cent an hour increase as the result of the latest price jump.

Food and clothing took a seasonal drop of 0.1 and 0.6% respectively. All other major items went up. Medical care, including both hospital and doctors fees, increased. Such household items as dry cleaning and telephone bills took a new bite from workers' income. Transportation fares also continued their steady climb. The cost of household fuel jumped by 2.1%.

According to BLS figures, a worker with three dependents is now getting an average of \$74.99 a week after taxes, a figure substantially below its own estimate of what is required for an adequate minimum standard of living. Two months ago the United Press estimated on the basis of government figures that the purchasing power of the dollar had shrunk in half since 1939. The last two monthly price increases now brings the 1939 dollar down to about 47 cents.

Negro Papers for Mass March As Southern Terror Continues

By Henry Gitano

Plans for a nation-wide march on Washington by thousands of Negroes and whites, if Eisenhower continues his refusal to speak out against the Dixie reign of terror, are gaining steam. It has met with an immediate response from the Negro

press. Meanwhile, Washington is maintaining its policy of indifference, and racist mobsters are continuing their violence against the heroic Southern fighters for equal rights.

The Baltimore Afro-American in a red-banner headline 2 1/2 inches high blazoned "WE'LL MARCH" across its eight columns. The Pittsburgh Courier's front page proclaimed: "Negro Leaders Tell Ike: 'COME SOUTH OR WE'LL MARCH ON WASHINGTON!'" The New York Amsterdam News ran as its major story "Speak up Ike—M. L. King Bus Boycott Leader Ready To Lead March On Washington."

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the leaders of the successful Montgomery bus boycott, told the Amsterdam News: "If the President doesn't act favorably on our request we are going to get a half-million Negroes and all the whites who will join us and march on Washington."

Attorneys J. M. Augustine of New Orleans and Thomas Berry of Alexandria, La., will be legal advisers to the march proposed by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference. On Feb. 14, the SNLC wired the White House in the name of 97 spokesmen from communities in ten Southern states that if the president does not speak out against racist violence, they will organize a march on Washington. The SNLC elected Rev. M. L. King of Montgomery as its president, and Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, Fla., as its first vice-president.

While Negroes are defending their right to a life of dignity and self respect, white supremacists, desperately trying to maintain the rotten pattern of segregation, open shop, low wages and semi-feudal planta-

tions, are continuing their cross-burning and bomb-throwing activities.

In Knoxville, Tenn., a dynamite blast, heard for two miles, took place on Feb. 19 outside a hall where Louis (Satchmo) Armstrong and his jazz band were playing.

The Miami Herald reported that racists have stockpiled 100 boxes of dynamite outside Miami and that out-of-state speakers at a White Citizens Council bus-

tered: "Miami segregation leaders aren't tough enough. They don't want to use violence. We won't stop at nothing." Last Saturday, four men were arrested for planting a seven-foot cross wrapped in kerosene-drenched burlap on the lawn of Frank Legree, a Negro who had defied Miami's Jim Crow housing.

The interracial Koinonia farm community at Americus, Ga., defied a 75-car motorcade of Klansmen who entered the farm and demanded that Koinonia "sell out" and disband. Norman Long, the colony's work coordinator said that they were not shaken by the threat. Long recounted the incident: The Klansmen "said there would probably be more violence, more trouble for us and that someone might be hurt. It was rather obviously an effort to intimidate us. But it is very unlikely that we would ever sell out, regardless of what they do." For the past six months racists have tried to smash Koinonia with shootings, bombings and economic terrorism.

In Atlanta, thirty Negro students occupied "white-section" seats in the gallery of the Georgia legislature. Speaker Marvin Moate ordered the sheriff, messenger, doorkeeper and aides to enforce segregation. In Richmond, Va., the NAACP rejected a demand by a legislative committee for its membership rolls. In Montgomery, Ala., Time magazine was barred from white newsstands because it had Rev. King's picture on the cover. The Alabama Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of Mrs. Rosa Parks for violating bus segregation. It was the arrest of Mrs. Parks that sparked the historic 381-day Montgomery bus boycott.

Kutcher Gets VA Medal — Still Waiting For Pay

FEB. 26 — The Veterans Administration has awarded James Kutcher, the legless veteran, a bronze medal for "ten years of faithful and meritorious service." The irony of it is that Kutcher is engaged in a fight to force the VA to pay him his back wages for almost eight of those ten years.

Kutcher, who lost both legs in combat in Italy, began to work for the VA in 1946. One of the first victims of the "loyalty" purge, he was fired in 1948 for open membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Then followed proceedings to evict him and his aged parents from a federal housing project and the stopping of his disability pension.

Kutcher's tireless and principled fight not only for his own rights, but against the very premise of the witch hunt, won widespread labor and liberal support. After almost eight years of struggle he won all along the line—pension, home, and job. Last June, on court order, he was given back his job in the Newark office of the VA, but so far he has been refused his back wages which amount to about \$20,000. Interviewed by the New York Post (Feb. 26), Kutcher said:

"I was happy to get the award because it recognizes what the court ruled in my case—that for almost eight years I was illegally deprived of my job and that legally I have been an employee of the VA since 1946. I hope the government follows the logic of giving me the award and gives me the back wages coming to me. If it can decorate me for ten years' service, it isn't too much to ask that it pay me for the same ten years." "During the presentation ceremony I was tempted to say,

"Thanks for the ten-year medal—hot potato, even though the but how about the ten years' court's words are perfectly pay? But that would have mar- clear." Kutcher's application for back also I know that the question is pay was buck-passed from the out of the hands of the regional VA to the Department of Justice VA officials here. It is in the for a ruling. None was ever hands of three or four different nounced. It is now understood to government agencies down in have been sent by the VA to the Washington and they are tossing Comptroller General's office for it from one to the other like a ruling.

Still Getting a Runaround



James Kutcher (right), the legless veteran who was illegally fired from his VA job for membership in the Socialist Workers Party is pictured with George L. Weissman, Treasurer of the non-partisan civil liberties group that helped win his job back. The government is now stalling on giving Kutcher his back pay.

The Utah State Prison Strike

By Della Rossa

The prisoners' rebellion at Utah State Prison on Feb. 6 and 7 was conducted like the new kind of prison outbreaks that began around 1951. The prisoners seized hostages, took control of

part of the prison, and then—like a trade union delegation—they met with Gov. George D. Clyde, in person, to present their grievances and demands. Point No. 19 in the demands, presented by two white men, was "elimination of racial discrimination and segregation."

Other demands included an inmate council, repeal of the indeterminate sentence law, more outside camps, better food preparation, an inmate newspaper and radio program, and elimination of "the error of secrecy about the operation about the prison."

WORKING CLASS PROBLEM

Our prisons, like our criminals, are an inseparable part of the society we live in. Trade unions and organizations of minority groups should include the question of prisons and conditions there in their programs, just as they do the problem of unemployment and other social abuses.

For certainly, prisons are a working-class problem. Wilson, formerly a Leavenworth psychiatrist, writes in "My Six Convicts" that three persons out of five (67%) in prisons and jails are serving sentences because of debt—they can't pay a fine. Sixty percent are serving out fines less than \$20, and Wilson comments: "This is certainly punishment for poverty."

The Jackson Prison (Michigan) rebellion in the spring of 1952 was the climax of a series of that period. There were at least 25 prison uprisings during that year, and they occurred not only in this country but in other parts of the world, including in the prisoner-of-war camps in Korea.

Last month's Utah Prison outbreak had much the same character as that at Jackson Prison, where grievances and demands were presented to the authorities, and there is a qualitative difference in these demonstrations with those of the past, which were usually connected with an attempt to escape and were organized for that purpose.

NO REFORMATION

The rebellions of the recent period are protests against intolerable prison conditions, conditions so brutalizing that they drove the men to fury wreaking vengeance by burning and destruction in their prison.

John Bartlow Martin, who has given some serious study to the question of crime and punish-

ment, calls the whole question of "reformation" of criminals in prisons "a dangerous myth."

American prisons today, he says, are a blend of several earlier systems, all of which were acknowledged failures. In a study called "Break Down the Walls," he opposes the very concept of prisons, which he calls "the enemy of society."

Eugene V. Debs, the American socialist pioneer, who spent several years in prisons, wrote his only book, "Walls and Bars," on the subject of prisons and criminals and their relationship to poverty and capitalism.

He pointed out that any one of us might go to prison at any time, some of us for breaking the law and some for upholding the Constitution, which the law is supposed to support. (Here his words seem to apply directly to our own period and the jail sentences imposed for invoking the First and Fifth Amendments.) Some go to prison for stealing and others for advocating a system which would make it unnecessary for a man to steal.

LOW-GRADE GUARDS

Conditions such as bad food, brutal treatment, and overcrowding build up such unbearable pressures that the prisoner reaches the point where he is ready to risk his life in a prison rebellion.

The prison represents society to the prisoner and the prison itself is represented by the guard. Because of the repugnance of the work and the poor pay, mostly low-grade psychological types are attracted to the job of prison guard. They are further brutalized by the prison itself. At Utah State Prison a fight with a guard started the demonstration.

Criminals are produced by the very dog-eat-dog nature of capitalism itself. But the conditions in prisons and the results should make society recognize, in its own self-interest, that prisons are factories for the production of criminals and are, in fact, the enemy of society.

The answer is that prisons should be abolished and replaced by hospitals and other institutions for the care and cure of the unbalanced and the anti-social. A socialist society could not only achieve this but it would eliminate the very causes of criminality. As A. Lacassagne of France said in the 1880's, "Every society has the criminals it deserves."

Political Independence and the CP

By Harry Ring

What next for the Communist Party? This question was brought sharply to the fore when the party's convention voted in favor of the organization elaborating its own political views instead of applying by rote the views of the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party.

Arguing in favor of ending political subservience to the Kremlin, the Gates wing of the CP leadership pointed out that the party's long record of such subservience had served to help discredit and isolate it before the American people. It was further argued that such a declaration of independence would effectively counter the damaging charge that the CP is an agency of a foreign government.

PARTY AND CLASS

While these arguments are not devoid of merit they duck the basic issue involved. If the Communist Party is to end its allegiance to the Kremlin bureaucracy where will it transfer that allegiance? Social classes — the workers, the capitalists — have independent and conflicting interests. But political parties cannot and do not exist in a state of pure "independence."

For example, the campaign against the Communist Party as an "agency of a foreign government" has been a major cold-war weapon of the American labor bureaucracy. But the fact is that this bureaucracy is guilty of a like crime. Within the ranks of labor it defends and represents the interest of a government,

which from the viewpoint of the class interests of the workers is a foreign government — that is the government in Washington which is controlled by and acts for the tiny clique of industrialists and financiers which rule over the workers and whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the workers.

CAPITAL'S LIEUTENANTS

To preserve its vast material privileges, the American labor bureaucracy defends the capitalist status quo. It supports the reactionary foreign policy of the Wall Street government, preaches the need for class peace and support of the existing "democratic institutions" of a Big-Business dominated government. With their program of class collaboration, the labor fakers daily verify the correctness of the classic Marxist characterization of them as "lieutenants of capital."

While these observations on the role of the American labor officialdom as an "agency of a foreign power" may appear as a digression from the question at hand, the fact is that it is directly relevant. If the Communist Party is to end its allegiance to the Moscow bureaucrats only to become an appendage of the American labor bureaucracy then nothing has been gained from the viewpoint of the interests of the American and international working class.

The danger of such a transfer of allegiance from one labor bureaucracy to another is not merely theoretical. It is implicit

in the political perspective of the top leadership of the CP as expressed in its draft resolution, its resolutions on social democracy and on the Negro struggle.

Let's take a look at a current expression of evolution in this direction as contained in George Morris' column in the Feb. 25 Daily Worker which takes ILGWU President David Dubinsky to task for his declaration that "we have never cooperated with them [the CP], and we never shall."

Morris with quiet pride, reminds Dubinsky that "there was a period when he and his associates in the ILGWU leadership accepted and even welcomed Communist Party cooperation. In some of the key locals there was even joint leadership (united tickets) for a number of years."

While one can agree that the possibility is not excluded that "it can happen again," the question that confronts the CP membership is whether it should happen again. If one were to select a specific official union leader to demonstrate the thesis of the union bureaucrat as a lieutenant of capital it would be difficult to find one more suitable than David Dubinsky.

Morris points out that Dubinsky uses the Liberal party "as a tail to old party politicians and support for reactionary policies." This statement could be expanded into a good sized book. Since the beginning of the cold war Dubinsky has led the pack in jingoism and red-baiting. Waging the cold war has left him with little time or inclina-

tion for fighting the bosses. Morris reports that the last ILGWU convention revealed that "wages in the cloak and dress field have hardly moved up since 1946 although the cost of living jumped nearly 50% since then."

The rank and file of the ILGWU, particularly its most oppressed section, the Puerto Rican workers who now comprise a large section of the membership in New York and elsewhere, could fill out that picture with graphic details if they could break through Dubinsky's bureaucratic machine long enough to be heard.

How then can Morris justify this perspective of "cooperation" with Dubinsky and the social-democratic wing of the union leadership he represents? He explains that the CP resolution on Social Democracy has "far more in view than Mr. Dubinsky." (Although Mr. Dubinsky is definitely not excluded.) According to the resolution, as logically interpreted by Morris, the approach is determined by the fact that "a possibility [exists] of a common struggle for objectives with followers of the social democratic group that may not exist in other sectors" of the union movement.

Leaving aside conjecture as to the greater possibility for a common struggle with the ranks of the garment workers than say the steel workers the question remains: Can these objectives, "independent political action," etc. be achieved by cooperation with the Dubinsky or in struggle against them?

When Morris speaks of Dubinsky's "followers" who does he mean — the rank and file of the garment union or the select

W. Indian Negro Leader Quits CP

An event having repercussions in the French Communist Party and particularly in the Communist Parties of the French colonies is the resignation of Aime Cesaire, CP leader of the French West Indian colony of Martinique. A famous poet, Cesaire is also the representative of Martinique in the French parliament.

He made his resignation public last October in an open letter in which he gives two sets of reasons for quitting the CP. First, the failure of the French CP to abandon its Stalinist methods. Second, the fact that it has blown hot and cold on the issue of colonial freedom and the rights of colored peoples depending on French politics. The following are excerpts from Cesaire's letter of resignation.

"Neither posthumous rehabilitations, state funerals, nor official speeches will cancel out the deaths, the tortures, the executed victims [revealed by Khrushchev in his speech to the 20th Congress]. . . One had expected of the French Communist Party an honest self-criticism; a disassociation with crime that would exonerate it; not a denial but a new and solemn departure; something like the Communist Party founded a second time. . . Instead we have seen stubbornness in error, persistence in lying, the absurd pretension of never having been wrong. . ."

"I make allusion to the vote of the French CP on Algeria, the vote by which the party gave to the Mallet-Lacoste government full powers for its policy in North Africa and we have no guarantee against a repetition of that vote."

"I believe I have said enough to make it apparent that it is neither Marxism or communism that I am renouncing, it is the misuse that certain people have made of Marxism and communism that I reject."

members of Dubinsky's job trust and his union pie-cards? There is ample common ground for struggle with the long-oppressed members of the ILGWU. But such a struggle for social and political progress cannot win unless it is based on the perspective of replacing Dubinsky and his "followers" with a leadership based on a class-struggle program which alone can further the interests of the ranks.

This clearly is not the perspective of Morris or of the Gates or Foster faction leaders, who jointly support the convention documents which justify the proposed cooperation with Dubinsky and his "followers." Such cooperation, we repeat, does not mean independence for the Communist Party, but only a transfer of allegiance from one corrupt labor bureaucracy to another. Such a course can neither advance the interests of the workers or resolve the ideological crisis which still grips the party.

Large Opposition Vote in Steel Union Lays Basis for Fight on Bureaucracy

By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN, Feb. 26—The first contested election for International President in the history of the United Steel Workers of America has left the ruling machine of "labor statesmen" David J. McDonald badly shaken. Latest returns indicate that Donald C. Rarick, candidate of the Dues Protest Committee will be credited with about one third of the votes cast, in spite of the fact that he was unknown outside of his own local only six months ago, and that the top officialdom of the USW predicted that he wouldn't get more than 10 to 15% of the vote. Who supported McDonald in the election, Feb. 12, who opposed McDonald, and where will the opposition movement grow from here?

WHO BACKED McDONALD?

The McDonald machine received the support of practically all the local union leaderships and all the district directors. These bureaucrats, big and little, closed ranks in face of the opposition from the mass of the workers. The international office and the local unions spent money running into the millions to elect the incumbents.

The international office organized regional conferences which were reported to have cost about a million dollars alone, out of the union treasury. These conferences, which were supposedly called to discuss contract and future problems (30 months before the contract was due to expire), were nothing but demagogic appeals for support to McDonald.

The workers were told that they never had it so good, that in the future they could expect the 30 or maybe 32-hour week at 40 hours pay, that maybe they could get three months vacation every five years to solve the automation problem, and so on. These, of course, are all desired by the membership. But it struck many steel workers as strange that McDonald and Co. did not think of the demands seven months ago when the steel workers were on

strike and the contract open for negotiation, but waited until the Rarick campaign began to talk about them. The steel workers understood and resented the attempt of the union officials to pull the wool over their eyes.

A MOVE FROM BELOW

The opposition to the McDonald machine was purely rank-and-file. It attempted to get support from some of the former rebel district directors, but they refused, fearing the ranks and the possible loss of comfortable salaries and other privileges more than they disliked McDonald.

Rarick's support was loosely organized, lacking the resources and connections to build an organization in a couple of months. But response to the call for opposition grew in the ranks. Even though Rarick did not bring forth a fighting program, the steel workers nevertheless felt that this protest was a necessary one. Conservative as well as militant workers were opposed to the Mc-

Donald machine, and formed a loosely knit grouping, inexperienced and untrained, but sensing the general mood of the mass of the steelworkers.

There is talk already that the protest movement will continue to grow even though the election is over. The favorable showing of the opposition will give encouragement to opponents of the McDonald bureaucracy, but the machine will not just lie down. It will fight tooth and nail to preserve its dictatorial control of the union, which has been the source of high salaries and lavish expense accounts. The machine may try to lure the members into passivity with a few concessions and then try to eliminate all opposition.

PROGRAM NEEDED

One thing is sure: any opposition movement to McDonald, to win has to have a program that will attract the workers—a program that will junk the "cooperation-with-the-employers" policies

of McDonald and project sustained struggle against the corporations on the political as well as the economic front. The new opposition that will develop within the steel union (a "two-party system" in the union is now being predicted) will only be giving McDonald weapons if it resorts to red-baiting as some of the Rarick supporters did. It should come out boldly for civil rights and civil liberties as instruments of the workers in their struggles against the bosses.

The Rarick campaign has served a very useful end. It has demonstrated that the steel workers will rise to defend their interests and that an opposition can run a successful campaign. Because of that, more successful campaigns with more programmatic content are bound to develop, and they will include greater participation by the membership. The Rarick campaign has opened the door to greater union democracy, and it will be kept open in the future, we can be sure.

Help Meet New Demand For Marxist Literature

By C. Farr
Party-Building Fund Director

Socialist Workers Party branches report that the "regroupment" discussion sparked by the Khrushchev revelations and the subsequent revolutionary developments in Eastern Europe, has stimulated ever-growing interest in the views of Leon Trotsky and his disciples. This is true not only in the United States but throughout the world.

From far-off Japan we received this week copies of "Hangyaku-kusha," a weekly Trotskyist paper which carries translations of many articles on the Stalinist crisis reprinted from the Militant.

Also from Japan, three copies of a beautifully bound Japanese

Trotskyist literature. We are making a concerted effort to meet this demand. The SWP Party Building Fund will help, in no small measure, to supply the demand. The two are intimately linked together. Our major target is to promote the publication, distribution and sale of the works of Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers. These we consider the most important medium for educating the newly-awakened radical youth, workers, Negro freedom fighters, women, to the emancipating ideas of revolutionary socialism and thus to facilitate the regroupment process.

You, readers of the Militant and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, can help in this great work. Send your contributions to the SWP Party Building Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Cleveland is still leading the field, with 71% of its quota already paid in. Allentown made the greatest leap forward since the last scoreboard, with an increase of 52%. Buffalo has also moved up on the scoreboard. All of the branches in bold-face type on the Fund Scoreboard, this page, are paid up to the percentage due by this time in the three-month campaign.

Although Seattle is lagging, Campaign Director Ann Dorsey writes: "Enclosed \$72 as our first installment on the Party Building Fund. We hope to get on schedule very quickly so please don't worry about us — we just got a late start."

Kremlin Opens Economic Drive Against Yugoslavia

By George Lavan

In its attempt to reimpose iron control over Eastern Europe, the Kremlin has embarked on a campaign to isolate Yugoslavia economically and politically.

On Feb. 19, Khrushchev made remarks at a reception in Moscow that were obviously aimed at Yugoslavia.

He decried nations who want advantageous economic relations and who yell "blockade" when these are refused them.

The background for Khrushchev's pointed remarks was the Yugoslav-Soviet negotiations then going on in Moscow. These were based on the agreements and promises made a year ago when the Kremlin was trying to undo the damage done by Stalin's bitter campaign against Yugoslavia. However, the Polish and Hungarian revolutions have caused the Kremlin again sharply to reverse its attitude toward Yugoslavia.

It is not that the Tito regime gave whole-hearted support to the Hungarians—it did not. It gave only partial support and, in fact, attempted to justify the second and final intervention of the Soviet Army in Hungary.

BROOKS NO CRITICISM

Nonetheless the Kremlin finds intolerable even the limited criticisms of the Yugoslavs against its dictatorial rule over the other East European countries. Yet more dangerous is the constant incitement to independence that the very existence of Yugoslavia personifies for the puppet-ruled satellite countries.

Therefore, the Kremlin is out to quarantine the East European countries from contact with Yugoslavia. One means to this end is the re-establishment of the Cominform, Stalin's old weapon against Tito, or some facsimile of it. Yugoslavia, of course, is to be excluded from the new organization. According to a New York Times dispatch from Warsaw (Feb. 24), Poland is the principal recruitant to the new organization for East Europe projected by

the Kremlin.

The economic campaign against Yugoslavia is intended to bring about its capitulation or to drive it into the arms of Western capitalism thus discrediting it with the peoples of the East European countries who want independence and workers' democracy but not the exchange of their Kremlin masters for economic and political domination by Wall Street. Failing either of these two definitive results the expectation is that the economic hardships resulting will at least make Yugoslavia a "horrible example" of what happens to a country that breaks with the Kremlin.

Full details of Soviet renewing of its economic commitments to Yugoslavia are not yet known. However, Foreign Secretary Koca Popovic's speech to the Yugoslav parliament indicates that the promised \$250 million trade credit has been reduced to a trickle (the figure \$18 million has been mentioned), and the \$175 million promised for the construction of a hydro-electric and aluminum plant in Montenegro has been cancelled and in replacement a machinery purchase credit of only \$7 million offered.

The rapidity and severity with which the Kremlin oligarchy has reverted to Stalin's punitive methods against Yugoslavia throw considerable light on the Kremlin's evaluation of the Polish and Hungarian revolutions. Despite the official propaganda about "imperialist and fascist agents" engineering the uprisings, it sees the source of the infection in Yugoslavia's original declaration of independence from Kremlin rule. The same "disease" struck in Poland and Hungary last October but, of course, in much more advanced stages.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Of special note in this week's mail has been an increase in the number of subscriptions and requests for sample copies of the paper that we have received from leaders and rank-and-file members of other socialist groups.

The discussion on regroupment of socialist forces in America has awakened the desire in the ranks of all political tendencies to familiarize themselves with the viewpoint of radical groups and parties other than the one they themselves happen to be associated with. We would be happy to send sample copies, or our introductory subscription at the special rate of \$1.00 for six months, to anyone wishing to become more familiar with the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party.

A reader in Erie, Pa. writes, "Put me on your bundle mailing list for eight copies a week. You might also note that I am sending our paper to a few people who are not on my regular mailing list and have the Militant on sale downtown and at our Public Library."

Helen Baker, Seattle literature agent sent in four introductory subs obtained at a forum on Negro History. She adds, "I think a dollar sub is a more practical sample sub for it is much easier to put a dollar in an envelope and mail it in than to struggle with a 50c. piece."

From St. Louis, agent Richard Clausen writes, "I have been pleasantly surprised at the number of people who have sent in their own renewals from St. Louis."

Renewal work is really handled in top rate fashion in Minneapolis. The branch obtained 100 subs during the election campaign and have now set out to visit every one of these for renewals. The score thus far is 26 renewals. Thirty-four either declined or had moved. Forty remain to be visited — which, at

the rate the branch is going, will be done within a few weeks time. Agent Winifred Nelson writes, "Enclosed are two renewals for the Militant — with check for \$3.00 to cover. We'll have more for you next week. During the past week, our sales have upped again with the milder weather: Jim Boulds sold ten on the University Campus Friday in just a few minutes and said he could have sold more easily if he had had them available; Larry Andrews sold his usual amount at the Labor Temple in Minneapolis Thursday (he does this every week); and I sold three at the Ford Local meeting that night and three at the Seeger Refrigerator Workers meeting Tuesday, making a total of 18 sales for the week at meetings. One of our comrades reports the sale of a new 6-month sub to a railroad friend of his."

Edith Gale, Detroit agent writes, "Last week we covered two meetings held in celebration of Negro History Week. Allan Winters and I sold eight papers and distributed our Open Forum leaflets. Two Militants were sold and leaflets distributed by Dorothy L. and Patricia S. at a public library. Despite the relatively small attendance at the Negro History meetings, we got an immediate response of interest in our literature, and several people came to our Open Forum."

Chicago readers are organizing a campaign for Militant subscriptions and Carol Wayne, Sub Director writes, "Enclosed please find \$7.50 for 5 subs to the paper. We have set up four teams, and the race is on. Team one has challenged the branch! Prospects look good, and we intend to follow through the rich list of friends that the election campaign last fall brought to us. More special introductory subs blanks would be appreciated."

Introductory Offer!

A Six-Month Subscription To The Militant Only \$1

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Views in the Chinese Press

By C. R. Hubbard

FEB. 26—The Conference on Student Work in Higher Institutions held last month in Peking revealed sharpening criticism of Chinese Stalinist policies by the youth. The Conference report said, "In dealing with some events that happened recently in the international Communist movement, some students showed a lack of correct appreciation while a small number failed to distinguish friend from enemy." (New York Times, Feb. 24.) In the double-talk of China's ruling bureaucrats this means that students have expressed sympathy for those in the Soviet orbit who are fighting for workers' democracy.

In the first place, it was the Chinese press that had difficulty in distinguishing "friend from enemy." The initial reaction of People's Daily in Peking to the revolutionary upsurge in Hungary was to hail Imre Nagy as a great revolutionary hero—only to switch quickly, at orders from Moscow, to the line that he was a counter-revolutionist. "Confusion" then among the students should be surprising to no one.

MASS OF PROTESTS

But the Chinese youth and workers have enough reasons of their own to join their comrades in the rest of the Soviet orbit in struggle against the privileged bureaucracy. A review of the Letters to the Editor and of cartoons appearing over the last year in the People's Daily, published in Peking, yields a mass of protest against bureaucrats.

One such letter last July was from a student who complained that instructors and "leaders"

were noisily gambling during the school session. The student wrote, "I don't know where I got the courage, but I called them to order, telling them it was time for class." However the gambling continued throughout the afternoon. (P. D., July 26.)

A cartoon August 3 showed a man purchasing a raincoat. He then walks out in the rain. Scene three at home, he hangs up his coat, his suit dripping with water. Scene four, he takes off his suit and his underwear is dripping with water.

LONG WORK HOURS

The greatest number of complaints in the Letter Column of the People's Daily is over the long hours that people have to work. From the Kalgan Cigarette Factory of Hebei a reader writes that the majority of workers spend 15 hours a day in work, meetings and travel. "There are a lot of meetings and overtime work periods and the boarding house is too far from the factory." (P. D. May 17.)

In the same issue a worker from Liuchow Cigarette Factory writes that from November 1955 to February 1956 there were 36,540 hours overtime. "Some workers work 13-15 hours a day. Many of them get sick and 12 women workers gave premature birth as a result of overwork." From Tai Yuen, Shansi, a city famous in the struggle against Japan, a worker reports that those who work in the movie houses have no day off at all. They get up at 5 or 6 in the morning and go to bed at 11 or 12 at night. (P. D. July 15.)

(A reader in Shanghai Hsien, Shensi, said the Hsien cadres

haven't had a day off in six or seven years and work hard every day—up at six and to bed at midnight. (P. D. July 17.)

A worker from the First and Second Construction Co. of the Northwest Construction Dept. wrote that in spite of an inspection by Sian Peole Inspection Y-ueh and in spite of previous criticism in the People's Daily, there were 3,500 hours of overtime work from June 1 to June 20 without pay. The reader explained that this overtime work was ordered without the permission of the company or the union but solely on the authority of "managers" who will win their awards for exceeding production quotas. (P. D. July 14.)

From the state-owned Helen Farm at Heilungking, a reader writes that the agriculture productive workers get up at 4 A.M. and go to bed at 9 P.M. No day off. A worker who just recovered from tuberculosis and can't stand this sixteen hours of work requested a cut in working hours two months ago. But there is no answer for him yet." (P. D. Aug. 7.)

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

A cartoon in the July 18 issue of People's Daily shows a woman worker in bed beside a nurse holding a new baby. The caption reads "Congratulations, offered!" A factory official is presenting "congratulations" to the new mother in the form of a discharge slip.

Although the law in China has granted women equal rights, including time off with pay for childbirth and medical and nursery facilities, the women are still a long way from getting these necessities in life, except for some impressive "show" cases.

Last September, a worker wrote from the Mins District in Tung Kwan Mountain, Anhwei, that pregnant women workers have at the most only 40 days birth leave though the State Worker's Welfare Regulation provides 56 days for them. Some only have one week. For instance the hospital assigned 70 days birth leave for one worker who had a difficult birth, but the authorities made the excuse that there was no one to replace her, so she was ordered back to work on the eighth day after giving birth.

A reader from Chuen Kiang district, Fukien, wrote that women workers in the higher Agriculture Co-op work much harder than the men. They work together with the men outside, but come home and while the men lay down to rest, they still work, cooking, washing and caring for the children. "Sixty percent of the women got sick during the busy season this year," the letter says. "This situation not only exists

But She Is Pregnant



On July 7, 1956, the Peking People's Daily published this cartoon. The woman is carrying a discharge slip. In the poster she holds a production award. Discrimination against women is charged in some factories in An Shan.

here but also in other places." (P. D. Sept. 4.)

While some technological progress is being made in China, still the easiest way for the bureaucrats to increase production in this backward country is out of the long hours of labor of the workers and peasants. The revolutionary zeal of the working people makes this possible for a time.

LEFT 'ERRORS'

But there are limits to the physical endurance of the workers. These "sacrifices" moreover become intolerable while the Chinese Communist Party continues to guarantee profits to the capitalists in the joint private-state companies under the guise of the "peaceful transition to socialism."

At the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China held last September (eleven years after the Seventh Congress), the political report of the Central Committee made by Liu Shao-Chi warned against "errors" from the Right and Left. The Left error, says the report, "has manifested itself mainly in demanding that socialism be achieved overnight, in demanding that some method of expropriation be used in our country to eliminate the national bourgeoisie as a class, or some method be used to squeeze out capitalist industry and commerce and force them to go bankrupt, in not admitting that we should adopt measures for advancing, step by step, to socialism and in not believing that we could attain the goal of socialist revolution by peaceful means."

While Liu Shao-Chi assured the Congress that "this policy is not, by any means, a policy that

allows capitalism to develop unchecked," he is compelled to admit that "Since the founding of the People's Republic, constant and repeated struggles... have been waged between the state and the capitalist sector of the economy concerning the scope of activity; taxation; market prices; terms for the state placing orders with private enterprises to process and manufacture goods, for state purchasing and marketing the products of private enterprise, and for using private enterprises as retail distributors or commission agents of the state; and"—last to be listed—"working conditions for the workers."

ROTTEN WOOD

The subject of a cartoon in the Peking Daily, Aug. 18, is a lumber yard near which are standing two rotten tree trunks representing bureaucrats in the Forestry Department. One bureaucrat declares the lumber is bad. The department head okay's this report. The bureaucrats have made a deal with private constructors for the lumber, taking a cut on the price as their reward for cheating the state. A woodpecker comments that the lumber is of better quality than the officials.

The workers and peasants of China are capable of great sacrifice for the industrialization of a China free of imperialist rule. But they will not long submit to exploitation by capitalists or oppression and abuses by the newly rich, the bureaucrats. As the working class of China grows and gains confidence in its revolutionary capacity, the political revolution will liberate the struggle for socialism from Stalinist restraints.

Sanctions and the Mideast Crisis

The capitalist rulers of the United States are now engaged in a campaign to impose their domination on the peoples of the Middle East. The aims of this domination are: one, to insure for American Big Business, particularly the big oil corporations, the continuing opportunity to reap huge profits through the exploitation of the Mideast countries; and, two, to push back the rising revolution of the Arab masses for national independence, since such revolutions destroy the stability of world capitalism.

One of the weapons being used to enforce this domination is the threat of naked military force which is already on the Mideast scene in the form of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. According to the March 2 Saturday Evening Post, the Sixth Fleet is "the strongest naval force that ever held the Mediterranean in its control." This fleet is equipped with thermo-nuclear bombs, and carries Marine landing parties which are also "soon to be equipped with atomic rockets." The fleet's commander, according to the Post, recently said that his Marines could have opened the road to Cairo during the British-French Israeli invasion of Egypt if they had been ordered to do so. That this force is seriously intended for use against the Arab national independence revolution is emphasized by the Eisenhower Doctrine, presently being given favorable consideration by the U.S. Senate in spite of popular opposition. It specifies that the President can order full scale war begun in the Mideast without consulting Congress or notifying the American people.

Another weapon in the hands of U.S. imperialism is economic sanctions. Aside from money, the reactionary Arab rulers

of Iraq and Saudi Arabia, no doubt asked the U.S. State Department for pressure against Israel, in return for their recent favorable consideration of the Eisenhower Doctrine. This is an easy bargaining point for U.S. imperialism to grant. For one thing, Israel is considered to be an expendable pawn. For another, U.S. capitalism is anxious to become the final arbiter, and therefore the dominating power, among all contending forces in the Mideast. For these reasons the U.S. has been applying pressure on Israel and may actually support a UN resolution for sanctions to force Israeli withdrawal from Egypt.

Israel invaded Egypt as a pawn of British-French imperialism, has no right to occupy Egyptian territory, and should withdraw forthwith. But the main task of U.S. socialists in relation to the Mideast is to expose and work for the defeat of the Eisenhower Doctrine, and all the devices used by U.S. imperialists to impose their domination on the peoples of that area. Support for UN sanctions (which means U.S. sanctions) against Israel grants the role of arbiter to U.S. imperialism. The same is true for the question of U.N. troops in the area.

The problems now facing the peoples of the Mideast result from their domination over the years by imperialism. All progressive solutions begin with removing the foreign exploiters and allowing the Peoples of the Middle East to settle their own affairs. On the other hand, the American people have nothing to gain and much to lose from an imperialist adventure in the Mideast. No support for the machinations of the State Department in the Mideast! Withdraw the Sixth Fleet from Mideast waters!

The Teamsters Contempt Citation

On Feb. 19, four officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters were cited for contempt of the U.S. Senate after refusing to answer questions of the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

While the Senate's action was taken in routine, perfunctory fashion, the matter is of urgent consequence for labor. Ostensibly aimed at probing "racketeering," the investigation can serve only as a spring board for new attacks on labor's rights. The very composition of the committee underscores this. It includes such "friends of labor" as McCarthy, Mundt and Goldwater.

In moving for criminal conviction of the Teamsters officers, the committee was undoubtedly emboldened by the blind and cowardly stand of the AFL-CIO Executive Council calling for removal of any union official who invokes the Fifth Amendment against the Senate Committee. The present Senate action is the first but not the last fruit of that stand.

Fortunately, voices are being heard in the union movement in opposition to this dangerous course. A recent expression of it is contained in the February issue of the MESA Educator, voice of the Mechanics Educational Society of America. In an open letter to George Meany, the paper declares: "We, in Detroit, are

profoundly disturbed by your Council's determination to eliminate corruption in constituent unions with the aid of Congressional Committees."

The letter cites the consequences of depriving union officials of the use of the Fifth Amendment, pointing out that in strike situations, a Congressional committee could easily attempt to frame unionists for strike violence, etc.

Such a next step certainly flows logically from the present initial moves of the Senate to intervene in union affairs. Their professed concern with union racketeering is ill-disguised hypocrisy. It is common knowledge that the basic source of corruption in the union movement is the employers who use it to win the collusion of union officials against the interests of the ranks. The Senate Committee will certainly not strike at this root-source of the problem.

Collusion with employers by union officials is a matter of serious concern for the ranks — whether it is carried on by racketeering officials or "honest" ones who engage in collusion on "principle." Such class collaboration can be eliminated only by a fight for full internal union democracy, the kind of democracy that will assure full membership control over the leaders. The job cannot be delegated to Congressional "probers."

Mollet to Court-Martial Pro-Algeria Journalists

By John Thayer

While that traitor to socialism, French Premier Guy Mollet, was being wined and dined in Washington, his government at home was busily engaged in a campaign to muzzle the French press.

Although freedom of the press is supposed to be one of the foundation principles of the French Republic, this freedom has been rapidly disappearing in the course of the war against Algeria. Principal victims have been those organizations on the left which champion self-determination for the Algerian people as well as individual journalists, ranging from radical to conservatives, who have dared write the truth about the inhuman savagery of the French repression in Algeria.

SCRAPS CIVIL RIGHTS

Most recent development in the campaign of "Socialist" Premier Mollet's government against freedom of the press has been the remanding of prosecu-

tions of Trotskyists from the civilian to the military courts. This means that Mollet is not only determined to destroy freedom of the press for opponents of his brutal Algerian policy but intends to deprive them of the guarantees of civilian law and trial by jury. The military court before which these cases will go has already become notorious for its injustice and savagery of its decisions and sentences.

On Jan. 23, the civil court before which Bloch, Just, Lambert and Renard, publishers and writers of La Verite, organ of the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyist), had been haled, ruled that it was not competent to hear their cases and transferred them to the military tribunal of the Paris area. The charges are that their writings violate penal code article 76 which provides the death penalty in time of war for attempts "to demoralize the army," and imprisonment in time of peace.

The threat these prosecutions

represent to freedom of the press in France may be appreciated when it is realized that a law to prevent "demoralization" of the army is being twisted for use against civilian newspapers with civilian circulations and that even during the last world war the French government never dared take legal action against the press before military courts.

Similarly remanded to court martial were the prosecutions of Privaas and Pierre Frank of "Verite des Travailleurs," which also champions Algerian independence.

Hand in hand with the prosecutions goes the physical suppression of issues of La Verite containing articles on Algeria. In 1956, La Verite was seized eight times and the type of articles on Algeria smashed by the police of "Socialist" Premier Mollet. In the first six weeks of 1957, Mollet's police suppressed at least three issues of the weekly paper.

"Production Goes Forward"



This cartoon appeared in May 1956 in the Peking People's Daily. An explanation says that there are too many non-productive persons in some agricultural Co-ops. This lowers both production and the income of Co-op members.

British Unemployment Rises In Aftermath of Suez Fiasco

By O. Rance

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND—The Suez adventure ended in disaster three months ago, but for the British Tory Government the headaches are still coming in.

It is true that there is talk of a partial clearance of the Canal very shortly but meanwhile the problems mount. For, despite shipments from America, oil supplies are still insufficient. And this isn't surprising, for it would take one-and-a-half times as many tankers to bring the normal supplies round the Cape—if normal supplies were available. But the three pumping stations of the Iraq Petroleum Company continue out of action, representing a loss of 25 million tons of oil a year.

And to double the imports from America—which is what is required to make up for the loss from usual sources—would cost 300 to 400 million dollars a year. On top of this, there are the extra freight charges imposed on all shipping as a result of the Canal's closure. It is because of this, primarily, that the terms of trade—the costs of imports as against exports moved a further point to Britain's disadvantage. Gold reserves, already at a low level, fell to the most disastrous pitch since the end of 1952.

UNEMPLOYMENT

However, there is no easy solution for the Government. Export markets are getting increasingly difficult, and nowhere is this illustrated more clearly than in the motor industry, where the effects of the cut-throat competition from America, Germany, France and Italy have been catastrophic.

The credit squeeze and hire purchase restrictions, introduced precisely in order to obtain a small pool of unemployment, the deadly competition, and now the gasoline shortage, have resulted in there being three unemployed

semi-skilled workers for every vacancy in the Midlands.

And this isn't the whole of the picture. The estimated number of workers on short time is given at 140,000. For the first time, too, in a very long while there are more unemployed than there are vacancies.

But even so, the situation is still not favorable for the Government to launch a full-blooded attack upon the working class in order to cut the cost of production and reduce imports. On the contrary, there still exists a large measure of full employment, and in fact, far from being docile, the working class is demanding higher wages to offset the steep rise in the cost of living.

There are, indeed, wage demands for 8 million workers now coming up for settlement, chief being the engineering workers—3 million of them. And with the imminent placing on the statute books of the new Rents Bill, designed to give landlords an estimated \$280 million, plus the higher fares due to the Suez Crisis, there is the prospect of big industrial struggles unless some concessions are given.

The strategy of the Government can be summed up in the words of the Financial Times of Jan. 12. "There is a growing hope that agreement will eventually be reached without much industrial unrest on increases of the order of 3 to 4 per cent."

This was the pattern set in the solution of the London busmen's demands when \$1.05 a week award was given, plus 20¢ extra for Saturday afternoon working.

EMPLOYER HOPES

This strategy is based on buying a little time in order that the effects of the credit squeeze can really be felt, thus doing away with the "over-full employment" as the capitalist economists call it. Then, despite the cost of living continuing to rise, it is hoped

that the working masses, because of the pool of unemployment, will be in no position to demand pay rises.

But here again, the British Government is in a dilemma. They are haunted by the fear that the unemployment which they require may snowball, that the "cutting back" of certain industries may bring the whole edifice about their ears.

This was shown by the demand, at last met, to reduce the bank rate by at least ¼%. The Financial Times and the Economist, the two most widely read financial papers, have for a long time been pressing for the reduced rate in order to "stimulate enterprise." A sure indication of the precarious British economic position!

And, in any event, the Government's strategy presupposes that the workers will not be prepared to fight for a greater increase than the laid-down pattern, when, increasingly, indications are to the contrary.

What is certain is that the Suez adventure has strained the British economy to the limit and brings nearer big industrial struggles, struggles in which the problem of labor leadership assumes more and more importance.

N. Y. Militant Labor Forum

presents "The Eisenhower Doctrine" VINCE COPELAND Staff Writer, the Militant Sun., March 3 - 7:30 P.M. 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

March Selection Book-A-Month Offer

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES. By Samuel Yellen. New York: S. A. Russell, 1956, 398 pp. (original price \$5.00. Book-a-Month price: paper—\$1.50, cloth—\$2.50. Add 15 cents for mailing.)

Samuel Yellen wrote this book on American labor history in the mid-thirties. Almost immediately it became a classic and, as collectors well know, it has long been almost impossible to get. Its republication is a service that union militants, students and socialists should cheer.

Yellen has taken ten important and representative battles between labor and capital in the period 1877 to 1934, researched the source material on them thoroughly and presented them to the reader in compact but thoroughgoing and inspiring fashion. Even those familiar with some of these struggles will gain fresh insight into the issues, tactics and results from a reading of Yellen's accounts.

For those who have been struck with the medieval fortress character of the armories still to be seen in American cities, the book's first chapter on the great railroad strikes of 1877 will be enlightening. For it was as a result of this national uprising, in which workers took over cities and often won the troops over to their side, that the American ruling class decided that a prime need for every city was an armory.

The other chapters treat of Haymarket and the frame-up trials with which the employers answered the demand for an eight-hour day; the smashing of unionism at Homestead as groundwork for the founding of the U.S. Steel Corporation; the formation of the American Railway Union by Eugene Debs and the great Pullman strike-boycott; the anthracite coal strike of 1902; the dramatic textile strike in Lawrence, Mass., led by the IWW; the massacre at Ludlow, Colorado, of strikers' wives and children by Rockefeller's thugs; the great but unsuccessful steel strike of 1919; the wave of strikes in Gastonia, N.C., and

other Southern textile towns in 1929; and finally the strike of longshoremen on the West Coast in 1934.

For those unacquainted with American labor history this is an excellent book to begin with. Certainly, union members should read it to learn how unionism was built in America and for the many lessons to be gleaned from these struggles of the past. For union activists, who may be called upon to write an article or give a talk on labor history here is an excellent reference book crammed with well-documented facts.

The above point goes doubly for socialists who will find it not only a storehouse of information but an invaluable tool for their educational work.

BOOK - A - MONTH AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES By Samuel Yellen Published at \$5 Special Price: \$1.50 (paper) \$2.50 (cloth) (plus 15 cents mailing charge) Payments must accompany order PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

By Jean Blake

The Equal Right to Starve

In Cleveland, Ohio, often advertised as "the best location in the nation," a Negro baby died Feb. 19 of starvation, pneumonia, and possibly frostbite.

The circumstances of this tragedy should be pondered carefully by everyone concerned about the problems of the Negro struggle for equality. Little Terry Brown, 17 months, died not because he was colored, but because his Daddy is a wage-worker in a capitalist society.

Robert Brown is a laborer at the Eberhard Manufacturing Co., where he is described as a "good, steady worker." He brings home \$65 a week.

The Browns are good citizens. They pay their bills and try to take care of their children. But in capitalist society, where people work only so that industry can provide profits for its owners, the needs of the working class don't count. The Browns could not feed their children properly so Terry died. Here are the circumstances:

Robert Brown, 36, and his wife, Alfreda, 29, had ten children, including three sets of twins. The parents live with six of their children in four rooms in the rear of a store in a slum section.

Mrs. Brown told a reporter for the Cleveland Press who came to investigate the conditions of Terry's death:

"My husband brings home \$65 a week. We do the best we can. Rent is \$65 a month, and we pay \$5 a week to board out two of the children and \$10 a week to board a child of my husband's first marriage."

The rest goes first for utilities, then for food.

She couldn't explain Terry's death. "I know he wasn't getting the proper food, but I thought he got enough to get along," she said.

According to the newspaper report, "At 17 months Terry weighed only 10½ pounds."

"She blamed the lack of food on the lack of money."

The reporter found no food in the house except for one egg and a box of grits; little clothing other than what the children were wearing; old furniture and no working appliances.

Would it have been different if the Browns were white? — Not much. White workers also work for the same kind of pay as laborers, in Cleveland. They also live in slums. They also have twins and big families.

In the most basic aspect of life the Browns have the same right as white workers — an equal right to starve.

This is not what the Negro masses mean when they oppose segregation and discrimination. They want a better life. The plight of the Browns is a graphic illustration of the fact that the struggle against discrimination must be combined with a struggle for a rational society if a better life is to be won.

Not "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work," but "from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs" — the socialist way — is the only way to end starvation in the richest country in the world.

Socialist Candidate Hits Los Angeles Oil Lease

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 21—Erroll Banks, candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles, took issue today with the oil leasing procedure for Los Angeles.

His position was that the recent oil-lease scandal "has its roots in the drive of the oil monopolies to make super profits at the expense of the people of this city."

"The oil interests were for state control of the off-shore oil deposits so they could find it easier to gain control of these deposits through the state legislatures," he said, "and now they want to gain control of the city's oil resources through the Los Angeles city administration."

"There would have been no oil scandal at all if Mayor Poulson hadn't recommended that the Standard Oil interests get the drilling rights for some 1,350 acres in the Los Angeles Inner Harbor. Evidently Mayor Poulson's recommendation conflicted with the desires of the other oil interests. One thing is certain—



ERROLL BANKS

whichever oil company gets the lease, the people of Los Angeles will be no richer and the oil monopolies no poorer."

The Mayor's six-man committee to investigate oil leases was called a "farce" by Mr. Banks. "The lists of appointees is like a Dun and Bradstreet register," he said.

"All this points out a basic defect in our social and economic system," he continued. "This defect can be corrected only by the nationalization of all basic industries and natural resources, controlled by the working people through committees based on the trade unions, not another so-called 'citizens' committee."

"I believe that the right of the people to control their own natural resources must extend to the peoples of foreign nations. They have the right to nationalize their oil resources without foreign intervention. That is why I am opposed to the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East. The real intent of this doctrine is to shackle the Arab peoples so that they may be exploited by American oil interests, and this kind of interference leads to war."

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Morton and Helen Sobell



A victory in the fight to win justice for Sobell was won when Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton, noted Mexican attorney, was finally granted a visa to enter this country and assist in the legal argument for a hearing for Morton Sobell. Earlier interference with Dr. Ponton's entry into this country was protested by Vera Rony of the Workers Defense League and others

Cleveland Union Man 'Conspired' By Driving a Car

By Jean Simon

Eric Reinthaler is one of the eight defendants awaiting trial in the unprecedented Cleveland conspiracy case. Together with the others, he is charged with conspiring to get around a provision of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, which requires the filing of non-communist affidavits by officers of unions dealing with the National Labor Relations Board.

In the indictment filed last January 23, a federal grand jury charged that two of the defendants, Fred and Marie Reed Haug, filed false non-communist affidavits. (They had been indicted by the same grand jury about a week earlier for perjury for the same alleged offense.) Five other defendants were charged with issuing or delivering Communist Party instructions or directives.

HE DROVE A CAR

Eric Reinthaler is charged neither with being a union official who falsely signed a non-communist affidavit, nor with issuing or carrying out Communist Party instructions. His part in

the alleged conspiracy, according to the indictment, was this "overt act": "On or about April, 1952" he "did transport a person known by him to be a member of the Communist Party U.S.A. to a meeting with Hyman Lumer, defendant herein."

The charge against Reinthaler and the rest are unique in the annals of this phase of the government's attack on political freedom in the labor movement. This is the first time, investigation reveals, that two union officials, one union member, and five persons identified with the Communist Party have been lumped together in an indictment for conspiracy to violate a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. (In the action against the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers last year in Colorado all the defendants were union officials or employees. They were accused of conspiring to fraudulently comply with the non-communist provisions of Taft-Hartley and obtain the services and facilities of the National Labor Relations Board.)

WON'T BE STOOLPIGEON

In the Cleveland case the lumping together of union leaders, officials of the Communist Party, and Reinthaler is reminiscent of the famous Minneapolis Case of 1941, in which 29 men and women, Socialist Workers Party leaders, trade unionists, and others, were indicted in the first case under the Smith Act. In an interview for the Militant last week Reinthaler said that the reason charges were brought against him was that he had refused to become a stool-pigeon.

"For months I had offers," he stated, "but I refuse to lie, to perjure myself about people or events of which I have no knowledge. I may have trouble keeping my head above water, but I'm not going to get into the gutter. Apparently there are those in the Justice Department who subscribe to the corrupt philosophy that the end justifies the means."

Reinthaler has retained Stephen M. Young, former United States Congressman and president of the Cuyahoga Bar Association as his lawyer.

PRINCIPLE INVOLVED "Some people tell me I shouldn't go that expense; that I should get court-appointed counsel or someone less expensive," he said. "The way I look at it the government has millions at their disposal (our taxes foot the bill), hundreds of lawyers and assistants. If you don't try to get yourself the very best, you don't stand a ghost of a chance."

"And it isn't just a personal matter," he added. "There is a principle involved and a serious attack on organized labor. For those reasons, I believe the best kind of fight must be put up."

Reinthaler is a member of Lodge 2155, International Association of Machinists. His local, formerly affiliated with the United Electrical Workers, was taken into the IAM last year.

Reinthaler has been a union steward for the last three years, executive board member for the past two years, and is chairman of the legislative committee of his lodge.

The expense of his case alone, he told the Militant will be around \$10,000.

"So far I have had to spend \$600 for the bonding fee, which is non-refundable, and \$1,000 for a retainer for the lawyer. This coming week I must raise another \$500 and by the time the case comes to trial, another \$8,000," he said.

Reinthaler said he is appealing to unionists for aid. "If it were simply a personal matter, it would be a different thing, but it isn't. I am simply personally involved in a situation that might well happen to anyone in one form or another, who is very active in union affairs."

Rep. Walter Fights Justice For Sobell with Red Herring

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 27 — Rep. Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities charged, Feb. 21, that the "Communist apparatus" had begun a nation-wide campaign in defense of Morton Sobell who is now serving a 30-year prison term in Alcatraz. Sobell was convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who were executed in 1953 on a charge of conspiracy to commit espionage.

According to the Feb. 22 New York Times, Walter charged that the new campaign was "coincided with the opening of an espionage trial involving Jack and Myra Sobell (no relation to Morton Sobell) and Jacob Albaum of New York." However, the significant "coincidence"—and not an accidental one, either—is Walter's insinuating charge and the approach of legal arguments for a new hearing for Morton Sobell next week. These arguments will be heard in New York City before a U.S. Court of Appeals, March 4.

Let us see how "justice" operated for Morton Sobell, a young American scientist, charged, tried, sentenced and imprisoned by the U.S. government.

NO FOUL BLOWS

The prosecuting attorney at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial was Irving H. Saypol, at that time U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York. He defined his duties in his summary speech to the jury, as follows: "The U.S. Attorney is a representative not of an ordinary party to a controversy, but of a sovereignty whose obligation to govern impartially is as compelling as its obligation to govern all, and

whose interest, therefore, in a criminal prosecution is not that it shall win a case but that justice shall be done. As such he is . . . the servant of the law . . . he may strike hard blows, he is not at liberty to strike foul ones." (Court Record, p. 1510.)

The jury must have been quite impressed that this "fair" man was determined that "justice shall be done." As the "servant of the law," he did strike "hard blows," but certainly not "foul ones." Or did he?

One of the motions before the Appeals court in New York makes the following charges, substantiated with new evidence and factually unchallenged by the government:

FACTS SUPPRESSED

"1. The prosecution knowingly, wilfully, and intentionally introduced false and perjured evidence to establish that appellant [Morton Sobell] was deported by the Government of Mexico. . . . The prosecution and the witness Huggins long prior to the trial were informed by the Government of Mexico that it did not consent to or participate in appellant's removal. They had been advised by the Mexican authorities that appellant's seizure and abduction were unlawful and constituted a violation of Mexican sovereignty. Nevertheless, the prosecution used Government Exhibit 25A and Huggins' intentionally false and misleading testimony to prove that appellant's removal was effectuated by the Government of Mexico by means of legal deportation."

"2. The prosecution knowingly, wilfully, and intentionally suppressed evidence which would have impeached this false testimony and would have disclosed

its knowledge of the falsity of the evidence. . . .

"3. Further, the prosecution, seeking to preclude a judicial inquiry into the facts, made false representations to the trial court. . . ." (Sobell brief.)

On April 5, 1951, Sobell's attorney Harold M. Phillips, made a motion for the "arrest of judgment." He told Judge Irving R. Kaufman of Sobell's kidnaping from Mexico. He said "Deported from Mexico, these three words are as untrue as if I said, 'The sun ceases to shine.'" (C. R., p. 1588.)

And Saypol answered the charges: ". . . Counsel ought to know that his client never went into Mexico with a visa." (C. R., p. 1598.) (The Tourist card with which Sobell and his family traveled to Mexico was at that moment in the possession of the prosecution or of his assistants, the FBI.) Saypol went on to say: "The whole affidavit portrays certainly that this defendant was not honorably escorted from Mexico but that literally he was kicked out as a deportee."

Saypol said this knowing—but not revealing—that Sobell had never been deported. Saypol lied. The defense motion was denied by the court. The FBI held onto the Tourist Card issued by the Government of Mexico in Sobell's own name. The FBI held onto the vaccination certificate, proving Sobell's preparations to return voluntarily to this country. The prosecution held onto the evidence. The prosecution knew. But the jury didn't know.

ANYTHING GOES

This was the quality of "justice" meted out to Morton Sobell—probably justified in the minds of the FBI, Saypol and the others involved with the thought that, "Well, Sobell is a Communist. That's guilt enough. We can do as we please." But then why promise "hard blows, but not foul ones?"

In the coming appeal Morton Sobell still has a chance to win justice. Saypol can still be deprived of the illegal fruit of treaty violations, kidnappings, beatings and lies.

As if afraid that justice might be done even if belatedly, U.S. Rep. Walter, who speaks in the name of Congress, announces that all who demand justice for Morton Sobell are to be suspected of participating in a "national campaign" organized by "Communists." Is this what is meant by the zealous protection of the rights of individuals in the "American Way of Life?" It seems closer to the kind of "justice" meted out by Stalin for whom the charge "Trotskyist" was enough to prove "spy."

It remains to be seen of what quality is the justice of three judges who will study the proof that has been obtained by Sobell's defenders after long years of difficult and expensive research—proof that Morton Sobell told the truth about his "deportation" and that Saypol lied.

...Mideast Oil Politics

(Continued from page 1)

blamed for suspecting that the Senate is not quite so much the shaper of U.S. foreign policy as our schoolchildren are taught. And not only the dignity of the Senate is involved. O'Mahoney represents a host of small businessmen who do not relish performing as Greek chorus for the Rockefeller and Mellons in every international adventure into which they choose to drag this country.

To a large degree it is not so much a matter of opposing the

administration's foreign policy as it is of finding a good stick to beat the big oil interests with. In reality, the issues of the Mideast are broader and deeper than the interests of Standard Oil and its associates. Involved is the struggle of U.S. imperialism against the colonial revolution.

Senator O'Mahoney's exposure of the big oil corporations, however, makes known a little bit of the truth and workers can utilize it in their struggle against Big Business in general.

Twin City Labor Forum Aids Witch-Hunt Victim

The Twin Cities Labor Forum not only discussed the defense of civil rights on Feb. 22, at the Labor Temple in Minneapolis, but turned over the proceeds from the meeting to aid a specific case which involved the violation of civil rights—the Charles Rowoldt deportation case.

Mr. Rowoldt, of Minneapolis, at the age of 73, faces deportation under the McCarran-Walter Act. A resident of the U. S. since he was 30 years old, he faces deportation because he was a member of the Communist Party for six months during the 1930's. His case is before the Supreme Court at the present time.

The main speaker, Mr. Arthur Sternberg of St. Paul, a civil rights lawyer, pointed out that some gains have been made in the fight for civil rights. Thus, he took note of the satisfactory outcome of the Kutcher Case, but said these gains were limited. In stressing the importance of the civil-rights fight, he stated that, taking into account all the people who work directly for the government and those in defense industries, plus their families, there are about ten million people directly concerned with the loyalty security issue regarding government employees.

Tying the attack on civil liberties to the cold war, Vincent Dunne, one of the first Smith Act victims, said: "We should ask ourselves: Why is there a cold war? Who is threatening the U.S.? Why is the war budget

the largest ever? Until there is a better way of taking care of the people of the world, there is going to be no great change in civil rights."

Dunne pointed out that when immigrants like Mr. Rowoldt came to this country, they did not come to take from it, but to contribute to it with their labor. It was these people who contributed much to make this country a great political democracy. "Now they are seeing this country turning into its opposite."

Mrs. Alma Foley, a representative from the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, spoke in behalf of Charles Rowoldt, who since 1947 has had the shadow of deportation hanging over him. She told of the difficulties with the bonding companies to obtain bond because of government interference in deportation cases. The importance of working to repeal the McCarran-Walter Act was stressed.

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